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HUMANIORA

TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC TEXT IN TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM

A SOCIO-SEMIOTIC STUDY OF SOVIET CENSORSHIP
PRACTICES IN ESTONIAN RADIO IN THE 1980s

by

Maarja Lõhmus



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This study analyses the production of Soviet journalistic text. It focuses on editorial-censorship transformations in texts made during the final stage of textual preparation in journalistic institutions of Soviet Estonia at the beginning of the 1980s.

The book deals with a world in which several, totally different cultures as sign systems existed simultaneously: official Soviet ideology, traditional national culture, and the expression of modern global existence through internally controversial forms. Together these formed a post-modern jumble of rich significations and a confused world of oppositional contexts of meaning. Looking at our contemporary world from that position, we have to submit that the present affluence of sign systems, which functions by another principle, is a fight for the renewed essence of global and historical meanings. In this fight for global and historical meanings, journalism has been rendered unable to make its own decisions.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction to the analysis of public text

1.1. Public text as the main focal point of communication in the public arena

From the very beginning, man has needed information about his surroundings, in order to stay alive. In the history of mankind, meanings and the need for orientation have broadened in time and space. Language usage is not merely an effect or reflection of social organisation and process, but is a major part of them, constituting *social meanings* and thus *social practices* (cf. Fowler *et al.* 1970: 1; Bourdieu 1998). The modern environment is packed with signs and symbolic meanings, the knowledge of and reaction to which directly or indirectly influences human existence. In the formed spaces of meaning, signs and meanings are connected to everyday life and processes, influencing in turn people's decisions and behaviour. The development of public life has proved to be the central role of texts for the community and for individuals.

The experience of the 20th century has shown that public texts have played historically different roles. Public texts are connected with society and relevant social processes, preparing the events that are considered important, by reflecting and summarising these events in a certain way and thus placing them in certain contexts. Hence the texts, together with the actual events, create our mediated experience and stay in our common memory as certain landmarks significant in the development of knowledge, experience and identity, even though the meaning of the events and texts may transform over time and during certain processes (this issue is taken up again in Chapter 1). Journalism and the public text are also considered a draft version of documenting history: 'It has become a cliché to assert that journalists write the first draft of history' (Edy 1999), in which case man's knowledge and memory has a special role both in creating and interpreting it. In tandem, knowledge and memory can create powerful interpretations and put into words commonly recognisable experiences at the moment, linking them to past and future.

In addition, what happens may directly depend on the interpretation of reality and of texts. Human memory is selective, and texts and interpretations depend on this

selectivity. Collective memory and collective texts can keep alive certain events and meanings, making them the common property of the natural cultural environment. But certain institutions, professions or individuals often interfere with textual creation by directing and controlling the selectivity of memory, thus substituting and shaping the 'world' presented as generally valid and the actual reality. In such cases, texts become transformed into a means of ideological aggression. Aggression and power can, or may, be established through certain texts. We all are acquainted with George Orwell's book *1984*, published in 1949, which depicts how texts are controlled by the practice of "Newspeak". Such a practice has existed not only in the writer's imagination, but in real societies of the twentieth century, including those of our own day.

1.2. Mechanisms and strategies of ideological content control

This dissertation studies the production and control of the ideological content of broadcast programmes as public text in Soviet Estonia. The main focus of the dissertation is the Orwellian variant of public text as a key element of the totalitarian system in practice: the directed transformation of the journalistic text in the forms of *editing*, *visouring* and *censorship*. Mine is an empirical investigation of cases in which texts are re-written to match them with the Communist Party's ideological aims, by the introduction of pre-determined meanings and other factors of influence (Ch. 2). The theoretical aim of the dissertation is to create a *model of textual intervention* based on the empirical analysis of semantic transformation (Ch. 5) and also the transformation of the meaning, aims and functions of the texts (Chs. 6 and 8).

This study concentrates on how meanings were produced and controlled in the public text of a totalitarian regime; on the function and methods of shaping and transforming of meaning, and on whether a textually normative model for public texts can be distinguished. I attempt to analyse the processing of texts prior to their publication.

Why should such importance be attributed to these issues? The answer is mainly because, in this way, the micro-level mechanisms of producing public texts in specific totalitarian practice may be revealed: how the 'public' or 'general' text is in fact constructed, and who makes, directs, and controls it. The existing documentary material gives rise to a number of specific questions. How are the meanings transformed in texts? What methods are used for this purpose? What is the function of such textual transformations?

Texts are closely connected with their context and community. These texts and their composition may be seen as different forms of mental control in society. Censorship enters textual activities legislatively. Such *visouring* may be regarded as hidden intervention at the textual level, a means of text transformation. Through public texts the rules relevant to the community are internalised (Ch. 2).

I argue that the study of the control and censorships of texts can provide valuable knowledge about how meanings are formed in society. For this reason, it is important to know how the content and meaning(s) of the public text are constituted and whether these are defined and decided upon beforehand. Though not very noticeable, the mechanisms of *editing* considerably influence public texts, and through them, almost imperceptibly, the audience.

The study of the Estonian experience during the Soviet colonisation is also important for historical reasons. From 1940–1991, Estonia was under the totalitarian regime of the Soviet Union. As part of the ‘periphery’ of the USSR, Estonia had its own strong cultural base, its own ‘local’ and collective self-conception and identity. In this situation, the enforced and legitimatised public text quite often was not perceived as ‘ours’ but as ‘foreign – alien’ (see Section 3.3). The Soviet colonisation also dictated the public use of language. On the local level, several cultural defense mechanisms hindered the total pervasiveness of these normative forms of language usage; i.e., there was cultural resistance. This situation of the language conflict has not been studied sufficiently.*

This is a difficult topic to study because often it is deliberately concealed in practice, hidden from the public eye. Thus, in the description of such phenomena and processes many euphemisms and metaphors are used, such as ‘help’, ‘technical arrangement’, ‘suiting’, ‘correlation’, and so on. In reality, the question is about the relations between the individual and the society in which public texts play a special role. A good example of textual direction is the journalistic production of Soviet public texts, where at each stage of the process several different forms of control act simultaneously, both directly – as censorship – and indirectly – as *visearing*, discussion, technical arrangement, and the like. To become acquainted with the technique of the production of Soviet public texts is important for several reasons. *Visearing* was a practice that significantly influenced the production of public texts in the Soviet Union as well as its satellites from the 1950s up to the 1980s. In the present study, I present an overview and suggest a theoretical frame by which to study of such historical texts.

The public texts and textual production of the Soviet era have not been studied previously in this way. This situation is probably caused by the fact that material with traces of pre-processing is hard to obtain. Such material is usually destroyed, not kept

* The Soviet colonisation, its ideology together with the system of censorship is a historical period, which is drifting farther and farther away. Recording the actual ways how the censorship operated, using the experience of the journalists and journalistic texts, we are also able to analyse how one of the largest ideological states of the 20th century operated from the initial idea to the breaking up of this state. Thus, the experiment in the ‘laboratory’ of the journalistic practice in the 20th century can add information about the nature of journalism: raise questions and make suppositions. The complicated ‘open laboratory situation’ in Estonia provides a lot of material for discussion about censorship, the direct, hidden and indirect methods, which were used to influence society.

in the archives of editorial offices. The study of texts bearing the corrections of *viseurs* and censors might provide new ways of understanding journalism in general.

The materials used in the present analysis come from journalistic texts utilising a complex structural code. On the one hand, the meanings of text and context are subjected to normative ideological control, and on the other hand, to professional conventions of journalism. The analysis of this phenomenon may produce unique insight into textual double coding, double interpretation, double thinking, and into reading 'between the lines', thus adding to the main questions normally asked about communication in general.

The study of textual transformation is the study of censorship on the microlevel. Most previous censorship studies have looked at censorship on the macrolevel, as an official direct action; e.g., the destruction of Estonian libraries (Lotman 1991; Medijainen 1991; Liivaku 1989, 1995; Veskimägi 1996). Limitations placed on journalism have received little discussion up to now. More detailed studies have been conducted about censorship during tsarist times (Jansen 2000), the influence of censorship on journalism in the 1980s (Maimik 1994, 1996), the principles of Soviet censorship in controlling journalism (Lõhmus 1999, Lauk 1999). Until now, the techniques of totalitarian censorship and the processes of text production have not been thoroughly studied on the microlevel.

One problem in studying Soviet censorship in Estonia is that only some of the activities of the censors and of the whole totalitarian system have been documented. Censors, chief editors, editors and journalists received many instructions, prohibitions and advice either in direct discussion or by telephone; these discussions are not documented. Given the fact that former senior Party and censorship officials usually refuse to answer any questions, it is essential to study the facts that, as of now, are recorded only in the notes and recollections of journalists and editors. To obtain a survey of the activities of the repressive system, one must map its activities in different fields. The analysis of forms of censorship might help to reveal the active principles of the Soviet system. One of the main concerns of the present study is how the censorship of journalistic texts worked in Soviet practice.

Such study must be carried out with the understanding that the totalitarian text and its practices stood in for the existence of the democratic public text.

1.3. Description of central concepts

This sub-section gives a short survey of the basic conceptual framework used in further discussion.

The central term is the *public text* and its two main forms, specifically, the democratic public text and the totalitarian public text (Section 2.1). My analysis of

public text is built around the notion of *context*. Context is understood both in the narrow sense, as the context of a particular text, and in a broader sense, as a certain type of public text that frames discursive practices. As concerns public texts, I regard *journalistic texts* as specific products of media institutions (Ch. 2).

In the analysis of texts, I use the concept of *meaning* as both a product and a result of communication. Structuralist theories of meaning developed Saussure's insights that meanings are relational rather than substantive and that the relationship between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary. For Jakobson, meanings were unstable relations that changed depending on the specific contextual codes and means of communication. *Code* refers to a set of shared rules of interpretation. *Myths* are the authoritative and culture-specific discourses that gravitate around key symbols and basic metaphors; these display and develop basic signs (Bouissac; Ch. 2). The concept of the *function* of texts, which refers to their purposeful aims (Chs. 2 and 8), has been used both at the level of specific texts, explicating the aims of one or another text in a particular context, and at the level of functional transformation in society.

In describing the transformation of journalistic texts, I use *textual intervention* as the main concept, in its inward-directed meaning; such intervention signifies purposeful changes made in the textual space of meaning in an author's text, at the stage of the processing of the text under certain institutional circumstances. I use the term *transformation* to denote the change of a real, specific meaning into a meaning that differs from the original one. In the sphere of the presentation of texts as public texts, external and internal areas of disputes are formed. I call this the *sphere of textual confrontation*. The *external sphere of confrontation* signifies the domain in which the battle for the text to become a public one is fought.

In this battle, the main objectives to be won are access to the channel, recognition of the author as suitable, and acceptance of the type or content of the text. In the presentation of texts as public texts, the complementary domain of *internal sphere of confrontation* arises. The latter signifies the area of internal conflict between different discourses – ideological vs. journalistic and professional. In the preliminary stage of the public text, these written pieces, especially journalistic texts, go through institutional processing which may include the control or changing of the meaning, and hence the influences, of texts.

In the analysis of institutional textual processing, I use the terms *editing*, *visouring*, and *censoring*. *Editing* refers to bringing out the original meaning of the text more clearly in the channel, the correcting and selection of materials and topics, and preparing them for publication. *Visouring* refers to the control of texts in terms of their suitability with regard to the rules established by an institution or an interested group (the Party); *visouring* is ideological control that precedes censorship and that grants (or denies) permission for publication. *Censoring* means institutional control of the text. The censor is the one who is empowered to examine all manuscripts before

they are published and to see that they contain nothing offensive.** Other terms relevant to the analysis of texts are introduced in Chapters 2 and 3.

1.4. Context and theoretical framework of the study

Historical context of the study

Twentieth-century mass media developed in different directions and according to various traditions. The differentiation of traditions was accelerated by the advent of electronic media in the 1920s; later, their peculiarities began to be equalised and standardised by TV production. Researchers have investigated differences between European and American cultures, media and sociology (Chalaby 1995); media practices of the 1950s and 1960s (Merton 1968); and European and Soviet practices, as described by Sparks (1995), through the opposition 'free world – socialist camp'.

We can distinguish European, American, and the Soviet mass media as types of communication, all with their special positions and dominant functions. The *European direction*, based upon the centuries-long tradition of national newspapers, continued in electronic form. Its main functions were to educate, enlighten, and inform direction; to present a broad 'objective' survey of world events. The *American direction*, without a substantial historical heritage or long tradition of printed journalism such as that of Europe, rapidly developed wide circulation among the more populist, tabloid press. From the very beginning, the electronic media in the US presented mostly popular concerts and other such spectacles, providing a forceful orientation toward entertainment as part of the industry. In fighting for political power, the *Soviet totalitarian direction* established, for example, the workers' press, with newspapers such as *Iskra (The Spark)* and *Pravda (The Truth)*. This led to the diffusion and control of journalism as a means for realising and implementing the power of the Communist Party; the journalism involved in these processes has been organised accordingly (Ch. 3).

Estonia has had a unique experience, being situated on various 'borders' – cultural, religious, geographical, political, and more. During various periods, different dominant factors have been represented in the Estonian experience. Until 1940, a typically classic *European model* was operating in Estonia. From 1940–1990 the *Soviet period* was in force, with its ideological model that determined social life from beginning to end. In the 1990s, the *European model* began to be restored, coupled with a liberal market economy and characteristics of the *American model* of entertainment, which is spreading fast - in 1997, 85% of films shown in Estonian cinemas came from America (see also, Ch. 2).

** *Censorship* is understood as (1) pre-or-post control of the content and form of the press, books, plays, radio broadcasts, etc. by a public institution; (2) the exertion of control over the media; censorship forms an important part of a state's domestic and foreign policy.

Comparison of Soviet and Western (Mis)interpretations of Soviet Communication Formats

The interpretation of Soviet communication in the twentieth century was ambivalent: the Soviet analyst did not want or could not obtain permission to analyze communication practices, and Western analysts were not able to do so.

Various studies concerning 'public text', editing, and censorship can be found under the titles of communication research, journalism, cultural studies, sociology, semiotics, discourse analysis. On a normative theoretical level forerunners to the present study would include W. Schramm, F. Siebert, and T. Peterson (1956) or J.C. Nerone and W.E. Berry (1995), among others. The analytical branch is well-represented by overseas scholars, starting with G. Gerbner, H. Schiller, G. Tuchman, H. Gans, and others. The early wave of interest in *communicative experience* and *influencing* can be found in the American tradition. As early as 1922, Walter Lippmann published his *Public Opinion* on the process of textual influence through the interpretation of social processes. Early studies of propaganda were pioneered in 1927 with Harold Lasswell's *Propaganda Technique in the World War*. Lasswell classified communication techniques as an integral part of military strategy (see also, C.I. Hovland [1949], who worked in this same field).

Viewing the community alongside the journalistic texts produced by it, one easily finds correlations between the two. According to normative theories of journalism, a journalistic text is closely connected to its ideological background and environment: 'The thesis of this volume is that the press always takes the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates' (Siebert *et al.* 1956: 2). In journalistic theory, both older normative theories (*ibid.*) and newer ones (Nerone 1995) have tried to construct an all-embracing systematic classification by means of particular descriptions. Such theories, though, have not dealt with the functioning mechanisms and structures of the systems.

Normative theory has often been unable to provide insight into the real problems. An example here is the treatment of totalitarian (Soviet) journalism, which led to normative claims instead of the interpretation of details. Because of such normative claims, the 'Western' theoretical approach to practical totalitarianism is one of the most difficult problems facing the researcher. The reason for the weakness of this particular journalism research is first of all the ideological treatment of historical experience; secondly, the identification of the doctrine and practice; thirdly, the lack of structural unity in the practical analysis of the micro- and macrolevels. Unfortunately, such views are endemic in the relevant literature.

The very starting point of the trends originating from Siebert *et al.* (1956) was erroneous, and their original thesis was seen as a kind of reversed Hegelian one, but not in the direction of reality. It did not deal with subjugation of people to the power

of individuals/the Party but only in the wording of its ideological façade, which was called the 'self-realisation of the society':

'Whereas Hegel maintained that the state was the means whereby the individual could achieve self-expression, Marx, on the other hand, insisted that the relationship should be reversed. The individual is not an end in himself but a means to the self-realisation of society of which he is an integral part' (Siebert 1956: 17).

The application of concepts born in a democratic context produces errors in the interpretation of totalitarian practice. In the Soviet reality, an 'individual' was not subjugated 'to the self-realisation of society' but to the power of the authoritarian leaders - to their possible passing whims, purposes, principles - and thus defenseless against the arbitrariness of different levels of power. Siebert's remarks would need special additions to show the real mechanisms of totalitarian authoritarianism. (For example, 'The individual is not an end in himself, but a means to the self-realisation / realisation of the power of the ruler or corporative party "family", which in the name of the people represents and rules the society that is subjugated to this leadership or controlling power'.) The text in action can be seen as 'cause', 'claim' or 'result', being in an hyper-sensitive, reciprocal relationship with its context and with actual processes, both as existent and non-existent. The repression of people and ideas was especially prevalent in colonised or annexed states, where the representatives of totalitarian power carried out ideological and ethnic purification in the name of 'building up society' (see also, Misiunas and Taagepera 1993).

Another example, of rather uncritical treatment of the interpretation of the ideological basis of Soviet communication is found in McQuail's 'Communist media': 'Soviet theory, which held an influential position in the post-war era and could not be ignored, assigned the media a role as collective agitator, propagandist and educator in the building of communism. The principles of the theory were established by Lenin after the 1917 Revolution and the theory was extended in essentials to most of Eastern Europe after the Second World War. The main principle was the subordination of the media to the Communist Party - the only *legitimate voice and agent of the working class*. Not surprisingly, the theory did not favour free expression, but it did propose a positive role for the media in society and in the world, with a *strong emphasis on culture and information* and on the task of *economic and social development*. In many respects, the Soviet theory was authoritarian in the way it was exercised, but it could claim a popular legitimacy as long as the political theory of communism could also be maintained. The media were expected to be *responsible and serious* and to *reflect the diversity of social structure and culture*. The results did not always compare badly with the performance of free-market media, but the theory had no appeal to free societies and has been largely abandoned in its homeland since the fall of communism' (My bold - ML; McQuail 1994: 129; my italics).

My view is that 'legitimate voice and agent of the working class, 'strong emphasis of culture and information', 'responsible and serious', 'diversity of social structure and culture' are ideological doctrines, the interpretation and practical use of which was limited 'to the interests of the *Soviet* society' and the interpretation of which was controlled by the Party. 'Diversity of social structure and culture' and 'strong emphasis on culture and information' meant a situation in which the channels of information consumption were directed and restricted to a limited number of channels and whose content was totally controlled content by censorship.

In Western theories, even today, the relevant analysis of Soviet totalitarian journalism remains veiled by a great number of ideological and normative prejudices.

In the 1950s, widely circulated theories presented Soviet mass-media in a positive light, without applying the notions of censorship and other relevant concepts (Schramm 1956: 105–144). Only recently have researchers admitted that 'the most influential of Western theories of the mass media in communist countries accepted the self-description offered by the communist parties more or less at face value' (Sparks 1998: 45). Generations of journalists and researchers have taken the regulative theory of communist mass media at face value. An analytical approach to ideologies, as well as to journalism, also began to get underway in the 1950s, in the form of critical comparison of history and ideologies (e.g., Arendt 1951, on Nazis and Bolsheviks).

On the other hand, studies of Soviet journalism mostly followed the officially condoned, positive approach (e.g., Solganik 1981; Zassurski 1975; Vlassov 1971). Researchers followed the normative patterns set by the ideological standards of Party propaganda. The role of journalists was seen as that of assistants of the Party: 'The task of mass-communication is to support the firm direction of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in guiding us and our society towards Communism' (Korobeinikov 1983: 3). It was only possible to express negative attitudes about rare and isolated phenomena, or when bourgeois journalism was at issue.

Media studies in the Soviet system were divided into 'journalism studies' following the ideological mainstream (Korobeinikov 1983; Prokhorov 1981; Zassurski 1988), and alternative 'mass communication' and 'media-sociology' research (Grushin 1980, 1987; Shlyapentokh 1987). Media sociology studies started at the University of Tartu, a local and relatively less controlled academic institution (cf. Vihalemm 2001). However, analytical paradigms of media sociology did not expand beyond the structural-functional analysis of existing contradictions between official propaganda and the real behavior of the audience. Critical discussions were limited to professional circles (e.g., the seminars on media theory held in the late 1960s at Kääriku), and analytical-critical approaches were channelled into the form of literary studies and cultural semiotics (Lotman). Analyses of the normative structure

of traditional cultures, such as Indian religious hymns (Semeka) or the relationship between Russian poets and czarist censorship (Lotman), were used to discuss the mechanisms of the totalitarian type of communication.

Under the conditions of a closed society and regulated systems of meaning, the relationships between the word (a symbolic yet powerful action) and practical action (behaviour) were considered to be very strong and direct. In Soviet theories, the distance from the text to the receiver's consciousness and behaviour was presumed to be extremely short. This may be illustrated by a typical textual fragment: *'Rabotnik ideologitsheskovo fronta imeet delo ne s meroi bozhestvennõh produktov, a s ljudmi, s ih soznanien i povedenien'* [The worker on the ideological front faces not divine products but people, their consciousness and behaviour] (Svititskh 1981: 6). In practice, this meant that 'ideological mistakes' should be prevented, and influences should be foreseen. 'Fulfilling the needs of the Soviet people' was an excuse for overt and covert censorship.

The need for a focus on totalitarian communication and censorship

The phenomenon of 'Soviet censorship of the mass media' has been traditionally characterised through the relationship between the media and the party or state, and has been viewed as part of ideology and propaganda. A broader issue, regarding the history and trends of media theories of the current century, is more relevant.

At the end of the 1950s and in the 1960s, major changes in the forms of Soviet censorship took place. The latter gradually became milder, and the western world first became interested in the specific issues and mechanisms of this censorship. A good example is Hopkins' (1974) overview of the mass-media system of the 1970s. He described the 'Soviet' phenomenon in this way: 'Soviet press theory squares the circle. It maintains, in harmony with general Soviet political ideology, that the people and the government are one' (Hopkins 1974: 44). During the Cold War in the Soviet Union and the countries of the Eastern Bloc, treatises on censorship were published about the struggle of various political organisations with different media channels (Lendvai 1981: 95–138; Kaldor 1990). The sociological perspective, concerning the functional mechanisms of society, addresses general topics in which the experience of a 'closed' system provides valuable evidence about implicit forms of structural censorship of social mechanisms (e.g., the mechanism of public opinion; Noelle-Neumann 1984).

Analysis of recent processes (*perestroika*) has produced observations concerning the mechanisms of censorship and has offered new and revealing information for research in mass media (McNair 1988; Dennis *et al.* 1991). During the transformation process of the 1990s, several critical surveys were published which focused particularly on modern censorship (Splichal 1994; Palez *et al.* 1995). At that

time, 'censorship' seemed to be a fresh and mysterious term, redolent of human suffering and heroism coupled with sacred martyrdom, ever so lacking in totalitarian societies for various reasons, and shared through collective experience.

Towards the analysis of textual transformation

The questioning of the borders and limitations of the text, the meaning of the text, as well as professional technique, should be at the centre of any communication study. In actual research practice, however, this is seldom the case.

Text-centred analyses may be generally divided into text-theoretical (socio-grammatical mapping; e.g., Halliday, Eco), practical analysis of the text (Bell), and the comparison of theory and practice (van Dijk, Fowler). Modern discourse analysis has reached conclusions about what kinds of texts exist and how they influence social and public processes, how reality is construed, what is presented as reality, and what could change the physical reality (Fairclough, van Dijk). In communication studies, textual issues have been studied by Tuchman, Schiller, Gerbner, Altchull, Gans, and others who deal with how the journalistic text is created and the role of journalists (Löhmus 2001). Other studies have discussed the censorship of the mass media, both retrospectively, as processes in their historical context, as personal experience, and as a global issue in media processes (see Löhmus 1997 and 1998).

Censorship and *limitations* in society have been studied from various perspectives. Normative theories have described censorship as an existing fact (e.g., Siebert, Nerone), but this static presentation lacks the analysis of the system of the existing mechanisms. A more typical approach is the analysis of journalistic texts. In such analysis, the text is not seen as a moment in a broader textual process, but regarded as a phenomenon whose internal conflicts, influences, and predeterminations are not problematic. This view is typically taken by discourse analysis (for example, van Dijk, Fairclough). Editing as the changing of texts has been studied by A. Bell, who has analysed editing as a process of producing news journalism. The present study presents a fourth direction. It joins together the different elements of the three approaches just mentioned, and adds to them the determination of *oppositions*, *influential conflicts*, and *changes or transformations* in the meaning-producing process.

The objective is to contextualise the historical practice of Soviet journalism and to delineate the internal context of the text-producing process into a global theoretical scheme. Only a few communication researchers have gone to their 'roots' and recognised the need for historical research to accompany the conceptual, methodological, and functional research of structure (Hoyer, Lauk, Lauristin, Rantanen, K. and V. Pietilä, Vihalemm, Wilke). The analytical field is strewn with critiques of practices of libertarian journalism (including American, British, French

cases) and social responsibility journalism (including the Nordic countries – Sweden, Norway, Finland), but few with an analysis of authoritarian and communist practices. Some interesting historical perspectives have appeared in the journal *Javnost (The Public)* and presented by Soviet scholars at IAMCR conferences.

We can position the analysis of textual transformations in the framework of traditional cultural research, by locating them vis-à-vis five paradigms, wherein they can be defined and delimited.

The first paradigm is the study of communication and censorship, as an institution or regulation. The study of media organisations deals mainly with the functions of institutions within the whole community (cf. Schramm 1954). This is not the focus of my study, but it is important to be aware of on the contextual level.

The second paradigm, the study of propaganda, seems to be less fertile for the study of totalitarian censorship, which is the topic at hand. The second paradigm sees behavioural problems in terms of an ideological fight and studies the direct influence of texts on behaviour. This kind of research includes several works on the influence of 20th-century war propaganda, written by C.I. Hovland, P. Lazarsfeld and others in the 1930s–1940s. These works are important inasmuch as they set the historical context and environment in which to speak about propaganda and the influence of mass communication.

The third paradigm studies the content of communication, and has proved useful for the present study, especially for the practice and development of G. Gerbner's model. For example, the use of content analysis has enabled the developing of the general basis for the systematisation of texts (the existing model of myth; Ch. 2). Also, the relations of textual attitudes and themes have been found and the changing and transforming of texts has been described by means of Gerbner's content analysis (Ch. 4).

The determination of 'dominated' roles and situations, such as those found in theories of hegemony (Gramsci), cannot be used in the present analysis of totalitarian text. Since most Soviet ideology was explicit on its surface, any directly critical ideological study seems redundant, including the concepts of hegemony, special norms, and values set by 'groups in power'. In the totalitarian system meticulous care was taken to retain the covert character of the actual mechanisms of realisation of the explicit ideology, and no opposition to the official propaganda was tolerated.

The present study is predominantly structural–semiotic, belonging to *the fourth paradigm*. The central method applied to study of the transformation of the textual meanings of microlevel text, as framed by different contexts, is an analysis of the formation of the content and meaning (Ch. 6). This approach involves a system of methods for analysing the transformation of meanings dominant in practice and presented in the present study (Ch. 4); a model of the system of functional changes (Ch. 8). Commentary on textual and semiotic analysis is also provided (Ch. 6). Reference is made to parallels with Fowler's method and results. In this study H. Lasswell's (1948) idea of 'communication process' has been converted into an

approach involving the 'process for content', such that the focus is on content-forming elements and the whole process is seen as a 'communicative whole'.

The present dissertation has important connections with *the fifth paradigm, the paradigm of discourse practices*, in which phenomena are seen as elements of broader contexts. Viewing texts as discursive practices is necessary for describing the general relationships between text, community and processes, where the concept of text subsumes broader practice and processes. In other words, the notion of 'text' has been expanded to include that of 'context' (e.g., 'democratic text', 'totalitarian text'; Ch. 2).

1.5. Temporal organisation of materials

The Soviet system had an official institution of censorship called GLAVLIT – the Soviet state authority of censorship for the safeguarding of state secrets. In practice, however, censorship was a much wider phenomenon. It covered everything connected with the production of texts, including the recruiting - and firing - of people who were given the chance to publicise their texts.

The practice of Soviet editing and censorship of the public text can be divided into seven different periods.

– *The first period: the years before 1917, when the party press focused on a narrow group of workers. This was a time of conspiracy, which was not officially allowed in Russia and which existed as the 'underground' under the conditions of a controlled and censored official press. In 1917, after 17 years of intense influence but also concealment and oppression, the previous party press achieved the legal status of the only official press in the state. As a rule this press imposed its normative model, roles and functions on the new society of Russia.*

– *The second period (1917–1939) was marked by the legitimisation and development of existing principles of 'new proletarian journalism', the latter acting as a repressive instrument of the Communist Party, and excluding all the other types of publications (including foreign press) as 'alien and hostile'.*

– *The third period (1940–1944/5) was marked by aggressive ('patriotic') public communication. The Baltic States, Estonia included, were colonised. Old and hostile media publication systems were taken over, and figures of any major public stature were arrested, deported, executed or at the least banned from public life.*

– *The fourth period (1944/5–early 1950s), which started after WW II, was marked both by the dominance of the post-war positive social mythologies and the Stalinist offensive public text, characterised by the fight against and destruction of persons considered to be internal enemies (including genocide in 1949).*

– *The fifth period (1956–1960s) was marked by the progression of Soviet life-style and ways of thinking. New genres were created in journalism. Clear norms were set for the content of journalistic texts, new forms of text, and the functions of mass media and professionalism. Two functional levels of national media, ideological and cultural, emerged. The Soviet semiosis and sign-system gradually became comprehensive and enabled different discourses and language games, so that journalists learned to use complicated forms of indirect expression, writing 'between the lines', so to speak; readers learned to 'read between the lines' in the cultural press. A struggle occurred involving the overcoming of the borders of publicly permitted topics and journalistic forms.*

– In the sixth period (1970s–1987), journalism suffered from limited spheres of interpretation. Under these conditions there developed the institutional structure for controlling the public text, and different levels or roles were created to fulfil that function. At the same time, the social context, the existing semiosphere, was extremely flexible, rich in actualised and non-actualised meanings and possibilities. Hence, while the public text was officially limited and controlled, the actual practical language usage of signs in society was quite rich and flexible (see Greimas 1982, on actants).

– The seventh period (1987 – 1991) was marked by moves to abolish the Soviet system and a straightforward confrontation between ‘old’ (silent) and ‘new’ (speaking) media in Estonia and the other Baltic States. It was a paradoxical situation, such that actual events took place (with popular mass participation) but could not be reported in journalistic texts. There was a break-down of the manipulation of information and public opinion by means of mass media and censorship. Changes in discursive language and a systematic changeltransformation in ‘signifier’ and ‘signified’ resulted in the break-down of the Soviet sign-system. Analyses of the Soviet system described real processes in society and asked basic questions about society and humanism. Ideas of an active ‘public sphere’ and ‘participating journalism’ became operational (see also, Ch. 3).

In a more general perspective the Soviet censorial practice can be regarded as having occurred in three stages:

1. The censorship of the Stalinist period involved the direct elimination of people who used and produced officially unsanctioned texts. This period was characterised by total repression, executions, and the avoidance of what might be considered ‘wrong’ thinking.

2. The post-Stalinist period was characterised by ‘milder’ methods of censorship, with a more prominent focus on texts. For example, the government censorship of local newspaper editions was established in 1955.

3. In the late-Soviet period the basic issue was the maintenance of the Soviet meaning-system and its insertion into public texts.

The material of the present study dates from the third, late-Soviet period at the beginning of the 1980s. That period was characterised by a pervasive ambivalence of meanings, the quest for special meanings obtainable through interpretations, and the diffusion of the ideological meaning-system, whereby it was transformed into fertile material for a profusion of cultural interpretations. In controlling textual meanings, censorship meticulously sought to establish a selective vision and interpretation of the context of reality.

The empirical material for the present theoretical study comes from practices of Soviet text production in Estonian Radio. The *visured*-censored texts of 79 broadcasts, dating from 1980–1982, have been used as a source (Estonian State Archive, file no. 1590, Archive of Party History, file no. 1450; see also, Ch. 4). Why have I chosen the production of journalistic radio texts as my topic? Different media channels have different ways of preparing and producing texts, and the preparation of texts for printed and electronic media differ in principle. The texts of printed media are relatively more rational than typical radio and TV conversations, and the classical editing process of the printed press is executed more covertly; moreover, the editorial culture of printed media has a longer history. Since its inception, the electronic press

has fostered a myth about its immediacy and closeness. Because of its directness and means of preparation, radio journalism provides great insight into how texts are transformed. It has been possible for me to study the traces of the preparation process of these texts, as well as to investigate their transformation. Those traces make it possible to exercise what might be called 'textual archaeology'. The traces of *visured* radio broadcasts are stored in archives.

The primary impetus for my argument is provided by empirical material, such as *visured* texts, extensive interviews with journalists, editors, censors, and senior propaganda officials, as well as intellectuals active in the Soviet period. Thus, in addition to the critical analysis, 20 present and former editors have been interviewed about their experiences in *visuring*. The interviews have been compared with the practical work of the same editors. In doing so, I was able to search out discrepancies between practical *visuring* and general or traditional principles of editing. This, in turn, has made it possible for me to discern a general scheme of work and to pinpoint theoretical problems for further research.

Some of my information comes from the archives of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party. Other information has been gathered from Soviet sociological research^{***} and statistical data. My own experience as a Soviet journalist has also served as a source for several of following interpretations.

How to analyse the textual practice of the Soviet Union?

Journalists often claim that even today little is said about the 'new' texts published 20 years ago. This view is supported by several influential journalists in the quickly changing society. A typical example: 'The journalistic text must be viewed in its own context, it cannot be comprehended later, because it originated in a certain situation and it was significant just in this situation'. So says Lembit Lauri, a journalist who worked in Estonian Radio from 1953–2002. In the quotation above, the phrase *significant* should be interpreted in the context where the genesis of a text had a specific *function* in its real and symbolic situation and had a certain *influence* at that particular moment. Damaging of the *textual function* of construing social reality, changes in the actual situation, and the context of symbolic interpretation frequently led to dissonance among interpretations of past circumstances. In any case, it seems that the most universal philosophical functions of the public text are unchangeable (see also, Ch. 2). In the *theory of meaning* (semiotics), Bühler (1934) and Jakobson (1960) have determined the elements and functions of textual presentation. The depiction of this process in *communication theory* began with Lasswell's model (1948), which viewed communication as a dynamic process in which every preceding situation influences the next one. Various communication models emphasize

^{***} The materials of the Soviet sociological research works used here are from M. Lauristin, P. Maimik, T. Paulson, A. Saar, R. Timak, A. Tamre, P. Vihalemm.

different aspects of process and system (Wiio 1984: 98; McQuail 1982). One aim of process models has been to *predict the behaviour* of the participants in the process (Wiio 1992: 19; Ch. 2). At the macrolevel, an interesting example is the Voice of America stations and their influence on 'enemy' communities. Several analyses reveal that the real influence of those texts was *unpredictable* (Jowett and O'Donnell 1992). The Soviet Union may be seen as an example of the opposite extreme, with the meanings of the texts controlled, the influence and functions of texts planned in detail, with a view to their long-term effects and as part of the planned economy (Ch. 3). The cumulative impact of texts thus planned and controlled is difficult to determine after the fact, but they seem to have at least partially fulfilled their planned function. In retrospect, it seems that counter-forces which originally arose as side-effects made use of and built upon previously sanctioned 'meanings' in order to help weaken the same well-guarded system even further.

My own view is that communication researchers too often give up trying to defend the human role in communication, and concern themselves too much with mechanical-technical phenomena, or actually turn into parts of the process when studying it. In short, they are unable to treat both man *and* environment in their interpretations of the communicating process. An exception was G. Gerbner, a communications researcher of the last century and one of the world's great humanists. While concerned with technical progress, he never stopped asking humanist questions, emphasising systematically the social problems that should have been at the centre of public discussion and deliberated by the whole world. Such questions have always been silenced or the problems they address accepted as an inevitability. Although the above considerations mainly concern the past, the so-called Global Village or Network Society will no doubt face analogous problems, in new forms and with new structures. In this situation, the vicious circle of reality, power, information production, and interpretation merely enters another curve of the spiral.

Research method

The present study compares Estonian Radio broadcast texts, both before and after *visearing*, from the point of view of textual transformation, and it analyses how and why textual meaning is changed or transformed (Chs. , 4, 5, 6, 8). The data about textual transformations originate from the editorial practice of Estonian Radio and reflect the historical development of the medium as a communication channel (Ch. 3).

In the present dissertation, the main method is *qualitative analysis*. Linguistic, semiotic and contextual comparison are used to study the texts of the Estonian Radio broadcasts both *before* and *after* they were submitted to ideological control.

The transformations of meaning are systematised by *quantitative analyses* of *visearing* as intervention and transformation (see Chs. 4 and 5).

In the coding process (Ch. 4), transformations have been weighted in terms of whether they *strengthen, increase, add-to* or *weaken, decrease, eliminate, reverse* textual elements.

The analysis uses models derived from my classification of Soviet myths (Ch. 3). The models have been designed for the analysis of elements of the general picture that evolves through a linkage between the macrolevel and the character of the textual transformation on the microlevel of the same texts.

There is a double focus throughout this research. The dissertation is developed from actual data concerning censored and *visoured* texts, which means a focus on their social functions. On the other hand, the texts are also interpreted in terms of their meanings. From this perspective, my study belongs to critical media study in which historical and sociological observations are integrated with socio-semiotic analyses.

Findings envisaged by the theoretical framework

The findings envisaged by the theoretical framework and methodology are presented in Chapter 4. Some of these are outlined below.

The present research has yielded several interpretations of the transformation of meaning, focussing on the fact that texts are always interpreted in the context of social myths (Ch. 6). Typical functional transformations caused by the textual transformation are determined (Ch. 8). I proffer an inventory of methods of textual intervention, modelling the types of transformation of the public texts, the link between the *changed meaning*, as well as the *imaginary influence of text* and *social action of individuals* (Chs. 5, 6, 7 and 9).

The new theoretical and conceptual aspects that this dissertation adds to communication and text studies include a historical, text-analytical survey of Soviet journalistic censorship practices, an analytical model, and a conceptual framework suited for the analysis.

1. Historically, the study provides insight into Soviet journalistic practices in the 1980s. The analysis of empirical material interprets and contextualises Soviet public texts of the 1970s–1980s within a totalitarian meaning-system. The character of totalitarian public texts is viewed through the lens of their preparation and transformation.

2. This study proposes a new text-centred approach particularly suitable for the analysis of socio-political texts. The analysis introduces a structural semiotic *model* for the study of the *public text*. The model pivots on types of social myths inherent to each specific period and having greater or lesser significance for the model of public texts of the period as a whole. Also developed are new *criteria* for the delineation of myths, roles, functions, transformations of text, and intervention strategies.

3. My investigation specifies the content of the *practical concepts* – editing, censorship, etc. – used in particular circumstances, adding to them the notion of

visueering. The thesis maps and arranges concepts connected with *textual intervention* as well as interventional and transformational methods applied in practice.

This thesis is based on my following articles and conference papers :

Ch. II. Approaches to Media Semiotics: Journalism in Social Context. In: Tarasti, E (ed.) Snow, Forest, Silence. 1998. Helsinki University, Bloomington University, 146–153, From Soviet to Post-Soviet. *Akadeemia* 9/1997, 1795–1817, Karjala julkisenä tekstinä: kenen rajat? In Tarasti, E. (ed) *Ymmärtämisen merkit. Samuuden ja toiseuden ikoneja suomalaisessa kulttuurissa*. Acta Semiotica Fennica VIII, International Semiotics Institute, Imatra, 'Journalistic Text in the Social Struggle-Field' – Nordicom conference, Jyväskylä–Lohusalu 1997, 'Teksti taistelulentä' – International Conference of Semiotics, Imatra 11.–18.6. 1997; Understanding/Misunderstanding of the Public Text. International Conference of Semiotics, Imatra 15.–18.6.1999; Text as Symbolic Battle-Field. Imatra 6.6.1997 International Semiotics Conference; Journalistic Texts in the Battlefield. Jyväskylä– Lohusalu 6.8. 1997. Nordic media seminar.

Ch. III. Journalistic Editing in a Closed Society. In Koivisto, J., Lauk, E. (eds.) *Journalism at the Crossroads. Perspectives on Research*. Tartu: TUP 1997, 108–120; Editing in a Closed Society/ Toimetamine suletud ühiskonnas. *Akadeemia* 6/1996, 1123–1145, Control and Censorship in the Editing Process in the Broadcast Company of Estonia. In: Vihalemm, P. (ed) *Media Developments After Glasnost in the Baltic Area*. Nordicom, 2002. Forms of Soviet Mythology in Journalistic Texts. IAMCR Conference, Leipzig 27.–31.7. 1999, Social Myths and Mythology. International Conference of Semiotics, Imatra, 11.–16.1998.

Ch. IV. Edition: Creation or Censorship. Tartu: TUP 1999, Monography; From Soviet to Post-Soviet / Sovetlikust post-sovetlikuks. *Akadeemia* 9/1997, 1795–1817; Development of Soviet Censorship in Estonian Journalism During 1940–1990: Analytical Approach. IAMCR Conference, Glasgow 29.7. 1998; Literature in Soviet Media. Imatra International Conference of Semiotics, 10.6.96; Censorship as Interpretation of a Text. Pühajärve 3.8.1996, Nordic-Baltic Seminar; Planned Spontaneity: Estonian Electronic Media's way from the 'Soviet' Towards 'European', XIV Nordic Conference on Mass Communication Research. Kungälv, 14.–21.8.1999.

Ch. VI – VIII Journalistic Editing in a Closed Society. *Akadeemia* 6/1996, 1123–1145; Toimetamine: looming või tsensuur/Edition: Creation or Censorship. Monography. Tartu University Press 1999; Journalistic Editing of Public Text: Case of Estonian Radio in the 1980s. International conference 'Developments in Nordic Broadcasting', Oslo 20.–24.3.1999; Toimittaminen. Conference Mediatutkimuksen päivät. Helsinki, 2.–5.2.2000; Public Text: Aspect of Social Functions and Individual Experience. International Summer Institute for Semiotic and Structural Studies, Imatra 10.–15.6.2001; 'Changes of Media-Text in Estonia: Totalitarian, Participatory and Libertarian text'. Nordic Media and Communication Conference. Rejkjavik 10.–14.8.2001; Research on 'Media-War' in Time of Peace: the Soviet Totalitarian Text. IAMCR World Congress, Budapest, 6.–9.9.2001.

CHAPTER II

Theoretical framework for the study of public text transformation

This chapter creates a framework for the analysis of public text. Firstly, it conceptualises the public text by providing a brief overview of the external sphere of confrontation for the public text in society. It further offers an approach to the public text as an internal sphere of confrontation. Great emphasis is given to the factors that influence and mould the meaning of text, transforming the meaning-system of the author into that of the institution or controller.

2.1. Concept of the public text

The concept of *text*¹, as applied to culture and society, has been used in so many different ways by so many different authors that it no longer has the stability of a fixed concept. At the same time, the notion of “text” occupies the central position in the cultural arena, which it both expresses and shapes at the same time.

We are surrounded by multitudes of texts, varied both in essence and purpose. In private are oral and written letters, diaries, personal conversations, and so on. Circulating in society are cultural texts, such as art (aesthetic), communal, regulative, and the like. We can classify texts into pragmatic texts, private texts (on the level of communication between specific persons, and sometimes within closed groups), and public texts (in social communication, sometimes social or corporate groups, texts channelled by the media), which circulate in the *public sphere* (Habermas) or *public field* of society (Bourdieu). Public texts are characterised by their open-ended quality, as both forms and explanations of public life (Glasser 1999; Weaver 1998; Kunelius 1996², Ridell 1998; and others).

Public text is a text the meaning of which is generally comprehensible and the reception of which is public and collective. The opposite of public text is *private* or *secret* text. The desired influence is inscribed into the public text and relayed through its *meaning*. At the same time, the content of the public text is produced by a specific

individual or group, and some meanings in the text may not be generally understandable or adequately contextualised.

The public text is closely connected to its *context*. The meaning of the public text may be revealed only through its context, which in the space of culture and social meanings generally exists as the field of the meaning-system. The public text is naturally a dialogical process (Bakhtin and Voloshinov 1990; Torop 1999), having an activated or actualised reciprocal connection between *text* and *context*. Dialogue is the implicit dynamic process of the continuity, *preserving* or *transforming* of meanings.

Public text involves people, cultures, historical periods, and acts as a subject of research in different fields. Public text exerts a major social influence on communities, which have both *intellectual* and *social dimensions*. In the process of the public text, it is not clearly evident beforehand but predictable (because it depends on different interpreting contexts, actualisations, etc.) as to what potentialities the public text owns so we can treat these potentialities as the *conceptual* and *pragmatic* aspects of the public text.

The public text has an active aspect, being a part of discursive practice and also a part of social interaction and process. With the public text considered as a social phenomenon, we are dealing with collective action. We can identify some specific features of public text (process) as follows:

- Public text is not true or false but a fact. The existing public text is a fact in itself.
- Public text may be implicitly connected with different types of norm-setting.
- The whole process of the public text is important, including its creation and presentation as well as its reception and influence. This process includes, in addition to the text, the process of production, of which the text is a product, and the process of interpretation, for which the text is a resource (Fairclough 1990: 24; cf. Ridell 1998).

Democratic and totalitarian public text

The democratic text is formed in a social process in which the reception of texts plays an important part. In open contexts, reception is a sphere of social activity, a part of the process. In this situation, new and influential texts are constantly needed. These would have significance for the interpretation of reality, with the focal point of the process depending on the reception of texts. Reception of texts has in the past formed an understanding of the ways the environment was interpreted. This understanding in turn produces and develops the interpretation of texts and their reception. The public text based upon reception is a collective text, having a common environment and capital. The public text may be the basis for action or interaction of the social system. An open environment is characteristic of the texts participating therein, and such texts play an important part in shaping public perception.

On the other hand, another type of public text is possible, which may have only certain meanings that are predetermined, because reality has been defined by one person or group (such as the Communist Party) which supervises the meaning or system of the text. We can describe as totalitarian the kind of public text that has a strictly controlled, predetermined meaning that is geared to produce a certain influence.. The context itself may be extremely important for understanding the meaning of the text. The function of totalitarian texts is to have a certain influence and to dispose the readership in particular ways. In a closed totalitarian structure, special emphasis goes to limiting the content of the public text. The goal of these texts is to have a certain normative influence; hence, they are fashioned with this goal in mind. The central problem in producing such texts is to avoid the occurrence of additional meanings or the possibility of their being wrongly interpreted. The limitations are established by certain norms; the correlation of the text with these norms is controlled by special institutions.

The public text of the closed society is hierarchical, such that the periphery is the most available to the general public, and only a narrow circle of the initiated has access to secret texts. To hide information and to conspire are the aims of those who produce the public texts. Hence, certain information must be eliminated from the text itself.

The texts that the public are allowed to read or hear are the means of influencing and directing the community. Also determined is the production of texts, such that some are strengthened in the processing, and others are weakened or eliminated altogether.

Thus, both facts and interpretations may serve as the sources for public texts. Whereas the open public text depends on its interpretative reception by the public, in a closed system, what matters is how the facts have been chosen and how they are presented. Crucial here is what constitutes the definition of *fact*. Continuous dialogue between the text and context produces the meaning.

The active power centers of political and social cultures can be structured differently; hence the dialogical public text may vary as well. Dialogue may be direct and public, or it may be concealed, indirect and seemingly non-existent. It may be constantly developing, or it may be cyclical, with periods of interruption. The role of codes and semantics is totally different in conditions where there is freedom of speech.

Thus, there is a difference between the totalitarian and the democratic text, the latter typically not directly depending on a particular person, but instead enjoying a certain freedom as guaranteed by a constitution or other regulative laws (see example 1).

Example 1:

'The laws of the transmission of linguistic capital are a particular example of the laws of the legitimate transmission of cultural capital between the generations, and it may

therefore be stated that the linguistic competence measured by academic criteria depends, like the other dimensions of cultural capital, on the level of education (measured in terms of qualifications obtained) and on the social trajectory' (Bourdieu 1992: 61).

The totalitarian text often directly or indirectly controls and evaluates persons. Thus, ideas and concepts exist as controlling indicators for this purpose. The semantic–semiotic system of the totalitarian text is especially complicated and may include hidden, controversial and also 'false' meanings. Thus, knowledge of the context and of the real processes is determinative in understanding the meaning (cf. open vs. closed text; Eco 1979). (See example 2.)

Example 2:

'We are now having a new, numerous, popular, socialist intelligentsia, that is essentially different from the old bourgeois intelligentsia in its make-up as well as its social and political appearance. ... These people, as it becomes evident, declare that workers and peasants, who only recently worked in fabrics and kolkhozes and who were sent to the universities to get education cease to be persons of full value, become second-rate persons... [laugh].' Stalin, Report regarding the work of the CC of the CPSU at the XVIII Congress of the Party. (10. 3. 1939: 534)

Textual Meaning and Comprehension

The meaning of text is in its organisation, with the structure consisting of the system of the inner relations of the signs, or more precisely, the systems of correlation between 'form' and 'meaning', as in the psychological form of structuralism. (Grodén 1994: 160, 696).

The socio-semiotic model of the text is based on Saussure's classical notions of the signifier and the signified. The meaning of public texts combines semiotic ambivalence with typical interpretations of the signifier at certain periods of time. The signifier and the signified are arbitrary, but may at the same time be determined and stable for a certain period. In the community and culture, meanings constitute a wider *semiosis* from which meanings are constantly actualised and established and/or forgotten or redefined.

The tools for organising the public text are *genres*, into which the internal structural system for bringing forth meaning and the influence of meaning is coded. Beneficial in the study of public text, 'genre includes the whole text process: production–product–consumption' (Ridell 1998). To present the preferred kind of public text, some genres are used more, others used less, according to the various types of societies. Some genres are better suited than others for presenting certain materials and introducing them more fully. Hence, different dominant *genres* exist in

different societies. *Genres* are an agreed organisation of public text and a meaningful part thereof. 'Genre' is an important sign of social processes and points to the socially correct or favourable meanings of those processes.

Depending on the society or culture, public texts can be evaluated in one of two ways. Public texts may be *complicated*: 'Our society clearly values the restricted and elaborated codes. The culturally valued forms are almost all elaborated' (Fiske 1990: 72; cf. Merrill 1977). Or they may be (seemingly) *simple* but ambiguous in practice, the theoretical ideal of which is the unambiguous structural correlation of words and deeds; for example, 'Stop intelligent sophistry' (Lenin 1918). The public text utilises different opportunities and levels of language; the field of meaning – i.e., *semiosis* – is activated, the meaning of the public text being a field determined by textual-cultural agreement.

Every text has a meaning. The latter depends on the relationship between the creator and the interpreter of the text because the text may be interpreted differently by different receivers and in different contexts and situations. The public text, being directed to various interpreters or recipients, aims to be generally understandable and unambiguous, while at the same time seeking to be understood in one particular way. This, however, is difficult to achieve in practice, since it is contradictory to the creative and ambivalent nature of the language. The public text might aim to have a single meaning and be generally understandable, but in reality, difficulties arise which make it possible for receivers to come to different conclusions. 'Doxa' exists in texts taken to be 'self-evident'. The textual practice and ideological practice may often originate from similar sources (Bourdieu 1991; Barthes 1957). The public text is characterised by both means and methods incorporating concepts from outside as new and strange text and at the same time rejecting certain concepts – defending the field against the 'strange' and the 'new'.

The difficulty in understanding or misunderstanding the meaning is central to the influencing process. If we presume that we understand public texts by their contents, then it is natural that we want to comprehend them. The public text, being dialogic in nature, often may include implicitly determined answers for the recipient. Social understanding becomes obvious through the rules coded into this. But all kinds of social 'understanding' are the result of explanatory work. Social 'misunderstanding' appears when the 'dialogical reaction' is different from the one sought for presumed. In this case, the public text has the function of correcting the thinking or understanding - based on the wish to understand – of the recipient. In this way it is possible to organise the transformation of the signified meanings.

The creation or transformation of the meaning of a phenomenon takes place by the transforming of the meaning of the elements of this phenomenon, its context, and acting process. The transforming of the meaning is brought about by the process of 'misunderstanding' and the 'ambivalence of meaning'. The 'old meaning' becomes considered as a 'misunderstanding', which prompts the recipient to look for a new

'reality'. If there are more meanings in the changing process it is useful to change the 'ideology' as the social context: the 'misunderstanding' of giving a new meaning and or the 'misunderstanding' of regarding the old meaning as incomprehensible (Jakubowicz 1995; Löhmus 1999a).

We can categorize the public text according to the amount of normativeness: *normative texts*, with their implicit legitimacy, and *secondary public texts* or interpretative texts, which include *journalistic public texts*. Often there are secondary ones with interpretative aims. *Artistic, creative texts* are art and cultural texts - 'works' - which are determined by certain conventions, exist legally, and serve these functions within the accepted cultural sphere.

Normative texts (normative legal acts, laws) are determined by an active influence, based on stable and one-dimensional meanings. These texts are established by the state. Obviously these texts are not openly in the area of conflict, because their influence is not psychological but based on state regulations, with their influence being controlled by the state apparatus and institutions. The supremely normative text is the Constitution, on which are based the organisation of the social structure as well as the meanings of the public texts. The aim of secondary interpretative texts is to mediate evaluations, opinions and other active processes among different persons and groups in public life. Journalistic texts often appear as 'knowledge', 'information', 'opinion-process', 'social awareness', and the like, for orientation in most real and symbolic situations.

The object of the present research is the *secondary interpretative public text*, specifically, journalistic public texts, which were spread and processed by journalistic institutions and often shaped towards a more normative form. These are the focus of attention from all sides, being the official ideological institutions and real receivers.

External and internal sphere of confrontation in public text

I understand the public text as a 'sphere of confrontation' in two aspects:

Firstly, it means the public sphere is an area of society, where texts appear, circulate and get meanings in *semiosis* and discourses (external sphere of confrontation).

Secondly, it is the space in a text, the struggle on the level of inner structures of text (internal sphere of confrontation).

There exist various perspectives on the journalistic process of the texts. We can define the main paradoxes or ironies of the public text and journalistic process as follows:

The public text includes the means to influence the recipient; but its nature, more or less concealed in the creative process, is also influenced. The paradox of the public text in the public field is the secrecy of its generation process – although the

public text is presented as generally valid, it has in fact been created by someone. The public text can also be used consciously in society, if a corporate group usurps the role of the creator of the public text. In every social system we can typically see the result of social struggle, the public text, but the birth of the public text is concealed from the public eye.

What is the content of the ongoing struggle? Struggles between various definers often arise from the interpretation of existential problems. These include 'world view', 'perception of time', 'experiences', 'events', views on how existential problems come about, and also on how phenomena are related to each other, hierarchies of value, and evaluations (cf. Gerbner 1969). The public text is essentially the field of mediating ideas and the means of establishing and consolidating ideologies. The struggle to exert influence over society through the public text continues to make itself felt.

The more closed the situation in the field of struggle, the more problematic is access to publicity. More complicated is the inner structure of the text, its inherent difficulties. The large number of ideological practices and the mingling of their interests complicate the situation. In communication theory, it has been empirically proved that the truth of the first source and the influence of its interpretation has decisive importance, and that later interpretations, while perhaps having a shaping influence, will not cancel the original interpretation. Key issues here are whose text it is, what kind of structure it will be published in first, and what reactions it provokes.

The main mechanism for legitimizing the public text is characteristically the concealment of its corporate nature. Instead, the text is introduced as general, generic 'truth'. The reforming process of the public text indicates the real power it has, opting occasionally to use appropriate earlier texts or excerpts from them.

External sphere of confrontation: Capacity for transforming and projecting meaning-systems

In the field of public texts, different types of texts appear and circulate: official and unofficial texts, economic, cultural, literary, pragmatic, journalistic texts, etc. The field of public texts appears, therefore, to be the place where formal and informal texts meet. They appear together in this common environment, where they both acquire additional meanings from the context.

The field of the public texts is the mental and symbolical environment. This is the area of symbolic mental transformation that acts as the real context in which different kinds of capital (economic, cultural, etc.) are mediated in textual-linguistic form as linguistic capital (cf. Bourdieu 1992: 61). The medium is the structure of the linguistic field, conceived as a system of specifically linguistic relations of power based on the unequal distribution of linguistic capital (cf. Bourdieu 1994: 57). The text

exists in the world of the real and the mental as a *form of transformation*, specifically, a transference of concept, the transcendental transformation of substance and form. A transformational form exists between the real and the imagined. This form materialises and substantiates the reality, including the society in a text where everything can be treated as text. The opposite situation may also obtain: materialising concepts in the public text may influence reality (cf. McQuail 2000; Glasser 1999). A text in the public field is a sign whose meaning opens up the real context. It is a field in which the text is a mediator of concepts and conceptions. Conception mediated by the text can also be construed as what happens when the text performs a certain kind of action, such that the real active relationship receives the textual form. In this dynamic field, mental action may influence conceptions or transform the action.

The public text has the *power of textuality*. That is to say, it textualises the world and events and by doing so conquers them, bringing them mentally under 'symbolic' and imagined control. Textual processes and concepts concentrate ideas and meanings, generating new concepts from them. This field influences social practice, because the social texts, the social meanings of which the texts present, are part of the social process. Thus, different conceptions are active in the field, including the view that the social environment and the world can be changed by means of concepts. (In his paper on Feuerbach, often quoted in Soviet ideology texts, Marx wrote that the philosopher's task is to change the world, not describe it.) Concepts are capital that continues producing new transformations, thus also different kinds of capital (Bourdieu 1991).

New texts may have the capacity for transformation by projecting themselves into the existing meaning-system, first by influencing the meaning-system in which they act and through this the wider (social) structural totality connected to this meaning-system. As such, it has a considerable influence, which may have an instrumental function but may also appear as the feature of the text.

The public field (of texts) means implicitly the environment of transformation in social meanings. Hence, the field of public texts has power, since the conception of 'change' or transformation' is a means of power. The field of public texts, which is the field of communication, has power through the texts in this area.

From strongly controlled formal fields (in totalitarian closed societies) the informal public field and the field of text may be transferred into neighbouring branches where further informal public fields are generated; for example, relatively insignificant fields such as literary criticism. One way in which these powerful texts function and wield influence is by activating their context.

From the 1980s on, among Estonian texts the most controlled fields were those of the most general issues and channels. At the same time, the more non-mainstream issues were more open; their textual processes and textual transformations of reality were less controlled.

Delineating the public text

It is important to define which texts are included in the field of the public text and which ones are not. Considering the issue in terms of the degree of correspondence between the text and the dominant ideology, one may divide texts into *legitimising texts*, *resistance texts*, and *project texts*, though many off-shoots and variants of these are surely possible.³ The inner ideology of the legitimising text is consonant with the dominant ideology and its social institutions, rationalising the domination of the latter. Resistance texts are generated by stigmatised persons in order to 'exclude the excluders' or to off-set their unwanted procedures. The project text concerns the different resources and texts in the text-generating process.

In terms of their 'loyalty', texts have been divided into 'allowed' and 'forbidden' texts in the community, which may in turn have certain conditions on which they depend. This is connected to how 'alien' texts enter the field of the public text (Voloshinov) and the methods by which the alien texts are either marginalized or kept totally out of the field. The field of texts can thus be seen as consisting of different spheres, each of which has a different degree of importance and thus also different rules. Such a system of 'spheres' may vary from one community to the next, but certain general hierarchies can be discerned, based on the features of public texts. The textual spheres of the public-field texts have been determined by Hallin in his analysis of American foreign policy texts and the depiction of war by the media.

In my view, Hallin's idea can be generalized to fit the larger theoretical framework for the treatment of social texts, because there the context for interpretation of the text is the most decisive for the present study.

Hallin divides texts in society into three spheres according to their correlation with a valid consensus (Hallin 1986: 115):

- (1) *the sphere of consensus* with phenomena and texts and interpretations which are accepted totally by the culture or society;
- (2) *the sphere of legitimate controversy*, with conflicts and ambiguity of interpretation;
- (3) *the sphere of deviance*, in which phenomena and processes are 'non-existent' or evaluated completely negatively as 'strange' and 'dangerous'.

Sphere of Consensus: Myths and social mythology as non-violent approach to texts

To prevent texts from transforming the social meaning-system in undesirable ways, those empowered to influence the public and the public text see it as their role to control any new and 'strange' texts. The control may be direct or indirect (for example, by activating mythologies). The stability of texts is secured by providing them with structure and meaning. A consensus text requires a selected story and valid

meta-narratives. Flows in the text field are arranged also by the common beliefs of the epoch and by certain, formally enforced myths which, by spreading everywhere, naturalise and eternalise themselves.

Myths are either authoritative, specific discourses that draw on key symbols and basic metaphors around them. They point to, as well as develop, signs that are part of the basic layers of culture. They give answers to fundamental questions of human existence.

There are various approaches to the study of myth. Claude Lévi-Strauss, researching natural myths, considered rituals as part of life. Roland Barthes has studied mythologies as ideological constructions (Barthes 1957). A new form of mythologizing is growing ever more prevalent: Public relations (PR) produces new myths every day, casting aside the old ones. In this study, I understand myth and mythology as a mode of mental construction in society for holding in place the meaning-system. I study myths as social constructions (Barthes) whose influence and effect has been taken as natural and self-evident (Lévi-Strauss). I study how myths whose reception was planned as 'natural' have been constructed to relate to a certain 'reality' (Ch. 3).

Social myths are essential as a store of concentrated ideas of all societies and a symbolic level supporting the structure of the system. In turn, social structures support social myths thus guaranteeing their own existence. One of the important parts of a social structure is journalism (the mass media). Professional journalism proceeds from relevant reality, verbalising it, analysing it, and studying its tendencies and transformations (see also, Section 2.3). The basis for the system of mythologies lies in the values it mythologises (Chs. 3 and 6; Löhmus 1999a).

Sphere of Legitimate Controversy

The sphere of legitimate controversy relates to meanings dependent on potentially legitimate slots for different viewpoints, evaluations, and interpretations. The texts of this sphere exhibit a certain leeway with respect to the permissible degree of controversy. Here the essential problem appears: How to cope with the main categories 'familiar or strange', 'fact or fiction' as parts of the sphere of controversy or deviance.

The social interpretation-system may rely on natural identity - cultural determination of place, time, actor - or it may be constructed, including the sharp polarisation between familiar / strange, 'strange' being based on the logic of strange time, place, actor. Often, there are cases where familiar or strange has been normatively determined; for example, familiar = fighters, enemies = guerrillas.

Also, the concept of *fact-fiction* as cultural or political agreement in the community can be constructed or established (Giddens 1984; Anderson 1983; Hallin

1986), determining which parts of reality are to be interpreted as fiction, and which parts of the fiction are to be interpreted as reality. In the extreme version of establishing a 'subordinate' sign system, the latter is established as right, and the 'subordinated' system as 'non-existent and strange'. (This describes the position of a non-dominant culture, which really exists, but is to be construed as 'subordinate' in a closed society.)

Throughout history, struggles and victories have brought with them the establishment of successful meaning-systems. In such cases, those who have been subordinated have had to accept the language and meaning-system of the winner as being officially right. Journalists, too, must accept the aggressor's use of language.⁴

Sphere of Deviance

The sphere of deviance involves conspicuously absent elements, which in their explicit form would not be acceptable in the public text. Such elements may be derived, and their obvious and consistent absence makes them noticeable. To oppose or control the transformation of texts, the power-establishing group may direct the public text field, limit public texts, and censor them to prevent the expression of new or wrong ideas. One way to guarantee the desired, fixed quality of texts is to change them. Knowing that manipulation of the world begins with symbols that represent great change, the controllers of the meaning sphere have to reach the level of text elements (cf. Ch. 3). Control of the public text determines how and what meanings are spread, and at the same time keeps authors and authenticity in line. The public text exists as a means of control and influence.

Forms of censorship

Different strategies of directing and limiting may be used for the aforementioned three kinds of text. Influencing the meaning and import of the text by limitation may occur in two ways – *enriching* and *lessening*. The former refers to drowning the text in 'noise'; i.e., the production of meaningless text to surround the message, thereby tiring out the recipient and diffusing his or her attention. The enriching strategy may also consist in multiplying texts that typify it a certain established ideology. The negative strategy consists of prohibition or transformation of unsuitable texts (see Section 3.5; and Ch. 4, on techniques of elimination, decrease, and censorship). The negative form may appear simultaneously with the positive one, as complementing each other.

There are different forms of censorship – censorship as *institution* and censorship as *structure*, the latter functioning at a more global level. Hence, we can distinguish between censorship as a legislative institution, and as less visible, structural forms such as *visouring*, editing and self-censorship (Ch. 3).

Internal sphere of confrontation in public text: The capacity to influence the interpretation system (effect of censorship)

Within the internal sphere of confrontation there exist various tensions and controlling processes. Every text has points of tension, which result from the essence of the text and which operate at different levels: (1) Grammatical tensions arise from the chosen parts of the sentence and the connections between them. (2) Semantic tensions derive from components of the content of the text and their inner connectedness as a whole. (3) Semiotic tensions originate in the relations between the text and the *semiosis* around it, i.e., from codes and the totality of the discourse.

Thus, the text has inherent parameters, the alteration of which transforms the text itself. This kind of transformation can be used in the struggle to control the text. Struggle within the text mainly concerns its elements and processes, its inherent meanings, and its signs and codes. It is essential that the text have the potential to initiate influence. All the tensions in the text create this potential if all semantic possibilities are present. The potentiality of the text is what allows it to be used in the struggle for power and control of a society or culture.

No tension exists in unambiguous texts. With the occurrence of another idea, tension arises concerning different interpretations of the text. The struggle breaks out for different semantic interpretations of the text and the utilisation of the text as a whole. The *external problem* in the struggle takes place, for example, when two of three meanings are accepted. The *internal problem* of the struggle occurs when all the meanings of the text cannot be unambiguous and biased in only one direction, as would be the case with a linear text. The difference in meanings creates the inner tension of the text. The characteristic feature of the text is its meaningfulness.

The struggle within texts is connected to the problems of coding and decoding; what constitutes the 'real text'; the language system (codes) that operates in it; and the real thought system behind it. The more complicated the *deep-level (text) code* of the sender - code1: deep and close contact with the *context* and implicit *receiver* of the text- the greater the inner tension of the text. The more *surface-level codes* (code2) the text has, the greater its inner cross-tensions, the more divergent its internal directions. The potentialities of the text may contradict one another. Thus the influence of a strongly edited and censored text is small.

Editing and censoring of the text means submitting it to newer codes, thereby diminishing its inner power. In the tension between code1 (deep-level coding) and code 2 (surface level coding), an inner conflict in the structure of the text may come into being which appears as a weakening of the text's potentiality.

The conflicts and inner tensions between different coding features are greater, the more different codes 1 and 2 are from each other. If the sender (code 1) and the editor (code 2) happen to be the same person, this may cause internal (role) conflicts

in him or her, since the same person must be able to code dualistically (cf. Festinger 1957, on 'cognitive dissonance').

A text that is repeatedly coded cannot be complete. Additional coding transforms the text.

Surface-level codes prevent the decoding of the deep-level code, reduce the influence of the deep-level coding, and make it impossible to receive the text in its completeness. The following tendency can be noticed: the more we have contradictory surface-level codes, the greater is the destruction of the deep-level code structure. Each coding (code1, code2, etc.) separately may be carried out on an orderly basis. Yet their combined influence may produce an absolutely disorderly code or a code of unrecognisable regularity. Every code should have its structure, its key for decoding (Eco 1979; Hall 1997). Many codes together, however, do not present the necessary structure for decoding. The recipient decodes with code 1+2, which is the sum of different codes, but does not open the necessary code structure for decoding. The recipient finds it difficult to differentiate and decode the sum of the codes.

One of the most important assumptions of censorship is that it can encode the text with various supplementary codes, but for decoding there is only one code in which the sum of components does not correspond to the complexity of the component codes.

External and internal factors in Soviet communication

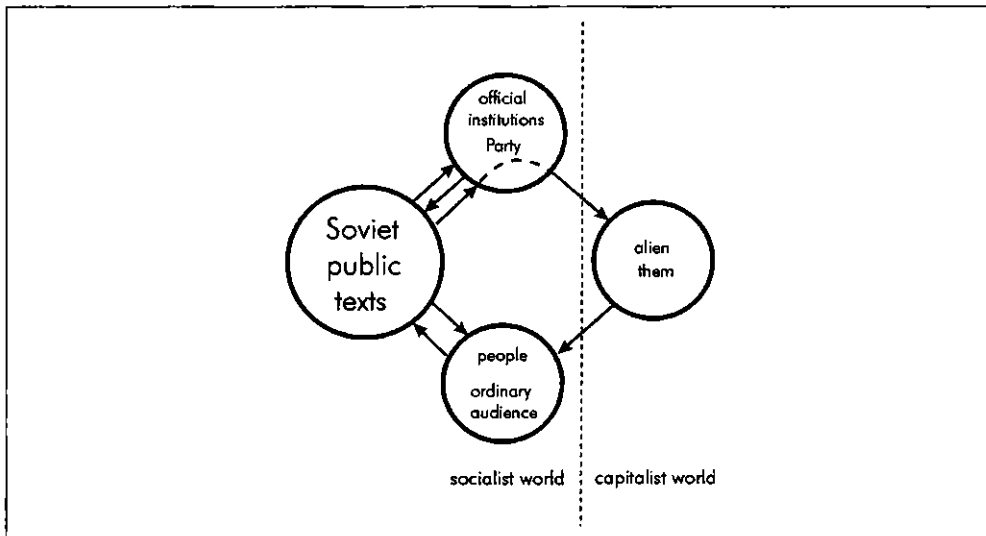
In the Soviet tradition, the use of the public word, or text, became a weapon. Thus, the language-use of the public text deployed symbols as weapons.

My approach originates from the assumption that the culture of Soviet journalism had evolved by the 1980s. Within that culture, a strong double standard existed: the primary status of the party texts (appropriately designed, canonical texts) along with the idea of journalism as the reflector and interpreter of everyday life and the organiser of the masses. Ambivalence was conditioned by the fact that, publicly, party journalism had to represent the people, for it was the people's party and acted according to the will of the people. Thus, correspondence departments, which dealt with letters from readers, held the primary position in all publications. This contact was also mediated and represented by local correspondents. The actual solutions to this contradictory requirement were concealed in the 'journalistic process' which appeared in 'journalistic editing'.⁵ The ethical imperative of journalists, which was also viewed as an important criterion of professionalism, lay in considering the interests of the audience.

During the Soviet period, the Estonian media followed all union principles.

Thus, the Soviet public-text field was influenced by various internal and external factors, the main influences of which are given in Figure 1. Internal factors existed as

different participants in the public-text field; these consisted of ordinary audience and officials and party representatives. External factors included capitalist countries. ‘They’ were perceived as imaginary enemies and forces of aggression, at which the attacking part of the text was directed. The official addressee was the ‘internal’ audience, but ‘vigilance’ required the text to launch some kind of offensive against the ‘enemies’.



Source: Lõhmus 2001©

Figure 1. Processes and confrontations in the Soviet text of the 1940s–1980s.

In the public Soviet textual field, organising principles were maintained by media institutions, which were owned by the CP (Communist Party). The working principles of those institutions were organised by the planning and control of all text flow, and editors and censors were employed for this purpose.

Similarly, the leaders in journalism were directed and controlled in making their decisions about what was ‘right’ to publish. This control was carried out at structural levels as well as through censorship (Section 3.3). In totalitarian Soviet journalism, externally correct ideology was shaped as different journalistic methods, developed over the decades and were in use in the 1970s–1980s, were used for internal and external dissemination of information and for presenting the ‘big picture’. Separate editorial offices existed, and special issues were published that presented the external ‘image’, thus creating a positive interpretation of processes (in Estonia the special newspaper – ‘*Kodumaa*’ – and radio broadcasts). Radio censorship also existed – massive jamming of foreign broadcasts so as to keep foreign information from entering the space of local information.⁶ Up to the 1990s, many of these means of control were concealed from professional media researchers, and social analysis was blocked and restricted in academe as well as in journalism. It is significant that real

social practices and processes were unknown even by Soviet researchers and that comparative social analysis, including media analysis, did not exist.

In the texts analyzed here, which date from the early 1980s, the confrontations between different ideological practices – namely, Soviet ideology and traditional Estonian culture – show up quite clearly.

2.2. Formation of the journalistic text

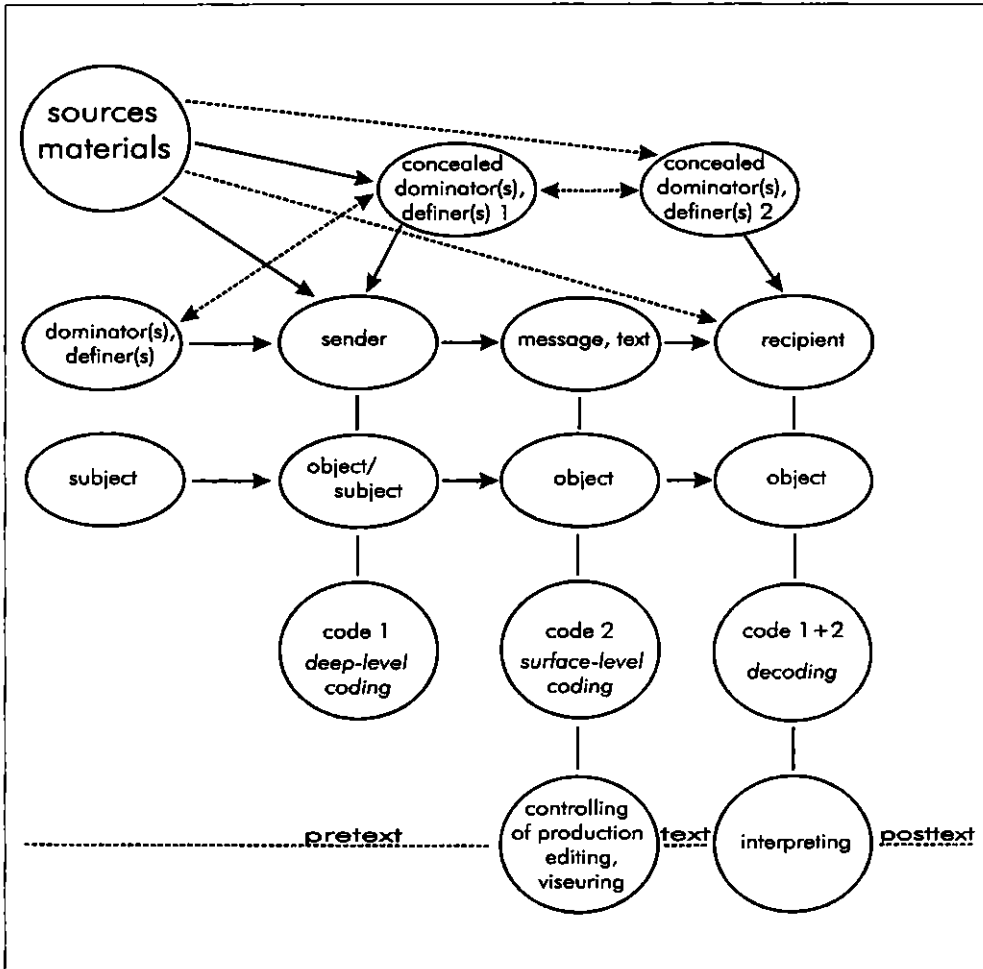
If we define journalism by its elements, it consists - as does any *authored text* - in any written, audio, or visual form that is presented to its audience as a *truthful* statement about, or record of, some *hitherto unknown* (new) feature of the *actual, social* world (McNair 1998: 4). Thus, journalism is understood as a *secondary interpretative public text*. Journalistic public texts are those spread and processed by journalistic institutions. A journalistic text is a public text that has been institutionally arranged by the media. The journalistic institution functions in the community to oversee the production of texts and, through the latter, the collective reception. The journalistic institution as a channel produces a contextual framework for meaning.⁷

Some social criticism views journalism as one of the fields wherein culture is produced in society (Bourdieu). At the same time, the ideas and myths produced by journalism affect different public fields. In addition to institution-centred analysis, there exist more critical approaches, including research into the forming and developing process of journalism as a profession, and the tracing of the development of roles in journalistic institutions. In the present book, I study how journalistic institutions intervene in the text-producing process.

Journalistic text as a process

There are different levels in the process of making and moulding the journalistic text: the level of definitions, the level of interpretations and connections, the level of context, and the level of presentation. Public text in the symbolic area of conflict passes through three stages: (1) Pre-text. (2) The text (itself). (3) Post-text.

The struggle about and for the journalistic text mainly takes place in the first stage, in the pre-text (Figure 2; also, cf. Tarasti 1996). Thus, the most important stage in the process of public text is the preliminary stage, where all the most important conflicts take place. Usually these conflicts and processes go on out of sight of the public eye. These disputes take place in the institutions and, because of this, there are no direct traces of this conflict in the public texts. It is quite hard to follow the moulding process of a public text in a society. Self-censorship, as an active influencing factor for journalists, has considerable importance. In a closed society, there are more official levels, as well: pre- and post-censorship (Ch. 3).



Source: Löhmus 1999: 54, and Löhmus 1997©

Figure 2. Relations in the media field and influences on the journalistic text.

Journalistic textual force field

Schematically, the main participants in the real and symbolic media field are as follows:

1. *Dominators*, or *definers*, overt and hidden, who wish to make sure that their ideas reach the public through the journalistic text. The definer may be someone who makes the most important decisions, determines principles of publication, or decides the general textual framework and its flow.

2. *Concealed dominator(s) 1* represent (independent) attitudes toward other definers, materials and topics, and influence the sender of the material. In this role are influence-makers with whom the active participants in the process identify themselves or whom they consider when making their own decisions.

3. *Sources and materials* as resources exist independently of the participants in the public field and of the power arenas themselves. The main struggle takes place over how to code these sources and materials at the stage of the pre-text.

4. *The sender* codes the material and sources in some way (independent, influenced), using the journalistic message. In this complicated semiotic situation, the central role is played by the author, who him-/herself becomes a separate sign (and code) in the field of texts. Senders can be overt or concealed definers, authors, interpreters or editors.

Depending on the society, environment, publication, sender or author, the coding may take place only once (code1), since it is the deep level coding.

To this basic coding the media can, however, add extra coding (code2), which in essence is a surface level code. In a closed society, such an appearance has been called 'the front line'; journalists, the senders of the texts, have been referred to as the 'soldiers of the ideological front'.

5. *The message, or text*, is both a result and an instrument of struggle (text as institution; text as instrument). It contains some manner of thinking that has been coded in a specific way. The journalistic text can be very effective in advocating different social interests. It is both the means of influencing and also the object of the struggle for influence. Texts in the public field require symbolic meaning as the representatives of corresponding discourses. The appearance of one or another text assures that one or another discourse has emerged in society.

6. *The recipients* are those under submission, who turn to journalism in need of communication and who are exposed to the power of journalistic texts. In the process of decoding texts, they often cannot distinguish the different structures in the code.

7. *Concealed dominator(s) or definer(s)* represent other (independent) attitudes towards the definers, materials and topics, and journalistic messages. They, too, influence those under submission.

The journalistic process, which entails several roles (such as those of journalist and producer), has become a part of the journalism industry.⁸ The rules have been worked out and new employees learn and accept them quickly, since that is the prerequisite for getting and keeping their posts.⁹ The desire for power, as evidenced by interest groups that can influence journalistic processes and trends, spreads beyond the limits of *semiosis* and becomes an international problem. This is an intertextual problem, such that editors (producers) are treated as having the key role in creating or influencing public texts.¹⁰ Jeremy Tunstall has drawn this conclusion concerning the BBC: 'This chapter has suggested that in terms of power within British broadcasting, communicators (producers) come first, then trade unions, then businessmen, then the 'public' amateurs – the BBC governors and IBA members'... (Tunstall 1983: 216). The subjects of journalistic *autonomy* are the editors. Their independence to be 'free' and dependence on being 'human' decides the real existence of 'autonomy' at every moment. The dependence or independence of editors means that manifested

autonomy may not exist, or that the non-autonomous may have greater inner freedom. Thus, journalistic autonomy may appear to exist, but in fact does not, because of various restrictions; this autonomy may not be fixed officially or manifested as non-existing. The editors develop autonomy, 'which may be defined as simultaneous achievement of legitimacy and behavioural independence from the source system' (Donohue *et al.* 1972: 62).¹¹

The journalistic text as an 'active text' is a social phenomenon. The journalistic text positions itself in the realm of conscious intentional acts. At the same time, something in the text may remain unconscious. In editing, the question of the journalistic text occurs most clearly. We must consider carefully whether what is to be expressed coincides with what *is* in fact expressed in the end. Or is the semiosis such that the text carries something 'unconsciously', as it were.

The public text expresses the conscious as well as unconscious activities of interested groups. Journalists do not always recognise in whose sphere of domination they are working.

Another issue of controversy in journalistic texts is the degree of overlap between the *author* and the *subject*. If the author is not mentioned, then who is the author? In the journalistic field, there are both media texts (publicity and other anonymous writings) and journalism. Although the existence and representation of the author is an important component in interpreting texts, the real representation of public texts may remain hidden for various reasons; either that, or they are re-contextualised. The text does not actually belong to the people presenting it via focalisation, voice, speech representation, and so on (Rimmon-Kenan 1983; Ridell 1998; Tammi 1992). An opaque area of journalistic texts is that of the so-called *ghost writer*. In this area, unidentified (anonymous) texts are crafted with the help of a 'dictor', thus creating the illusion of objectivity and journalistic continuity (Table 1).

On the other hand, the *author* can be construed as an individual such as ourselves, for whom language is an important part of individual identity and private experience. Yet, the author also seems to exist 'out there' as a public entity. Individually, we have limited control over its structure and workings.

Two essential questions arise in connection with the relationship of an individual's own language and the construction created by the community. Through language we share sociality, which is embodied both in the individual and in the public sphere. We can control our 'expressions and meanings' in the field of shared publicity to ensure our identity and conscious activities, but we cannot control our language that has been given to the public and that passes through institutional stages. In these stages, the text can be transformed, or it can be put into a context different from the one that the author has wished for and which is not connected with his or her identity (cf. Graddol 1994: 1; Löhmus 1996). In any case, even if the author's text has not been transformed, its public performance adds extra layers of meaning to the author and his identity, or transforms the role of the performer of the public text.

Affected by the media, the individual's text may not be recognisable as such, but it is still presented as the individual's. The fact that it reaches the public community has a certain value and is considered an achievement in itself. Thus we may ask, Does the journalistic text consider the individuality of the author, or has the author just been used in the interest of the process or material?

Table 1. Occurrence of different types of authorised texts as public texts in Soviet journalism in the 1950s–1980s.

Author	Text	Official, institutionalised text	Unofficial text
Author does not exist		Anonymous text, including objective texts, opinion-writings	The author's representation in the journalistic text has been deleted: the text is presented by a 'dictor' or editor
Author exists		Formal, authorised text or personalised formal text (e.g., that of the - Party)	Journalistic authorised text

Source: Löhmus 2001©

The constant activity of journalism in turn influences social interpretations, bringing 'the new' into common use. (Radio and the Internet are very quick means of generating 'the new'.) The new, as indicator of everything previously existing, may trigger a fight in the establishment and can also be studied as a sign in the community.

The new can be presented in the news, but it can also be presented in myths, critiques, and other genres constructed by experts, veterans, journalists, and so on. These genres carry information, and the persons responsible for them act as the society's *legitimate translator* and *interpreter* (Katz). To access communication is itself to make a choice, a selecting and isolating process. In reality, *'accessed voices'* (Hartley) are the views and styles of a privileged body of politicians, civil servants, directors, managers, experts of various kinds (doctors, architects, accountants, professors), royals and nobles, stars, etc. Access is a reciprocal relationship between such people and the media. 'Accessed voices' may also be determined by point of view, by whether or not they belong to the Party, or by other categories (on the 'imbalance of access', see Halliday, in Fowler 1991: 22).

The role of editor is a controversial one. Sometimes the 'editor' constitutes the official, cultivated 'leadership' in the texts, such that he has an active and authoritative influence over the other group members (cf. 'two step flow', in Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955). Journalists, as 'leaders', are to be trusted and reliable, and among the citizenry they form various 'groups' who understand things in a certain way. 'By (re) producing symbols familiar to their audience, reporters and editors proclaim the "preferred reading" of a text,' writes Tuchman in her study of editing practices (1991: 90). Such a view implicitly supposes that 'preferred reading' gives journalists and editors the opportunity to express themselves precisely.

The role of the editor may be viewed otherwise. For example, Kunelius (1996: 127) speaks about dependency: 'the narrative voice of journalism merely repeats the

utterances of the sources'. Are the sources 'controlled' or 'free'? What kind of inner autonomy do journalists have? These processes vary in different societies. For example, there may be situations where the author/editor has to hide his sources because they are not legitimate or are not favoured. On the other hand, there are situations, reported by those involved in them and discussed in theoretical studies, of editors in a closed system, wherein 'preferred reading' is the ideal of censors and controls. In this case, the ideal toward which the alteration of texts aims goes under the names of both 'editing' and 'censorship' (Löhmus 1996). Professional authors/editors have made texts more complicated by inserting additional meanings, which go unnoticed at first sight (by the simple or naive reader) but which can be decoded by the more intelligent or sophisticated receiver. Editing may have a dual role: editing₁ may operate as resistance to the human world; and/or editing₂ may consist of censorship, such as eliminating elements from a 'resistance text' or 'project text' and assuring the dominance of a 'legitimising text'. (See also, note 3; Figure 2; code 2.)¹²

2.3. Textual intervention and textual transformation

I use the term *textual intervention* to denote the purposeful transformations of meaning in an author's text, when the text is processed in the journalistic situation. *Internal* textual intervention refers to the process of institutional interference in the public text. It is the refocusing, restructuring, recontextualising, and refunctioning of the public text, carried out at the controlling (censoring, *visouring*) stage after the completion of the text by journalists-editors. This kind of intervention is not connected with the internal meaning of the text. The concept of textual intervention covers the transformation of texts, a certain kind of editing (editing₂), *visouring*, censorship, and banning. *External* textual intervention involves such cases as when an internal, official institution, which is stable, significant and efficient, is attacked and invaded by alien, external texts. To indicate the change of meaning of texts, I use the concept of *transformation*, which denotes the change of a specific meaning into one that is different from the original meaning.

Textual intervention originates in the overall context, and its aim is to influence the context in a certain way through the meaning of the text. The influencing of context through text calls for different forms of textual intervention; these may be directly institutional, 'hard' forms (such as censorship), but they are mostly convention-based, 'soft' forms of intervention. 'Hard' forms of intervention are the elimination and destruction of text. 'Soft' forms act by modifying various details – modality, narrative, actors, etc. – in order to transform the text. The most effective forms of intervention are a combination of hard and soft. How, though, do they influence one's thinking? Do textual intervention and textual transformation really transform one's understanding?

Language in public texts is a part of the social process. Through language and the use of language *reality becomes social*; that is, it acquires social meaning (cf. Jensen 1991: 19). Many theorists have argued that texts encode not only ideas, but also social identities, social relations, and wider ideologies. Is it possible to direct and influence those identities, relations, and ideologies by means of language-use in texts?

Textuality pervades the world and the events therein, conquers them and bringing them under control by means of language. The relation between language and thinking has been variously expressed by theoreticians:

'Languages are systems of categories and rules based on fundamental principles and assumptions about the world. These principles and assumptions are not related to or determined by thought: they are thought'. (Kress and Hodge 1988: 5)

Or:

'The relation of thought to word is not a thing but a process, a continual movement back and forth from thought to word and from word to thought. ... Thought is not merely expressed in words, it comes into existence through them'. (Vygotski 1979: 125)

Something that does not change is the basis of a language, its pre-thinking or pre-linguistic stage, even if the society and official norms do change. Vygotski makes this connection between thought and speech:

'Thought and speech have different genetic roots.... The two functions develop along different lines and independently of each other.... There is no clear-cut and constant correlation between them.... In the phylogeny of thought and speech, a pre-linguistic phase in the development of thought and a pre-intellectual phase in the development of speech are clearly discernible.' (ibid.: 41)

The statement above prompts several questions. Does it mean that we can speak of language as 'codes' and 'phases' that constitute some kind of universal, 'pre-social' phase of language-use? If thinking and socially normative meaning are correlated by one's experience, then how is it expressed by language usage? Or can a situation exist such that meanings and the language used differ from each other? Would this situation signify a new stage in the 'socialisation' of the person? Or is this a problem of the usage of social language?

Whatever the case, it is important to understand the public text, which serves as the 'code' for its context (society). If the 'various points of view' are not in the text but are spread and diffused in the society 'as text' they are, as 'co-text', taken along with the 'reading and comparable process' to discount the bias and see through to the truth. 'But people are not in general trained to see through the veils of media representation' (Fowler 1991: 10). It is interesting to compare 'the trained quality to see through the veils of media representation' to Vihalemm's research from the 1980s in Soviet Estonia. Vihalemm argued that the art of reading critically was dominant in the totalitarian system. According to Vihalemm (1999), media consumption patterns

of the 1970s and 1980s could be described in terms of two dimensions: critical vs. a non-critical attitude towards the media content, and activeness vs. passivity of media consumption. The results were that pattern A (active-critical) was 40% and pattern C (critical-passive) 30%, which leads us to assume that about 70% of media-use was in some way critical in that closed totalitarian society.

The function of language is to express meaning and to serve as a social integrator. Can it also be that negativity, just because it is expressed, may turn into positivity? Or is negative assessment, when repeated constantly, 'acquired', or does it become positive in protest? If it is so, then it draws the function of the public text near to that of psychoanalysis, where the method of speaking of 'unfavourable things as stories' has a stronger capacity to cure social ills, and does not depend on whether the text is positive or negative in its essence (cf. Hodge and Kress 1988: 24). Language and the public text include the phenomenon of collective therapy. Thus, the media have a socio-medical function, a kind of "*sociatry*", such that, through its texts, it makes events seem palatable and controllable (ibid.: 145). Problems of balance and hysteria exist in the public text. Fowler points out that, through emotionality, Western journalism broadens and creates problems. 'In using the word "hysterical" (press hysteria), I am in a position to claim that the level of public alarm was out of proportion to the level of medical risk and actual illness' (Fowler 1991: 147). My view is that by journalistic means there has been a production of both positive mass-hysteria texts, as expressed in descriptions of campaigns and the like, and negative mass-hysteria texts, which have often been concerned with 'enemies' to foreign policy. Indeed, historical practice has repeatedly proved that the public text may hold real force in directing social emotions and reactions of the masses. At the same time, real problems may remain hidden and/or be silenced by the force of censorship in the process of the production of the public text. Planning and directing the textual content depends on the functions the text have to serve.

2.4. Meaning of functions, the function of the meaning

Different societies have different mechanisms for influencing public texts. Open societies may have more factors for influencing and establishing the public. In contrast, a society may have few open or public-influencing factors, in which case the possibilities of influencing others are limited (as in a totalitarian, closed society), in which case there may be more indirect or concealed mechanisms for influencing society through the media.

From one point of view, I see the public text as a certain contextualised representation of the community. The continuation of the structure and functions of the community in the text is structurally and indexically linked to the other structures and activities of society, representing both the real and symbolic activities of the latter.

The public text functions are different, depending on the type of society. Controlling links may exist between the texts and persons. Depending on the social definition of the phenomena, the text may also be a means of repression, terror and violence. For example, representing the 'wrong' text in the community may, in reality, cause the elimination of a person. The public text can influence status as well. It may be a resource and instrument for sustaining a certain stable identity and status. In the totalitarian situation, access to the public text carries the most important symbolic and real meaning, being a sign of existing preferences and changes in them, and therefore an important role is played by those who can get at the content of the message. Text is a symbolic act of existence. The person who has access to the field of public texts is privileged.

Depending on the type of society - traditional society, modern society seen as an interpersonal community, modern society seen as a mass phenomenon, post-modern society, and so on - communication follows different patterns of influence in order to achieve its aims (Castells 1997: 6–8; Tehranian 1995).¹³ According to Lasswell and Schramm, the implicit controversy of social and individual functions has been fixed. Harold Lasswell's catalogue (Lasswell 1948: 37–51) of the functions of social communication – *surveillance, consensus, socialisation* – looks at them from the viewpoint of society, as contrasted with that of individuals. The same contrastive basis appears in Schramm's objectives of communication: to inform and understand, to teach and learn, to please or enjoy, propose or persuade, dispose or decide (Schramm 1972: 20; and Section 6.2.4, below). Both of the approaches just described, as well as subsequent treatments of communication functions, lack any direct focus on transformation. Yet, in the case of 'surveillance' (Lasswell) as well as that of 'inform–understand' (Schramm), it is important to know and determine how these activities correlate with the transfer of culture (i.e., the context in which they occur). Theoretically, certain functions have long been viewed as stable; functional *transformations* in the communicational process (in one text) have not been studied.

Lasswell, Schramm, and other communication researchers focus on the communicational function; the text is the means in the communication process, the transmitter of the communication function. Text, acting as a means in the process, becomes a bearer of the function. From another point of view, research in structural and semiotic functions takes certain texts as its object – not just the functions themselves - and these texts have certain functions. These theories regard community as the context of the text (Bühler 1934; Jakobson 1960). Even Jakobson's model lacks the separate determination of textual transformation and thus also of the transformation of meaning; the functions of the roles of participants have been determined more precisely. The model enables a comparative examination of textual transformation and the transformation of its function – as two different *texts*.

In my approach, the text which has meaning has a certain function. The meaning transfers a certain function, which has been revealed in its *context* and

through that context. Because the text influences its context, its most general function is to stabilise or to change that context, which proves that corresponding functions of the meaning exist in the reality process. Complicated reciprocal relations exist between meaning and functions. Does the stable and unchangeable text warrant the stable situation? Do the dynamic meanings in certain circumstances warrant stability? Is there a dynamic meaning-process for influencing the processes of change in reality? If a public text has been transformed, what is the influence and function of the transformation?

In this study I have conceptualised the field of the meaning of the function of text and textual transformation on four different levels: social, individual, textual, and communicational (Ch. 8). The need for such organisation arose when, during the analysis of empirical material, it became necessary to classify and define such obvious and clear-cut transformations of meaning and functions. The four above types appeared to be the ones most logically consistent with my data.

Studying textual transformation, we inevitably have to study the function of the transformation of the meaning of the text and the substitutions of meaning carried out in the text. In turn, the function of the transformation of meaning is more properly the field of the study of the community in terms of its structure and function.

The study of textual transformations may be useful for raising and answering broader social questions. Specifically, the intervention of textual transformation is important for determining whether certain functions have been eliminated or created, because we are dealing with the *social orchestration of contexts*. In the latter process, some suitable voices are brought to the forefront in the context, and the others are directed into the background, where their voices can be muted or silenced altogether. Therefore, their functions seem to be negligible; but they do not lose their value as 'textual material', because authentic-sincere material in broadcasts is a value in itself and has been used as such. In such a case, both the focus and the functions of the text have been transformed.

Notes to Chapter II

¹ In this study, I use the concept of 'text' in the sense of organised discourse intended for realising communication and concepts. A tension exists between the more static, structuralist–formalist view of textual systems, and a more dynamic, post–structuralist (Barthesian–Kristevan) view of text as productivity and (Metz's) 'displacement'; these are not conflicting but complementary phenomena. In this study, I draw on the following definitions of 'text': Kristeva's concepts of 'genotext–phenotext' (discussed in her book, *Revolution in Poetic Language*); Metz's concept of text 'as the process which displaces codes, deforming each of them by the presence of the others (1974: 103); Lotman's (1967 and 1984) concept of 'the culture as the text' and his notions of 'grammar-oriented' and 'text-oriented' cultures; on the conception of text as what people actually do, mean, and say in real situations, i.e., as actualised potential (Halliday 1978: 40); 'text-competence and text performance; text as a macro-unit, ruled by particular generative rules, in which sometimes the very notion of "sign" – as an elementary semiotic unit – is practically annihilated' (Eco 1976: 12); and formal text–treatment with verbal (rhetorical), syntactic (narrative), and semantic (thematic issues and the basis for the textual analysis), all these being aspects of internal system (Cf. Ducrot and Todorov 1972/1981: 294). In any theory of sign production, we must speak about a theory of codes, 'code' being the internal system of rules as a means by which one understands the message(s) in the text (cf. Eco 1976: 57).

² It is typical in studies of public text to connect journalism and communication studies and to define their reciprocity, as Kunelius, for example, has done: '*Hence, defining journalism from the sphere of production – in my view – is incomplete without a strong reference to the texts. This is because journalism only becomes socially meaningful through its texts. Without the public nature of this or that kind of knowledge, but only through its public texts does it become journalism. This is the reason why this book focuses on texts and sees other branches of journalism research as potential ways of discussing texts*' (Kunelius 1996: 375).

³ Castells proposes three possible ways of identity construction: legitimising identity, resistance identity, and project identity (Castells 1997: 6–8).

⁴ Therborn's notion of 'identification with the aggressor' is an apt description of colonised Estonian journalism (lecture by Therborn at Tartu University 15.5.2000; see also, Section 3.2).

⁵ In practical journalism, the conciliator of such contradictory objectives was the *editor (producer)* who had to take into consideration the conflicting representations (as well as the auditing of the corresponding audience). Such a position involved being simultaneously the censoring editor, who represented the party apparatus and followed its instructions, and the trusted professional, representing the audience (cf. Festinger 1957 on 'cognitive dissonance').

⁶ Starting in February 1948, radio wave control eventually developed into the greatest jamming network in the world. More than 3,000 jamming transmitters were in operation in the USSR, with a total capacity of over 600,000 kW (see Pleikys 2000: 13).

⁷ The role assigned to the mass media in the Scandinavian democratic model consists of three main political tasks:

1. The mass media convey *information* on questions of political importance.
2. The mass media serve as a *forum* for opinion and debate on community questions.
3. The mass media act as independent *scrutineers and commentators* on what is happening in politics. (Nordahl Svendsen, Weibull 1977: 12)

⁸ To understand the nature of a *journalistic text*, we must know its context and background as well as the process of its generation and influences on it, including the editing of public texts as a process, thus drawing a diachronic picture of agents in the pre-text. Historically, the circle of those who make the decisions has been formed in different ways, and came together especially quickly in the sphere of the electronic media in the twentieth century. There have been different structural roles as intermediate steps:

- Author-centred texts in which the author performs dominantly.
- News reader / anchor and the author who works with the ‘helping co-coordinator’ editor. Shared text roles between structuring functions and *anchor* and between content functions and *authors*. The role of ‘helping and communicating editor’ may vary in content.
- The process becomes technically more complex, as different presentation frames are added – newsreaders, reporters, editors, authors, and above all the so-called *invisible roles*. To the above were added hidden co-functions and sub-functions. Complex structures developed in the 1980s, after which a simplifying trend took place.

⁹ In different societies, the nature of the process may vary in details; also, the activity or its stages may be referred to by different terms. For example, the practices of public text may be spoken of variously. Renaming ‘control’ is the usual practice in radio in different societies. Hence, the control of meanings has been renamed ‘the room of interpretations’ in BBC World Service (1997) or in Estonian Radio during the Soviet time, ‘*visearing*’. No matter what it is called, ‘interpretation’ as ‘control of meanings’ is generally ‘censorial editing’ (cf. Löhmus 1999). To ‘soften’ the description of the situation, we might say that, in the end, there is no censorship in journalism; rather, there is only control over the text’s agreement with the established norms and/or ideological mythology (Löhmus 1999).

¹⁰ We can observe good examples in everyday life as to how different journalists approach the question of the nature of phenomena. Often the normative and creative/analytical aspects have different dispositions and views towards the acting processes. Typical of them is, for example, a meeting between Russian and Finnish leaders, in which case different ‘autonomous levels between the state and journalism’ (Nordenstreng) are quite clear:

– ‘*Pyydän erityisesti suomalaisia toimittajia: ottakaa pois aluekysymys sivuiltanne ja televisiosta. Tässä me (presidentit) tapaamme jälleen. Sovimme jälleen kerran: meillä ei ole toisillemme aluevaatimuksia eikä tule*’, Jeltsin sanoi. Hän oli kutsunut toimittajat torstaiaamuna ennalta annetusta ohjelmasta poiketen kuuntelemaan presidenttien kahdenvälisiä neuvotteluja.

Presidentti Martti Ahtisaari ei kommentoinut aluekysymyksiä presidenttien puhuessa toimittajille. Myöhemmin päivällä hän teki kuitenkin selväksi, että Suomessa kansalaisilla on oikeus puhua, mistä tahtovat. ‘Minä olen viimeinen henkilö kieltämään kansalaisilta tällaisia keskusteluja’, Ahtisaari sanoi suomalaisille toimittajille. (HS 28.11.97)

I would ask the Finnish press in particular to withdraw the regional topics from your

pages. Here we [the Presidents] meet again. We are in full agreement about not having any territorial demands in regard to one another, and neither will there be any, Yeltsin said. He had invited journalists to listen to the negotiations between the two presidents. President Ahtisaari did not comment on the territorial issues when giving a press conference. Later in the day he made clear, however, that Finnish citizens are free to discuss whatever they wish. 'I am the last one to deny anyone such discussions', Ahtisaari told the Finnish journalists/editors.'

Who asks whom? Media focuses directly or indirectly on the problem of power and control.

¹¹ There has always existed an ambiguous connection between society and journalism which can be described as the '*autonomy*' of journalism. The definition of the role of the press in society contains internal contradictions, no matter what kind of society and journalism we are dealing with. For example, some functions of the press in authoritarian and liberal societies are different (Siebert and Peterson 1956). A more dynamic treatment of the issue is possible on the basis of paradigmatic typification. According to Nordenstreng (1997: 60), there are five paradigms: 'liberal-individualist', 'social responsibility', 'critical', 'administrative', and 'cultural negotiation'. In a post-modern society, several paradigms may exist simultaneously. Dynamics can be added to the treatment by analysis of the elements of the paradigm, which is based on the autonomy of the media in society (ibid.). Here, the 'collaborative', 'surveillance', 'facilitative' and 'critical/ dialectical' roles are differentiated. However, it is natural that autonomisation of the media is changing, as is post-modern society (Jakubowicz 1995: 77). Vihalemm (1997: 199) advances a similar idea from the viewpoint of the cognitive theory of society, suggesting that the 'mythological', 'ideological' and 'critical-rational' stages are parts of the social process wherein the press fulfils different functions.

¹² Editing journalistic texts may be different in nature, different examples being the common, everyday intervention of text (studied by Bell, who concentrated on the corrections made to foreign news items) and the inciting and organisation of 'contagious' social hysteria (as in Fowler's treatment of EGGs texts). The nature of the text flow can also be studied and determined (Bad news, Glasgow Media Group).

¹³ The structural levels of the public text are connected to various functions. There may appear to be more than one, and in fact, many functions in a single text. These levels, or more explicitly, direct functions of the public texts (both on micro and macro levels) can be defined as:

- the level of creating and preserving (collective) identity;
- the level of organising (social) knowledge and values;
- the level of action.

CHAPTER III

Historical and conceptual perspectives on Soviet totalitarian communication

In this chapter I examine Soviet journalism. I explain the norms and demands of a new type of journalism, which led to a situation in which 'the mythological unity of connecting ideology and reality was broken at the beginning of the 1990s and the realistic consciousness of reality did not replace stereotypes' (Zassurski 1999: 6). One of the most essential conveyors of this 'mythological reality' was the interpretative journalistic text. I examine the early norms and forms of totalitarian communication in its social context, the development of control and censorship, the role of decrees and bans and, above all, of journalistic editing under these conditions. The purpose is to set the context necessary for understanding media processes in Estonia and to provide a communication perspective on totalitarian journalism. I focus on journalistic editing in Estonian Radio (ER) between 1980–1985, in order to present a critical overview of the repressive editing process in its context. In doing so, I take into account factors and influences that until now usually have not been considered by analysts of journalism.

3.1. Philosophical-political basis of journalism: A new type of communication

In the Soviet system, journalism was regarded as the focal point of political life, since it was necessary for shaping the workers' class-consciousness in defence of Party ideology. Journalism became the establisher of the norms of the new society, the shaping factor of the *new (collective) identity*. According to Lenin, journalism had to be, and in fact was, 'not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, but also a collective organiser'. We thus investigate the aims and means of organising the collectives.¹

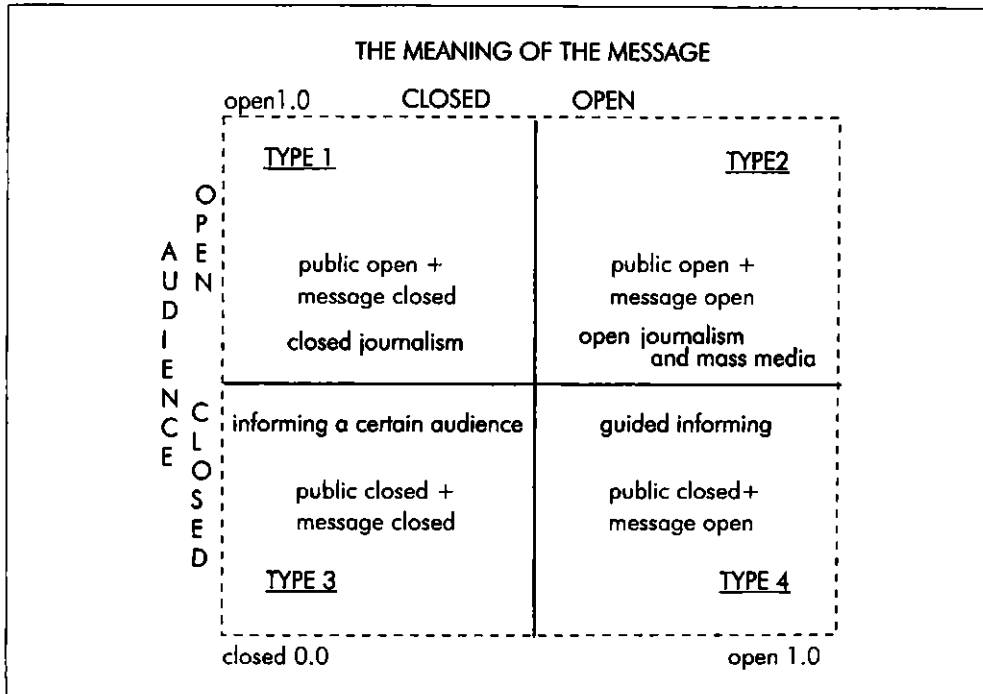
Journalism actively participated in total, legalised repression. As an organiser of legalised aggression and terror, journalism produced texts whose practical results

could destroy both individuals and groups (ethnic, religious, etc.). Lenin determined that the role of a *legal repressive institution*, which operated by something like a 'lynch law', was 'to reveal the unfavourable elements in the media': 'we are not having a ruthless, real, revolutionary war against the particular carriers of the vices'. The demands set for journalism were not possible to fulfil in a humane way, and the revolution paid no attention to such niceties, which would have been seen as a contemptible weakness. Journalism received the power to punish individuals in the name of general ideas. Exposing an individual to the 'court of the masses' of the journalistic public (28.4.1918, *Pravda* no. 83) was an influential and legitimate method of communicating with large groups of people. Moreover, in the realisation of power there was no need to worry about human error: 'Even if there were 10,000 mistakes per every right deed, our revolution would still be great and invincible and so it will always remain in the eyes of world history' (Lenin, 20.9.1918, *Pravda* no. 202). Journalism conjoined the *macro-* and *microlevels*, the most important of which was the former. The microlevel produced material for presentation on the macrolevel. The microlevel had to be directed and controlled in order to keep the macrolevel functioning. The character of 'power' was based on control of the structural functioning of the mediated idea. Thus, *power* and *control* were implemented through a concept that divided the world and phenomena into right and wrong, good and bad, familiar and strange as a form of control, such that loyalty to the presented world model indicated corporate trust of key individuals. Since there was no separation of power, the state being controlled by a single party, the allowed publications were also spokespersons for the Party.

The communicative space, in terms of its direction, circulation and actualised elements, was characterised by auto-communication (Eco, Lotman, Wiiio) and dominated by a strongly polarising model that divided the world into 'us, progressive, new, free' and 'them, old, dispersing, capitalistic'. In order to establish these constructions, the communicative space was totally closed to other forms of communication and social experience (Figures 1 and 3).

The dichotomy open / closed is, of course, too general to cover all the issues in journalism. Still, the given polarity allows us to notice the following: (a) Although Soviet journalism as a whole generally belonged to Type 1, chances existed for 'opening' the message under certain conditions (as in Type 2 by means of Type 4), by using the possibilities offered by cultural determination and linguistics (e.g., language play, figures, metaphors, etc.); the latter created openness in many contexts, along with the possibility for various interpretations.

(b) In the Soviet system as a whole, all four types of communication were represented. The only question was regarding the participants in these types and the levels of democracy involved at each level.



Source: Wiio 1984: 186 and Löhmus 2001 ©

Figure 3. Open and closed communication in the Soviet system.

According to the given Figure, communication in the Soviet system could be divided into the following:

Type 1 – general mass media, from its inception until the 1980s;

Type 2 – general political information about the ordering of everyday affairs, some accidental happenings (general analysis only) in the media, and politically attractive anniversaries, with special normative public speeches by the chief-secretary of the CP CC;

Type 3 – the (apparent) struggle for power inside the Party (not covered openly by journalists);

Type 4 – for example, information dispersal to journalism by the Party or the government; relationships between periodicals and the KGB (GPU; NKVD); links between the KGB and the Party, the participants of which could be involved in a tacit agreement.

Soviet journalism was like a body with two circulatory systems – the small one for Party journalists and the large one for all the people. Journalism served as the ‘heart’ of the general propaganda system. The system was closed, due to the absence of choice between different channels and contents.

Ideology manipulated social reality, and this determined the specific use of language (Vlassov 1971: 100). Ideological use of language presented the probable as

the real. Thus, the journalistic usage of language was different from that of the real world. This issue - the relationship between reality and fiction in public texts - must be approached via context, that is, by explanations of the mythological system presented in the texts (Section 3.2.1). The view of imaginary reality as actual, real 'reality', as seen by those in established positions, changed and reconstructed the balance between 'real and fictional', such that the 'meanings' and the realities exchanged places. Imaginary, virtual phenomena became the reality in the public text, and perceived problems were viewed as 'fiction' or 'abstraction'. The shared, *new virtual reality* served as a loyalty test or control system for those participating in and influencing social processes. For a person who knew the ideological context, the inner nuances of the public text were especially significant, since they determined the levels of fiction and their mythical presentation in texts.

The other important feature was that the real *normative level and the critical level* did not connect. This meant that, on one hand, it was not possible to criticise problems presented on the normative level and, on the other hand, that critical journalism did not have access to other kinds of journalism. The goal was to support the so-called 'revolutionary spirit', whose aim was to isolate and eliminate people as they currently existed, turning them into a new type of human being. This goal also continued in journalism during 'peace time', as a permanent textual war having great directive potential. Journalism worked as an ideological organiser that produced real consequences.

3.2. New limitations for communicative space: Journalism at the forefront, as the tool for creating a new type of human

Lenin's doctrine of journalism had external and internal directions, and these were based on two main views. The external direction 'informed' the world and other states about new victories on the political front. The internal direction defined revolution and established the power of the working class. This direction had to be sustained in journalistic texts, as a means of observing and directing social processes, and of continuing the revolution. Structural transformations, with their influence and control over the conscience of individuals, were thus a revolution in consciousness.²

Lenin's texts were characterised by political demands and by a 'taken-for-granted' effect. He usually taught how to channel the interests of the text away from external spheres, and toward internal ones:

'Too little space is given to the establishment of the new life - to the new facts about it. Why not use 10-20 lines instead of 200-400 to talk about such simple, common, clear, phenomena already understandable to most people, such as the mean treachery of the Mensheviks as the henchmen of the bourgeoisie, the

English–Japanese war as meant to re–establish the holy rights of capital, the fury of the American multimillionaires against Germany, etc.? We have to talk about it, to name every new fact in this field; but there is no need to write articles and repeat discussions, just to condemn in a few lines, in the style of a telegram, these new phenomena that manifest the old, already known, and evaluated politics.’ (Lenin 20.9.1918).

The quotation shows that the new system of signifier / signified in the Soviet public text had been established and that is needed new examples for its affirmation (‘these new phenomena that manifest the old, already known, and evaluated policies’). The establishment of the new signifier / signified system should be pointed out and ritualised (‘there is no need to write articles and repeat discussions’).

Lenin expected journalistic texts to be simple and easy to understand: ‘less intelligent discussions [are] nearer to life. More attention should be paid to the hosts of workers and peasants building something really new in their everyday life. More control [is needed] over whether this newness is Communist.’ (Lenin, on the character of our newspapers, *Pravda* no. 262, 20.9.1918). Lenin determined control to be the central function of journalism, and thus a function of power. ‘More control over whether this new feature is Communist’ meant that journalism was to control the correctness of meanings and to help maintain the established meaning system. The situation of permanent revolutionary action was connected to power and had little to do with natural culture, the cultural environment, natural environment, and memory. Such revolutionary permanence opposed itself sharply to the history of humanism, and instead shaped a specific environment and identity (Castells 1997, II: 8). In a text on the need to overcome the social methods of bourgeoisie decadence, Lenin emphasises the need to remember: ‘We can’t have the fight of classes as it was had by the bourgeoisie. Remember how it attacked in journalism the enemies of the class, how it condemned them, destroyed them. But what are we doing?’ (Lenin, *Pravda* 262.20.9.1918, on the character of our newspapers)³

Lenin used journalism both as a political weapon and as the centre of political organisation. Through journalistic texts the conduct of the masses was directed, their world-view and evaluations shaped. This explains why there could be no freedom of the press:

‘The bourgeoisie (of the whole world) is stronger than we are - much stronger. To give it such a weapon as the freedom of political organisation (freedom of press, *because journalism is the centre and basis of political organisation*) means helping our class enemy. We do not want to commit suicide, and we shall not’. (1921.1. Myasnikov)

The theme of ‘suicide’ is closely connected to the fight for power as being the establishment of censorship and the control of journalism.

The journalistic text was made stronger by the right staff. ‘Cadres [the workers] determine everything’; i.e., you have to find the right people, this being the key to

stabilising how society functions. Hence, only the real leaders of the party could work in journalism. Lenin expresses the need for control and censorship in journalism as follows: 'Films of a propagandist and educational character are to be given to old Marxists and men of letters for checking, in order to avoid the recurrent, sad cases we have had where propaganda acquires the opposite aim' (Lenin, Directives regarding the cinema. 17. 01.1922).

The quotation presents the three important components of censorship that existed until its demise. *First*, the controller had to be experienced in the role; *second*, he had to fulfil certain functions, such as determining the texts' possible meanings and interpretations; *third*, by directing the meanings, the controller was to lessen the malfunctioning of propaganda. The Party's problem was to remake films so that they could be used as material for propaganda. Originally, it was 'alien' texts that were transformed for use in propaganda (the complete films were not presented.)

The next step was the official establishment of the suitable creative method – socialist realism⁴ – and to ensure its purity. To do so meant internal censorship. At the beginning of the Soviet regime, control was considered natural, since it was connected with the Party's need for secrecy. It is quite understandable that the seeds of that tradition remained in place after the end of the nineteenth century. In his own writings, particularly in his most famous texts, Lenin had been mostly concerned with the tasks of a small, illegal, and oppositional political press that was published outside the country and smuggled in infrequently. The Party, which grew out of a conspiratorial group that used concealed methods, had a coded writing system for communication with its members. The following comes from Lenin's essay, 'A letter to comrades' (published 29.11.1904), which appeared in *The Spark*:

'... "To write for the Party" [is] not for publishing but for communication with the editorial staff and for giving information, not only about facts and events but also about mentality and the everyday life of the movement, about its uninteresting, common and routine side. If you have not been abroad, you cannot even imagine how useful such letters can be for us (there is nothing conspiratorial in them and to write such an unciphered letter once or twice a week is no problem even for the busiest person).'

'Write an unciphered letter' was regarded as a proclamation. The messages of ordinary life meant the spreading of a new type of journalism (*identity-journalism*) and new social structures. This was a practice that in the old 'news journalism' would have been considered too ordinary to be thought of as news. Later in the Party's journalistic practices and structures, secrecy was used persistently – for example, *Sekretno*, secret libraries, decisions, regulations, including a several hundred pages long tract 'On common prescriptions for publishing non-secret issues', which itself was utterly secret. 'Not' was a mark of the other side of something; the normal form of the public texts is secrecy. In a list found among Soviet censorship (GLAVLIT) secret

data, the difference between *real* and *cover names* was fixed. Fictional organisations were created, depicting fictional regimes, and their sub-units accordingly had fictional locations, fictional functions, etc. (EAA IX, 1994: 113–115)

The canonical texts also included internal controversies. Such texts allowed you to select whatever you wanted from them. The pragmatic publications of the time included most of the important themes, mixed in different relationships, which enabled the construction of opposite conclusions, by incessant arguments about the primacy and interpretations of the canonical texts. Officially, such arguments were forbidden, but they often occurred in smaller circles, because sociality and the canons of social thought were commonly important topics of discussion in daily life. Following the year 1923, five years after the beginning of the world revolution and the establishment of the Communist era, the need grew for more analytical processing of the material presented by journalism.

‘A newspaper must turn into a fighting unit that does not limit itself by giving only regular and correct data about our economy but also analyses, and it carries out scientific research to present the right conclusions for industry management, etc.; finally, it stimulates all the workers on the economic front, demands exact reports, praising successful work and publicly condemning the careless, backward, unskilful workers of a certain establishment or a branch of industry.’ (Lenin, written 1.09.1923, published 6.11.1923 in *Ekonomitseskaja Zizn*, no. 31.)

It is doubtful whether this idea was realistic in its time, such a demand being unthinkable in journalism 60 years later. The essential facts were often concealed, since a closed system had to create a real experience (i.e., truth). In certain situations, people’s own power to experience and understand their ‘experiences’ had to be regarded with suspicion. At the same time, journalism had to offer constantly the ‘experience of others’ (elaborated and edited), but in an ideologically correct way. The editors were forced to present ‘clear’ texts, which, by relying on myths, clearly brought out the ‘correct’ ideological ‘experience’. After 1953, the ideological paradigm was enforced less by direct physical repression, and more by ideological means, education, and media (Section 0.5).

3.2.1. Mythological hierarchy in the Soviet media

I have mapped the basic standards of Soviet journalistic texts, in order to determine their characteristics and regularities. The structure of standards becomes clear when one works with a great number of various texts that show the official corrections made to them. One is able to identify general patterns of normative texts, which together form an integrated system. On the basis of archetypal text models, I have framed a hierarchical myth system for that time period, which I use as a structural basis for analysing emendations of public texts (Section 4.5).

A standard Soviet text was meant to mediate common values that were considered unified and that were meant to *influence* and *direct behaviour* (Tamre 1980). Construction of the *new reality* was therefore based on the social mythology, which was to be dinned into the reader via public texts. We can divide the Soviet mythology into three categories (Figure 4):

I. Basic Soviet myths of a ritually static nature – the *mythology of existence*. These were usually high-quality texts in the way they were arranged. Typically, page 1 would feature canonised photos with specially shortened headlines and texts; the same was true of radio and TV propagandist programmes. Only highly positioned persons on the staff – such as chief editors, party editors, etc. – worked with these materials, and it was they who maintained the normative control level in official journalism.

II. Basic myths having dynamic elements – the *mythology of achievement*. These stories were written by several editors. Texts about foreign news appeared on pages 2–3 in the newspaper (which consisted of only four pages) and on political news programmes of the electronic media. It was the normative-participatory level.

III. Basic level – *ritualised, everyday practice*. This included stories on living conditions, regulations, standard information, and practical experience, so long as these stories harmonised with the myths of higher levels. These kinds of text were often placed on the last page of a newspaper, and they were not broadcast on radio and TV during prime time. This was the participatory-analytical level.⁵

Unlike that of Lévi-Strauss and Barthes, my conception of ‘myth’ is connected with the meaning of the existing, general mental model, consisting of a hierarchical mythological system. This existing mythological model, based on normative Party texts, performed and operated as a specific type of controlling, normative text, i.e., as the ‘right’ example. All newly created (public) texts were monitored, and if need be, transformed, so as to reduce to or correlate with the normative text.

Soviet ideology was modelled on a hierarchical mythological system that used specific journalistic forms. The prevailing ideological paradigm was based on eight myths: (1) The myth of the *founder Lenin and the Party* and Marx, with Engels as their predecessor; (2) the myth of the *victory of the Great Soviet Socialist Revolution (Russian Revolution)* and of the advent of a *new era*; (3) the myth of the *historical progression* of socialism, *communist world revolution*, and *communist future*. The mythological system attained its final shape after WW II, when to these three basic myths was added (4) the myth about the *Great Patriotic War* and the invincibility of the Soviet Union, who had numerous ‘enemies over there’. All these myths were supported by (5) the myth of the *Soviet republics as a unified family*; (6) the myth of *labour* and the constant *improvement of the Soviet economy*; (7) the myth of the *working class as a leading power*; and (8) the myth of the *free and happy Soviet people* and the new type of human being.⁶

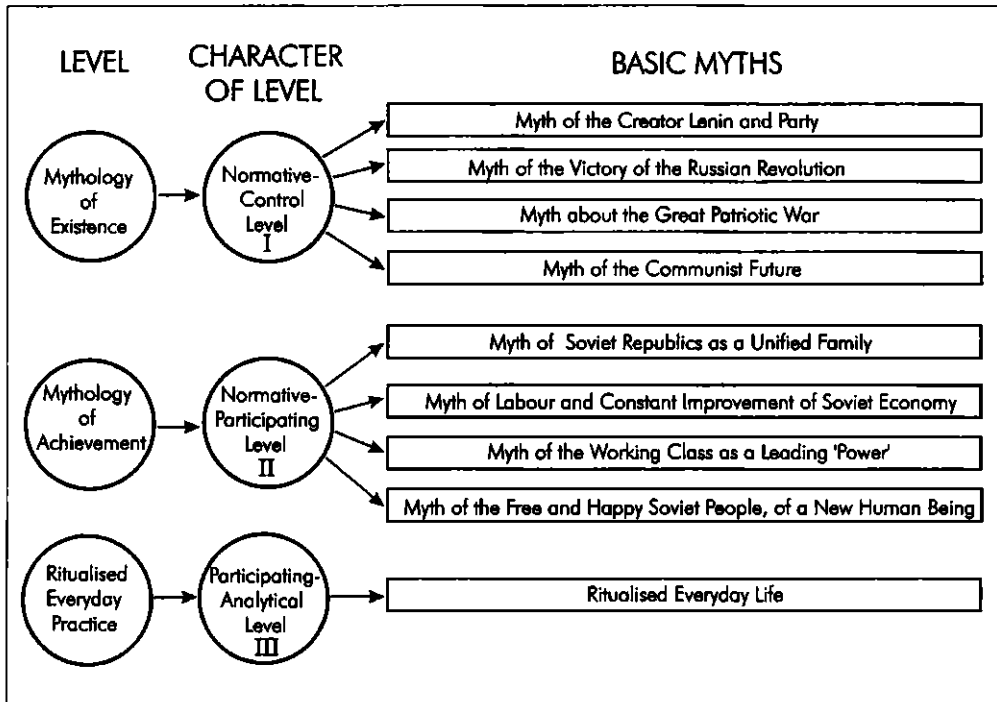
Overall, the Soviet myths were positive. But negative actors and activities were also represented in journalistic texts. Negativity was treated as the sphere of the other,

the alien, the inimical, as contrasted to positive myths (cf. Hallin 1986, on the sphere of deviance). Different myths cast various characters or personages as enemies: The Great Patriotic War and state included outsiders, 'aliens', possible (military) enemies. This basic mythical attitude was an important starting point for later Soviet foreign policy and diplomacy, in which it was implicitly reflected as the basis of attitudes, even if there was no directly negative wording or even if the latter was neutral. The enemy character also appeared frequently in the myth of the Soviet republics as a unified family having foes beyond their borders. This myth directly undergirded later Soviet foreign policy. The character of the internal enemy was included also in the myth of work and worker, as well as in the myth of a new type of human, such that people who did not conform with the ideology were eliminated from society (trials and psychiatric treatment were the most-used means of doing this).⁷

Communication as sacred enunciation

The mythology of existence includes the most essential structure for creating a layer of myths, mainly those on formation and creator images. The surface-layer genres in the texts represented these myths. Thus, we are not dealing with real history but with the idea of history as it was understood in Communist ideology. Certain journalistic genres and forms of the basic myths were canonised, and limited as to number and (institutionalised) authors. One part of the higher genres was formed at the time of the October Revolution. Speeches and resolutions were published in newspapers (mainly *Pravda*), with an appropriate layout. The rest of the genres did not come ready-made, but took shape beginning with Stalin's cult of personality, and attained their final form after the victory in WW II (late 1940s). The texts representing myths came into being and maintained their unified form independent of the media channel, with their central elements of archetype, rituals, repetition, liturgy, rhetoric, and cyclical occurrence. These features connected the respective texts as a type from year to year and from event to event. Such a textual phenomenon may be called 'transformation'.⁸

High genres preserved their characteristic forms up to the middle of the 1980s. A distinctive feature of these genres was that the texts were extremely long and static. According to reception theory, such massive texts were not supposed to be thoroughly absorbed by readers. On the radio, however, such texts were read aloud in their entirety. Genre innovations were inconceivable; the established elements and structure of the genres, in turn, supported myths. Such myths usually took the form of a monologue. The most typical genres were speech, presentation, festive address, survey, abstraction. The elements consisted of citation, reference, comparison, contrast, and so forth. The extensiveness and massiveness of the texts bolstered the functions of enforcement, presence, and domination.⁹



Source: Löhmus 1998 and 2001©

Figure 4. Soviet mythological hierarchy in journalistic texts in the 1940s – early 1980s.

These texts were published on important ideological anniversaries and occasions. Such occasions made up an *ideological circle of events*, which, with alternating periods of preparation and aftermath, shaped the rhythm of journalism (Löhmus 1998). These formation-myths were presented repeatedly, so as to strengthen and confirm the political foundation by dispelling possible doubts. The main values that the texts were to project included *powerfulness, greatness, invincibility, positivity*, and the *new world system*. The texts featured abundant usage of passive constructions, and those presenting basic myths were usually in Russian. They were translated under strict supervision into all languages in which daily papers were published in the Soviet Union. For the Soviet citizen, these myths determined *what is what* and *what is related to what* (Gerbner 1969: 123–132). They told (or rather, manufactured) the truth about socialist society and the socialist way of life, extolling the virtues of communism to hundreds of millions of people. The personae of myths were strictly limited, as were the topics and heroes of the texts.¹⁰

Connecting of ideas with action

The basic myths of Level II – *myths of achievement* – in public texts were represented by the genres intimately connected with the mythology of existence (*formation-foundation myths*). Based on the latter, the myths of achievement focused

on specifics of the moment. The main variations in such texts arose from the balance between static and dynamic levels. When the mythology of existence (Level I) was directed to strengthening the Soviet regime, then the mythology of achievement (Level II) was aimed at the active expansion of Soviet power all over the world, thereby preserving the impression of naturalness and the predetermination of processes. The Soviet Union's victory in WW II added to the myths of achievement. (Since the Soviet Union was invincible, it would 'naturally' conquer the whole world.) The socialist system that formed as a consequence of WW II gave a fresh impetus to the myths. Myths of achievement were those most closely connected with Lenin's view of journalism: 'The newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and agitator but also a collective organiser'.

The texts representing the mythology of achievement present only certain phenomena, of which they contain built-in evaluations. These texts focused on both positive and negative phenomena, and presented them in the genres (commentary, critical article, topical satire, etc.) most effective in spurring action. Myths of achievement could change substantially in the course of time. (For example, in the 1960s-1970s, the mythical achievements included mastery of outer space and the victory of ideas in the countryside; in the 1970s, the threat of attack by foreign enemies; etc.) Likewise, the use of genres varied: announcements in the 1960s, commentaries on foreign events in the 1970s-1980s, editorials and coverage of political affairs from the 1950s until the 1980s, criticism in the form of letters and articles in the 1950s and 1970s, which also shaped their specific genres as forms of response.

The texts purveying the mythology of achievement assumed the form of practical 'examples' and 'instructions for behaviour'. Although their primary form comes from printed media, the genres of electronic media prove to be more effective, since they integrate the possibilities of the new media into their generic forms and reach a wider audience. Texts representing the mythology of achievement proceed as if the ideas of the myths have already been put into practice or as if they are soon forthcoming. The mythology of achievement contains the genres that interpret and put into practice the conceptions of implicit myths of existence, which can take the form of *offensive* or *defensive* texts. Such genres include the following: campaigns, proclamations, reports, meetings; editorials, grandstanding, commentary, readers' comments, etc.; (seemingly) neutral forms, such as news, surveys, travel articles; electronically, there are lectures, talk shows, etc. Specific 'news' about the most important ideological anniversaries was included. The 'news' was not news in the classical sense, but corporate PR texts representing the Communist Party. Journalistic genres had to be 'combative' and *ostensible dynamics* were created by journalistic forms. The genres were usually monological (e.g., materials issued by the party and by institutions); but sometimes they included elements of dialogue, whether implicit or explicit (e.g., public discussions staged as 'sample thinking'). Active verbal

constructions appeared in such dialogues, as they did in headlines, so as to express a vividly offensive attitude.¹¹ True and false *values* and *assessments-attitudes* were determined by means of texts representing myths of achievement.

Characteristically, the texts representing the basic mythology of existence did not attempt to hide their corporate ideology (that of the Party). Acting on behalf of all workers, the Level II myths and genres involved the general public and its doings, while emphasising support of the Party. The myths of Levels I and II are connected with one another. The genres of myths on the lower level had to use basic canons and elements of permissible genres. Conversely, the higher level could use texts of lower-level myths by citing comments made by workers. For instance, an agricultural broadcast opens with a party leader suggesting that problems of vocational education be solved according to directives of the Communist Party. In his speech, the party leader refers to the opinions of a cattle tender as supporting the rightness of the party line.

Level III – *ritualised everyday practice* – was shaped as ‘the voice of (working) people’ based on their letters. The correspondent’s work consisted of gathering and producing further information. Level III even allowed individual, personal expression concerning matters of every-day life, though the drawing of substantive generalisations was not allowed. Phenomena did not have real value. Rather, they had *symbolic* value as representations, and on that basis the normative ideological valuation system for public texts was built (Table 2).¹²

Table 2. Levels of Soviet mythology and their representations in the 1980s.

The comparison of the levels presented		
Representation	Recipient	Characteristic designation in texts
I	Corporate	public, the Party
II	General	public, the will of the (working) people and audience
III	Personal	person, a worker, audience, author, public correspondent

Source: Löhmus 2001 ©

Level III used elements of mythical genres, depending on its aims. The requirements for public texts were controversial; under conditions of ‘double-thinking’, double genres and double coding emerged. Characteristically, Level III proceeds from reality, that is, from ‘common sense’ views, expressing them largely in metaphorical terms. Such genres were focused on (analytical) articles whose analysis was contextual (i.e., carried out only by references in the recipient’s mind). Certain phenomena of lower levels could also be criticised. Journalistic practice was constructed on a paradoxical dualism between the exertion of personal influence and the use of abstract, normative models. By manifestations of problematic thinking,

culprits were revealed – ‘they’ who disturb the functioning of ‘our’ ideology and ideological influence.

Public journalistic texts faced continuous struggles in implementing Level II and Level III. The institutions of ideology were to stand for Level II, whereas professional journalists, proceeding from an analysis of reality, attempted to apply the texts and genres of Level III with the least possible loss; they did so by selecting the forms of texts least connected with myths. These genres were initially dialogues, with some open texts. The use of ‘open’ genres in journalism had to meet certain demands and conform with specific conditions. Journalistic public texts were particularly sensitive to even the slightest change in coding, which could produce a sign of new meaning.¹³ A well-known radio journalist says the following about the genres:

‘These are 1) practically applied, 2) practically applicable, 3) theoretically known, 4) theoretically possible. To compose a unified classification for the genres, consideration of these four components seems to be indispensable. [This is because] only when our genre-scale indicates not only the existing but also required possible genres in our situation, does the forthcoming theory of genres begin to have an immediate impact on the practice of radio work. Consequently, possessing the classification of genres in [their] general outlines [...] we can ask, Where are they? The answer is short: most of them play no significant role in the program. Our tall ladder of genres has only three rungs, actually, which do not let us ascend very high at all.’ (Pant 1965: 93)

A strong demand for a change of social structure appeared, and journalism was seen as an important determinant of mediated experience.

‘More than half of the population is, or has been, engaged in household jobs, bringing up children, handicrafts, amateur art or sports. In other areas, social labour distribution has produced numerous groups of people who have received or receive information about one another’s work, activities, etc. only through other people, [through] mass media, and [through] other ways, thereby obtaining a mediated experience.’ (Tamre 1980: 119)

The outer limit of journalism – the really *new text* – served as a basis for project-identity. The most widely diffused myth was that of the working class as the leading power group. In fact, however, that power had been taken over by functionaries or clerks. Unofficially, this was an accepted fact. Officially, however, journalism had to continue creating portraits of workers and mediating their thoughts; that is, journalists still had to create a special ‘worker’s’ text. The result was an ironic text that seemingly evidenced artistic and aesthetic freedom. Such texts were generated on the basis of the commonly-held sign system and thus were generally understandable in the Soviet Union. In fact, however, and at the same time, the possibilities for interpretation, the concept of artistic unity, and the projection of the current sign system as the real uniting experience of the Soviet peoples came under

stricter and stricter control. Still, the emergence of *new generations* inevitably brought changes in the ways Soviet mythology was presented in the public text, and led to the introduction of new journalistic genres.

3.2.2. Control and censorship

Censorship formed part of the total control exerted by Soviet ideological institutions. There were three stages of censorship in the mass media: (1) The most complicated was *pre-censorship (preventive)*. This consisted of many different organisations and structures functioning as direct and indirect censors. This stage required bringing into journalism those with a suitable world-view, so-called 'mission-conscious people', whether or not they were professional journalists. The aim was to control the way people thought, both before and in the course of the journalistic process. (2) *Post-censorship (repressive)* existed on several levels in media organisations, the communist party, and the government. Many organisations at the social level functioned either directly or indirectly as institutions of control. (3) *Complex systems of pressure and punishment* were directed against journalists and editors. The system changed repeatedly, and in practice, pre- (preventive) and post- (repressive) censorship combined into a single, total process.

In the Soviet political structure, roles and functions were divided into public and secret ones. Censorship was one of the concealed institutions of the Soviet system, and it functioned to regulate public texts and, through them, public life. Censorship had the function of restriction.¹⁴ Censorship controlled two main areas: facts and interpretation. The goal was to block access to alternative and forbidden information and interpretation, and to eliminate from public information everything that Soviet citizens were not allowed to know or think about. There even existed an instruction list of about 200 pages entitled 'Data Banned from Publications, Radio and Television Programmes'. The Party considered censorship in journalism as a means of eliminating 'defects' (Veskimägi 1996).

Restriction of facts

Publishable figures and facts were limited to those concerning non-strategic industry and agriculture. You never saw any social information in Soviet journalism. There were no comparisons or generalizations about Soviet social processes, though such information could be inferred from data in such publications as *Statistika v SSSR (Statistics in the USSR)*, if one studied them closely. Not available was information about social processes, strategically important fields of industry, discussions of economic and political planning, sociological analyses of national processes and public opinion, etc.¹⁵ Banned also were means of mapping and tools for

orientation, such as topographical maps with a scale larger than 1:1,000,000 and plans of the territory of the Soviet Union. There was a prohibition regarding the rubrics and addresses of the ministries and establishments, references to secret archives and libraries, crime statistics, functions and means of protecting the real and cover names of the security organs and their material resources.

The flow of information was hindered by Department of Censorship (GLAVLIT), whose manual included hundreds of pages of forbidden-information lists:

'We always had such a book of limitations in Russian. These were identical all over the Soviet Union; one republic didn't have different prescriptions from the others; these limitations concerned absolutely every field of life: defence industry, common industry, transport, social life, geography, everything [...] Many limitations were such that the editor had the possibility of getting a permit. But the permit had to be brought from some All-Union ministry. And if a person took this Road to Golgotha, he later regretted it, because usually he didn't get the permit. The life of such editors was very difficult. We had to check all the laws and regulations, if they were published, for some of them are secret even nowadays. It took a lot of time. Then we tried to eliminate dates and quotation marks so that it would not look so precise. The Central Committee of the ECP imposed additional limitations [on news] concerning local cultural life'... (Censor MM, 1994).

No single ban is perfect, because in certain cases censors still have to decide what to allow to be published. In problematic cases, censors had to turn to their superiors, i.e., higher officials in the Party.

Restriction of interpretation

The Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics guaranteed the freedom of speech and press to Soviet citizens. This meant freedom in the interpretation of reality. However, there existed a special restriction: constitutional freedoms could be used *only* to aid the progress of the socialist order (Constitution 1988: 15). If these freedoms were used in a way that the authorities might have interpreted as harmful to the Soviet system, the penalty for the crime was imprisonment from six months to seven years or deportation (Code of Crime of USSR 1990: 77).¹⁶

In practice, the whole situation was quite dangerous. The faithful depiction of reality was often demoted to the status of a low genre, that of 'fiction-humour', such that all of national culture was considered 'local'. In my view, the system of concealed structures and functions simply created a complex media text comprised of metaphorical meanings. Typical of this phenomenon is what one editor said about his

colleague: 'Karuks jumps high but doesn't jump away'. Real structural changes in the representation of the actor were at once reflected in transformations of textual structure, through banning and allowances; those who failed to observe the latter immediately became 'strange' or non-existent. The local party in Estonia – the Central Committee of the ECP – also imposed restrictions on local cultural life. "For example, Arvo Pärt and Neeme Järvi left Estonia, their music was not played on the radio any longer and their names were not mentioned in journalism" (interview with MU 1994). It was the era of so-called censorial editing, prior to official censorship of journalism. As one censor put it: '*There was nothing to leave out any more*. This work already had been done in the editorial office. This was global terror. People were afraid of everything' (interview with MM, 1995).

All these restrictions existed for the journalist, who had to find a path between myth and censorship. For orientation and adequate information, journalists and editors needed material, which came from so-called secondary sources and from their own observation and interpretation of events.

3.3. Model of Soviet Communication in Estonia, (1940–1990)

Historical context of Estonian public text

In the last 20 years, three different types of public text have dominated in Estonia, according to the different social systems or situations: (1) from the 1940s–1980s, the *totalitarian text*, i.e., the controlled text of a closed society; (2) the *participating public text* (1987–early 1990s); and (3) the *liberal or libertarian public text* (early 1990s until today). The challenge is to compare the texts and contexts of these three different periods, in terms of the different textual practices that existed near each other in time and that passed through the transition process. Along with alterations in the community, which followed the changes in public text, the participants in the textual processes and their roles have changed greatly. In the present work I concentrate on the period of the totalitarian texts, that is, the text of Soviet Estonia. At the same time, I elaborate a theoretical foundation for the comparative study of the periods (Lõhmus 2001b). The totalitarian text from the 1940s until the 1980s in Estonia is a sign within a broader context. In the following I analyse, as a historical case, the textual practice of the strongest empire in the twentieth century.

The Soviet Union limited the free spread of information by all possible means, including special editing and censorship. The result was an especially 'dense' text. Characteristic of the empire was a great amount of problems at various levels concerning the public text, including the literature from previous periods or 'wrong' authors being banned and destroyed (Veskimägi 1996).

The Soviet journalistic norms in Estonia post-1940, after occupation.

The Soviet colonisation, its regime and ideology caused the destruction of the political structure and hierarchy of Estonia. In 1940, following the Soviet occupation in June, most newspapers in Estonia were closed (over 200 periodicals in a few months). Only a dozen of them continued to be published, and these became propaganda outlets, with their titles changed to reflect the content (*The Communist*, *The People's Voice*). New publications were created according to Soviet standards, which meant translating materials dictated by the Moscow information agency TASS (via ETA) and publishing them in the press and via radio. The Estonian Information Agency (ETA) was subordinated to the all-union news agency TASS. The first Soviet institution of censorship was the Central Board of Literary and Publishing Affairs.

According to the decree of 6 December 1940, issued by the Central Board of Literary and Publishing Affairs, all 'unsuitable' publications had to be removed from libraries and bookstores. The list contained over 2000 books, over 2 million copies. Ironically, the slogan 'a better life' led to the physical destruction of many intellectuals and former state officials; many journalists were arrested, interrogated or fired in a few months. The entire reorganisation of life in Estonia took only a few months in 1940, which shows the professionalism of Soviet repressive organs. The Soviet occupation powers in Estonia enforced the Soviet model of journalism. The development of Soviet ideology and public text in Estonia can be divided into the following periods:

1. The enforcement of Soviet ideology and Soviet public text (1940–1955).¹⁷
2. The progression of the 'Soviet' in the public text (1956–late 1960s).
3. The ambivalent Soviet public text; more complicated different forms (official, semi-official, unofficial) of public text (early 1970s–1987).
4. The abolition of the Soviet (meaning) system; an active 'public sphere' and 'public text' (1987–early 1990s).

The Soviet way of thought was alien to that of Estonia. Estonian and Soviet practices differed, both qualitatively and quantitatively, on the levels of culture, religion, sign-system, values and evaluation system. After previous testing for more than 20 years, the Soviet regime was implanted in a large and very different structure from that of neighbouring Russia (Misiunas 1993). By the 1960s, people had learned to use the forced, substituted structure, and to use it to present the substituted content. By the 1980s the real functioning of the structure, economy, and representation of the public text had gone through various crises. There existed an appropriate system of censorship, reinforced by repressive institutions. The unambiguous, correct understanding of the public text and correct behaviour were safeguards against resistance to the system. Means of guarding the public text included scarcity of access, scarcity of channels and their uni-directionality, scarcity of genres and possibilities for interpretation, as well as selection of staff.

Dimensions of Soviet communication and public texts: Internal and external factors

During and after World War II, radio broadcasts in Estonian started to come from both sides of the political front line – from Leningrad and Moscow as well as from Sweden and Finland. Ideological war through the radio became more active in the 1950s when the Voice of America started Estonian broadcasts aimed at ‘home Estonians’. Ideological warfare, which entailed fighting with foreign channels and propaganda, was also demanded of Estonian Radio at the beginning of the 1980s. The concepts of ‘information’ and ‘propaganda’ were often officially used as synonyms. ‘Propaganda’ did not have a negative nuance; it was a neutral, everyday term.

The Communist Party treated the media as an important part of the international ideological war. ‘Even nowadays, radio is the most suitable means for propagating ideas, conceptions and way of life, for explaining and defending the policy of the government or certain parties on the international arena’ (Korobeinikov 1976). Journalism had to accede to the demands of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, several of which demanded active attacks on the enemy and the use of class structure as a starting point. Among public documents, for example, the decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU ‘*On the further improvement of ideological work and political education*’ (1979) and ‘*The role of the leading staff of the ESSR in political education*’ (1984), the last of which especially concerned Estonia. Generally, radio had to propagate the Soviet way of life, and hence to find or create suitably positive examples for generalisation.

‘The ideological content and influence of many radio and television broadcasts is often not in correlation with modern demands, they didn’t [sic] activate patriotism, internationalism, and the feeling of friendship of Soviet peoples among the radio and TV audience. Many important materials, which reflect the Soviet way of life did not ensure the obtrusiveness of the ideas propagated’. (Protocol of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the ECP no. 161, Dec.16, 1980: 4).

In the closed society of the Soviet Union, Estonia was an exceptional situation, in which ideological brainwashing proved unsuccessful because ‘wrong’ information and interpretations broadcast by foreign stations could enter the country’s air space. The Soviets tried to compensate by broadcasting more information, so that listeners would not seek it from the ‘wrong’ channels: ‘Our republic lies on the crossroads of several information flows... the inhabitants can choose between All-Union Radio, Estonian Television, Central Television and other local TV and radio stations, Finnish radio and TV, Voice of America, BBC, German Wave, Radio Freedom and other foreign radio stations’ (Maimik 1980: 7).

Editors were forced to take part in the ideological textual war. Still, the real receivers of the texts were mostly the common people, who had to endure the avalanche of texts:

'Nowadays, as the serious fight against bourgeois ideology is going on and mass media is becoming the most important arena for this fight, it is especially important to know the influence of our means of propaganda, to know how the audience reacts to journalism [as purveyed by] radio and TV, to know its wishes and demands' (From a speech made by V. Väljas at the plenum of the Central Committee of the ECP, NH 1.11.1975: 2).

The active political involvement of editors was considered a norm: 'Communists didn't often play the leading role in the collective; on several occasions they closed their eyes to the unsound apolitical phenomena that were widespread among a certain part of workers and didn't come out against them' (Protocol on radio, Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party, 1980: 6).

3.4. Estonian Radio in the early 1980s

Estonian Radio started its activities in 1926 as a typical European radio channel and by 1940 had established itself as a channel with a strong identity and with clear cultural and ideological functions in society. In 1940, ER continued, but now as a Soviet information channel. Significantly, Estonian propaganda from the Soviet western front (Moscow, Kuiboshev) continued during the time of the German occupation (1941–1944), whereas local Soviet printed media were interrupted during those same years. In the post-war years, ER was the basic propaganda channel of Moscow in Estonia, but the influence of the original radio tradition continued to be felt. From the 1950s on, ER became a more open channel, the programming grew in size, and new broadcasts and genres were added. In the 1970s, the Communist Party strengthened journalistic censorship, exerting absolute control over every text broadcast by ER. Paradoxically, ER remained popular among the people, since it was the only Estonian radio channel communicating with the public and the only one whose journalists tried to consider people's interests (Saar 1984).

The period 1980–1985 was characterised by an ideological attack aimed at the sovietisation and russification of Estonians and other Baltic peoples. Social analyses were avoided and criticism silenced. At the same time, the mental outlook and language use, as means of preserving cultural self-identity, were active and important factors in the same totalitarian media-channels. On the one hand, Estonian Radio served as part of the totalitarian, 'ideological state apparatus' (Althusser 1971). On the other, ER was an important channel for lively dialogue and cultural opposition. Characteristic of that contradictory situation were broadcasts such as *Kui kogu rahvas* (*When All the People*) and *Sotsialismimaades* (*In the Socialist Countries*), which were about Soviet heroes, and at the same time high-level, Estonian cultural programmes such as *Luulekava* (*Poetry Programme*) and *Klassikavaramu* (*Classical Heritage*). Friendly party journalists ('ideological soldiers') worked with creative journalists and *literati*, both sides having the same goal: sophisticated and many-faceted programmes.¹⁸

What demands did the Communist Party (CP) make on ER? What kinds of contradictions existed between the structure of the radio program and the expectations of the general audience? By what principles was the public text divided into 'mainstream' (ideological textual flow) and 'off-stream' (less ideological)? What did the job of radio editor consist of? In subsequent pages I focus on how censorship was introduced into editing processes, what kinds of processes influenced the journalistic text, and how the latter was produced under such conditions.

3.4.1. Formal and informal text in the 1980s

The beginning of the 1980s witnessed a complicated in Soviet journalism. Instructions- based discourses of power and journalistic texts had become empty of meaning and were not to be taken seriously, having an almost comic effect when juxtaposed to the wider cultural semiosis. This was the result of a lengthy process of previously held, but not developed, Soviet meanings, which had simply reached its final stage.

The content of the Party's instructional texts through journal discourse(s) was not met only with the 'preferred decoding' (Hall), but activated a wider semiosis consisting of various texts and nuances. During the decades of Soviet control, textual practices became part of a complicated cultural sign system, and acquired polyvalence and semiotic affluence as meaning-systems.

Two dominant, yet contradictory, sign systems were valid, the official (Party) one and the unofficial (cultural) system. In public, however, the unofficial, cultural orientation strongly prevailed. In this situation, the 'actors' of the official sign system also tried to establish their own system by means of journalistic creation, e.g., by mimicking or warping the 'cultural, or unofficial' level so as to use it for their own ends.

In practice, the public text in the 1980s can clearly be divided into *formal* (i.e., official) and *informal* (Table 3). These two kinds of text differed in basic social criteria. The formal text had to deliver ideologically exact formulations, which were published in Party and state media, including newspapers. The authors of formal texts were persons loyal to the Party. The structure of the texts was canonised, and the formal public field acted on the texts as a system of control. The hierarchical structure of the public text allowed for a certain amount of variety, ranging from Party directives concerning public processes to special literature, art, and humour. The public text was characterised by strict control of the given world-model and evaluation system and their correlation with the legitimised social myths.

There also existed the *semi-* or *informal text*, circulated by non-mainstream publications, e.g., in the night broadcasts of ER. In these, the criteria of the formal text were only partially observed, but direct ideological 'mistakes' were avoided (Löhmus 1999; See also Tables 3 and 7).

Table 3. Formal and informal text in a closed society; the Soviet example in the 1980s.

	Formal public text	Semi-formal and informal public text
Channels of publication	Party mass media channels, mainstream journalism, TV, radio	Clubs, meetings of small groups, part of art, non-mainstream radio
Authors	Representatives of social and political structures, part of journalists, specialists, artists, writers, intellectuals, <i>et al.</i>	Part of journalists, specialists, intellectuals, artists, writers, <i>et al.</i>
Texts	Institutionalised texts representing social myths, from Party documents up to politically correct propaganda-humour	Various genres, partial use of sanctioned elements, ambivalence (art, music, poetry, humour, satire, etc.)
Control	Strong control over the public text field by the Party, pre- and post-censorship	Strong or weak control of the public text field, beholden to the Party and subject to pre- and post-censorship

Source: Löhmus 2001©

3.4.2. Conflict between different expectations: Party versus audience

Radio as a means of disseminating mass information and propaganda has been an important ideological channel due to its wide reach, cost effectiveness, and emotionality. The 'speaking newspaper' became an effective means of agitation and propaganda during the period of industrialisation in Russia and during the war. Its role was just as important in the 1950s–1960s for creating the Soviet way of life, and in the 1970s as a weapon in the international propaganda war. At the end of the 1970s, preparations were being made for the Olympic Games in Moscow and Tallinn. But this move toward openness was meant to be just a temporary gesture for the outside world. Internally, state control over public texts was strengthened in 1980.¹⁹

In Tallinn, in the autumn of 1980, a football match between radio and TV journalists took place, after the game however, the final musical composition was not allowed to be played, which resulted in a small-scale youth demonstration (Misiunas and Taagepera 1993). The blame fell on the long-time leader of Estonian Radio, Aadu Slutsk, a radio professional who had worked as a leader in the 1970s. The Central Committee of the ECP succeeded in removing him from his post. There typically existed an ambivalent situation in which ECP enforcements against journalists and editors seemed too totalitarian, as viewed from the local level, but too liberal from the point of view of the Communist Party's Central Committee: 'Radio was really important for Slutsk. He really tried. Several times he used, for research, Central Committee money meant for brainwashing...' (interview with PL, 1994). The new leader, Allan Kullaste, came from the propaganda department of the ECP CC. Replacing the leader of ER and restructuring of the radio was an attempt to bring it nearer to the Party line, and hence to control the content of the broadcasts more effectively. It was impossible to replace the journalistic staff of the radio, because the

job had become much more complicated since the 1940s and 1950s. Back then, replacements were common because the jobs were relatively simple, but now specialists were needed. The reprimand of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the ECP (16.12.1980) – ‘the Party [...] officials who have talent for journalistic work have not been sufficiently performed their duties’ – did not have much effect.

Another new arrangement, according to which pre-planning would be lengthened from one month to three months, was not supported by the journalists, because this forced them to make broadcasts with lengthy ideological content or connected with some celebration. The background of the problem was the need to find new and better methods of control. The censor alone was not effective enough, as evidence by the fact that some journalistically good texts managed to get published. Also, there was insufficient supervision because of the growing number and variety of broadcasts. ER had been one of the most free among local radio stations in the Soviet Union. ER gained several privileges, achieved by hard work, openness to experimentation, and by trying to present a good performance for Moscow. ER tried to retain its independence in making broadcasts. In those days, there was no such radio as existed in the U.S., where broadcasts were recorded spontaneously. ‘All the texts had to be written. The interview was written first and then read like a play. Estonian Radio was the first [in the Soviet Union] to start recording broadcasts directly and then modifying them’ (chief director of programming, Hansen 1994). Now the Central Committee of the ECP began to record and check the programmes, and give phone orders about the broadcasts, all of which interfered with the work of the journalists. Intense scrutiny of radio texts and the 3-5 stages of control by the pre-censor did not resolve the problems. The strengthening of control brought about its partial weakening. For example, on 18 June 1981 there was a discussion concerning the chief editor and supervisor of informational broadcasts, Kõrda, who had overlooked a great mistake during the June 11 broadcast of *Maailm Täna* (*The World Today*): Leonid Brezhnev had been named with incomplete titles. The editor got blamed for the mistake. The strengthening of control mostly concerned editorial work, which was now observed more closely. The editorial staff was growing older (50% of them were at or near the age of retirement); this was the generation of war veterans, adept as ideologists. Hence, ideological control weakened. Moreover, there arose difficulties with the staff. The job of editor required more and more complicated training. The new generation – for whom the mythology of the winners of the war was strange and whose world-view was not considered legitimate – did not, and could not, have command of the rhetoric necessary for controlling the public text.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the crisis of Soviet propaganda was evident in the areas of ‘directed ideas and communism’ as against realistic, everyday life. The radio, both as an active and influential propagandistic and journalistic means, had internal conflicts.

Officially, from the viewpoint of the Communist Party, journalism was directed by decisions and public documents. Among these, an important factor was the decision made by the Central Committee of the CPSU, '*On the further improvement of ideological work and political education*' (1979). In addition, a decision of the CC of the CPSU from 1984, '*The role of the leading staff of the ESSR in political education*', concerned Estonia especially. Among the secret documents was a decree of the Council of Ministers of the USSR (no. 835, 13.10 1978), '*On the means of further completing Russian language teaching in the Soviet republics*'. Secret instructions related to this decree, for the years 1979–1985, demanded further ideologisation of the mass media, especially radio and TV, as evidenced by decision no. 161 of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the ECP (16.12.1980), about Estonian Radio and '*The means for improving the situation*'. This decision sanctioned special Party control over ER.²⁰

Table 4. The usage and trustworthiness of different information channels in Estonia at the beginning of the 1980s.

Sources	Used almost every day, %	Confidence in channels, % of those trusted totally
Municipal, regional newspapers	62%	32%
Estonian Radio (ER)	62%	33%
Estonian Television (ETV)	58%	41%
State (Estonian) newspapers		40%
All-Union Television (KTV)	56%	46%
All-Union Radio (ÜR)	43%	37%
All-Union newspapers		36%
Foreign radios	2.2%	
Finnish TV	9%	

Source: Public opinion 1984/85.IAK and ER protocols 42: 120; 19.1.1983. Archives of Estonian Radio.

Research in the spread of mass information and propaganda media (MIP), carried out at The Information Centre of Estonian Radio in 1977, showed that staying away from MIP (mass information and propaganda) was mainly a habit of older, country people. The rest of the population spent several hours a day listening to radio, watching TV, or reading printed media, with the average Estonian daily tuning in to 2-3 radio and TV programmes and reading five newspapers (Maimik 1980: 9). Soviet information was actively consumed, but not greatly trusted. Also, the choices were very limited, due to the small number of the information channels and the total control over the texts (Table 4).²¹

The reason for the crisis in confidence was the scarcity of socially important information and ignorance of the need of the audience in programme policy. Juridical advice and pragmatic information were needed, special information was also demanded from electronic media because the printed media was not specialised and covered only a narrow range of themes (Table 5). The reactions of the audience on the radio include reprimands:

'Informational broadcasts are inexact and slow. Tell the truth! Information is delayed and insufficient. Some events are concealed or distorted. News is cast into a set model. All-Union radio is copied entirely. Broaden the range of performers! Give specific information' (Maimik 1980: 21).

At the same time, the role of the public field and the contact with public was active with lots of phone calls and 60,000 letters per year.

Table 5. Audience opinion of ER programming: Which themes should be covered more? Which ones should be covered less?

According to the opinion of the listeners, more broadcasts were desired on the following:		
	1969	1979
1.	Behaviour and morality	Music (mostly pop music)
2.	Educational and special information	Practical advice
3.	Foreign information	Educational special information
4.	Art and literature	Entertainment
5.	Pop music	Behaviour and morality
6.		Operative information about world events
7.		Art and literature
Listeners wanted less broadcasts about the following:		
	1969	1979
1.	Propaganda (economy, politics)	Low-quality operative information about world events
2.	Lenin's jubilee (100)	Propaganda (economy, politics)
3.	Classical music	Classical music
4.	Sports	Music
5.	Cosmosol	

Source: Estonian Radio. IAK. Tallinn 1979. Archives of Estonian Radio.

Sociologists connect the conflictive situation with the fact that rigid programming policy in radio did not react to the processes and changes of structure that came about in society.

'Comparing the results of the inquiries through the years, we notice a permanent rise in the consumption of information, which comes along with the more complicated human activities, the need to identify oneself and to integrate. An important role in these processes is played by the knowledge, attitudes, and opinions mediated by the radio, TV and newspapers' (Maimik 1980: 101).

The permanent struggle, between journalism and ideology, resulted in the situation where the most desired broadcasts were entertainment and non-mainstream broadcasts. The audience chose broadcasts more and more consciously, while avoiding those mainstream broadcasts that were not desired in ones environment (Table 6; see also, Vihalemm 1999).

Table 6. Audience interest (%) in different topics.

Type of program	1974	1976	1983	1985
Humour, satire	85.8	88.7	91.4	88.1
Music	84.8	86.7	83.8	81.5
Quizzes	74.1	76.3	70.3	68.0
Health care	73.3	78.5	70.1	74.8
Juridical programme	67.3	78.1		
Nature and nature conservation	85.4	76.3	75.5	80.4
Literature (and adventure stories)	64.7	73.6	83.4	75.7
Traffic information	58.6	71.9	77.6	72.6
Socialisation of children	57.9	67.9	67.2	70.9
Education	50.3	60.6	77.6	62.1
Work-heroes	40.7	53.8	48.0	45.2
Achievements in planned-economy			22.5	24.7
Party leading	16.8	25.8	21.6	27.9

Source: The typology of the radio and TV audience. ER IAK 1987, Table 10. Archives of Estonian Radio.

As an important cultural channel, ER was strongly integrated and very creative. Estonian Radio was popular with its audience, due to the high quality of its texts (Table 6), radio plays, and journalists' dedication to staying in touch with the audience's wishes and needs. Cultural phenomena were primarily disseminated through artistic broadcasts that were intellectually challenging and that often used complicated aesthetic codes. Cultural broadcasts were comprised of radio plays, literary texts, sophisticated conversations, as well as midnight broadcasts of various kinds.

3.4.3. Mainstream and non-mainstream programmes

At the beginning of the 1980s, there was only one radio outlet and one television outlet in Estonia. Estonian Radio broadcast on 2 channels, which had 34 hours of original broadcasting daily; Estonian TV featured 12.5 hours of broadcasts daily. In 1983, Estonian Radio had 3 channels with 49 hours of broadcasts, 34 hours of which were original broadcasts (ER Yearbook, Tallinn 1983: 67). Estonian Radio as an institution had to copy exactly the structures and functions of the All-Union Radio in Moscow. This demand made necessary an excessive number of staff as compared to the scope of the programming. In 1982, the regular staff of ER consisted of 239 people, 72 of whom belonged to the programme department, 21 to the department of propaganda broadcasts, 24 to the department of informational broadcasts, 18 to the press bureau, 15 to the department of children's and youth broadcasts, 24 to the department of foreign broadcasts, 14 to the department of Russian broadcasts, 26 to the department of art broadcasts, and 25 to the department of musical broadcasts.

As for the structure of the programming, at the start of the 1980s 2/3 of the broadcasts were representational or for propaganda (67%). These included broadcasts on politics and ideology 23%, economy and production 16%, service and everyday

life 7%, public order 4%, family and home 5%, science 9%, nature 5%, all of which underwent strict editing in order to meet the demand of censorship. Sports amounted to 10% and culture to 22% of the programming; these kinds of broadcasts were usually less controlled (Panorama on the Television and Radio Committee of the ESSR, 1984).

Official strategy demanded that representational programming consist of ideologically 'correct' broadcasts, which were checked with special care beforehand. Thus, Estonian Radio broadcasts could be divided clearly into the mainstream of representative broadcasts (I Programme) and non-mainstream, or 'off-stream' (channels II and III) (Table 7 and 8). 'The strategy of the channels of Estonian Radio was: I Programme – problem broadcasts, information, radio plays and mostly classical music; Vikerraadio (channel II) – infotainment; Stereoraadio (channel III) – authored programme, with artistic learning' (Panorama on the Television and Radio Committee 1987: 6; see also Figure 11).

Table 7. Distribution of ER programming into mainstream and non-mainstream at the beginning of the 1980s.

	Listener	Journalist	Form	Time	Functions	Programme	Relation	Programmes	Treatment
mainstream	object	trustworthy	canonised model	popular	ideological regulating, socialising	I, partially II	evaluational	information, propaganda, part of art, music, youth	absolute, normative
off-stream	subject	less trustworthy	allowed search for form	less popular	educating cultural aesthetic	II, later III	discovering	part of music, entertainment	more open to some extent analysing

Source: Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s. Lõhmus 1999: 93 ©

Those who planned programmes for ER had to consider whether a broadcast was meant for 'mainstream' or 'off-stream', since the two differed in content as well as in form. The broadcast was made and directed correspondingly to the controlling and censoring 'ears' in ECP or to the common listeners. Though dealing with the same theme, the structure of a text, as well as its focus, genre and language, could differ entirely, depending on whether it was designed for main- or off-stream.²²

Thematic comparison between normal ER programmes and those broadcast at night (on channels II and III) highlights the differences between main- and off-stream (Table 8; see Mägi 1999: 13; Timak 1984: 110). Night programmes were typically cultural in nature, often featuring top-level journalism and a humanitarian slant. Some themes were treated differently, depending on whether the broadcast was in the 'mainstream' or the 'off-stream'. Differences in focus were especially significant. For

example, if in the ER mainstream (5%) the topic was 'the consumption of nature and production', in cultural, night-time programmes the same topic would be viewed in terms of 'nature conservation', existence, and ethics.

Table 8. Thematic comparison of day and night programmes on ER at the beginning of the 1980s.

Theme	ER common	Night Programmes
Politics, ideology	22,8%	5,4%
Economy, production	16,0%	5,9%
Service, everyday life	7,2%	1,4%
Public order	3,9%	0,9%
Family, home	4,7%	3,2%
Culture	22,2%	63,3%
Science, education	8,5%	8,8%
Sports	10,1%	6,6%
Nature	4,6%	4,5%

Source: Mägi 1999: 13; Timak 1985: 110. Tartu University, Department of Journalism.

Radio programming, as the impulse that was to determine the rhythms of the day and other time-periods, had to derive from the ideological calendar.²³ The programme was set up and checked by the programme director, who demanded corresponding broadcasts from the chief editorial board. Radio programming correlated with political events, the primary ones being those of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Congress, and also extended to include social celebrations.

3.5. The role of editor

Editing is the main shift in the journalistic process, taking place between the levels of social structure (real-life social interactions) and text production. Editing connects these levels, acting in both directions. Hence, the actual content of the mass media depended largely on the choices and interpretations made by editors. In the 1970s, the formerly technical function of the editor had developed into the role of official decision-maker. The editor had become a part of the institution. As such, he had to represent the (ideological) institution in broadcasts – i.e., to transform informal texts into formal or institutional ones – and at the same time represent the listeners in the institution. As a mediator between these two spheres, the editor carried out a significant transformation: the correlation of the structure of social relations with the structure of public texts.

Practical editing in closed journalism implicitly meant playing several different, even contradictory roles in the journalistic process. In fact, this important post covers the jobs ranging from journalist-author up to that of censor. These different roles

could be renamed or concealed in everyday routine, by being presented as an alternative activity or as new assignments.

Editing and controlling the journalistic product, at the stages of pre-text, text and post-text, included the following activities: planning, preparation, filtering (editing), selection of presentational frame, pre-censoring, performing, listening, and post-censoring. Despite the fixed routine of getting an item ready to be broadcast, the editor could face unforeseen problems at any stage of the work (Table 9).

The editor was responsible for the whole process of making the broadcast – from finding the material and theme up to censoring the ready-made broadcast and presentation.

Table 9. Stages of control and editing of Soviet radio texts in the 1970s–1980s.

Stage	Concept	Practice
I. THE STAGE OF PLANNING	1. First, a card of proposition was filled out, concerning the would-be broadcast item or series.	This card was submitted to a chief editorial board, which was to okay broadcasting it. In compiling the card, the general political situation, the situation at the moment, and the appropriateness of the topic in ER as a whole were considered. Thus, wording the proposition was a special skill, which required one to know current stereotypes and phrases. The heading of the broadcast item was to include an appropriate ideological attitude.
	2. The proposition was discussed at the briefing of the chief editorial board..	At the briefing, the chief editorial board also listened to prepared texts. Conditions were agreed upon: time needed to complete the project, its length, form, and if necessary, performers. Only in the case of trustworthy and well-known authors and editors did no discussion follow.
	3. The chief editor made suggestions at the briefing of the broadcast planning.	The chief editor prepared complete weekly plans. At the briefing, all chief editors and the Radio administration weighed the suitability of the particular item in the programme. They could add their own requirements and conditions to the broadcast.
II. THE STAGE OF PREPARATION	4. Creative and constructive processes	The author's work was assembling, fitting and montage; self-censorship
III. THE STAGE OF FILTERING – EDITING	5. The author submitted the finalised text to the pertinent broadcasting editor	The broadcasting editor listened to it, assessed its suitability, pointed out the excerpts to be left out or rewritten (or did it him/herself).
	6. The magnetic tape with the text for broadcasting accompanied by a word-for-word written text was taken for <i>visouring</i> to the senior editor of the editorial board.	The senior editor added remarks to the tape or the text about the excerpts to be left out or reworded. On a number of chief editorial boards (e.g. of propaganda and youth programmes) the senior editor was to sign every page of the text to be broadcast, thus confirming that the text corresponded to the contents of the given item to be broadcast and that the type-written pages were accurate. After listening to the whole text, the senior editor affirmed its suitability with his/her signature.
	7. The magnetic tape and the text were to be submitted to the chief editor at the appointed time for <i>visouring</i> .	The chief editor listened to it, marking the parts that could not be broadcast. If the author or the editor did not consent to the chief editor's assessment, they could send the text to the Radio administration. On some chief editorial boards the editor-in-chief again signed and <i>visoured</i> every page of the text, thus taking responsibility that the copy was correct and corresponded to the item to be broadcast, and that the senior editor's signature had not been forged. The senior editor was to put the tape in a box, close it, and stamp with an excise seal. The stamped box was sent to the senior editor by the technical service of the Radio, who had checked and signed it.
IV. THE STAGE OF SELECTION OF PRESENTATION FRAME	8. The broadcast text was set in a frame	The contextual announcer's text was added to the main text, which situated it in the field of public social texts.

V. THE STAGE OF CENSORING	9. The text was scrutinized by the censor.	The editor of the item to be broadcast took all the texts and materials for the broadcast, prepared in accordance with the requirements, to the censor (GLAVLIT), who got acquainted with the materials and signed them.
VI. THE STAGE OF PERFORMING	10. Performing as presenting the text in a channel	The editor of the broadcast took the tape and the text to the author of the item to be broadcast.
VII. LISTENING	11 Reactions of the audience and authorities.	The reactions of the ordinary audience and CP authorities may be similar or different; positive, neutral or negative.
VIII. THE STAGE OF POST-TEXT CENSORING	12. Ideological post-control by CPE and KGB	The workers of ideological front – CPE and KGB, unofficial persons – controlled the texts and programmes after the broadcast, and analysed the processes in the texts, using the proper sign system to prevent unwanted transformations of the public text.

Source: Lóhms 2001©

The main stages in editing are these: (1) making different decisions or selections; (2) naming and interpreting; (3) connecting and filtering; (4) selection of presentation frame and putting the broadcast item into a context, over which process, various checks and balances held sway. The editing stage was journalistically ambivalent. Editors had to consider ideological constraints placed on the public texts and, at the same time, represent the interests of the audience (and everyday life). Thus, the editor had both the opportunity and the responsibility to consider the listener's expectations, and to represent the listener's point of view to the institution.

Editors have pointed out that a strong yet informal hierarchy existed for decades in ER. The people in the leading positions had more freedom and rights. At the beginning of the 1980s, with the appointment of the new leading figures of the Party, the hierarchy changed considerably, creating the foundation of the general, official hierarchy. The post of editor required professionalism in the making of broadcasts. The more professional and the stronger the personality of the editor, the more freedom he had in carrying out tasks, and could do so without becoming embroiled in background problems. When the structure of the staff changed, the informal hierarchy was considered unfavourable and thus 'forbidden', even to the most loyal journalist. In each editorial board, a Party group was founded to resolve the most important problems of the board. The Party cell was given the right to speak on behalf of the rest of the staff, and the former work routine of the board, as well as its inner unity, disintegrated. The editor's status was not clearly determined officially. He usually had neither a labour contract nor fixed duties. An editor could be removed for 'violating the discipline'; but this kind of direct dismissal happened only once between 1980-85. Still, ER was considered to be open at a less political level, when it did not endanger the official image of ER – the one that suited the prevailing ideology. Several editors later expressed their surprise that ER needed their work at all.

Ideology versus humanism as contextual dimensions in purposeful use of Soviet terminology

Journalistic practice had various contexts and connotations. The ideological approach could exist either as a real norm or as an argument used, for example, to develop a certain professional-technical environment.

Officially, the environment of editing at the beginning of the 1980s was heavily ideological. The editor of the cultural broadcasts says this about the situation:

'If the 1970s were still the years of normal compromise, in the 80s sheer hostility became the norm. You feel somewhat inferior if some people are always puffed up, move about with mysterious faces, talking about something. Information was on different levels – some of it for one group of people, something else for others' (HJ 1994).

When it came to a point where editors needed to discuss their problems, they started to consider Party meetings as the place to do so, and they worked up the courage to call things as they saw them. In the end, they started to point to 'Party responsibility' as a defense of the interests of editors against the Party leaders. Editors started to demand real information from the radio leaders about how to do their jobs. They were even bold enough to demand correct information from state officials who, up to that time, were accustomed to doling out meaningless formulations.

'Let's take, for example, a recent broadcast "Teie küsimustele vastab" ("...will answer your questions") in which the Minister of Horticulture had to answer the listeners' questions posed in two broadcasts; however, his answers sufficed for scarcely half a broadcast. [This leads to] a more difficult question: Is it wise not to answer at all or to give a meaningless answer, which doesn't satisfy the listener? The editor can't give the answers; he is only the mediator between the reporter and the leading official. But if the question is left unanswered, the prestige of the journalist will suffer (editor of propaganda broadcasts, Gehrke 1984.

The Party leaders did not want serious discussion to arise at the Party meeting: 'You should discuss Party matters at the Party meeting. You get paid for doing your job; you can discuss job matters at the meetings of editors and editorial boards' (President of the Supreme Soviet of the ESSR I.Toome; ER Party meetings 1984. Vol. 90, protocol 6: 94).

Problems also arose when ER would air long musical programmes. There were permanent difficulties with content in musical, as well as verbal, broadcasts. The musical background to the verbal broadcasts caused problems for the radio leaders because there were no instructions for its regulation. The use of music in verbal broadcasts, where it was not necessary, was prohibited as 'non-professional'. A more important reason for this prohibition was not to allow the music possibly to add a new code to the broadcast, the existence of which could not be detected by the methods of the censor. There were regular critical programmes about musical broadcasts:

'The task of the musical programme was to propagate Soviet (including, in the first place, our Soviet Estonian composers), Russian, Western classical, and pop music by using every available means. And on the other hand, [one had to] avoid, in the ER music programmes, works with an alien orientation' (Himma 1985: 5).

Alien orientation meant first of all the English pop music that was becoming more and more popular among young people.

Editors sometimes resisted strong ideological demands. The following quote shows how an editor has acquired the necessary rhetoric, attacks with the weapons he has been attacked by, and starts to demand better conditions:

'Radio work, including the compilation of musical programmes, is an ideological fight. In this fight, [our] weapons, their number and quality are [crucial]. The recording equipment is one of the key elements of effective music propaganda. If we cannot rise to the recording standards of pop music, we cannot hold the attention of young people. It's clear that for compiling ideologically high-level musical programming, all the reserves must be used [...] only this is not sufficient. In the West, the production of commercial pop music has been organised at the good technical level of capitalistic mass production and to stand against it with [our own music technology] just might not be effective' (Himma 1985: 11–13).

Literary broadcasts also had to pass muster with the censor, because there were 'good' and 'bad' writers and artists. An editor might wait as long as a year before a broadcast would be performed. Perhaps no direct prohibition was issued, but there were always small obstacles. A pretext for denying airplay could be, for example, 'unsuitable voice'. Although the editors of the cultural broadcasts had as their aim the permanent broadening of the allowed circle of cultural figures, they could not avoid airing performance of ideological literature and radio plays about war – the programme directors could, in their way, also evaluate the influence of the literary text. To a programme director who demanded more ideological content in radio plays, a well-known producer replied:

'Let's ask, what is the tendency in the recent repertoire policy based on, if not on a naïve imagination about the direct deducibility of the idea from thematics? Communistic ideas are demanded of our art, so the most guaranteed way of offering them is to stage as many plays as possible about World War II and well-known revolutionaries!' (Kraut 1985: 16–17).

Literary performances were carried out at the top level in ER. Connecting art and ideology in radio plays turned these influential professional productions into retainers and revivers of war myths:

'Radio plays for adults are performed twice a week, so we present about 100 plays in a year, 20 of them war plays, in addition two sequels, five evenings each. Documentary plays depict mostly the warfare in the areas occupied by Fascists,

war through the prism of the human feelings, war philosophy, and the obsession with war years later' (Lemmik 1985).

And:

'Of the popular sequel stories, every fourth one (14 sequels a year) had a fighting-patriotic content' (Juske1985).

Literary editors had to play the role of humanist; also, they were professional as literary experts. The editing of literary texts was ambivalent. Culture was a field in which ideological norms did not have a certain 'normative' meaning. Rather, they were interpreted in a wider humanistic context, as one model of demands set beside another.

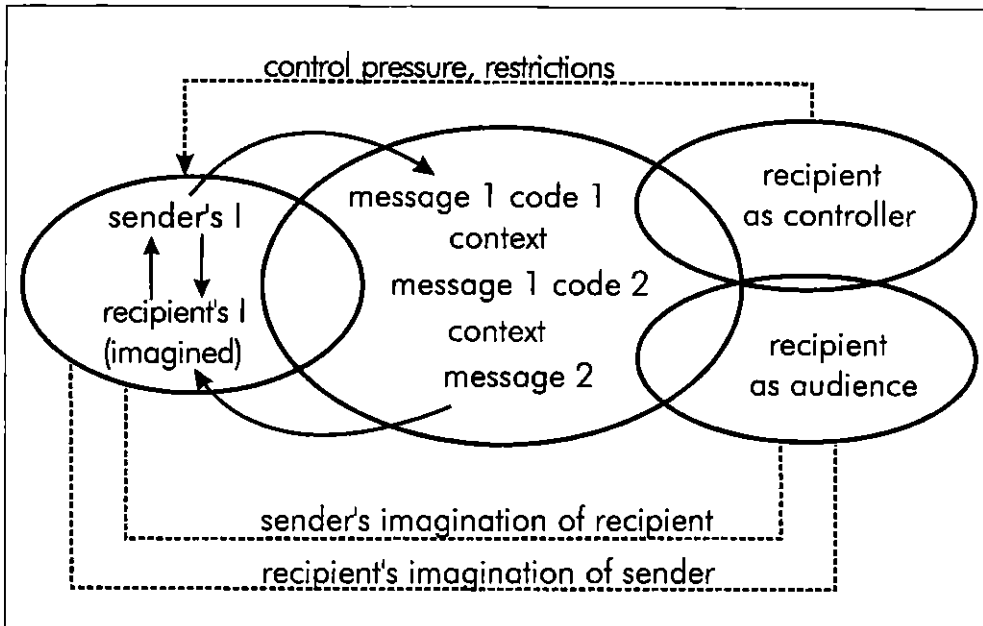
3.5.1. Dualistic role of the editing process in totalitarian system: Texts for the official controller and for the audience

The editor usually viewed his work from two vantage points: from the position of the imaginary listener and from that of the imaginary chief-editor. The latter's real presence set limits on how the editor could proceed. In interviews with editors and in radio texts, the editor's permanent question can be discerned, even through the layers of censoring and self-censoring: where is the limit? To what extent do the actual texts have to be shortened or neutralised? What should be eliminated from the text 'on occasion'? The more complicated the radio genre, the more difficulty the censor had in observing it. For the censor usually listened to a recorded text only once, then altered the written version of it according to his first impressions.

Major treatment of texts before broadcasting, carried out because of an 'imaginary controlling ear', did not necessarily suffice. *Viseuring* by the editor-in-chief had long been functioning, generally in the form of advice: 'I advise you to take this or that extract out.... Try to understand, as far as I am concerned it might remain here, but if someone from "the White House" should happen to listen to it, it may create trouble.' Thus, the 'imaginary editor-in-chief' or 'imaginary listening ear' itself consisted of several levels. The editor-in-chief did not make independent decisions about censorial editing, but deferred to 'an imaginary controller' who held a higher position. The full power of 'imaginary control' actually resided in the CC of the CPE. The latter was located in Moscow, where an observing listener could report on a broadcast. This report, in turn, could 'cause trouble'.

In the 1980s, there existed two main types of editor: *editor-experts* and *ideological editors*.²⁴ Experts were the specialists and acknowledged masters in their field. In this area, the editor-experts were not surprisingly adepts in language usage, highly qualified linguists, and humanists by their education. Literary editors enacted the role of humanists, and, as literary experts, their competency in that area added to their professionalism. As mentioned above, the editing of literary texts was ambivalent. In

the area of culture, ideological norms did not have fixed, normative meanings, but were interpreted in a wider humanistic context, as one set of norms among many others.



Source: Figure is developed from Jakobson 1960; Maletzke via McQuail 1981; Lotman 1973; Löhmus 1999: 52.

Figure 5. 'Double' editing as an activity in the process of the public text in the Soviet journalism.

Any media process between sender (a critical-analytical one) and receiver involves *imaginary reciprocal 'guess-work'*. The latter is absorbed in the text, along with its own critical analysis, questions, and answers. In 'editing', the imaginary recipient is an ambivalent phenomenon. As far as the 'editor' is concerned, he is both an *ordinary recipient* (alter ego) and a *controller* higher up in the hierarchy, who guarantees journalistic discourse and is responsible for the established and legitimised ideological discourse (Figure 5).

In a closed society, the battlefield of texts may give off the impression of 'openness' to the observer. By studying simultaneously the texts of different discourses, and by establishing their mutual relations, it is possible to create new, more complicated 'codes' and, consequently a certain 'openness' which need not be discoverable in separate textual types, but which is viewed as such by the recipient.

3.6. *Viseurs* vs. editors: Conflicting cognitive mapping and world models

I focus here on the distinction between 'editing' and '*visuring*'. The level of censorship that the editor dealt with daily was that of *visuring*. Though this *visuring*

was followed by official censorship (GLAVLIT), the editors considered *visouring* to be the real censorial control: 'Usually, many things were not crossed out by the censor. *Visouring* was made before censoring' (interview with editor EB 1994). This process meant the control of broadcasts at the level of the chief editing board. The editor had to present the broadcast in word-for-word literary form either to the chief editor or to a specially authorised person. *Visouring* was not formal. The transformations made to the text at this stage were obligatory, but the editors had some 'bargaining' power, which could motivate their choices of what (or what not) to change. Here is a typical scenario: An editor receives a text referring to social problems or human details. The *visouring* editor regards the text as material, and uses its form and the content for achieving his own aim – a text with a certain structure – in the field of public texts. In this case, the form of *visouring* may conflict with the primary ideal of editing. The close relations between editing and *visouring* provides a reason, in certain cases, to consider these activities as synonymous, though the editor preparing the text and the *visouring* editor occupy different levels of the media process. This situation blurred the boundaries between roles and made the content of both roles ambivalent. There was little open discussion, but a lot was said privately about the problems of certain texts.

'– *What does visouring mean?*

'– *Hard to say. Guard or watcher— his point of departure was ... his own cognisance, [his] own experience. If there were problems, he [took his cue] from problems and precedents ... mainly. Since it was the custom then to know what is spoken about and how it is spoken, he was interested in following that custom.*' (MU 1994)

The *visour's* departure from his own 'experience' meant movement away from the Party line, not real everyday life and experience. Real awareness of public texts was the subject on which the Party view, as a limiting principle, was implemented. *Visouring*, as playing a political role in the text process, was a confidential task, which was a prerequisite of Party membership and loyalty:

'*5 or 6 persons in the editorial board had the right of visouring. In addition to the chief editor, a couple of old communists who did not make broadcasts themselves, supervision was their only task*' (interview with editor MU).

The institutionalisation of texts – raising them to social status – was carried out in the name of the editor, who had to oversee the general *visouring* principles so that the text would pass the supervision:

'*He was mainly interested in the right naming of significant party and state leaders, their exact titles. This certainly had to be well presented. You had to avoid what they regarded as low-style phrases*' (MU).

Visouring – did it change the content or the form? In practice, it changed both. Because in reality the editor was not told the real reason for the transformation. Instead, some more general pretext was given, e.g., shortening.

'Shortening was also a problem. Though it was the editor's function, the viseurs also dealt with shortening' (MU 1994).

The relationship between editor and *viseur* was that of a meeting of representatives of different levels – an institution representing a social structure and an individual mediating real experience (Firsov 1977). *Viseuring* considered sincere, emotional texts as material, which, if one decreased their subjectivity and formalised them sufficiently, could be turned into a representation that would give an impression of participation:

'– They tried to eliminate from the story everything that was personal, subjective, cognitive,... This was avoided, so that there would be no personal attitude ...'

'– Was this true only for you, the interviewer, or did it concern the interviewee as well?'

'– As for the interviewee, it depended on who it was. If he was a cultural figure then often the personal approach was avoided. But if he was an official – the officials usually spoke very little and badly, it was almost impossible to make them tell something – as for them, there was nothing much left for viseuring. What little they said, was the only thing to be used...' (EB 1994).

Viseuring concerned the whole text – text, music, design, metaphors. If the censor observed the factual level, the *viseur* observed the text – narrative, meta-narrative, etc.

'– Did the viseur read between the words as well or did he only have the task of reading words?'

'– No, in the informational broadcasts the problem wasn't so serious but in the youth broadcasts they did read between the words. Now there was a legendary case in the youth broadcasts – Teetlaus – she was also from that old communist group who never made any broadcasts themselves. And she was a very typical viseurer [sic]. If somebody talked about a trip abroad she tried to avoid everything that was outside the official programme. If she did not know exactly, if it was official – if somebody said that he moved about by himself – a classical story was that when somebody said that he went to Vietnam and rode by bike, she cut it out because a Soviet tourist can't move about by himself in Vietnam. This was a typical example.' (MU 1994)

What was the *viseurer's* point of departure? Whom did he reckon with?

'Often he asked questions I could not answer because I could never turn my thoughts [in the way] he turned these things. He had such a special quality, intuition, he could see things with the enemy's eye and listen to them with the enemy's ear. The situation never happened that when you presented him the broadcast materials that he did not say anything critical.' (interview with editor MU)

Radio had an official department of censorship - GLAVLIT (Authority on Maintaining State Secrets in Printed Matter). In addition to the official censor almost all persons and levels in ER dealt with censorship, and it was total. All work routine

was connected to permanent control as a process, and this was considered normal. The censor of radio was called in the house by his or her first name, and was considered one of 'us'. The situation is explained by a programme director:

'Radio was distinguished from the other mass media by the fact that we had a very good censor. She didn't interfere. Only when we neglected the regulations – which we certainly tried to avoid – then she told us. She was like one of us.' (Interview JH)

Editing and *visouring* were different levels of the editorial process. Yet, their similarity and mutual interests provided an integrating effect that dispersed the sharp opposition of functions in practice, and made the content of both roles ambivalent. *Visouring* used the idea of editing – as the arrangement of the text for better presentation of the original content – for its own aims, such as making the content of the text 'suitable'. In *visouring*, texts are functionally transformed if necessary, and meaningful parts are often eliminated.

Thus, in *visouring* as censorial editing, double censorship takes place. When a text is used as a vehicle for presenting customised texts, that original text has been destroyed. It thereby loses the possibility of becoming a public text. Restructuring the cognitive and mental mapping of actors' in their texts meant the restructuring or transforming of mediated experiences. That practice created the situation in which editing had been turned into censorship.

3.6.1. Models of editing – *visouring* confrontations in the Soviet public text

The nature of journalistic editing has not been extensively discussed as yet. The concept has been used to cover the professional editing of a public text (Editing – 1), and to cover the reducing of its layers of content, as well as its placement into an ideological context (Editing – 2 as *visouring*). The editor appears as a central, connecting link between all levels of the journalistic hierarchy, and as a mediator of the public text.

Editing can be viewed as a social phenomenon against the background of politicised societal relations. Editing in journalism was closely related to the control of public text and was based on the fear of censorship.

A rigid hierarchy of topics was characteristic of journalism. The myths – about 'originary events' and 'originary figures' – formed the basic textual model of the established ideology. The Soviet interpretation of time, history, society and people was grounded on this model.

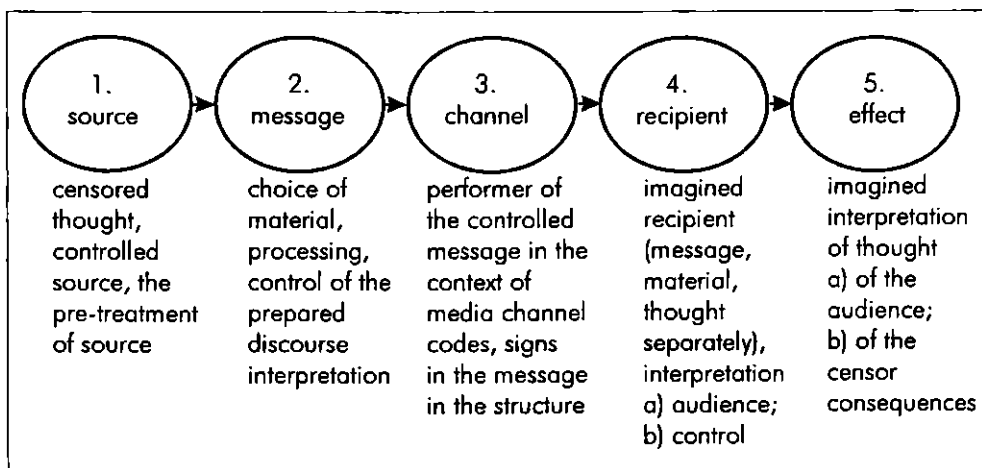
In media organisations – Estonian Radio among them – censorship was carried out by the official censor and also by most departments and on most levels. In a way, the entire working process was under continuous surveillance, which appeared as a part of the process such that it was considered natural. Overt censorship consisted in *visouring* the broadcasted programmes, choosing the broadcasts, topics and authors,

and in making other decisions in connection with work. Censorship and manipulation operated all stages of editing: in the choosing of topics, in interpretation, in developing the structural relations in a text and modifying context, and in performing.

Censorship can be classified according to what is left out of the text: (1) the elimination of certain words; (2) of certain expressions or phrases; (3) of certain thoughts; (4) of certain ways of thinking; (5) of textual structures; (6) of the whole text.

The vertical and horizontal levels of journalism mingled, mediated by the editor. The relationship between the editor and the journalistic text reflected the situation in ideology and censorship. At the same time, control was exerted on several levels: by editors-in-chief, by *visours*, and by censors. In the Soviet system, journalistic processing denoted a situation in which the sources were pre-controlled and from which 'forbidden' material was removed.

Journalistic activities can be depicted with Lasswell's (1948) scheme, in which the media process is viewed as a whole consisting of certain elements. In the model of journalistic communication, the elements of the process are (1) source, (2) message, (3) journalistic channel, (4) recipient, (5) the effect of communication. The awareness and description of the media process have contributed both to making that process conscious and to determining it. Lasswell's scheme can help depict journalistic editing in its different stages. The progress of the message, as well as that of editorial thought and activity, have been implicitly inscribed in the journalistic process described above (Figure 6).



Source: Löhmus 1999: 71©

Figure 6. Official journalistic process in the Soviet system of journalism in the 1970s and early 1980s.

Pre-text and text:

1. The permissibility of the source was predetermined; the source of thoughts was either censored or pre-treated.

2. The material of the message was chosen from among permitted sources or handled according to requirements; its text was composed in a type of journalistic discourse that conformed to the established ideology concerning the use of words. The composition and editing of the text thus included the proper interpretation of the phenomenon, its textual management, and its control.

3. The channel: the controlled message was delivered by a controlled presenter in the ideological context of a media channel. The signs and codes, mediated by the editor in interpreting the message, were surrounded by a framework and interpretation deriving from the specificity of the media channel, which thus influenced the content of the message.

Post-text:

4. The recipient receives a message composed for journalism via a journalistic channel, and appears as merely imaginary in the process. The persona of the recipient is also imaginary, as is their role in listening, which is either that of a controller or merely a receiver of the message. An editor often played conflicting roles, seeing both sender and receiver simultaneously, and taking both into consideration.

5. The effect: this denotes the 'success' and influence of the reception. The envisaging influence of the imaginary reception was the work of the journalistic editor. It was impossible to examine the effect in reality, since the journalistic process was mostly interested in exercising an ideological influence on the recipient. In reality, some editors always had to take into account the fact that the imaginary recipient would be incredulous towards the 'message' and would verify its truthfulness, and in the process decipher the real message behind the message received.

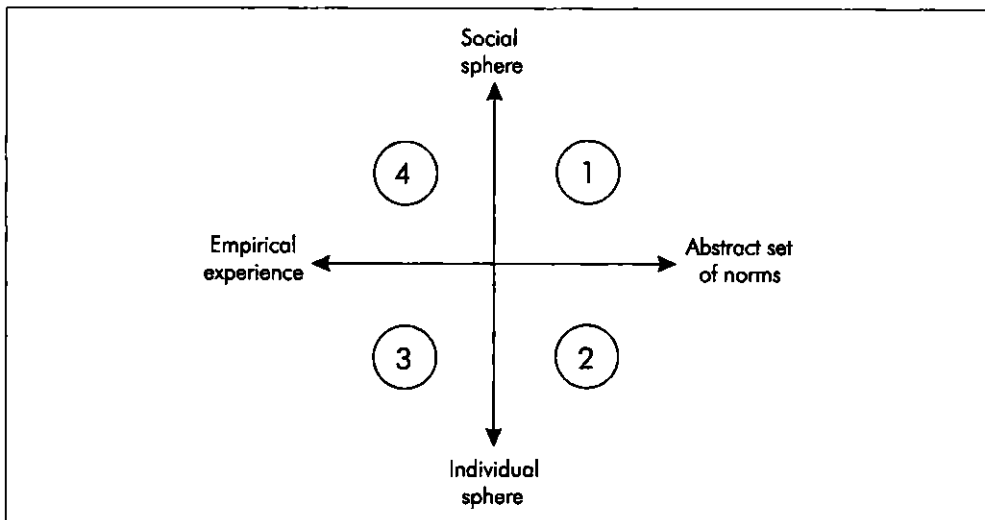
From the point of view of editing, the imaginary media process was contradictory and contained starting points that were ambivalent towards the established ideological discourse, since they took into account recipients who had adopted a defensive position. In certain cases, the text is not a public-conflict situation; instead, the argument is held in the text's structure, between signs and codes, on a more or less covert level.

Though the constraints placed on journalism required proclamation of the 'new', the new tended to be treated through fantasy and as the myth of the new reality. In that case, what kind of editing-censorship confrontations took place in the practice of public text?

Four models of editing-censorship confrontation in the Soviet public text

The following models map out various approaches to constructing an ideological-normative standard by means of public text. Often, this led to a conflict

between the level of editing and that of censorship. I consider how the norms were constructed by means of different types of text, then study examples of the elimination of incorrect text.



Source: Löhmus 2001 ©

Figure 7. Four models of editing-censorship confrontation in the Soviet public text in the 1970s–1980s.

We can identify the use of some typical motives and even textual types as models, which were reinforced or into which was put the content of public text. In the pre-process of the public texts the journalistic field of textual confrontations is created. Different relations and behaviour take place in that field, as evidenced by certain types of text. In many cases, the positions of the editor and the censorship are at odds with each other (Figure 7).

Totalitarian political discourse.

It is characterised by the use of the thematic field and participants as material.

The most important aspects such discourse are the enforcement of ideological rules, semantics, strict concordance with the political canon, and 'preferred decoding'. (Only a few correct interpretations were acceptable). Typically, the text is reduced to parts of the mythology, and the subjects' identity is changed; the text is ideologised, formalised and institutionalised. The deep-coded structure is politically correct and unambivalent. Typical texts come from the repertoire of the mythical achievements of foreign policy; these are brainwashing texts, which interpret world processes, that are presented as broadening one's outlook. Such texts are not systematised or placed in hierarchical order; numerous repetitions of the same information is standard practice.

There is no dissonance between the discourse of the author and that of the censor who assists the author. In eliminating errors, the censor typically removes temporal adverbs, subjunctive or emotive qualities and moods, and other aspects of the original material.

The type of text in which deep level coding is correct, but on the surface, unbiased editing gives the text more journalistic features.

More informal, 'soft' forms make the text seem more 'professional', guaranteeing the 'take it for granted' effect. Typical texts of this kind tell heroic stories in the public text. The journalist has searched for a story that could be made comparable to that of great epic narratives centered on heroes, work, and friendship between nations.

In these texts, the journalistic discourse and censorship discourse go in the same direction. The journalist aims to produce an ideological text, by creating a heroic story and personage. The editorial corrections strengthen the mythical traits. People who had 'material' were turned into 'material' by the author and even more so by the censoring editor. Typically, the world-view, value system, and identity of the interviewees was changed.

The text is informal, but a strong framework has been imposed or the text has been reconstructed.

These kinds of published texts include softer messages, typically concerning the mythology of achievement; for example, an item depicting the development of industry or new technology becomes a journalistic 'event'. Industrial difficulties are connected with broader questions of environment and development. In a professional and socially responsible way, interviewees discuss technological processes and their results.

In this kind of text, journalistic discourse and censorship discourse typically clash. The journalistic discourse usually features experts thinking about problems and choices to be made in the future. The ideological discourse uses specialists as a means for examining the amount of industrial development. In the latter kind of discourse, the text usually takes a more positive view, such that negative predictions of the future are eliminated, including discussions of cause-and-effect. Discussions concerning the various possibilities of interpretation take place at the censoring stage of achievement stories.

The function of the text has been totally changed.

The original material has been severely edited, restructured, and / or given a new function. These kinds of text include speeches made by a journalist or other well-known person, a literary broadcast or poem, and the like. For example, the author might call for the rejection of arbitrary actions and for taking society seriously.

A typical trait of banned texts is that the author criticises a certain governmental practice, or that he simply describes his everyday experience.

In this case, the conflict between journalistic discourse and control discourse is maximal. In this situation, it is quite normal for the censor to change, reject, or altogether ban a text from being published.

Commentary.

According to my interviews with professionals, the problem of the editor's identity, though seldom discussed, was crucial for the person himself. Identity is linked to origin, activities, and professionalism. Especially important are choices, principles, and clear insight into one's situation. Most of the editors interviewed identified themselves as 'a journalist working as an editor'. They considered it essential to do the so-called 'normal, practical work' – such as producing broadcasts – that gave their work substance and direction. An editor from a younger generation speaks to this issue:

– *'Who really was in charge of the radio? Who was the real ideologist?'*

– *'I thought that the real ideologists were the ordinary editors because you could do whatever, [and] they[censors] would afterwards scold you. I really can't remember any serious cultivators of the socialist world-view, I had no luck in meeting such people...'* (editor AS 1994).

The ambivalent situation of editing was a hard task, demanding a strong personality and thorough professionalism. A sociologist has presented human history as the problem of portraying an editor:

'They were exceptional personalities because they couldn't and didn't want to live otherwise. They were least inclined to compromise. They had their own ideas. They could to a certain extent compromise but never at the cost of their ideas. This was more like a game - what would pass the censor and what would not. The broadcasts that were really WISE, it was very difficult to censor them. You couldn't say anything critical about them. Younger people who were becoming [well-known] personalities, they had a problem – they had ideas but they were not yet MATURE as journalists. They couldn't find the words, the right means... Compromise was indispensable. But the question was at what cost you could compromise. Some made a compromise at the cost of the idea, some made it at the cost of form.' (Interview with A. Saar 1994)

This means that, in practice, the situation occurs in which the correct, conventional form may have some hardly noticeable nuances, the latter having a more important, special meaning in the new, official form. Also, the audience had learned to decode messages as signs, doubts, and views about reality.

Notes to Chapter III

¹ Lenin viewed human history as the struggle between the class system, such that every person must inevitably take sides with one or the other class in society. The aim of the Party and the Soviet people was to demonstrate to history the victory of working-class ideology over that of the bourgeoisie. Only the Communist Party could realise this aim. Lenin presented the functions of journalism as prescriptions for working in communicative situations; these prescriptions were to be treated as the demands of the Party and were canonised for the duration of the whole Soviet period. Articles describing the functions of journalism were typically just reworkings of Lenin's speeches. Such texts included a list of journalistic problems and advisable solutions to them.

² Instructions dating from 1918 included such orders as decrease political pathos, play up new facts about industry and the internal situation of factories, revolutionary war with internal enemies, reflection mass actions instead of provide intelligent discussions, maintain a suspicious attitude toward anything really new. These were repeated in various wordings in his other articles, these were turned into journalistic dogma as truth inherited from the state leader. Such 'truths' were still being promulgated as late as the 1980s.

³ Propaganda was profitable. The circulation of *Pravda* in 1918 was 25 million copies (net profit 2 million rubles), and 33 million copies of *Bednota* produced a net profit of 2.37 million (Lenin, VIII Congress of the Russian Communist Party, report of the Central Committee 18.03.1919). To spread the Soviet ideology, radio was hurriedly put into operation, because of the 'great profit it may bring to us in the nearest future in military as well as in propaganda matters' (Lenin 12.1.22., suggestion to the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party). '*How is it going with loudspeakers, apparatuses that enable a whole hall (or square) to listen to Moscow? I am much afraid that this thing is "dozing" again, due to the damn habit of the Russian Oblomovs to stall absolutely anything*' (2.09.1921, the peoples' commissar of mail and wireless, first published in 1933).

⁴ Genre, a term from aesthetics, can be understood as both form and meaning. Journalistic genres are specific linguistic-stylistic means of using literary form. Journalistic genres are divided according to function: informational-propagandistic genres (news, overview, reportage), dialogues (interview), discussions (article, commentary, overview of newspapers, review), and literary-public affairs (article, feature, feuilleton, literary reportage). Genres are often mingled, forming mixed and transitional forms.

Socialist realism, an artistic method that came along at the beginning of the twentieth century, was based on ideas of how to 'reflect reality', and on the premise of a common, one-dimensional use of language. Socialist realism was established as a normative method in order to suppress the variability of literary styles and language-use, in order to define them as 'external' or 'non-existent'. This included those aspects of Russian formalism that were seen as separating art from reality: 'Marxist criticism persistently condemns formalism as a creative principle, while at the same time fully conceding the importance of form in the creative process (ENE 3, 1988: 39). In the second half of the 1920s, literary life was subordinated to Party control, the activities of literary groups were prohibited, and realism that did not meet the needs of Party propaganda was condemned.

Socialist realism was worked out by Gorki on the basis of Marxist works (by Marx, Lenin, etc.), in order to come up with a norm for writing. The term 'socialist realism' was officially taken into use in 1932 and became part of the statutes of the Writers' Union of the USSR (1934). Hence, it was adopted as the main method of creation. It demands artificially 'true' life and historically specific depiction of revolutionary development. It is closely connected with educating people in the spirit of socialism. One had to see life on a dialectical basis, with an eye to the communist future. The main features of this method are '*socialist by content and national by form*', the idea of class-struggle and position, a vision of the 'typical'. It was to produce active, 'fighting' texts that renewed the concept of human being. The use of socialist realism takes a Marxist position toward the depiction of life. The most famous developer of this method was M. Gorki, and it included such representatives as V. Majakovski, K. Fedin, and others. The method required the official differentiation and selection of sources, material, and presentation. Hence, we can compare the method, as described by Hallin, to U.S. norms for classifying texts about foreign policy and wars, by qualifying the subjects as 'sphere of consensus', 'sphere of legitimate controversy', and 'sphere of deviance' (Hallin 1986: 117). General application and 'enforcement' (1932–1934) of socialist realism was the enforcement of a system for representing such myths and the 'reality' they were intended to produce. A Soviet public text involved appropriate and inappropriate genres. Appropriate genres were served the function of identity; these included the portrait, heroic stories enabling identification with Party directives, etc. By contrast, inappropriate genres, as ritualised and mythologised presentations of reality, were not reportages on real life, real problems, etc. The genres were determined by the method of socialist realism. Not all genres of reality (live reportage, interviews) were acceptable for the Soviet public text, since these could not be subjected to the obligatory pre-censorship. Exceptions were made only in the case of the most loyal persons and in the reportage of politically correct events (Maimik 1994). Another task of public texts was to influence and shape reality as context. It was no problem to fit these texts into a real context, so long as they actively moulded the context. At the same time, the creating of the texts was tightly controlled, and such texts had to be principally socialist-realistic. On an everyday level, genre was the central issue – as a sign that revealed every nuance of the established system and norms. This presented dilemmas for journalists. At the same time, studies show that journalists themselves considered direct, realistic genres to be the most effective ones (Löhmus 1999).

⁵ *Social myths* are essential as a store of the ideas of all societies. Social myths contribute to a symbolic level that supports the structure of the social system. In turn, social structures support social myths, thus guaranteeing their own existence. Journalism, especially mass media, forms a substantial part of the social structure. On the other hand, professional journalism proceeds from reality, verbalises and analyses it, studying real-life trends and changes. Social mythology and journalism may be at odds with each other, since they operate on different bases (if the media are not integrated into the mythology). At the same time, they both may want to use 'the other' as material (for analysis) or means, respectively.

Social processes are directed through interpretations. Feedback occupies an important place in the system of interpretations. Soviet mythology and ideology are characterised by a deficiency of actual feedback (hence, also of respective feedback genres). What did not please the censor remained uninterpreted. Unpleasant questions and facts were eliminated.

The basis for the system of mythologies lies in mythologised values. By way of comparison, one could remark that Soviet mythology was represented by an idea-mythology according to which 'well-being' was directed to the distant future (communism) under real conditions (if we work hard). The available mythology was

materialistic, such that ‘well-being’ is attainable here and now, and everyone has equal opportunities to attain happiness on Earth.

⁶ The frame of real and symbolic processes in Soviet ideology was established in 1917, when the Bolsheviks took over. The new ideology was based on class-centred oppositions and was all-encompassing in nature. In the socio-political process, these were the important years: 1917, with the establishment of the power-ideology based on the future-myth (communism); 1924, with Lenin’s death generating the leader-myth and heritage-myth; 1934, with the establishment of socialist realism, by Gorki and others, as the legitimate system for the depiction of myths. Journalism was converted into a means of struggle, as well as the basis and center for political organisation. Communism promised that at the cost of sacrificing lives and mobilising huge crowds of people, the Soviet Union could be industrialised in a remarkably short time. Life was changing before one’s very eyes. The 1930s were years of technological progress all over the world. The development of mass industry, the triumph of engineering, and military supremacy kept large masses of people equally excited in the United States of America, Germany, and the Soviet Union. In 1939, Hitler’s war became the real test of the ideas of the proletarian, class-consciousness generation. In 1940, Estonia and the other Baltic states were annexed by the Soviet Union. The Soviet victory in the war (1944–1945) completed, strengthened, and verified these myths. 1948 saw the genesis of the Socialist world as the partial realisation of the myth system. Stalin’s death in 1953 softened the systems of repression, and the role of journalistic discourse in the public text grew. The middle of the century was characterised by technical achievements – the H-bomb in 1949 and space discoveries in 1957 and 1961. Competition between the two major world systems accelerated these achievements. The public text and its control were influenced by the crises in Hungary (1956), Cuba (1961), and Czechoslovakia (1968). On both the realistic and the symbolic levels, there was the activation of Polish ‘Solidarity’ and the Soviet aggression against Afghanistan in 1979.

The Soviet myth system, developed in the 1950s, existed unchanged in journalism for more than 30 years. The beginning of the 1980s, when the myths started to unravel, was considered a period of stagnation. The methods of applying the ideological system were based on Soviet education, culture and mass media. At the end of the 1940s, the Soviet public text developed, its formation influenced significantly by the victory in World War II; the enhancement of the Socialist system in 1948; it was also determined by the first normative decisions, made in 1946 (concerning the journals *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*). The position of journalists changed when social norms changed. The normative basis of Soviet journalism was in force from beginning to end (Löhms 1999).

⁷ ‘Mythology needs “holy” or “sacred” legitimisation for activating and developing its forms and ideas; “positive laws” are designed to function as stabilising factors for the ever changing movements of men. In the interpretation of totalitarianism, all laws have become laws of movement. When the Nazis talked about the law of nature or when the Bolsheviks talk about the law of history, neither nature nor history is any longer the stabilising source of authority for the actions of mortal men; they are movements in themselves’ (Arendt 1958: 463).

⁸ ‘In relation to the culture in which it is enunciated, tradition is an utterance. But as an utterance, tradition can be considered both as utterance and as enunciation. As an utterance (myth), a tradition proposes an invariant axiology, a sacred order; as an enunciation (ritual), a tradition is sacred too. Therefore, tradition can be described as the sacred enunciation of a sacred utterance’ (Speelman 1993: 8).

⁹ CP congresses in the newspaper (*The People's Voice*) of only 4 pp. in length: 19. CP Congress in 1952, 20 pp.; CP Congress in 1956, 56 pp.; CP Congress in 1959, 30 pp. + 30 pp. in the report of the previous and in the that of the following month; CP congress in 1971, 31 pp. + 1 sheet.

¹⁰ The formation-foundation myths are also represented by the texts known as 'the creative work by party leaders'. Short stories, novels, poetry and the like, written by them, were considered 'true' a priori. Brezhnev's *A Small Country* and other texts of this kind were first published in serial form. The reading of these was obligatory, and they were publicly discussed in the press.

¹¹ For example: Fight to lower the cost of production! *Follow Läänemaa's example!* The county of Läänemaa surpassed the quota for state purchase of harvest. Why is the crop littering the fields? And: 'A newspaper in every household!' (RH 3.1.1945). Correlating the public text with mythology was accomplished by wording, depending upon the goal. For example, the wording 'for Communism' or 'building up Communism' could be replaced by 'fight to build up Communism' (*Sovetskaja kniga – moshnoe orudie partii i naroda v borbe za stroitelstvo kommunizma.* (pro: za stroitelstvo kommunizma. –) (Lichtenshtein *et al.* 1961: 5).

¹² The institution of information was gradually moving away from ideology in the mid-1950s, although up to the 1970s, Estonian Radio propaganda and information broadcasts shared the same editorial office.

¹³ Particularly in the 1980s, a lot of mixed genres emerged between Levels II and III, when it was still necessary to preserve 'mythical elements' or idols. For example, professionals were to be replaced by characters from myths. As another example: 'An Evening in the Library' was a broadcast on which workers met an author. The worker would say, 'I would read this book', thus acting as a literary critic. Etc.

¹⁴ Documents concerning Soviet journalism include decisions about journalism, papers of the CPSU congresses and plenums, decisions about censorship. The first decree about publishing, presented as temporary, was 'Dekret o petshati' (Nov. 1917; Dekret Sovetskoi vlasti. T.I., M., 1957: 24). It promised to close newspapers that (1) called for public opposition against or disobeyed the government of workers and peasants; (2) triggered anxiety among citizens by distorting facts; (3) called for crimes. The decree legalised the activities of censorship and enabled the closing of more than 300 newspapers in a single year. (Previous to the decree, the law of publishing and freedom of speech [27.4.1917] of the Russian Provisional Government had been used by the Bolsheviks - the authors of new limitations - to overthrow the government.) The journalistic tribunal, where everyone could lodge a complaint against newspapers, was an influential means of terror. GLAVLIT (The Central Board of Literary and Publishing Matters) was established on 6.6.1922 by a decree 'to unite the establishments dealing with censorship' by banning texts that (1) included propaganda against the Soviet regime; published war secrets of the state; (3) caused social anxiety by issuing false announcements; (4) caused national or religious fanaticism; (5) had pornographic content (1922 No. 40, 637–639). This left a large field of action for banners-interpreters. The same document authorised the KGB (GPU; NKVD) to act as post-censor. 'Decision concerning the journals *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*' (CP CC 14.8.1946) shut down the journal *Leningrad*, criticising it as 'lacking ideas, apolitical, strange to Soviet journalism, dangerous for the interests of the Soviet people and state; it must have no

place in our journalism'. This decision was one of the first 'general' Soviet decisions that Estonian journalists were subjected to after the annexation of Estonia. The decision stated that the chief editor is fully responsible for the journal's ideological-political direction and for the quality of the articles published.

Soviet journalistic texts were legitimised, 'normative', public texts. Demands on journalistic texts were spelled out in several books, such as Bogdanov's *Spravotshnik zhurnalista* [*Handbook for Journalists*], Lenizdat, 1961; the series 'Library for the Journalist', which included *Glavnye temy* [*The Main Themes*], 1971; *Gazeta, avtor, tstitatelj* [*Newspaper, Author, Reader*], 1975. At every congress of the CP (every fifth year) and in plenums of the CP, special decisions concerning journalism and journalists were made by the bureau of the Central Committee of CPSU, (e.g., the decision concerning 'improvement of ideological work', May, 1979). The Congress of the CPSU 1972 (*Material XXIV sezda MPSS M*, 1972: 91) gives these directions to journalists:

- deliver a contemporary, decisive and effective counterblow by [using] ideological weapons;

- carry the truth about socialist society, the socialist way of life; build up communism in our country to hundreds of millions of people, so that, e.g., 'the voice of truth' about the Soviet Union can be audible on all the continents of the Earth.

Also, all the decisions of the Central Committee of the CPSU about journalism were compulsory reading: 'On reflecting the Socialist contest in the journalism of the Lithuanian SSR', 'On the selection and education of ideological staff in the party organisation of Byelorussia', 'Improvement of preparation and additional qualification of the journalistic staff', 'The situation of criticism and self-criticism in the party organisation of the Tambov oblast'.

Researching Soviet censorship is made more complicated by the fact that it intermingled with society. Though there was only one official censorship institution, it involved many people (in the sense of surveillance). Soviet censorship was peculiar – it did not begin at the door of the GLAVLIT, but ended there (Veskimägi 1996: 10; see also, Chapter 2, above, on democratic and totalitarian texts.)

¹⁵ The entire economic structure was concealed. The five-year plans did not present a real accounting of expenses, for they had to conceal military costs and other outlays on defense. 'Economic changes (real processes) caused the change in censorial demands. Now looking back we realize that limitations increased as the economic situation of the Soviet Union declined' (Censor MM 1994).

¹⁶ Lauk writes about the second function of the censor: 'The other function was to control and "correct" the content of public information in the way that would create the "right" model of thinking and contribute to adoption of preferred constructions of reality'. But the control of 'correct' content wasn't officially the role of censors but the function of editors-in-chief, senior editors, special editors, or *viseurs*: 'The most dangerous enemies of the new regime and its ideology appeared to be the collective historical memory of the nation and nationalism. Soviet censorship in Estonia clearly served the objective of Russification and destruction of Estonian national culture' (Lauk 1999: 29–31).

¹⁷ According to the census of 1930, the Republic of Estonia had a population of 1.134 million, over 1 million of whom were Estonians. On the eve of WW II, Estonia was a typical national state, in which Estonians formed 88% of the population. Changes in the structure of the population were introduced immediately. In 1940 alone, the colonisers executed 13,000 people, taken from among the Estonian elite; 11,000 were deported to

Siberia; 38,000 were inducted into the Red Army; and 28,000 'evacuated' to Russia. They were replaced by 'experts' from Russia: from out of the 200,000 Estonians who had been living in Russia, 40,000 were repatriated to Estonia in the 1940s. Over 70,000 people fled to the West in the early 1940s. In 1940–42, the population of Estonia decreased by 116,000 – 53,000 of whom had been executed.

¹⁸ Moreover, the ideological 'branch' exploits audience expectations. After the most popular music program, *Wishes*, on Sunday there followed the most ideological 'documentary' about Communist Party history, *When All the People*. This scheduling supposed that listeners might forget to turn off their radios or change the program or would occasionally listen to propaganda.

¹⁹ Television and radio were led by the joint Television and Radio Committee of the ESSR, which was transferred in the 1970s from the leadership of the Council of Ministers of the ESSR to the leadership of Moscow All-Union Television and Radio Committee. On the local level the appointment of leaders was carried out through the propaganda department of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party. The KGB and censor (GLAVLIT) were active in radio and television. The Central Committee of the ECP regarded radio as an important means of access to people, since it was known to be popular. The 1977 inquiry showed that radio, especially Vikerraadio (54%), was the most popular communication medium (Maimik 1980: 9). Since 1926, Estonian Radio had operated as a typical, national, European radio station; but after World War II broadcasts in Estonian started to come from both sides of the front – from Leningrad and Moscow as well as from Sweden and Finland. Ideological war through the radio became more active in the 1950s, when The Voice of America started Estonian broadcasts for 'home-Estonians'. Ideological warfare, in the form of propaganda and of fighting with foreign channels, was demanded from ER at the beginning of the 1980s as well. The terms 'information' and 'propaganda' were often officially used as synonyms.

²⁰ Particular prescriptions of CC of ECP concerning texts and broadcasts of Estonian Radio can be seen in the following examples (protocol of the ECP CC bureau meeting no. 161, 16.12. 1980):

- Children's broadcasts generally lack political orientation. ER should pay special attention to improving youth broadcasts and to strengthening their ideological-political orientation.
- To place responsibility on the chief editorial board for the quality and ideological orientation of the broadcasts.
- To end apoliticism, ideological dimness, and lack of principles in the composition of broadcasts.
- To choose collaborating persons carefully.
- To condense programs so as to bring out the terseness of the materials, so as to penetrate to the essence of the problems raised; to have great influence on performances; to establish close contacts with the departments of the CC of ECP.
- To strengthen Party influence on the television and radio staff.

²¹ People used the following informational sources on almost daily basis: municipal or regional newspapers 61.7%; ER 61.5%; ETV (Estonian TV) 57.8%; KTV (All-Union TV) 56.4%; ÜR (All-Union Radio) 43%; their own family 27%; LTV (Leningrad TV) 24.8%; STV (Finnish TV) 9.1%; foreign radio channels 2.2% (Public opinion survey, 1984/85; Tr. 1986). There was a decrease in the audience of the most important information broadcast on ER, *Päevakaja* (*Echo of the Day*). The confidence of the

Estonian population in the information channels had decreased significantly. Only 33% of the people trusted Estonian Radio totally (KTV 46%; ETV 41%; state newspapers 40%; ÜR 37%; the All-Union newspaper 36%; ER 33%; municipal or regional newspapers 32%; lectors 26%; their own family 26%. (Saar 1986: 20)

²² Musical programmes had to follow the proportion of 30% classical music and 70% pop music. Modern pop music sung in English was a special ideological problem; on 26.4.1978, the general meeting of ER had discussions about the situation on the musical front. There were often problems with musical broadcasts. E.g., in the youth musical broadcast *Soovid... (Wishes...)*, the forwarding of greetings was forbidden because they were suspected, absurdly, of being coded political messages (ER, 21.9.1980) - as if the new generation was using the same means as workers did at the end of the nineteenth century.

²³ As mentioned earlier, social myths are essential to all societies, as supporting the symbolic system. Soviet ideology was based on a hierarchical mythological system, which used specific journalistic forms. We can divide Soviet mythology into three categories: (1) those with a ritual basis; (2) those of existence; mythology of existence; (3) those of achievement; and (4) practical experience as ritualised, everyday practice (Lõhmus 1999).

Allowable broadcasts had to correlate with the Soviet social myths, and in the stage of pre-text were adjusted to the latter. Thus, the mainstream broadcasts about Soviet heroes – *Kui kogu rahvas [When All the People]* and *Tulikiri [Fireletter]* – represented the *mythology of existence*. Broadcasts based on the *mythology of achievement* featured ideological concepts in practice and spurred people to action; e.g., *Piirist piirini [From Border to Border]*, *Ajakirjanduse ülevaade [Journalistic Review]*, *Sotsialismimaades [In the Socialist Countries]*, *Ühtses peres [In the Collective Family]*. Broadcasts reflecting the *myth of everyday life* (ritualised everyday practice) included *Kuidas edasi [How to Go Forward]*, *Usaldus [Trust]*, *Meie elu lugu [The Story of Our Life]*, *Tõus [Rise]*, *Perekond ja kodu [Family and Home]*, and *Rahvakontroll*. These broadcasts were correlated with the authorised canon by means of *visearing* (Lõhmus 1998). The fourth group consists of broadcasts: *Uut möödunust [News about the Past]*, *Bel canto*, *Üheteosejutte [Stories about One Book]*, *Kas tunnete Eesti muusikat? [Do You Know Estonian Music?]*, *Armastus muusikas [Love in Music]*, and *Laula, laula... [Sing, sing...]*. Children's broadcasts mostly encouraged right action and struggle; e.g., *Tarkuseturbiin [Turbine of Wisdom]*, *Töö nõuab meistrit [Work Needs a Master]*, *Peidetud taskuraamatu jälgedes [Following in the Path of the Hidden Notebook]*.

Broadcasts in Russian featured much politicising; e.g., *Slovo propagandista [The Word of the Propagandist]*, *Nash potshtovõi jashthik [Our Mailbox]*, *Junõi leninets [The Young Disciple of Lenin]*.

²⁴ Editing means relating power, language and thinking to one another, and then presenting them. The editor who follows an established ideological paradigm is usually manipulated. Examination of edited texts and interviews with editors allow us to divide them into *manipulating editors* and *critical-analytic* ones, the latter being specialists (linguists, humanists) in their fields. These categories are based on the editors' stance relative to the existing power structure. These two types of editor represent extreme cases that do not exist in reality. However, editors typically consider themselves to be analytic even when they clearly represent the manipulating type. According to these categories, we can divide texts by orientation, as either legitimising texts or project texts. Of the latter, resistance texts were quite normal.

CHAPTER IV

Method and material

Here, and in the following chapters, I examine texts transformed by textual intervention.

I first construct an analytic system for carrying out the examination and advance hypotheses about the dimensions and strategies of textual intervention. Next, I describe the material used as the basis for the theoretical positions of my study and for making empirical generalisations. My aim is to create a method for analysing censorship in the form of *visuring* the public text.

4.1. The textual–contextual duality and the model of the limits of text

Manipulation of the text leaves traces therein – a correction.¹ In the course of textual analysis it is essential to analyse both *textual* and *contextual* levels as reciprocal and mutual processes. The public text, as a specific domain of expression, is crucially dependent on context, and it also can serve as a vehicle for the expression of context. Text and context have different bases and functions, but they share a certain field, and there is a correlation between them. The close correspondence between social text and context is characteristic of a society that exploits individuals, both in the fields of text and context, and in the symbolic function of text.

I analyze the media process in four ways: socially, as media economy; through interviews with editors; by viewing and describing the process as a participating observer (Downing 1990); and through socio-semiotic analysis of edited media texts. Gerbner (1956) and Schramm (1971) take a semiotic approach to communication in their treatment of the conflict between the expectations of society and those of the individual. My socio-semiotic model for the analysis of textual transformation is based on Saussure's classic distinction between signifier and signified, the two aspects of the sign, which are essentially linked to each other. The so-called social grammar of public texts is ambivalent, despite the fact that the signifier and the signified are meant to be understood unambiguously. In reality, the clarity of social signs is not

guaranteed 'a priori'; they must instead be re-established constantly. In the Soviet system, the transformation in meanings (or meaning system) was done by the same performers, in situations where it proved useful or necessary. Thus, in the creation stage of public texts and in the texts themselves, there exist several public and/or concealed controversies.

The textual-contextual duality, as the theoretical focus of the present analysis, is based on Gerbner's well-known analysis of content as 'cultural indicators', which fits well with socio-semiotic analysis.² In the material at hand, we can observe and compare different understandings of text/context relations. Gerbner's model of content analysis can be completed by Hallin. The latter divided the political-textual realm into the 'sphere of consensus', 'sphere of legitimate controversy', and 'sphere of deviance' (Hallin 1986: 117).

Dialectical diversion and conversion, or dissonance and consonance, between text and context, has been discussed in cultural semiotics. Cultural semiotician P. Torop has described processes of introducing 'alien' texts into a culture as 'specifying', 'adapting-neutralising', or 'diffusing' (Torop 2000: 16). Torop's view is based on Voloshinov's and Bakhtin's treatment of dialogue and of the reception of alien text, and comes close to Vygotski's version of the language/thought dualism as one of the basic problems and sources of a certain dynamics of social text (Vygotski 1979). Different functional models of communication – such as auto-communication (Lotman) or as functions like sender, receiver, etc. (Jakobson 1960) – provide solid points of departure for the analysis of textual practices in real cultural and societal contexts. For practical purposes, I echo the sociologist C. Wright Mills' statement that 'all researchers have to become their own methodologist' (Mills 1959: 121), by combining or developing previous 'methodological elements', and when necessary, creating new ones.

In order to reveal textual and contextual transformations, I elaborate a method made up of four components. Establishing context is important in social semiotics, since in the texts of communication media, the transformation of meaning can be determined with regard to the context. In putting together the procedure for coding textual interventions, I have adopted the structural-functionalist method of text analysis (Halliday's functional grammar) on the discursive level. Discourse analysis is used to examine elements of ideology (van Dijk 1998). I combine these two methods, in order to analyse the semiotic meaning.

I distinguish between three textual-contextual levels and one contextual level. The elements of the textual-contextual levels may be *factual*, *narrative*, and/or *performative*. All these elements have reciprocal interrelations both with and within the *context*, which serves as both a resource for codes and as a field of reference for each individual text. The fourth component focuses on the *contextual level*, the latter understood as a function and considered in the light of social myths. On this level, the

text appears as an element (a code) in the contextual whole. In my analysis, I compare the editor's textual coding with the textual changes introduced by the *visueur*.³

In a fairly recent analysis, similar to the kind that I am proposing here, Bell (1991) examines both the practical side of journalistic editing and the procedures that such work entails (selection, reproduction, summarisation, generalisation, restyling, translating). Bell specifies certain editing practices in an 'open society'; for example, textual changes as 'restyling', 'clarifying', 'simplifying' (Bell 1991: 65). This information is very useful for comparing 'open-society' practices with 'totalitarian' ones. Moreover, some issues discussed by Bell regarding lexical substitutions and modifications (ibid.: 73) are theoretically more general questions about the processing of public texts. Information deletions and syntactic editing (ibid.) have not yet gained more contexts in analytical practice as Bell defines the aims of the editing of the journalistic public text as 'maximising news value' (ibid.: 79). It is the problem of evaluating the context of the texts in which Bell has viewed the roles of persons and individuals in social texts as specially 'reconstructed and vivified' (ibid.: 156) according to the function of the text.

The references to the special character and needs of news journalism has been studied by several Americans (Gans 1979; Fishman 1980; Lester 1975; Gitlin 1980; Tuchman 1978) and British researchers (e.g. Schlesinger 1978), which Tuchman summarises as follows:

'Many of the same themes about how the constraints and resources of news organizations influence the news process occur in British studies (especially Schlesinger 1978). I find it especially significant that all of these studies linked the news process to ideology (or in Gans' case "para-ideology") and argued that news organisations necessarily developed special ties to legitimised and centralised sources of information.' (Tuchman 1991: 86.)

As to results from the works dealing with the news programmes: 'Ericson *et al.* (1989) confirm both Gans' insistence that most news is about "knowns" and my argument (Tuchman 1972, 1978) that the *statement* of an official source is an '*event*' (Tuchman 1991: 87, my italics). This intriguing statement needs checking as it might regard the Soviet public text. It seems that a statement in the Soviet text was not an *event* but most of all a normative *model text*. But if we support the view that 'all is text' (Lotman) then the most important philosophical problem might be considered to have more variations and possibilities: 'all is text' implies that events can be regarded as a certain type of 'text'.⁴

Though the field of texts is rather homogenous, it includes texts that have been transformed to some degree before public presentation. Different corrections of the texts were made for some essential and/or formal reasons; texts have been aligned to the allowed form, i.e., to fit the proper ideological textual convention. Although the demands on mainstream texts were ideologically strict, at the same time that, for

off-stream texts, the coding or decoding of different interpretation variants was more natural, normal limits of textuality also existed that could not be violated (Figure 8).

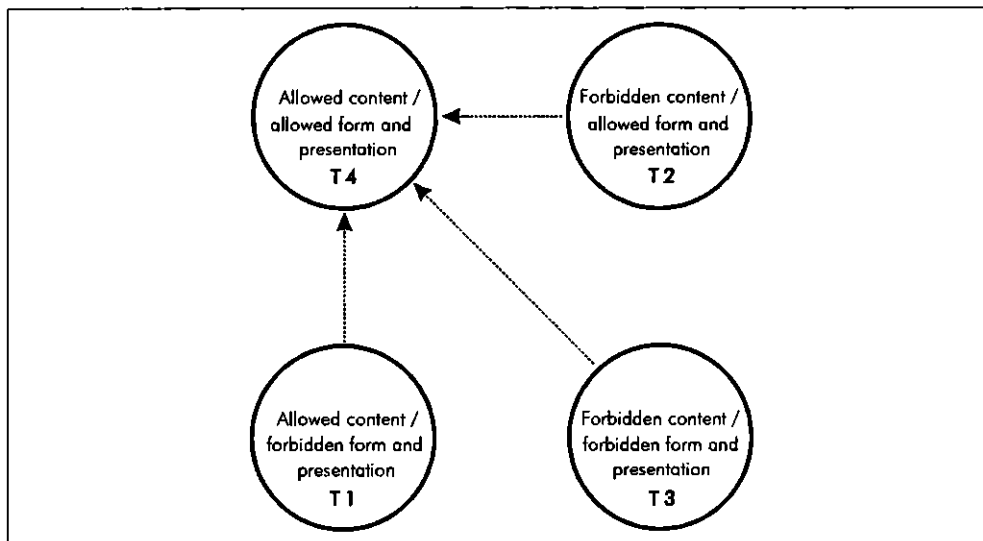


Figure 8. Ideological editing of texts by changing their content and form in Soviet journalism in the 1980s.

Edited text (T4) was considered 'in order'. I will try to determine which phenomena belonged to the field T1 (forbidden and undesirable elements of form) and T2, which were changed into text T4 (allowable text in both form and content). We will analyse what happened in practice with texts belonging to type T3 and by which methods unsuitable elements were turned into suitable ones.

To summarise: because the analysis of internal transformations of socially complicated texts comprised of several discourses requires different methods, I use three methods that complement each other: quantitative analysis, semiotic structuralism for the study of meanings, and discourse analysis that reveals the internal problems of texts.

Qualitative methods are important as well, for revealing and analysing the essence and the reasons for tendencies of larger processes, and it has been used especially in the social and cultural spheres, concerning the meanings and contexts of the micro- and macro-processes.⁵ However, in analysing a phenomenon, both internal as well as external relations are important and thus also the use of both analytic methods when examining its different aspects.⁶

The interpretation of social signs in the text requires the simultaneous consideration of different categories (cf. Jensen 1991: 18–19). From a humanist perspective, the contents must be conceptualised as the expression of a particular subjectivity and aesthetics, and as the *representation* of a particular context. These

several aspects of meaning production may be specified with reference to three basic constituents of the communicative process which are shared by most contemporary humanistic as well as social-scientific models of communication: the message of communication, the communicators, and the embedded social structure; or, in humanistic terminology: *discourse, subjectivity, and context*.

Quantitative analysis and positivism. There are different reasons for transforming texts and their grammatical, semantic and semiotic types. The usage of qualitative analysis is not sufficient to give a survey of the extent of the types and number of interventions, i.e., which interventions dominated, which interventions are in correlation with each other, which features are characteristic of certain categories of texts, which transforming patterns form sets, etc. When studying interventions at the level of a particular text, the suspicion may arise as to whether or not the interpretation is subjective, for there can be more than one interpretation and motivation behind it. From a general survey of the texts, it is evident that the whole of their textuality has been treated deliberately and methodically. Thus, I have adopted the quantitative method for fixing the categories of problems to obtain a general survey. I consider the use of the quantitative method important in regard to generalisations.

In this way, I have defined and classified the textual interventions, taking into consideration a specific text and the referential context of the text in its time period (cf. Ch. 4.3.2.). This positivistic analysis of the textual interventions provides a general survey about which types of transformation were made and which types were dominant. What are the characteristic features of the textual transformation in different fields? I have presented a quantitative general survey based on the results (Ch. 4), to which I have added comments (Ch. 6). On the basis of the results received, I have compiled a generalising model of textual intervention and textual transformation (Chs. 8 and 9).

820 corrections from 79 texts have been enumerated and coded; the data have been inserted and processed in the SPSS programme and interpreted socio-semiotically. The results of the analysis are for the processing of the analysed material with qualitative methods. The changes have in turn been divided into substantial and formal ones; they too have been analysed according to their different fields.

I have used a structural-semiotic method in compiling the structural models (socio-mythological system, stages of editing, etc.), in analysing the transformation of meanings, and in interpreting the examples according to the system. Viewing each text as an individual case, we can regard it as a specimen of the whole text ('typical' lying on the axis of individual-general). The present analysis is entirely based on the semiotic idea of the internal structure of the meaning of the sign – the relation of the signifier and the signified to the recipient, which emphasizes the importance of

context in the interpretation of social signs. Most relevant for the present study are Greimas's model of the 'existence of the non-existent'; the implicit dialogism of texts (Bakhtin), as well as the work of Voloshinov, Vygotski, Lotman, Torop, and Tarasti.

4.2. Coding of textual transformation

When coding the material I have integrated the basics of structuralism and cultural semiotics for determining the phenomenon:

- a. In a structural system and context-structural, socio-functional specification.
- b. Concerning the dynamics of the phenomenon: occupying and changing the mental 'territories', the time of the 'spaces'.
- c. Alteration of the social functions of the texts, transformation.

In the texts participating in social processes, *visuring* can be viewed as the *institutionalisation* of texts, by introducing a certain normative *socio-grammar*. Institutionalising means altering some specific tendencies in the text, whether by strengthening and increasing, adding or weakening and decreasing, eliminating or reversing. Changes in the text can be in the *same direction* as the text (strengthening of myths) or in the *opposite direction* (in the case of incorrect representations and directives). In both cases, we can be dealing with transformations of different magnitude, from certain elements or details to the transformation of structure (e.g., sentence construction) (cf. Hodge and Fowler 1979: 13).

Model of Coding

For structuring and coding of the interventions, I have worked out a classification system in which 5 groupings of questions deal directly with the distribution of the semiotic levels and thus form a contextual determination (Appendix 2. Catalogue of Codes):

1. *Structural context, socio-functional determination* according to general characteristics, in which are represented the number of corrections (T 11), the number of texts (T 12), editorial office (T 13), sub-editorial office (T 14), topic or theme (T15), the character of the original text (T16) and the character of the corrected text (T17).
2. *Formal corrections* in the text I have divided into unimportant (T21) and important (T23), which in turn has been divided into the corrections regarding strengthening of modality, figures of speech, and generic features (T231), and the corrections that weaken them (T232).
3. *Transformation concerning the actor* (T31). I have divided these into the transformations of the actor's identity, world view, way of thought, evaluation systems, experiences and role.

4. Coding *the transformations in the topics examined and the 'objects' found in the text* (topics – T32; objects – T33). I developed a survey about the objects, object relations and their transformation, the latter having brought about a change of the internal structure (structural change) (T34).
5. *Relation transformation – how the phenomena are related and evaluated before and after the change*, what kind of transformation took place in evaluational relations when the object or structural transformation occurred (T35).
6. *Transformations in social functions* (T37 – before; T38 – after) that accompany the textual interventions, the aim of making the transformation, and *post-textual transformations* (T39) are determined contextually, considering the social context of the texts and textual processes (i.e., which social functions and myths are supported by the changes).

In coding the functions, I have considered the ambivalent nature of the text's process, i.e., its two aims and two fronts: the interests of its sender (institution) and receiver (person) and the influences on both. My interpretation includes so-called additional coding from the aspect of the interpreter and receiver and his/her wider social context, in which I observe the interventions in their turn in the significant context of socialising the wider textual process (as coded functions).

Levels of coding can be divided as follows:

1. – Formal features
2. – 4. – Semiotic coding
5. – 6. – Interpretative coding.

The transformation of values and functions has not been stated in the text, but it can be interpreted through the structure or the transformation of meaning that occurred in the transformation of objects; i.e., it has been coded according to the previous, qualitatively processed material. Thus, we are dealing with the coding of the first stage interpretation of the objective semiotic transformation in order to produce generalisations and quantitative data.

I also consider this level marginal in respect of the relevance of interpreting the results of the analysis. I have avoided possible second-level interpretations, i.e., interpretations of interpretations, and searched for objectively ascertainable examples of change to explain the phenomenon and, if possible, for analogous cases.

Three central techniques of textual intervention have been the centre of focus: strategies for *decreasing – weakening, increasing – strengthening* and techniques of *reversal*.

1. The smallest 'unit' observed and analysed is one textual correction, but it must be no smaller than a sentence. The sentence is the smallest specific unit with a holistic structure in which the change made is *semiotic* as well as *structural*.
2. In coding, I have considered and marked all possible changes (deep level or surface level ones) caused by or recurring with the change in question.

Thus, the basis for coding is semiotic centred. It concerns the direct change of the sign and through it also the transformation of the decoding-code of the receiver and thus the transformation of the meaning of the text for receivers.

3. Coding has been made on the basis of the real corrections of the text in which the structural and semiotic network fixing the corrections determines the possible cases and fixes their type according to the widest classification system, including substantial formal change, transformation concerning actor and his/her identity, transformation concerning topics or objects and their internal relations.

From here I progressed to the *coding of the interpretations*. This is an innovative step in the research of journalism. I have derived this system of categories due to the necessity of 'defining' and situating the textual transformation in order to give the socio-semiotic observation a social context. The reason is to show how the meanings are manipulated, leaned on, transformed, reacted or not reacted to, in the social process. I have coded the interpretations in the contexts of social mythology and social functions.

I consider this last stage original and important because the systematic study of it enables movement from normative theories of journalism towards their practical analysis. Until now in the social sciences, have been noted only intuitively or overly generalised.

Comments on the method – the change of the general character of the 'intervened' text

The change in the coded features of the corrected texts are noticeable in the transformed character as well as in the transformed functions of the text. In the analysis of the textual interventions, I compared the character of the original text (*original uncensored text – text A*) to *the text censored for broadcast (text C)*, and which part of the text (text B) has been removed. For the starting point of the analysis, I have taken the original edited text (text A), and in determining its character I have departed from the categories of 'positive', 'neutral', 'ambivalent', or 'negative'.

The determination of these categories is made complicated by the problem of the (evaluational) point of view: is it my point of view as an observer (objective) or does it depend on the context of a certain text and its evaluations (contextual)? I have tried to remain in touch with the way of thought of the public text during those days, relying on its system of evaluation and evaluating texts rather 'higher', i.e., 'more positively' than from the generally more negative evaluation or nuances given to the epoch nowadays.

For example, in interventions 021 and 022 both A and C are 'positive', since in both cases we are dealing, depending on the context, with a positive attitude. Text B is also positive:

Käisin vaid Mustamäe ääremail asuvas Vilhelmine Klementi nimelises Õmblustootmiskoondises. ~~Ka seal töötavatel inimestel on märkimisväärsed sõprussidemed. //021~~ Minu vestluskaaslasteks on ühistöös sõbratarideks saanud Aino Grauberg ja Valentina Sljusenkova. ~~Juba need kaks nime üheskoos nimetades ütlevad midagi, panevad millegi üle mõtlema. //022~~

[I went to the Vilhelmine Klementi Sewing Factory in Mustamäe. ~~People working there also have significant ties of friendship. 021 I am talking to Aino Grauberg and Valentina Sljusenkova who became friends doing common work. Already these two names together tell you something, make you think of something. 022] *~~

The situation becomes more complicated when the characters of the texts A, B and C are different. For example:

Mis puutub Vana-Saalusesse ja sellesse mälestusmärki, siis on see seotud pealetungilahingutega Võru suunas millal Vastseliina asula ja Vastseliina mõis oli langenud siis juba valgete kätte. //045 ~~Ja parema tiiva väed püüdsid vallutada Vastseliina ees olevat Vana-Saaluse mõisat valgete käest ära. //046~~ ~~Tolleaegsete pealtnägijate jutustuse järgi oli lahing nii äge olnud, et padrunkestki tema sauna taga oli pool kartulikorvitäit võinud pärast korjata üles. Vana-Saaluse mõisat aga vallutada ei õnnestunud punaarmee lastel ja //047 kolm punaarmee last langenuid vangi.~~

[As concerns Vana-Saaluse and this monument, it is connected with attack of the troops on Võru Vastseliina and its manor house had by then fallen into the hands of ~~The white. //045~~ And the troops on the right tried to conquer the manor of Vana-Saaluse near Vastseliina ~~from the white. 046~~ According to the lookers-on of those events the battles so fierce that behind the sauna we could afterwards gather half of the potato-basket of empty cartridge cases. But they didn't succeed in conquering ~~Vana-Saaluse manor and 047~~ three soldiers of the Red Army were taken prisoner.]

I have marked changes 045, 046, 047 in texts A as 'neutral', because for the speaker these were neutral facts. In *visering*, as concerns the ideological norms, the concepts present the 'wrong' context (expressed by attitudes and evaluations) – a reality that was not present in the institutionalised normative text. Text C thus became 'positive', since the remaining narrative includes only permitted concepts and representations and includes both tragic and dramatic nuances:

[According to the lookers-on of those events ...//047 three soldiers of the Red Army were taken prisoner.]

In this case, I have departed from the *context* in determining the character of the texts.

Attainment of finalised, desirable format of text

I have, for example, determined text A as ambivalent, when some accents have been removed that had a clear role in the text. Activating, directing or generalisation

* Corrections (marked as 021, 022 etc.) concerning texts are systematically presented in APPENDIX 1.

in text B have been completely removed from text C. At the same time, text B was functionally significant in giving the text its desired, finalised format:

–Kui meie lugupeetud külalistel pole midagi selle vastu, siis palume veelkord puudutada küsimust ideaalidest. Kahel korral olete nendest kõnelnud, kõike ära öeldud muidugi pole. Ometi on aga põhjust rõhutada olulisemat. Kuidas ühiskond suunab ideaalide kujunemist?

–Praegu on selleks muidugi mitmesuguseid mõjutajaid://001 Kõigepealt ideoloogiline mõjutamine vahend, alates koolist peale, siis massiteabevahendid, ajakirjandus, raadio, televisioon jne.

[If our honoured guests have nothing against it, we would like you to touch upon the question of ideals once more. You have talked about them twice but you have not certainly told everything. Anyway, we should emphasise the most important thing. How does the society direct the formation of ideals?]

[Now there are several influential factors for that. 001 First of all ideological means of influence, beginning with school, then mass media, journalism, radio, television, etc.]

4.3. Hypotheses about the ‘intervened’ texts

Normative journalistic theories have suggested that journalistic texts are associated with the society in which they exist. I suppose that this claim is based on certain kinds of pre-processes, i.e., practical censorship and *visuring* as *textual interventions* which have produced desired *textual transformations*. The following analysis concentrates on these questions as reflected in the text *visuring* process of Estonian Radio.

What is going on in the public field of the closed society – how are the texts modified which are disseminated there? Which controlling patterns dominate the public text in its reflecting and defining of everyday experiences, the feelings of people, and the culture? How has the meaning been transformed in the text? Are there transformations of functions in the text? What kinds of functions have been introduced that were formerly absent from the texts? What kinds are enforced or weakened? One result of the present research might be to raise new questions. More profoundly, what is the function of textual transformation in the community? Is the content of the transformations different from or common to the preparation of the communication process? What is the function of the transformation of functions? If the normative research of journalism claims that journalistic texts are associated with the ideology of the society in which they act (Siebert 1956), then how are they involved in it? What strategy ensures this ‘correlation’?

At the structural-functional level, I suppose that insertion into the ‘structure’, which created a relationship between people and institutions, was one of the main interventions in the texts; the insertion of texts into the structure was carried out in practice. On the level of structural struggle, I suppose that following the norms of the genre was a purposeful aim in itself, as it included internal formal regulation of the

structure and through it the maintenance of the valid meaning system. There might be a confrontation in the textual–intertextual spaces and structures; the external struggle having already been completed by that stage. I suppose also that, although official censorship existed as an institution in Soviet society, most of the actual censoring was effected in the preliminary stage of the text as structural censorship. I conclude that, although the interventions were made by different *viseurs* and chief editors, the type of transformations in semantic space and functions are normatively typical and common. I assume that there exist general norms as a normative, model text in the form of a mythology for all texts and also for those having specific themes. On the basis of intervention analyses, it is possible to point out typical norms required within the public text.

Journalistically, I suppose that certain ‘preferred’ decodings existed, obtained by the selection, limiting, and directing of the preferred ways of interpretation. The hypothesis is that there are different universal strategies and methods by which to exercise control and maintain the Soviet world-view, with two main ones used there. First was the *hard* method, which aimed to cut out the ‘world’ that did not exist in Soviet ideology. The second method was the *soft* one, which cut out connections and interpretations by broadening and generalising associations, and imagining ‘wrong’ directions, as mentioned in our discussion of *mainstream* and *off-stream* texts (see also Ch. 6).

4.4. Characteristics of the material analysed

Although ideological work and brainwashing seeks not to leave traces regarding what was done, there exist manuscripts of radio texts where one can see the difference between original and *visured* text. I have gathered them from the period of 1978–1985 and analysed qualitatively and quantitatively 79 texts from the period 1980–1981 in order to obtain an answer about the internal structure and functions of shaping them. The work with the texts in the process of compiling the broadcast and the changes of the texts in the process are generally typical of Soviet journalism at the beginning of the 1980s.

In addition to the critical textual analysis, I interviewed 20 present and former editors, two editors-in-chief, and one censor, all of whom were engaged in programme production processes. The documents – decisions and protocols of ECP CC about ER and CPSU CC about journalism – and radio programmes have been analysed to answer questions about real journalistic practice and ambiguous everyday practice of editing/censoring in the highly politicised and ambivalent situation.⁸ How did these two absolutely different journalistic practices exist together, intertwined, but clearly distinguishable and contradictory, at the same time in the same channel

and media flow. I presume that the struggle of value systems on the level of media texts was one of the pre-chapters in the real changes and processes at the end of the 1980s.

Before the presentation of the broadcast, all transcripts of broadcasts and prepared tapes had to be presented word-for-word for *visouring*. The texts passed through the institutional journalistic process, the gatekeeping or *visouring* of the chief editors and senior editors, and the official department of censorship (GLAVLIT), which was hidden away as the key institution. The controlling (chief) editor processed the broadcast texts according to both the prescribed and imagined norms. The texts depict the last journalistic and ideological opposition: on the editor's final text have been marked the interventions made by chief editors and other *visours*. (The material also includes interviews with editors, which help to interpret the censorial transformations more precisely.)

The analysed material includes broadcasts by four different editorial staffs in all, from 42 different authors-editors, the number of co-editors and participants rising to 60-70. The material consists of two hundred computer pages of journalistic text typical of the epoch, which I consider a sufficient sample to ensure the appearance of principles of textual intervention and determining the typical features. There were no written rules regulating the editing and *visouring* of the public text. The *visours* of the particular texts were not one or two particular persons – there were scores of them, and they did not work together. Since the interventions are mostly uniform, I do not view each act of *visouring* separately but *visouring* as a phenomenon. Because the material includes texts by different authors, I analyse the textual mass in its totality.⁹

4.4.1. The themes and evaluations represented in the texts

The general view of the *themes* examined in the selections shows the central position of culture, education and economy (Table 10).¹⁰ Characteristic of the texts of the epoch was that some topics were excluded. The texts do not touch on home policy, Party problems, economic analysis, social analysis, psychology and the problems of human development, psychiatry, religion, problems of human existence, the problems of education, global processes, etc. All of these topics were underrepresented. The thematic distribution of the broadcasts is as follows.

Radio texts as public texts are characterised by a strong social aspiration. In *prime-time* texts, a normative world model is presented as natural, wherein carefully selected collectives and social statuses display their roles in society. The implicit addressee of these texts is also a representative of a social institution or a private person; the main communication in texts is passed from one representative of society to another. The individual-to-individual level is represented in literary and humorous texts (off-stream programmes).

Is culture the source of ideology, or ideology the source of culture? Social material is dominant also in entertainment texts, where ideological topics are developed by the means of art. The entertainment and literary broadcasts belong to the off-stream or semi-official broadcast texts (cf. Ch. 3; Table 11).

Table 10. Comparison of textual distribution with regard to the themes of 1980 in ER and the general thematic view of the texts selected for the present analysis.

(ER programmes in the 1980s included thematically: propaganda – 68%, (incl. *politics, ideology* – 23%, *economy, production* – 16%, *service, everyday life* 7%, *public order* – 4%, *family, home* – 5%, *science, education* – 9%, *nature* – 5%), culture 22%, sports 10% (Timak, R. Results of the studies of TV and Radio, ER panorama, ER 1984: 110).

Estonian Radio programme in the 1980s (%)		Thematical structure of analysed texts N=79 (=100%)	
Propaganda total	68	Propaganda total	61
Ideology, politics	23	Ideology, politics	18
Economy	16	Economy	14
Service, life	7	Life	6,3
Public order	4		
Family, home	5	Family, home	9
Science, education	9	Science, education	3
Nature	5		
Culture	22	Culture, literature	19
Sports	10	Children, youth	14
Other	0	Other	6

Source: Timak 1984 and Lõhmus 2001©

Among the 79 selected radio texts, there occur prime-time texts such as *Pühadeaegne maa* (*Country during the Holidays*), *Tere hommikust, põllumehed* (*Good Morning, Farmers*), *Perekond ja kodu* (*Family and Home*), *Kolm meest stuudios* (*Three Men in the Studio*); and also off-stream broadcasts, for example. *Kasiino* (*Casino*), *Katseseade läks käiku* (*Experimental Apparatus Put into Operation*), *Töö peab jooksuma* (*Work Must Go On*), *Päevast päeva* (*From Day to Day*). These included night programmes, for example, *Setukõõ*. Primetime broadcasts are regular radio journals with certain editors and authors. The selection also includes broadcasts of ideological holidays, for example, *Õhtu teetassi taga* (*An Evening with a Cup of Tea*); typical everyday broadcasts, such as *Rahvas ja tema saadik* (*People and Their Deputy*), *Mõeldes Leninist* (*Thinking about Lenin*), and *Tuult tallamas* (*Beating the Air*), which were also prime-time texts.

Among the 79 texts, almost 18 different genres are represented: News (3 texts). Taking the floor – no. 31. Consecutive reporting – no. 40. Reporting – from the place

of events (with pre-censored text) – 43. Interview – 13. Group interview – 11. Interview at the place of events – 63. Interview with questions inserted in the text – 33. Conversation – 14. Radio lecture – 54. Radio journal – 64. Description of a journey – 40. Discussion – 30. Commentary – 12. Game – 6–7. Quiz – 4–5. Performance and Composition – 58. Feuilleton – 9, 10 (Table 11). Among the observed textual interventions one category is that of changing the type of the text; for example from conversation to lecture (Ch. 6)

Table 11. The general distribution of broadcast offices and genres in prime time (formal text) and secondary time (semi-formal text) in the text selection, analysed on the basis of Estonian radio broadcasts in 1980–1981.

	Prime-time, official and formal texts	Off-stream, Semi-formal text
Sub-editions	Information, propaganda, current affairs, youth and children texts	Literature, art and entertainment texts
Genres	Feature, reporting, commentary, overview, review, editorial, taking the floor, lecture, talk show about the problem	Feuilleton, play, quiz, conversation, discussion

Source: Lõhmus 2001 ©

Characteristic of the corrected texts is that they were in a way problematic in their time but still generally circulated. Such a text can also be regarded as an indicator of the journalistic environment (cf. Gerbner 1969). Estonian censorship researcher Veskimägi seems correct in his claim 'that in order to transform the meaning and substance of the work, not very essential censorial interventions are needed' (Veskimägi 1996: 7). I will explain what these typical 'not very essential censorial interventions' were. Though it is typical practice in studying media texts to examine and compare news items (Ridell 1998; Kunelius 1996; Helland 1993), I have searched for texts typical of the epoch, preferring longer narratives. I have presumed that it is more expedient to view the actions of the media process on the basis of longer narratives. In these, the problems of the texts can be observed more obviously, with the text containing more context, either directly or in references, and in which the logic of constructing and processing the text can be better explicated.

The texts can be classified as propaganda, informational, dialogical, critical, or aesthetic. The type of text may appear directly but also in a concealed way, if different types occur as substantial basic types and/or forms. But some of them can be determined by the character of the sub-text or implicit message. Typical of texts in the 1980s was the fact that they were mostly multi-coded. Most of the selected texts are mixed types of broadcasts, for example, propaganda/criticism, dialogue/propaganda, etc. 40% of the texts are 'multi-coded', which is why I have also determined covert functions (Table 12).

Table 12. Overview of communicational types in the texts chosen for analysis (Estonian Radio; early 1980s).

Type of the text	Essential	Formal	Covert	Together
Propaganda text	32	8	8	48
Infotext	9	12	1	22
Dialogue texts	22	25		47
Criticism	2		22	24
Aesthetic (incl entertainment)	13	4		17

Source: Lõhmus 2001 ©

The radio texts analysed here appeared over half a century after the establishment of radio as a mass media channel. Public radio text is characterised by controversies caused by technical improvement of the channel and, on the other hand, by completion of the control system over the public texts, thus the increase of freedom as well as control. This situation, with its oppositional capacity, in turn influenced public radio texts. The most important characteristics of radio texts are these: the power of generalisation, i.e., talking on whatever theme and at the same time evaluating it; a festive but at the same time spontaneous and emotional style of presentation of texts; radio voice as structurer of imagined communities, as a moulder of identity; strict planning as concerns programming and openness towards happening events. Texts are characterized by emotional narrativity in the presentation of stories (Merrill 1977). The story may carry realistic as well as mythical logic. For such a text to be created, it was necessary to select multi-dimensional journalists, topics, environments, objects, focuses, and conversation partners.

The *values* that the texts convey are sociality, generality, emotionality, intensionality, spontaneity, and freedom. Texts do not have an infinite number of variants; they can be reduced to certain possible variants in which elements are combined according to strict rules (cf. Ch. 2). The texts have several archetypal situations and activities as specific signs: new (as an example of myths, not real), we, friend, hero and activist, victory, invincible, great, memory (directed, right). etc., between which there has been a certain coded relation in reality and in texts. The values included relations, ideological friendship, internationalism (a parallel to today's 'globalisation', both economic and ideological), the explanation of which in the public text is a staged activity. The linking of work and society is evaluated in the texts, including the development of national economy, socialisation of people, and work education. With this central topic there appears a sharp confrontation between the mythical and the real. The controversy is sharpened by the concealing of confrontations, as done by censors or *viseurs*, thus hindering the journalistic approach to the topic.

4.4.2. Examples of typical narratives and discourses

Though the general problem is the transformation of text, most of the ideas of the transformation – why these interventions were made – can be found in text narratives without transformation. ‘Element of magic, in that it was *not meant to describe but create a world*; aspects of that imaginary reality “existed” by virtue of having been named and defined in an ideologically correct way’ (Jakobuwicz 1995: 24, my italics). Speelman’s (1993) division of types of texts into transcendental and informative can be construed as a metaphor whereby ‘other’ textual types serve as a ‘filling’ for the form of the dominant text. As a simple means of manipulation we encounter mostly unmotivated generalisation in the texts selected for the present analysis. Also we find the avoidance of generalisation, marginalisation, the difference between claim and proof, the diverting of attention, and disinformation.

Ideologised environment and ideologisation of the environment (*ideological identity*) was expressed, for example, in the mythical names of the era (of towns such as Leningrad, of streets, establishments, etc.), which constituted an ideological spatio-temporal ‘coordinate system’. Presenting these ‘natural’ names actively constructed the everyday mental environment and identity.

– *Ja see võistkond on.*

– *Gagarini võistkond.*

[And this team is...? – Gagarin’s team (Text 6).]

Presenting *models of Soviet heroes* was widespread, on the level of individual examples and as true fact. The behaviour of one who followed Party directives was viewed a person’s free choice (cf. Example 5). The description of ‘lending aid’ had to avoid casting the Party as intending to annex and occupy Estonia. The text presents heroism as identification with and learning from them. In addition to Lenin, there were lesser heroes, whose heroism in the text inspired people to follow the hero in practice. Such a person, fascinated by heroes, is a typical representation of the active direction of evaluations in the text. Here is an example:

– *On teil olnud püüdu milleski Leninit jäljendada?*

– *Ma mõtlen- +Kahtlen211, kas on inimest, kommunisti, kes ei püüaks jäljendada Leninit milleski. Kuid on muidugi suur vahe püüdluse ja selle püüdluse saavutamise vahel. Seepärast ma ei julgeks öelda, et ma oleks saavutanud mingis osas leninliku joone, milles ma olen täiuslikkuseni jõudnud. Kahtlemata seda pole. Muidugi oma igapäevases töös ma olen püüdnud selle poole.*

[– Have you ever tried to follow Lenin’s example in something?

– I ~~think~~ + doubt, if there is a person, a Communist, who wouldn’t try to follow Lenin’s example in one thing or another. But of course there’s a great difference between an attempt and its achievement. Therefore I can’t say that I have achieved a Leninist trait in something, that I have reached perfection. Of course, I haven’t. But in my everyday work I have had such aspirations.] **

** The alterations from the text ‘~~think~~’ or ‘~~He found it natural, because... But I have said it already~~’ are marked by ~~strike through~~ as the part removed from the final public text. Added parts of text are marked by ‘+ new text’, (for example: + doubt).

The model of *copying heroes* was used such that the text appeared a natural, self-evident generalisation:

Vilhelmine Klementi, Villu! Väga tuntud ning populaarne isik meie rahva ajaloos. Ja uhked on need kollektiivid, kellel on õigus tema nime kanda. Vilhelmine Klementi nimi on ka Tallinna õmblustootmiskoondisel... (Text28).

[Vilhelmine Klementi, Villu! A well-known and popular existing person in our nation's history. Proud are those collectives that have the right to be named after her. The Tallinn Sewing Factory is also named after her.]

The production of established text models and heroes was *automatic*. This becomes evident from the following example, when the author goes on the second round with the same mythical text:

Kuid partei saatis leningradlase Ivan Vassilkovi oma kodulinnast ära just Tallinna, sõjahaavu parandama, laostunud majandust jälle jalule seadma. Ivan Vassilkov nõustus sellega täiesti mõistetavalt. Ta leidis, et see on loomulik, sest... Kuid sellest ma juba rääkisin. //030 Ta ei võtnud kaasa endaga midagi muud, kui temale armsaks saanud inimese, kellega Tallinnas abiellus. (Text 3, see Appendix 1.)

[But the party sent the Leningradian Ivan Vassilkov from his home town to Tallinn to heal his war wounds and to set the ruined economy into order again. Ivan Vassilkov obviously agreed with this. He found it natural, because... But I have said it already: 030 He didn't take anything else with him but a dearest person whom he married when he reached Tallinn.]

The text system was held together by *mythical causality*, in which a new text must represent and actualise the texts of the Marxist classics. In the construction, the essentially unlinkable parts of text have been fitted together grammatically (by syntax) into a cause–result relation:

Praktilises elus tuleb seda muidugi ette, et üksik inimene jätab pooleli aga ühiskond seda ei tee, sest Marxki on ütelnud, et ühiskond seab endale üles sellised ülesanded, mis on talle jõukohased sihid, mis on teostatavad. (Text1)

[In practice, it certainly happens that a person leaves something unfinished but the society won't do that because, as Marx has said, the society sets itself the aims that are within its powers, which can be realized.]

Widespread was the presentation of social Utopian processes as really existing (cf. Jakubowicz 1995):

1 Veel käesoleva sajandi esimesel veerandil, kui ma ei eksi, see oli kahekümnendatel aastatel Ameerikas, korraldati kohtuprotsess, kellegi kooliõpetaja üle, kes koolis õpetas Darwini õpetust.*

2 Meie ühiskonnas sellised asjad on täiesti mõeldamatud ja selles seisabki nii-öelda progressiivse ühiskonna paremus võrreldes teiste ühiskondlike vormidega.*

3 Meie ühiskond haarab uued edasiviivad ideed, need, mis algul on tekkinud üksikute inimeste peades, aga kuna nad on head ja otstarbekad, nad muutuvad varsti kogu ühiskonna omanduseks.*

Kuidas siis tekivad ideed ja ideaalid ühiskonnas? Nad tekivad ikka ka algul üksikute inimeste peades. Kui nemad on küllalt reaalsed, ma rõhutan veelkord: kui ideed on küllalt reaalsed, sest ega inimenegi neid õhust välja ei mõtle. Tema saab rõukeis kogu sellest materiaalsest keskkonnast, milles tema oma ideaalid. Kui need ideaalid on küllalt nii-öelda mõjuvad, kaasakiskuvad ja

reaalsed, siis nad varsti saavad kogu ühiskonna omaduseks. Selles, ma arvan, et ongi üks meie, nõukogude ühiskonna peamisi plusse, et meie reaalsused ja edasiviivad ideed peagi muutuvad kogu ühiskonna ideedeks. (Text 1).

[1* Still in the first quarter of this century, if I am not mistaken, it was in America in the twenties, they had a trial over a teacher who taught Darwin's theory at school.

2* In our society this is absolutely impossible and that's the advantage of the progressive society before the other social forms.

3* Our society grasps new progressive ideas, those that are at first born in individuals' heads but as they are good and expedient, they soon become the property of the whole society.

How are ideas and ideals generated in society? They are generated at first in the individuals' heads. If they are real enough, I emphasise once more: if the ideas are real enough, because a person can't just conjure them from anything. He gets impulses from the material world from which come also his ideals. If these ideals are sufficiently influential, enchanting and real, they will soon become the common property of the society. In that, I think, lies one of the main advantages that our realities and progressive ideas will soon become the ideas of the whole mankind.]

The above example is based on a widespread model 'own = good' and 'alien = bad'. The speaker scorns the whole 'alien' society on the basis of a vague negative example (1*) and compares it to 'our' society, which is a positive example (2*). The claim gives disinformation because trials for spreading the wrong teaching (i.e., non-Soviet) were constantly organized in the USSR; repressions were prescribed in the constitution and criminal code. (1*) The mythical imagination of such a 'progressive' society was presented in the text as really existing. (2*) 'Our society' is the natural representation of the speaker since he is the representative veteran of the (idea of) the society. (2*) Calling one's own society progressive, in comparison to other societies, is an ideological norm. (2*)

Society is personified as a positive and active being (society grasps new progressive ideas); the world has been made into something metaphorically small and expandable (spatially /geographically) and one can freely move in the century (temporally and in time). (3*) The way of thought between the society and the individual: the individual has some idea and realizes it – the interviewee explains it as the model of the 'progressive society'. It can be seen from the model that the personified society is ready to grasp the new progressive ideas that are 'first born in the heads of individuals'. Just the missing transition from the individual to the society makes the text a representative of a myth, just as was done in reality – action without the realizing mechanism of the idea – the ideas were not realised. (3*) The 'our' of the society is emphasised, the generalized distribution of reality. The society is depicted as active and acting (as exemplified by the verb 'to grasp'), and interested in the general interests: At the same time, discussion of the real social mechanisms (grasping) and participation is missing. Thus, the text can be interpreted so that the 'new' does not come from the changes of structure in society but rather that the changes of structure

are generated by 'progressive ideas' that in such a way have become the property of society. The text is a *mythical* narrative about great *processes*. A grammatical mistake occurs in the text in the sequence of words ('nad muutuvad' pro 'muutuvad nad' = 'they change' pro 'change they'), which was not corrected in the social texts, but in the cultural texts it would have been. (3*)

Characteristic of the texts (especially those on foreign policy) is the inclusion of different means of manipulation that are difficult to discern in a certain sentence because they are interconnected, and when used together they achieve the textual aim. Here is an example of political analysis in which several means are active: illogical connection, change of theme, evaluative words (truth) used as argument, use of general words, emotionalism, hints, emphasis on the professionalism and authority of the speaker, etc.:

+Kuid üha uued ameeriklased aga esitavad endale küsimuse – pagan teab, mida see Moskva seal +mis seal Afganistanis teeb?! +toimub kuid milleks aga //093 sellele viidates nurjata ilmselt märksa tähtsamaid eesmärke ja probleeme. Tõepoolest – tõde Afganistani kohta murrab endale teed, kuid seda aeglaselt. Mõte ühtede või teiste asjade tähtsusest inimkonna saatusele vallutab inimeste teadvust märksa kiiremini. Ning taas laieneb vahepeal nagu teatud seisakut üle elanud protestikampaania uute ameerika tuumaraketide paigutamise vastu Lääne-Euroopasse, taas toimuvad meeleavaldused tuumarelva likvideerimise eest – meenutagem näiteks sügisel Inglismaal aset leidnud suuri väljaastumisi.

[+But more and more Americans ask themselves as to what God knows about what is this Moscow + what is doing +happening in Afghanistan why to balk obviously more important aims and problem, hinting at these. Really – the truth about Afghanistan is making its way clear but slowly. A thought about the importance for the destiny of mankind of one thing or another grasps people's consciousness much quicker. Again, the protest campaign against placing new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe that has meanwhile been in certain standstill is being activated, meetings against eliminating the nuclear weapons are going on – let's recall, for example, great demonstrations in England in the autumn.]

The aim of the above text is to convey the impression of being informed, and to influence attitudes and political leanings. The text is characterised by activity and dynamism achieved by associating strong dynamic verbs with abstract general conceptions, making up phrases like 'to balk the aims', 'The thought about the destiny of mankind grasps people's consciousness' 'the protest campaign is activating'. The transformation of the text – the removal of the subject 'Moscow' as passivisation and being taken for granted – will be discussed at more length in the analysis of the changes. The compositional conflict of the text structure 'slowly – quickly' as a formal means hides the essential turn of the text and substitutes for the missing logical arguments. The vague hint by the speaker, that 'the truth about Afghanistan makes its way though slowly', does not say anything new about the essence of the truth but has to make the addressee believe that the speaker knows the truth and mediates it. Since the speaker, as a part of 'we', presents the truth, then result it should be stood up for. Thus, the war is necessary, war is connected to truth, to the achievement of the truth.

Consequently, war is the truth, because it stands for the truth, and the war should be supported for it stands for the truth. Typically, the aim of the public text is contextually broader and more general than a specific text, and on the meta-level it joins the earlier examples of the texts of the epoch and the general narrative (*semiosis*), which it fully activates in the receiver as 'an example', as individual marks that can be interpreted through specific hints as forming part of the general truth.

Official mainstream texts like this one are characterised by aggressiveness and offensiveness. If we compare offensiveness to symbolically continuing revolution – war, the conquering mode is characteristic, war in the text. The state of peace would mean a culturally dominant, defensive role in protecting humanism (which was characteristic of cultural broadcasts and off-stream texts).

There are texts in which representation appears in different roles. A relatively new theme in the public text – that of a person's emotions and feelings – is also spoken of by Party veterans (Torop 1999). The description emphasises that society is maintained only by rational will and control.

- 1) *Muidugi, seltsimees Naan*
- 2) *ütles, et hingeelus on igasuguseid asju, seal on tõusid ja*
- 3) *langusi ja katastroofe, aga parem oleks, et neid viimaseid*
- 4) *muidugi vähem oleks. Siis ta võib-olla...*

[1) Of course comrade Naan

2) said that in the emotional sphere there are all kinds of things, there are rises and

3) falls and catastrophes but it would be better if those last ones would be less

4) of course. Then he perhaps...]

The above text comes from a conversation of ideology veterans that rethinks basic symbolic concepts. Strong emotional concepts ('catastrophe') are represented side-by-side with ideological determinations of person ('comrade...'). The claim here is also that the problems occur in the emotional sphere. The level on which catastrophes and other problems took place was that of the individual. They did not influence the social level, because the activities going on there were seen as regularities of a well-arranged and controlled society.

4.4.3. Context of the performance: Genres, identities, roles and styles in the texts

Characteristic of the texts is that roles are played by people who are functional for the text or whose choice is otherwise motivated. These include workers, veterans and groups of loyal writers whose role and representation may encompass all areas of life. An especially desired category was that of writers and artists known as oppositional, who by saying 'correct' things legitimate the text; this 'changed identity' signified a victory of propaganda. Journalistically interesting are specialists, but their texts have been thoroughly corrected. Characteristic of the texts is that formal functional representation includes subjective experience, resulting in a mix of formal

and informal roles. Even if some of the informality has been eliminated by *visuring*, the participating 'feeling' of the performer remains.

Dominant actors in the texts are people whose roles are not formal but can be opened essentially and emphatically by the varied environment. This principle guaranteed functional and professional representations of the limited field of journalism. Since every choice also brings its negative side, non-choice, the representational side does not include real cultural influencers of the epoch, such as philosophers, free-thinking writers, artists, scientists and university professors. The choice of performers in the texts is severely limited and biased.

In the texts representing Soviet myths, I differentiate to what extent, and how strictly, different themes and corresponding texts have been censored. I try to explain where differences have occurred in the treatment of different myths; concerning these differences I try to classify and give the motivation behind them (Table 13).

Table 13. Field of social representations in public text in Estonian radio in the 1980s.

Form	Content Normative, formal	Content Not formal
Normative, Formal	1. Mythology of existence Party speeches; Presentation of Party ideologists, veterans	3. Ritualised everyday practice Texts about current social problems by journalists, experts, persons featured as representatives of the society
Not formal	2. Mythology of achievement Texts by Party functionaries, specialists, experts, persons featured as representatives of the society; Presentation of activity and thinking	4. Everyday life and free expression Common people, artists

Source: Lõhmus 1999©

As representing ideological norms, *speaking worker and specialist* are preferred in many cases. The following is a typical conversation with a worker who has no interest in conversation and who is rather uncommunicative, to whom the journalist talks:

Tol ajal pinge oli kaunis suur. Tuli kõvasti ületunde teha, kuu lõpus eriti.

– *Ja ikka kukkus nii välja, et just kuulõpud tulid rabamised?*

– *See hakkas umbes 20-ndast kuupäevast. Ületunnid ja vahel tuli isegi öösel ka teha, et töö valmis saaks.*

– *Puhkepäevad ka võib olla?*

– *Puhkepäevad kaasa arvatud.*

[– At the time the stress was rather big. We had to do overtime work, especially at the end of the month.

– And still it always happened so that namely at the end of the month things became hasty?

– It started around the 20th. Overtime work and sometimes we had to work at night to complete the work.

– Weekends also perhaps?

– Weekends included.]

The most widespread *style* at the beginning of the 1980s was the annexing or connecting conversation, establishing 'we' in a taken-for-granted tone of empathy. Regardless of the theme, the journalistic presentation of the texts is conversational, offering participation (in the text), and reducing personal ideas to social myths as 'common real experience'. Conventional metaphor is often used (e.g., *brave May step*):

Oma maipühade meeleolus me mõtleme harilikult omaeneste pidupäevamuljetele, mõtleme oma töökollektiivi mehisele maisammule, erdatele lippudele ja loosungitele rõõmsal maidemonstratsioonil. See on meile nii lähedane, nii omane, et sellest saadud ülev elamus saadab meid kaua. (Text 40)

[In our May celebration spirits we usually think about our own impressions of the celebrations, think about the brave May step of our collective, about bright flags and slogans at the glad May demonstration. This is so intimate for us, so familiar that the exalted impression we got from it will stay with us for a long time.]

Negative texts as examples of 'mistakes' appeared in the public text as a dialogue with the texts of the Western ideological radio stations with these being primarily directed at the 'enemy' and only secondarily to the ordinary audience. Such a text clashes with the Soviet meaning system. The language of the text is official and aggressive. Strongly negative use of words is characteristic: 'crime', 'anti-Soviet voices' and phrases like 'the citizens named', etc. The phrase 'helpless sufferers' refers to the interpretation of the alien who is symbolically and ironically executed in the text. The phrase 'the honest sons of the Estonian nation' expresses, in a hidden fashion, the contradiction of different, previously existent ways of thought that the text symbolically attacks:

Eesti NSV Ülemkohtu kriminaalajade kohtukolleegium arutas Mart Nikluse ja Jüri Kuke süüasja. Kasutades nõukogude kodanike kõiki õigusi ja hüvesid, tegelesid nimetatud kodanikud Nõukogude-vastase propaganda ja agitatsiooniga, levitasid teadvalt valet ja laimu, mis mustas Nõukogude riiki ja ühiskonda. Nad kasutasid selleks ka välismaiseid Nõukogude-vastaseid informatsiooniallikaid. Kohus mõistis Kukele 2 aastat vabadusekaotust. Nikluse suhtes võttis kohus arvesse, et ta oli juba varem süüdi mõistetud samasuguse kuritöö eest, polnud aga sellest teenitud karistusest teinud vajalikke järeldusi. Kohus karistas Niklust 10-aastase vabadusekaotuse ja sellele lisaks 5-aastase asumisele saatmisega.

Kohtuprotsess polnud veel jõudnud lõppeda, kui nõukogudevastased "hääled" ja mitmed pagulasajalehed alustasid kampaaniat kaitsetute "kannatajate" päästmise nimel. Süüaluseid püütakse esitada eesti rahva ausate poegade, tublide inimeste ning vabadusvõitlejate ustavate sõpradena. (tekst 18)

[The Criminal College of Supreme Court of the Estonian SSR discussed the cases of Mart Niklus and Jüri Kukk. Using all the rights and goods of the Soviet citizens, the citizens named were active in the anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation, consciously spreading lies and slander that smeared the Soviet state and society. They also used for it foreign anti-Soviet channels of information. The court sentenced Kukk to 2 years imprisonment. In the case of Niklus, the court considered the fact that he had already been accused for analogous crime before but had not made necessary conclusions from it. The court sentenced Niklus to 10 years of imprisonment and, in addition, 5 years of expatriation. The trial had not yet ended when the anti-Soviet 'voices' and several newspapers of expatriates started a campaign for saving the helpless 'sufferers'. They try

to present the defendants as the honest sons of the Estonian nation, good people and true friends of the fighters for freedom.]

In the humorous texts, references and hints occur, the 'humour' of which is connected only to detailed differentiation of context that would engender simple-minded, positive representation if believed, but is actually fictitious – a lie:

Tere tulemast Peeter Kubo. Kui teil oleks kaasas nimekaart, mis sealt siis võiks lugeda? Peale nime muidugi, seda me juba teame. (text 6)

[Welcome, Peeter Kubo. If you had your name card with you what could we read from there? In addition to the name, of course, that we already know.]

The text above can be interpreted in several ways, either ironically, hinting that printing name cards in the publishing house (or anywhere else) was allowed only by special permission, so that name cards were practically not used at all. On the other hand, it can be taken simply as a progressive text exceeding formal obstacles, or as an invitation to the mental world, the whole practice and reality of which were imaginary. Certainly the words 'name card' stick in the ear as a representation of another, different world. Thus, the presentation of denomination and representations, being the main activity of journalism, was controlled.

Texts may contain several parallel texts, depending on which structural level they are interpreted. The professional texts of younger journalists often actualised covert metaphors and other aspects of the other, missing textual half (Greimas). The *metaphors* used in the texts can be classified into conventional, fresh, and the creation of structural constructs by 'metaphorising' some concepts. Conventional metaphors are mostly about mythology:

Siis ütleme õiged vastused eelmises saates antud küsimustele ja asume järgmiste vennasvabariikide uurimise juurde. (45) Väljapüäs peab olema, Kõigepealt peaks üldistama nende vennasvabariikide kogemused. (44)

[Then we will tell you the right answers to the questions asked in the previous broadcast and then we'll treat sister republics. There must be a solution, at first we should generalise the experience of the sister republics.]

Strong metaphors occur in texts on foreign policy:

Kõikehõlmava propagandapealetungi murtud selgroogu on püütud parandada Poola-plaastriga.

[The broken spinal cord of the overwhelming propaganda attack was tried to be cured with Polish plaster.]

A metaphor that formally continues normative political metaphor, but essentially is either absurd or unreal, can be considered a structural construction:

Kõikjal meie koduplaneedil lehvivad täna võitluslipud väljendades tööraha võitlusjõudu, järjest tugevnevat internatsionalistlikku solidaarsust. Maipüha mõrtesse kätketud suur tõde on globalne tõde ja seda väljendataksegi täna kõikjal. (Text 40)

[Everywhere on our home planet battle flags flew today, expressing the workers' power of fighting and ever-strengthening international solidarity. The great truth

embraced in the idea of the May celebration is a global truth and it is expressed everywhere today.]

Dynamic metaphors were used for negative critique and to make general comments about the short-sightedness of planning:

Võibolla kümne-viieteistkümne aasta pärast. Ja siis nad löövad jällegi kahte kätt kokku, et – ei ole, ei ole võimalusi, ei saa teha. Aga tegelikult head võimalused nad lasevad sageli mööda. (Text 44)

[Maybe in ten or fifteen years. And then again they will clap hands together that no, no possibilities, we can't do that. But actually they often just let good possibilities pass.]

In the models of the public text, the *closed text* seemingly dominates, and the *open text* can be seen only in cases of ideologically right and morally didactic texts. Generally, the journalistically better texts were open, and open texts were transformed into closed ones. Widespread was the method of leaving the introduction open in the propaganda and criticism broadcasts, when discussing work and workers' problems:

Näide: – Tallinna Masinatehase monteerijate brigadir Evald Nõupuu, staazhikas metallitöölaine, kuulub nende meeste hulka, kes rohkem armastavad teha kui rääkida. Kuid ka temal on asju, mis südamel kripeldavad, mida lihtsalt ei saa ütlemata jätta. Heal töömehel pole tarvis muud, kui et töö käes jookseks, et töö oleks rütmiline, et ei tuleks seisakuid. Aga kui inimene on sunnitud töö katki jätma, ootama, niisama lakke vaatama, kaugel siis distsipliinirikkkuminegi enam on. Kuid laseme nüüd Evald Nõupuul endal rääkida. (text 63)

[Brigade leader of mounters in Tallinn Machine Works Evald Nõupuu, long-tenure metal worker, belongs to those men who like doing more than talking. But he, too, has things on his mind that have to be said. A good worker doesn't need anything else but correctly organized, rhythmic work that wouldn't come to a standstill. But if a person has to stop his work, wait, idle about – the violation of discipline is not far away. But let Evald Nõupuu talk himself now.]

Characteristic of the journalistic texts is grammatical correctness, a sense of festiveness, and complexity in diction and presentation. Although institutionalism and sociality were important in the style of the era, the texts still were often shortened.

Socio-cultural context

Everyday life included specific concepts characteristic of the era. Such concepts were *deficit*, in the sense of lack (44), and *pledge*, a wide-spread textual form of self-confirmation that after a festive presentation every person in a group must vow to follow (pioneer pledge, pledge of technical circles, etc.)(44)

In next chapter I provide an overview of textual interventions.

Notes to Chapter IV

¹ I view textual manipulation as a process that is carried out in the text as an inner battlefield. The fixing and describing of a dynamic process is possible in two ways: as changing-transition, where the process is described, and direction and logic are named and characterised; as a phenomenon in which the changing of the meaning is compared semiotically (in context). In the analysis of manipulation, I have departed from the semiotic method, fixing the change of meaning (relation between text–context).

² What exists in the public text? With what kinds of connections? What kind of hierarchy and evaluation system there exists? What kind of meanings with what kind of connection and hierarchy system have been deleted? – Gerbner 1969.

³ I observe the Soviet media texts, how these spheres are represented and how they have been treated in censoring. I consider the researcher's practical experience – participation in the processes – essential for understanding and presenting complicated theoretical problems. Therefore, I mention here that I have worked as a practical (radio) journalist myself.

⁴ From linguistic interest, I have tried to compare the changing of practical specific material to Orwell's structural construction of 1984, in which linguistic analysis has determined deletion, substitution and re-ordering as the principal means of the achievement of specific text (Fowler).

⁵ Recent years have witnessed a significantly increased interest internationally in applying qualitative research methods to the study of social and cultural processes (Jensen 1991: 1).

⁶ cf. Qualitative – for meaning, internal, occurrence, experience, exegesis, process; quantitative – for information, external, recurrence, experiment, measurement, product (see Jensen 1991: 4).

⁷ I have divided the mythology of the Soviet public texts into three levels and correspondingly into eight basic myths. In the following analysis I observe how the journalistic texts of the 1980s were institutionalised according to the basic myths, and where there were critical and ambivalent possibilities.

⁸ This part of the chapter is based on a monograph on radio editing in 1980–1985, entitled 'Journalistic Edition: Creation or Censorship' (1999) which provides a survey of the tendencies in radio journalism in those years. Part of this chapter was prepared for the IAMCR conference in Glasgow, 26.–30. July 1998.

⁹ Transcripts of broadcasts are not the radio broadcasts themselves but the literary versions of the broadcasts that had to be delivered to the chief editor (Editing - 2) and censor for checking before the performance of the broadcast. Such transcript were required to be an exact textual equivalent of the radio broadcast. There can be differences in nuances between the transcripts of broadcasts and the actual, ready-made broadcast on

the tape, made possible by the oral presentation of the text, accomplished by tone of voice, changing emphasis in the sentence, inserting meaningful pauses into the text, etc. The same is true of the sound of the broadcast with semiotic meaning – its design, sounds, background, music. These nuances are not marked in the transcripts. Still I consider transcripts of broadcasts relevant for the study of censorship, since the controllers and *visitors* made their decisions mainly according to them.

¹⁰ The texts treated come from different editorial staffs: of the total 79 texts 48 (61 %) are propaganda broadcasts (incl. 14 socio-political broadcasts, 7 family broadcasts, 2 educational broadcasts, 6 agricultural broadcasts, 5 technical broadcasts and 2 Marxist-philosophical broadcasts, 1 publicity, 4 socio-political talk-broadcasts, 7 others); 12 children and youth broadcasts (incl. 2 night programmes), 4 literary and art broadcasts, 11 entertainment broadcasts (incl. 3 humorous programmes) and 4 informational broadcasts.

The texts of the editorial offices may briefly be characterized as follows:

Informational broadcasts – structural composition of the texts strictly determined, changes mostly in events – time and place; actors–participants. From informational broadcasts are included in the material texts *Uudis* (News), *Päevauudis* (Daily news).

Children's broadcasts are generically varied – interviews, games, conversations, etc. Texts are characterised by emotionality, development and culmination. The text of children's broadcasts was pedagogical, also emphasizing work and education, socializing, and establishing world view. The children's broadcast text used here is *Helipere* (Sound Family).

Youth broadcasts texts were ideologically and socially activating, for example, *Tulipunkt* (Focus).

Youth broadcasts are represented here by *Minu kaks kätt* (My Two Hands), *Meie elu ja mina* (Our Life and Me), *Juurtest ja toitemullas* (Of Roots and Soil), *Tea ja tunne (nõukogudemaad)* (Know Your Soviet Country), *Soovid, soovid, soovid* (Wishes, Wishes, Wishes). Among the youth broadcast texts are also ideological brainwashing texts, represented in the material by the text no. 43, *Üleliiduline mälestusvalve* (All-Union Memorial Watch).

Propaganda broadcast texts are characterised by officially valid representation of world view and attitudes. It covered the fields of active social life, from industry to family life. In my material, propaganda is represented by the texts nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 18, 21, 24, 39, 40, 41, 51, 54, 58, 60, 62, 63, 72 and 76. See also, Ch. 6.

Literary broadcasts are characterized by multi-dimensionality and figurativeness; e.g., no. 17 *Maastik ja loomine* (Landscape and Creation), no. 22 *Hetk luulega* (A Moment with Poetry).

Entertainment broadcasts are characterised by social themes and the ambivalent use of language. Many of the texts were written by Russian/Jewish authors and translated into Estonian. The selection includes texts 9, 10, 29, 56, 61, and 71.

Characteristically, texts of longer broadcasts are long narratives lasting 30–60 minutes. In the present selection, such texts are represented by nos. 17, 27, 58, and 59. Shorter texts are also characterised by the central position of narrative or story. Performers talented in storytelling are common in these texts.

CHAPTER V

Typology of textual intervention strategies

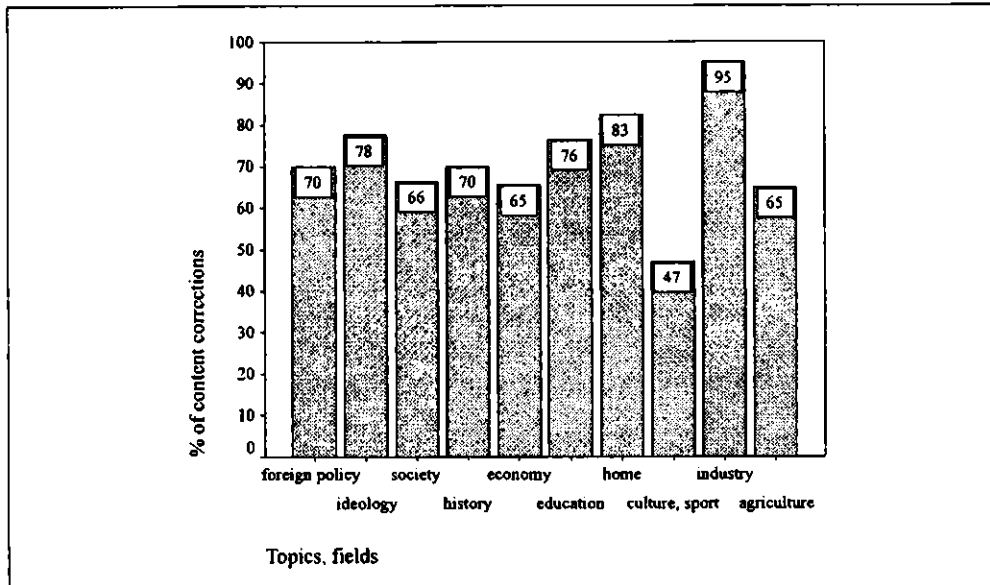
In this chapter, I provide a general survey and statistical overview of strategies of textual interventions by sub-editors. The analysis of data has been carried out on four levels: (1) *factual level* (including transformation by topics, deletion and addition of elements); (2) *narrative level* (including restructuring of story); (3) *performance level* (including transformation of modality, transformation of the actor and stylistic form); and (4) *contextual level*. Possible strategies of textual interventions are surveyed and a typology of them is proposed.

5.1. Reflection vs. distortion: typology of textual intervention

5.1.1. Statistical overview of content transformation strategies

79 texts with 820 changes made during *visuring* were studied. My analysis reveals that about 1/3 of the corrections were in diction (words used) and about 2/3 caused changes in textual content. Exclusively formal changes (editing, increasing the coherence of the text, making the text tenser, elimination of worn-out forms) without concurrent essentially important changes amount to 264, i.e. 32%, or roughly one third of all determined changes of text. The number of interventions that transformed the substance of the text is 556, or 68% of all coded changes. Most content changes were made in texts concerning industry and home, whereas stylistic corrections are significantly more prevalent in texts on culture (Figure 9).

The most frequent strategies for the transformation of the public text can be sub-grouped as follows: *omission of the theme* from 41% of all the content-transformed interventions; *omission of analytical thinking* from 23% of content-transformed interventions; and *deletion of objects* 34%. 25% of content transformation entailed *transformation of the story*; 33% influenced *modality*; 34% concerned the *actor's identity or character*, and 19% of content changes modified the actor's frame of reference or *way of thinking*, i.e., the internal ideological or causal structure attributed to circumstances by him or her (Table 14).



Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

Figure 9. Proportion of content corrections across different topics.

We can see the transformations in the functions of text ('before and after'). Most numerous are the transformations in ideological functions: before the changes existed 10% and after the changes 33% of all (registered) functions (see also Figure 18, Ch. 8). The typical aim of the interventions was to improve the positivity of the text (Figure 21; see also, Lõhmus 2000).

Table 14. The most frequent strategies for transformation of public text.

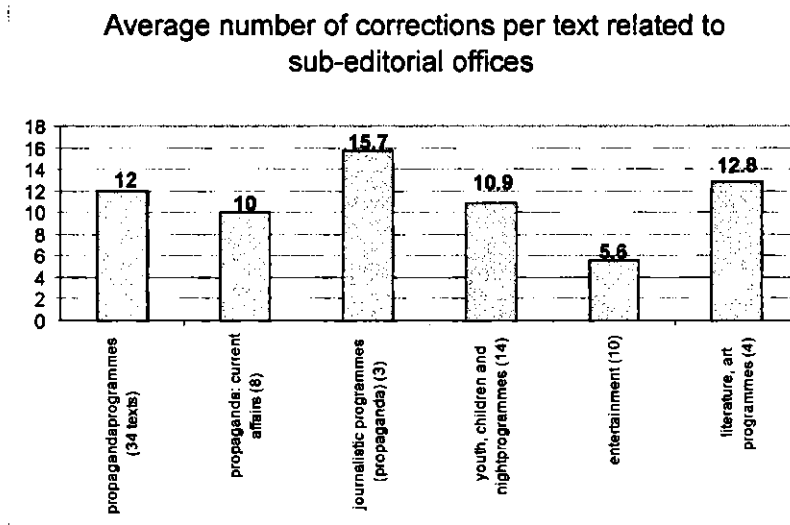
The most frequent strategies for transformation of public text	% of cases N = 556
Omission of the theme, topics	41%
Omission of analytical thinking	23%
Deletion, addition or reversal of objects	34%
Transformation of the story (narrative)	25%
Transformation of actor's identity or character	34%
Transformation of actor's way of thinking	19%

Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

Practical context for the alterations – editorial offices

The editorial offices are the centres for practical modification of texts, where text production is carried out, from initial idea to finished text. Figure 10 provides an overview of changes made at that level. Transformation by the editorial offices mainly involved changes in the propaganda broadcasts (406 cases, 49.5% of all changes).

Family and other everyday broadcasts can be differentiated as a sub-editorial section for propaganda broadcasts (78 corrections, 9.5%) and public domain (48 corrections, 6%). Changes in youth and child broadcasts amounted to 129 (15%), in entertainment, 58 changes (7%). The absolute number of interventions classified by the sub-editorial offices shows the representation of broadcasts in the selected editorial system, but it does not specify the number of interventions in the texts. In different sub-editorial offices, the number of interventions varied – the least number in informational and entertainment broadcasts, the biggest number of essential interventions in public domain texts (16), literary texts (13), and propaganda texts (12). The average number of interventions per text is 9.4 among all the analysed texts.



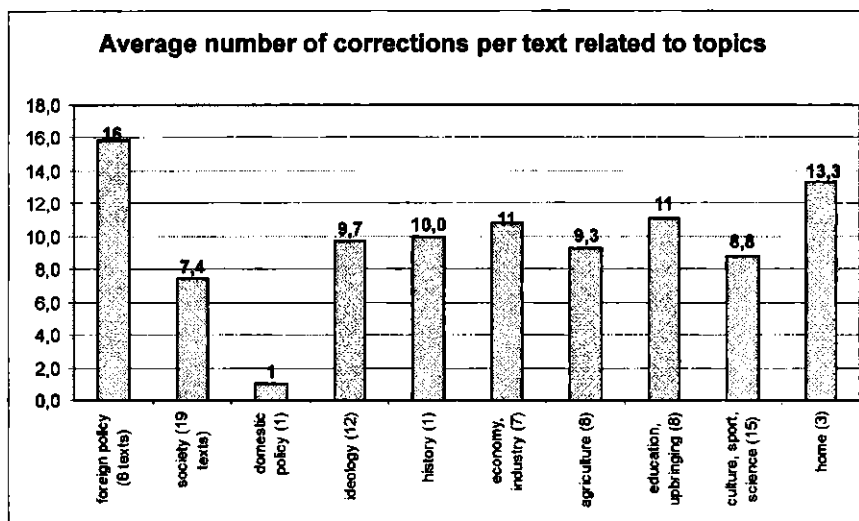
Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

Figure 10. Changes made to texts by sub-editorial offices.

5.1.2. Changes of the texts by themes and topics

Existing topics and changes in topics, in the preliminary process of the public text, are indicators of the contextual structure considered as legitimate in the epoch's public text; they are also indicators of broader characteristic of the epoch. Viewing the texts by their themes, we find the least number of changes in the case of home policy (1), the greatest number in cases of current affairs and foreign policy (16), family and home (13), education (11.1), economy and industry (11). The average percentage of interventions in the texts concerning history and ideology are 10 and social themes 7 (see also, Figure 11). Only a few transformations occur in texts relating to home policy or general history, because these themes were avoided and rarely discussed in public texts (interventions 1 and 10, respectively). The small number of changes might also obtain because real facts, analyses, etc. concerning these topics were

prohibited; for example, the topic of industry, in which there were 21 interventions, or 2.6% of the total, and 3.8% substantial interventions.



Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

Figure 11. Main themes of programmes and average number of corrections per text across different topics.

Transformation of topics (Table 15). My analysis shows that *addition of topics* is present in 26 cases, 17 of which consist of adding ideology to propaganda (15) and children's (2) broadcasts. *Elimination of topics* occurs in 226 cases, or 41% of the substantial interventions, of which ideology (24 cases), family and home (21), and foreign policy (17) dominate in the texts of the propaganda office.

Addition of ideology to the textual field takes place in 17 cases; elimination of ideological topics, in 22 cases. In the latter case, overly direct sayings were eliminated, though the theme was ideologically linked. The avoidance of too much propaganda and the presentation of ideology in milder forms were already important due to the increased competition between media, and radio was interested in retaining the audience. Thus, direct brainwashing was to be avoided in texts, if possible, although in some fields it was done. The most often deleted and transformed themes in texts were those on foreign policy, ideology, community, culture, education, and some aspects of the economy and agriculture (see Ch. 6, on 'positivisation').

Viewing the themes and topics by editorial offices, one can observe some cross tendencies; for example, in six cases 'culture' has been eliminated in the youth broadcasts and 'agriculture' in propaganda broadcasts. This involves shaping the world model of the young and socialising them, such that model is presented as the normal and only possible environment.

Thinking and speaking can be immediate; the electronic media particularly stress this immediacy because it creates a favourable background for spontaneous

receiving of text and for higher trustfulness. The purposeful process of shaping the impression of 'immediacy' was under a special ideological control.

Most textual eliminations are those of *thinking*, which constitutes 56% of the interventions of the removed topics. Thinking has been eliminated in themes of propaganda broadcasts (79 cases, 26 of which were in foreign policy, 29 in society), in education (16 cases) and in cultural texts (19 cases). In all, free thinking was eliminated in 125 cases (22.5 % of all substantial interventions!), of which 26 cases concern the theme of foreign policy, 29 in the social field, 19 in culture, 16 in education, and 11 in agriculture.

Criticism, which has been studied as a separate field, has been eliminated in 45 cases. The dominant themes from which 'criticism' has been eliminated by the editorial staffs are these: propaganda (26), youth broadcasts (12), education (10), agriculture (6). Description of everyday events has been eliminated from the social thematic in 4 cases, from culture in 3 cases, and from home themes in 2 cases.

Summary description. Mostly thoughts connected with social thematic have been censored and eliminated, as well as ideological treatment and criticism combined with everyday events connected with that theme. Foreign policy as a 'borderline topic' was under especially severe limitations.

The topics depicting life were the most difficult to publish, since essential area of life were excluded from the Soviet model of 'life' (cf. Section 8.5). Other topics were under various degrees of restriction; consistently strict, for example, were the rules concerning texts on foreign policy. On the other hand, in entertainment broadcasts, where the main limitations had already been imposed through the choice of principles, various stylistic freedoms were allowed (see also, Figure 4, Ch. 3).

Table 15. Textual interventions across different topics; average number of cases per text related to different topics.

Intervention of the theme/topics	No. of cases	% of cases (N = 556)
Addition of topics	28	5%
Elimination of the theme/topics	226	41%
Elimination of arguing and analytical thinking	125	23%
Elimination of 'thinking' in propaganda broadcasts	79	14%

Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

5.1.3. Deletion and addition of objects

Textual intervention in the form of deletion of objects from the text takes place in 189 cases (34% of the substantial transformations); addition occurs in 26 cases. Most typically, the deletions were of unsuitable concepts (86 cases), activities (76),

and facts or events (39). In 19 cases mention of someplace abroad was deleted. Of time removed: 14 cases involved removal of the past; the present in 4 cases. Addition of text concerned features in 7 cases and concepts in 6 cases (Table 16).

Table 16. Transformation of objects in the texts.

Transformation of objects	No. of cases
Deletion of objects	N = 189
Incl. Deletion of concepts	86
Deletion of activities	76
Deletion of facts-events	39
Deletion of place abroad	19
Deletion of the time the past	14
Addition objects	26
Addition features	7
Addition concepts	8
Transformation or substitution of objects	21

Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

Object transformation can be observed in 21 cases. Most of the transformations of object have been made regarding concepts, which were *replaced* by suitable ones. In one case, the transformation concerns the spatial-temporal level and the concept of 'place' has been substituted by that of 'time' (this case characterises the determination of Estonia where different phrases have denoted different periods).

Deletion, which occurs in 33% of the substantial interventions, can be considered one of the most 'normal' activities of *visearing*. My interviews with the editors reveal that the editors themselves did not always consider this professional activity a problem or even especially significant among their duties. Sometimes something was purposely left in a text until the last *visearing*, in order to satisfy the need to delete something and to assure that then a more covert but substantially more significant part of the text would remain intact (Viirand 1995).

5.1.4. Transformation of narrative

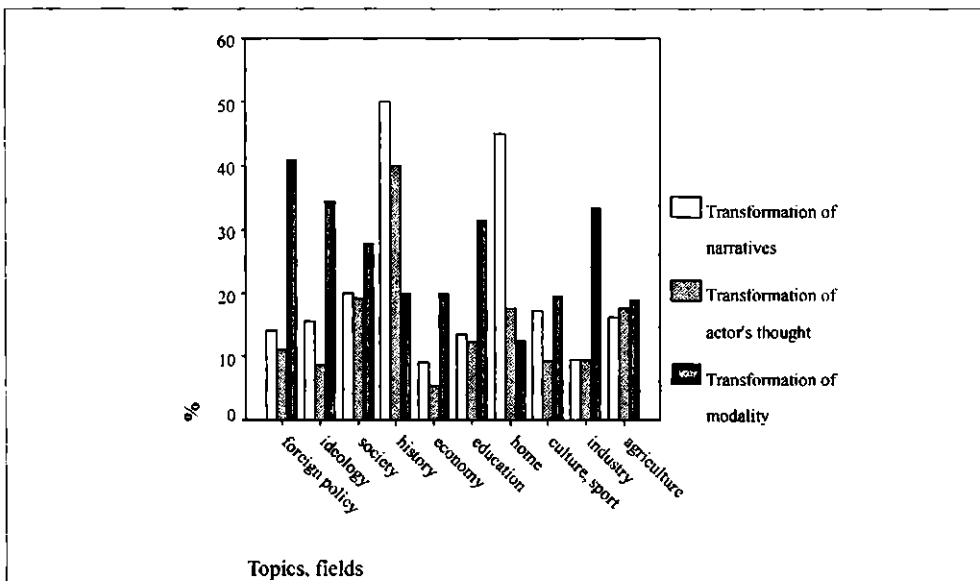
The journalistic text in most cases presents its essence as a narrative, constituting a holistic story with its elements being connected in causal relations such that the story has a purposeful composition. The transformation of narrative, such that the story obtains a meaning other than the original one, appears in 102 cases (18% of all essential interventions). In 63 cases the metatext of the narrative, i.e., the most important philosophic ideas of the text, has also been transformed (Table 17).

Table 17. Overview of transformation of the narrative.

Transformation of narratives	cases	N=556
Transformation of the story-narrative	102	18%
Transformations in metatext of the narrative	63	11%
Transformation of cause-result relations	58	10%
Avoiding to impress of the attitude	45	8%

Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

The transformed stories were mostly those concerning society (21 cases), ideology (17), foreign policy (14), culture, home and family. Areas associated with changes in narrative become clearly distinguishable through a general comparison of topics. The changes primarily concern narratives about history, home, and family. The respective rates of change are over 50% for topics of history and about 45% for stories on home and family. 20% of the corrections involve public and social themes (Figure 12).



Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

Figure 12. Transformation of narrative, the actor's way of thinking and modality across different topics.

The transformation of narrative caused the transformation of causal relations (58 cases), including the implantation of myth. The avoidance of raising problems occurs in 16 cases and avoidance of certain attitudes in 45 cases. These changes transformed the narrative ideas of the original text.

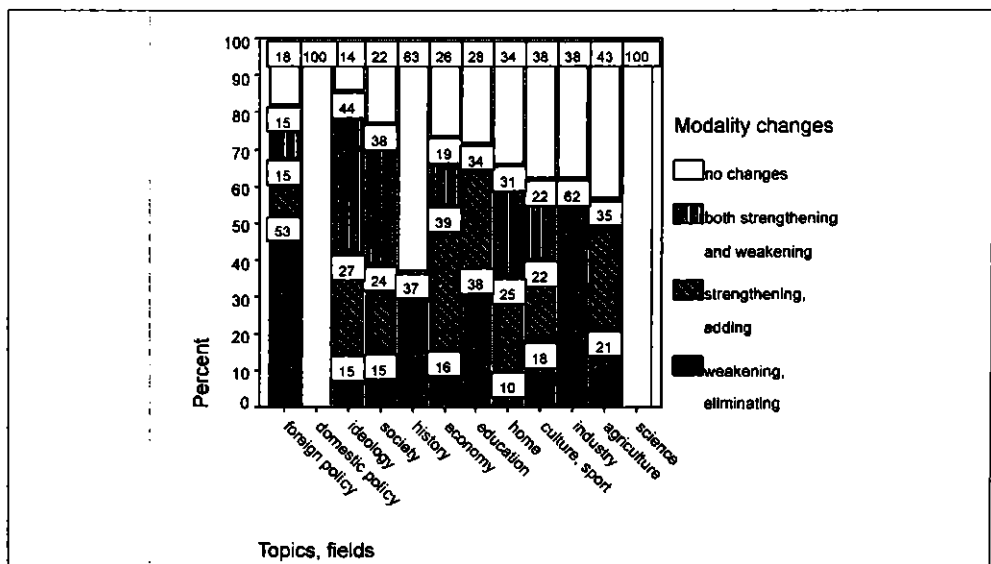
5.1.5. Transformation of modality

As well as transformation of the whole narrative, changes were made in less noticeable, seemingly unimportant details influencing the text. Such a kind of feature is that of modality. The latter is the connotational structure of the text, and often includes as a substantial part of the content. Of the essential changes, the dominant ones were the transformation of modality (category of formal change) and the transformation of way of thought (category of transformation of the actor's identity).

Change of modality is most frequent in themes connected with foreign policy (more than 40%). Modality has also been changed in narratives concerning industry and ideology (35% combined) and also education, but less in the sphere of home, since the latter theme was the least examined in the public text (see Figure 12, 'transformation of modality'). Here we notice trends, such as changes of modality do not occur in the fields of home/domestic policy and of science.

Viewing the change of modality by the sub-editorial offices, one finds the greatest changes in the propaganda and family/home broadcasts, in which 25% of the changes (essential and formal alterations) were involved. In the youth broadcasts the change of modality constitutes 21% of the changes.

My analysis reveals that changes in modality occurs in two directions: firstly, by *weakening and eliminating of modality* in 107 cases; secondly, by *strengthening and addition of modality* in 68 cases. Thus 175 interventions, or 1/3 of all significantly important transformations, are connected with the changing of modality (Figure 13).



Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

Figure 13. Transformation of modality across different themes (N =175); weakening of modality (107 cases), strengthening of modality (68 cases).

Weakening of modality exists most often in foreign policy texts (53% of the texts), the fields of education (38%) and history (37%) follow. In the industry theme, only weakening of modality is apparent, and it occurs in 2/3 of that type of text. The greatest strengthening of modality happens in the economic (39%), agricultural (35%), and educational (34%) texts. A complex situation exists in *both strengthening and weakening of modality*, featured in the themes of ideology (44%), society (38%), and home (31%).

Changing of modality can be classified into three groups based on whether they *strengthen, weaken, or reverse* a certain meaning. For example, the favourite methods of censorial *visering* were to change the modality when the text acquired inscribed ideological meaning by the elimination of a seemingly unimportant word:

[Those benefits are quite small indeed – often seventh of salary, fifth of salary etc.– but there is need to spend public funds for that, too.]

5.1.6. Changing of performance and form

Transformation of the actor

The actor in the text has a special role in which very many important details are implied internally in the structure of the 'person'. These features becomes visible through the text which the person focalises or by his/her style, wording, tone, textual temperament, bias toward the subject which is being argued, etc. We can consider the person placing the focus with the textual basic 'taken-for granted' unconscious level, which has a strong influence on the recipient's unconscious level as 'a sign of identity'.

Transformation of the actor takes place in 186 cases (34% of all essentially important changes). The greatest number of actor transformations are connected with the fields of society (37) and ideology (33), with education (26) and agriculture (22) following. The fields of history (4), industry (7), and economy (8) are least connected with the change of the actor, since in these fields the performers had been selected on more strict principles to begin with (see Figure 20, 'deletion of actor').

Actor transformations dominate the thought path (104 cases, or 19% of all essential interventions): hiding traces of communication in the text (62), transformation of personal characteristics (40), and manipulation, i.e., the use of performers as material (33).

The actor's way of thinking was most often changed with topics related to history; the domain of economy underwent the fewest alterations (see also, Figure 12). Across topics, the actor's thinking was redirected in 40% of the corrections concerning topics of history, 20% for topics of both society and agriculture, and about 20% for themes of home and family. The transformation of the way of thought was not present in science and home/domestic policy texts.

Transformations connected with the actor are most numerous: 'transformation of the characteristics of the actor', in both positive and negative directions, 'transformation of the imaginable experience' of the actor, and the use of the actor as material. Most of the situations using performers as material by the *viseur* are present in the fields of ideology and agriculture. In the complete substitution of the actor, three cases out of four take place in the field of education. The change of personal characteristics happens most often in the agricultural texts (9 cases). The increase of positivity or decrease of negativity of a person, plus the change of personal experience, occur most often in the field of ideology.

5.1.7. Form and style as strategic elements of textual acts

The stylistic and formal level of the texts are often understood as of minor importance for the textual content, but something that is inevitable concurrent with the content. Rather rarely do the analyses focus specially on style-levels when analysing content. The propaganda handbooks often emphasise that the most important message is received as the first impression of the text. In this book, however, it has been stressed that in a closed society the formal level of the texts is an inherently significant part of the message (on the totalitarian text, see also Ch. 2).

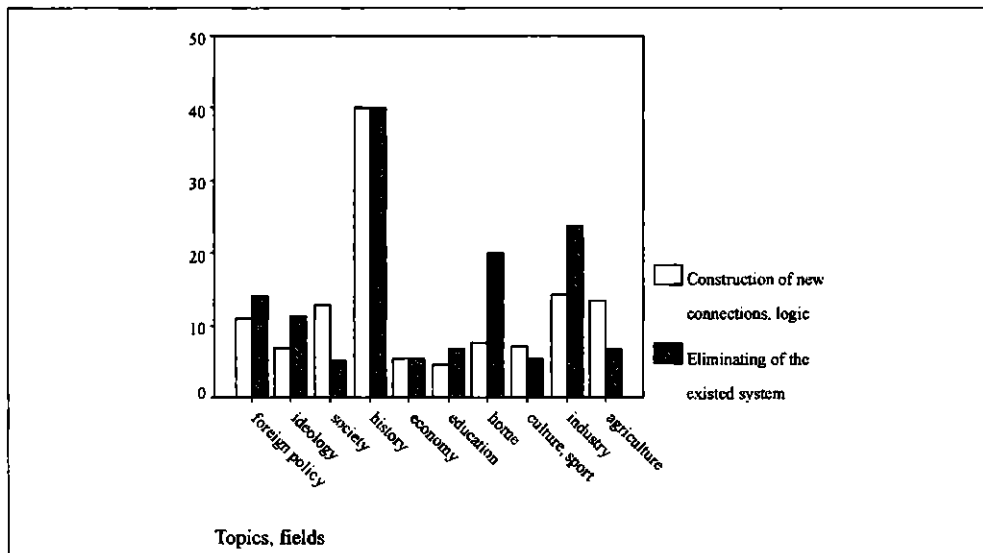
My analysis has revealed that the formal changes can be divided into *essential* and *formal* editorial changes. Most often, syntagmatic parts of the text, especially sentences, are eliminated, such as 'discussion/argumentation' (93 cases), commentaries (88 cases), claims (36 cases). The styles most often eliminated contain wrong connotations expressing certain subjective attitudes (76 cases) and critical style, i.e., as negative towards society or a public field.

Changing the textual form changes the *semantics of the text*, by elimination, addition, or reversal of the meaning. *Elimination* takes place most often in discussions (93 cases, or 7%), commentaries (89 cases, or 7%), connotation-attitudes (76 cases), claims (36 cases). Abstract levels have also been eliminated: systematics and classification (79), the relations of symbols and signs (43), imagined relations (38), processes (30), possibilities of comparison (28), ambiguity (24), imaginable antitheses (15). The extent of meaning (22 cases) and generalisations (13 cases) have also been decreased.

Addition concerns generalisations (40 cases), connotations (25), extent of meaning (22), and myth (112). The addition of myth may occur along with some other change mentioned above, such as eliminating discussion, etc. In changing the text, a certain socio-mythological construction appears. Of the substantial changes (556), change of the text to suit some myth is present in 20% of cases (see more on 'typology', Section 5.2).¹

Reversal. In *visouring*, use has been made of changing a claim into the opposite one (23 cases), reversal of the system and classification (22), connotation and attitude (21), change of myth (10). The most important methods of reversal are the construction of new connections (79) and changing the basis of the conversation (67).² The method of changing the basis of the conversation, in which the objects in the texts are changed according to the aim of manipulation, also belongs to the same field.

Construction of new relations occurs in 14% of cases of the essential interventions, which use the original text as material for approaching some new textual idea (Figures 14 and 15, and Table 18).



Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

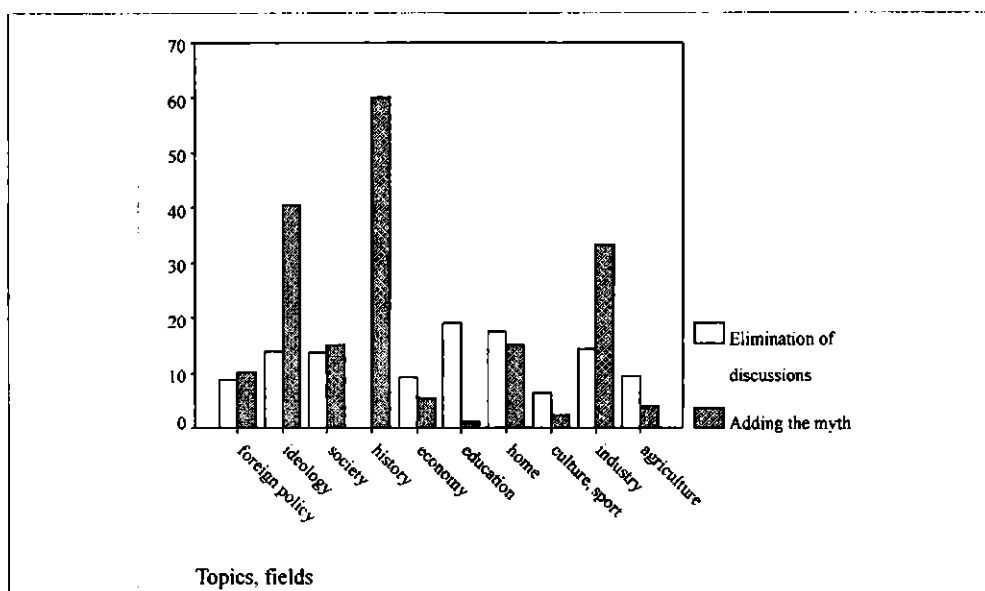
Figure 14. 'Elimination of the existed system' and 'Construction of news connections and logic' across different topics.

The analysis leads to the conclusion that most disruptions and dispersions of existing textual and logical structures occur in the fields of history, industry, and home. It is also in those same areas that most new text has been constructed. Generally, the construction of new connections seems to be in inverse proportion with the elimination of the existing system. However, this is not true of topics about home and industry, where elimination dominates, nor of topics about society and agriculture, where significantly more cases of construction occur.

Discussion is an integral part of good journalism. Before the *visouring* stage of totalitarian texts, discussions hold a more prominent place in texts on education and home, and also society and ideology. Elimination of discussion is a monologisation of dynamic social processes. In topics of home and education, as much as 20% of the dialogical discussion has been deleted. Addition of myth is strongly connected with

textual functions, since there existed a structural normative interpretive system behind the text (Section 5.2). Censorship removed the central issues of discussion and replaced them with mythological elements, particularly concerning history (65% of the changes in that field), ideology (40% of the topics), and industry (35%).

Since the addition of myths is one of the most characteristic purposes of textual changes, besides clear deletion strategies, the present analysis enables us to claim that the transformation of public text is based on a normative model serving as a structural basis of texts. Three of the most significant cornerstones of the Soviet public texts were the topics of history, ideology and industry. The fourth was foreign policy (Figure 11; 'deletion strategies'). We can conclude that the abstract Soviet textual model was dominantly used for processing these four principal textual fields: *history*, *foreign policy*, *ideology*, and *industry*.



Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s. Archives of Estonian Radio.

Figure 15. 'Elimination of discussion' and 'Addition of the myth' across different topics.

Strategic elements of public text

It is possible to delimit a number of strategic elements operating in the journalistic stage of the production of public text. These include journalistic strategies for equivocal balancing of the process of interweaving of the public text arising out of an opposition with the strategies used in the stage of ideological control (censorship). The presence or absence of dynamic and dialogical elements has an impact on the composition of particular texts and, more importantly, on the general principles and processes of public text.

Some fairly clear-cut principles were followed in the pre-processing of totalitarian texts: removal of elements of discussion and commentary; introduction of new textual strategies; addition of normativity based on social myths; modification of interrelationships between content elements of text, thus leading to a change of content.

Table 18. Strategic elements of public text structure eliminated, added, or reversed by ideological control (*visouring*).

Type of intervention	Strategy of intervention	No. of cases
Approaches involving decreasing and elimination	Elimination of discussions	93
	Elimination of commentaries	89
	Elimination of systematics and classification	79
	Elimination of connotation or attitudes	76
	Distortion of relations of symbols and signs	43
	Elimination of imaginable relations	38
	Elimination of claims	36
	Elimination of comparison	28
	Elimination of ambiguity	24
	Decreasing of extent of meaning	22
	Elimination of imaginable antitheses	15
Decreasing of extent of generalization	13	
Approaches involving increasing and addition	Addition and construction of myth	112
	Addition of generalisation	40
	Addition of connotations	25
	Addition extent of meaning	22
Approaches involving reversal and construction	Reversal of new connections	79
	Reversal /changes of the basis of the conversation	67
	Reversal of claims	23
	Reversal of classification, system	22
	Reversal of connotation, attitude	21
	Reversal -change of the myth	10

Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

Most of the cases of censorship studied here affected the *dynamic, balanced, and continuous character* of public text. The detected pattern of changes makes it possible to venture a distinction between three types of structural elements that determine the very nature of a given textual universe: (1) features expressing the existing system of meanings, comprised of factual and interpretive components; (2) elements that in a balanced way determine the semiotic roles of participants of the textual dialogue; (3) facets that constitute new meanings which continue to 'update' real processes via reference to them. The crucial opposition between journalistic and censorship practices hinges on the confrontation between strategies adopted vis-à-vis these three types of structural elements.

5.1.8. Formal changes of the public text

Changing of form and formal changes of the public text are different things, since textual changes can be divided into essential and formal ones. *Formal corrections* include unimportant changes of form in editing: redaction of the text, increasing of coherence, thickening but also the removal of trivial and worn out phrases. The changing of the sequence of words in the sentence also belongs here. Some kinds of paraphrasing have also been classified in this category. Example:

sest muidu võivad tekkida perekonna kokkuvõtmise asemel vastuolud + võime kaasa aidata võibolla perekondade lahkumisele. (tekst 78)

[for otherwise –controversies may appear instead of suiting the families together + we can contribute to the parting of families.]

Often technical tautologies were deleted:

Peaenergeetik ettevõttes saab seda rööliku juhendada, kuid ainult ikkagi koostöös nende inimestega, kellest oleneb tehnoloogia tootmine//773

[The chief energy engineer in the enterprise can supervise this section of work, but only in collaboration with the people on whom the technology production depends.]

Most typical editorial changes include the removal from the sentence of excess words that have no function. For example:

selle tagumisel küljel on aed, mis on kõik sm. Samuli juhtimisel ära//296korda tehtud. Või

[at the back of it there is a garden that has all entirely been put to order under Mr Samul's leadership. Or ...]

5.2. Typology of strategies of textual intervention

Studies of censorship using original edited or censored texts and sub-versions provide the opportunity to examine the tiniest components of the mechanism and to reach the essential single events. On the basis of 79 analysed texts containing markings made by editors and censors, I can point out some features about the changing of textual levels.

Regarding the main changes made in the sub-versions, texts can be classified as *contextual* (concerned about the place of the text in the wider context) and *textual* (concerned with changes in logic and relationships within the text). One of the more important results of the analysis is the possibility it offered to describe certain principles of censorship on the basis of the markings made on the text. In this case, the use of a using a theoretical overview or summary of the practice is not too important, since some of the various methods may appear in real practice or on the mental level (symbolically).

The strategies of textual intervention can be classified into three types based on whether (1) *decreasing–elimination*, (2) *increasing–addition*, or (3) *reversal-*

construction was involved. These three approaches can be divided into 11 strategies (sub-types). The most frequent sub-strategies of textual intervention (11 types) made in the texts can be subgrouped as follows: deletions, interruption, restriction, obfuscation-dispersal, insertion, renaming, substitutions, restructuring, refocusing-recontextualisation, reversal, and construction of the new text (see Table 19).

The most typical constructions of transition are the deletion of criticism, deletion and substitution of objects (time, place, actors), institutionalisation, formalisation, socialisation of the text, ideologisation (understood as 'taken for granted'), restructuring narratives and actors (to fit them to the Soviet mythology), transition of ideological presentation, and social processes. The textual examples illustrating the typology of strategies of textual interventions are presented in Appendix 2.

Table 19. Typology of strategies of textual intervention.

Type of intervention	Strategy of intervention	Method of textual intervention, type of transformation	
1. Approaches involving decreasing and elimination	1. DELETION	1.1. Deletion of facts, phenomena	
		1.2. Elimination of generalisations	
		1.3. Deletion of components, mechanisms of the world model (geographical, ideological)	
		1.4. Avoidance of criticism, contradictions	
1.5. Elimination of the author's discussion			
1.6. Elimination of reactions, emotions, attitude			
1.7. Hiding and deletion of direct questions			
1.8. Hidden direction of thinking			
1.9. Deletion and simplification of thinking (style)			
1.10. Avoidance of actualised 'wrong' behaviour			
1.11. Deletion of determinations of belonging to (directly, indirectly)			
1.12. Deletion of details for generalisation, getting a mythical narrative			
1.13. Deletion of ideological naivety, simplicity			
2. INTERRUPTION	2.1. Interruption of story, narrative, emotion	2.2. Interruption of continuity, processes	
		2.3. Interruption of the internal reciprocity, mutuality	
		2.4. Interruption of logical thinking, transformation of cause-effect relations	
		3.1. Concretisation and restrictions in time and space	
3. RESTRICTION	3.2. Avoidance of the creating a new idea, a new connection	3.3. Abbreviation of a complicated analysing discussion to a simple, short answer	
		3.4. Limitation of meaning	
		4.1. Obscuring spatio-temporal frame	4.2. Obscuring of connections between events, processes
			4.3. Obscuring of logic, ideas
2. Approaches involving increasing and addition	5. INSERTION, ADDITION		5.1. Insertion of (new) text

3. Approaches involving reversal and construction	6. RENAMING	6.1. Renaming of object, event, processes etc.
	7. SUBSTITUTION	7.1. Transformation of the object of reaction 7.2. Changing of connotations 7.3. Transformation internal relations of the text from active to passive (or vice versa) 7.4. Transformation of the actor's (self-)determination in a text 7.5. Transformation the imagined world view of the performer
	8. RESTRUCTURING	8.1. Evaluation after the elimination of argumentation 8.2. Relating evaluation after distortion of texts to the relations to some other actor 8.3. Replacing actor with anonymous form
	9. REFOCUSING, RECONTEXTUALIZATION	9.1. Giving the text as a whole a new direction (by adding the so-called editor's text) or purposes 9.2. Intertextual change
	10. REVERSAL	10.1. Reversal of the meaning of the text 10.2. Reversal of the extent of meaning (individual into general, general into individual) 10.3. Approximation of faraway objects, removing of nearness; 10.4. Reversal of activity into passivity, passivity into activity 10.5. Reversal of attitude (uncertainty to certain etc.)
	11. CONSTRUCTION OF NEW TEXT	11.1. Creation of new, wrong relations 11.2. Creation of a myth

Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

Notes to Chapter V

¹ By the changes made to the texts, the system and consistency of the changes can be observed. For example, the change of modality and especially of narrative – which appropriates the texts as material for myths – was consistently carried out in propaganda broadcasts, in the texts treating society and ideology; such consistency can also be observed in the youth broadcasts (cf. Ch. 6, on myths in the texts).

² How is it possible that some activities may occur at the same time as 'eliminated' and 'added', as appears in the generalisations? The attitude towards the text depended on the theme and the point of view. This in turn depended on its suitability regarding the valid norms and relevant methods of processing the text.

³ The concept of 'diffusion', as used here, is not to be confounded with the notion of diffusion as used in analyses of cultural imperialism. Here, 'diffusion' means the purposeful obliteration of elements of meaning, whereas in the discourse of cultural imperialism (e.g., Golding 1981; McQuail 2000) the term is used to denote the consistent application of certain implicit textual practices and their reinforcement in order to establish them as a norm.

CHAPTER VI

Representations of myths and social criticism: the covert criteria of censorship

This chapter moves from generalities to specific transformations and examines the logic as they appeared on specific levels. First, this chapter provides an overview of the main formal myths and mythology of contemporary Soviet ideology and methodology and methods achieving them

As explained in the preceding chapter, most alterations were made to increase ideologisation, politicisation, and positivisation. Although the general tendency was to make texts more 'social' by eliminating or reducing the role of the individual, the specific textual character, and communication, the general function and long-term effect of the transformations was directed at the audience and aimed to socialise individuals through developing a more social-political identity.

The normative level in Soviet journalistic practice was powerfully represented. Public text was typically perceived as truth and norm, as generaliser and magnifier of ideas. The classification of examples concerning the emergence and processing of the basic myths in media is partly conventional, based on the dominant realm of the text's context (see Ch. 3.2.1., on the available myths).

6.1. Myths in the public texts

Texts on society (93 cases), ideology (90 cases), foreign policy (89 cases), education (68 cases), and culture (60 cases) were the ones most altered. Social myths mostly appear in the text as complementary, mutually sustaining elements, interrelated and closely interwoven by various transitions and transformations. The conglomeration of several myths is characterised by a certain mythical condition and 'mythical logic', helping to achieve perfect interrelation as well as to establish mythical grounds for the world model.

The ideological calendar (Ch. 3.2.) of Soviet Congresses of the Communist Party, plenums, and five-year plans determined the rhythm of work of the Soviet press

and were echoed in the journalistic texts. 'Human-faced' (de-formalised) political rhythm was established as the common social rhythm; the 'needed' events and the real life echoes had to be constructed accordingly. In the narrative of myth, both symbolic (thematic, referential, syntactic, semiotic, etc.) and physical (time, space, etc.) aspects are typically perceived as real.

6.2. Characterisation of texts according to social myths

All the texts have been processed although most of them try to convey the impression of direct presentation (Table 20). The selection includes broadcasts representing typical and pure mythological texts with simple code structure. The following are classified according to their mythological type. **Creation mythology:** *Mõeldes Leninist (Thinking about Lenin)*, *Pärandus (Heritage)*, *Võitlusaastakümned (Decades of Fight)*, *Korpusemees - Oskar Äär (War Veteran Oskar Äär)*. **Achievement mythology:** *25 aastat suvepäevi (25 Years of Summer Days)*, *Noorteprogramm. Üleliiduline mälestusvalve (Youth Programme - All-Union Memorial Watch)*, *Teooria ja tänapäev (Theory and Today)*, *Kõigi maade tööinimesed (The Working People of All Countries)*. **Ritualised everyday-life:** *Mikrofoni ja märkmikuga (With Microphone and Notebook)*, *Perekond ja kodu (Family and Home)*, *Tere hommikust põllumehed (Good Morning, Farmers)*, *Tuult tallamas (Beating the Air)*.

In addition to the mythological texts with complicated codes (structure), some can be divided into the aesthetical and critical use of language on the basis of codes. The *critical* and *aesthetical* texts or critical and aesthetical elements in the texts which are analysed separately (Tables 20 and 21). **Artistic-aesthetical, satirical, critical and texts** with other, allowed complicated codes: *Maastik ja loomine (Landscape and Creation)*, *Setukõsõ, Kasiino (Casino)*, *Meelejahutaja (Entertainer)*. **Critical texts:** *Hetk luulega (A Moment with Poetry)*, *Kultuurikaja (Cultural Echo)*, *Reporteriminutid (Minutes of the Reporter)*.

The use of genres is associated with the valid ideological and textual conventions in which the possible degree of freedom was determined by theme, performers, editorial staff, and political situation. In socially more important themes, the choice of genre was, on the one hand, more strict and more classical (for example, as regards staging, composition). On the other hand, freer forms could occur in them (interview, free conversation), if the performer was especially honoured and trusted. The typical genres of approaching problems involved commentary, taking the floor, current affairs, and interview (Table 20).

TABLE 20. The occurrence of broadcast text genres in the textual selection, according to Soviet mythologies (beginning of the 1980s, ER).

Types of the texts as representations of myths	Genres
I Mythology of existence	Performance, composition, interview with inserted questions, imitated reportage, free conversation
II Mythology of achievement	Taking the floor, commentary, interview, radio lecture, news, travel description, publicity
III Ritualised everyday practice	Radio journal, interview, discussion with sound examples, (montaged and processed) reportage
IV Aesthetic and entertainment texts	Game, quiz, humorous conversation, feuilleton, humoresque

Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

As to occurrence and presentation of myths, 23 texts (30%) represent everyday life ('everyday ritualised practice') and 6 texts (8%) are aesthetical (entertainment). In the remaining 50 texts (63%), different myths and myth combinations occur, the most widely spread of which occur together as mythical types on the axis 2-5-8; 4-6; 1-4-7; 3-(4)-5 (Table 21).

Table 21. The occurrence of Soviet mythologies and everyday and aesthetic entertainment elements as an important component in the selection of the analysed texts.

Everyday practice, aesthetic components and the Soviet Myths	Occurrence in texts
Ritualised everyday practice	23, additional elements 9
Aesthetic, entertainment text	6, additional elements 5
The myth of the creator Lenin and the Party and Marx - Engels as their predecessors (1)	10
The myth of the victory of the Great Soviet Socialist Revolution (Russian Revolution) and of a new era (2)	10
The myth of the development of socialism, a world-wide communist revolution and communist future (3)	9
The myth about the Great Patriotic War and the invincibility of the Soviet Union that has numerous 'enemies over there' (4)	12
The myth of Soviet republics as a unified family (5)	2
The myth of labour and constant improvement of the Soviet economy (6)	19
The myth of the working class as a leading 'power' (7)	8
The myth of the free and happy Soviet people (8)	16

Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

Texts with a mythological basis (50 texts, 63% of my sample; Table 21) dominate in the genres of composition, and (processed) conversation is 'performed'; i.e., based on spontaneous conversation processed politically and made purposeful in the editing process. Free conversation as an open textual form was used for the 'right' representations (veterans of war, work, party). To texts of a certain myth type (mostly original myths 5 and 8) elements of other general myths were added (typically higher ones). For example, *Elutões sündinud sõprus (Friendship Born in the Truth of Life)*,

a conversation genre, belongs narratively to the texts of ritualised everyday life. With the textual changes, a continuation of the creator myth of a new type of person was construed on a hierarchically lower level nearer to reality. In *Villu ja meie (Villu and Us)* (conversation), the material is from everyday life; the text narrative is presented as achievement mythology, which can be reduced to the creator myth. The text is projected in the person of the revolutionary, Villu-Vilhelmine.

Problematic myths that have changed over decades of development:

1. Some myths were *established and have occurred in texts without change*. Here belong the portraits of leaders and positive figures expounded as heroes, also the myth of the October Revolution and the new era.

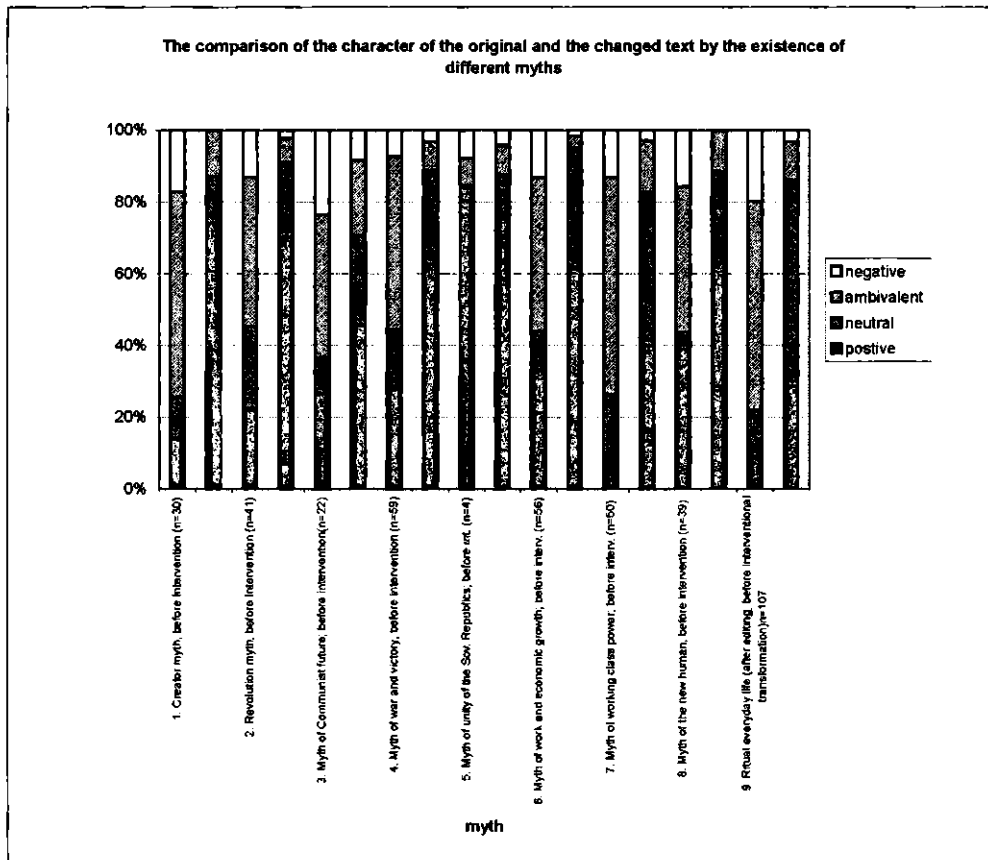
2. These are myths in which one could recognise *creative development, projections and the use of mythical details in everyday texts*. The phenomenon occurs in war myths and hero stories, as well as stories of the development of the new man. The most often used method is change of narrative.

3. In some myths there were *not many censorial interventions* (for example, foreign policy, they and us, the main textual positions of which were 'right'). Texts were impeccable in their presentation, having been prepared by specialists or professional ideologues.

4. Some myths *raised constant problems*, such as the depiction of work and workers, technical progress, international friendship and family problems (Figure 16).

Studying the control of the Soviet public texts through their correlation with myths, I have observed the level of textual changes made on *factual, narrative or presentational*, and identity levels. I have found three methods of achieving myths: change of narrative, change of modality, change of the identity of the participants or performers of the text, changes in way of thinking. Identity has been changed most in 'The myth of the victory of the Great Soviet Socialist Revolution and of the new era', since in this field the performer or his qualities have been changed, replaced, or omitted. Change of modality and narrative functions have been used most in the myth about the Great Patriotic war, in the construction of 'enemies', and in themes about work, the improvement of Soviet economy, as well as in the construction of 'the new ideal'. My presentation reveals a detailed picture of what in the 1980s were considered 'the sphere of deviance, the sphere of timed controversy, and the sphere of consensus'.

Most alterations were in myths about everyday reality or 'Ritualised everyday practice and life' (Ch. 3.4.1.): 228 cases (42% of all alterations made). The most substantial alterations applied to the Myth of Labour and constant improvement of the Soviet economy (155 cases), and the Myth about the Great Patriotic War (131 cases). More than 20% of the essential changes are related to the Myth of the Free and Happy Soviet people and the New Ideal Man (112 cases).



Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

Figure 16. The comparison of the character of the original and the changed text by the existence of different myths.

The text, generalised to myth, deals with the symbolic environment as really existing and presents a positive hero. One can identify with the hero, compare oneself to him or her, or follow the example given. Heroes often speak in their own voice, which increases their credibility. Secondly, texts are made more panoramic; details and specifics are avoided, and generalisations applied instead. Thirdly, texts become increasingly one-dimensional and positive, and the ambivalent and metaphorical use of language is erased. Myths exist to influence people. The identity they construct is highly idealistic and generalised to common, established types of actors.

In several cases, myths are intertwined; for example, the myths of Lenin (1) and the new era (2) (see Ch. 6.3.2.), the myth of the Soviet republics as a unified family (5), and labour and economy (6) as opposing the capitalist world and new 'enemies'. The workers as the leading power (7) and economy (6) are often combined with criticism.

6.2.1. The myth of the creator Lenin and the Party and Marx and Engels as their predecessors

The appearance of myth is often accompanied by the aspiration for harmony and consensus. In such a case most of the author's own presentation has been removed from the text, and these texts are strictly censored as to facts, impel biased interpretation, and are meant to represent the sphere of consensus. Myth is the basis for revolutionary and class-centred history and opposes national and Christian hero stories. here are 35 cases of substantial textual transformation, of which 20 originally ambivalent interpretations have been replaced mostly by positive ones (from the original 5 to 23; see Figure 16).

This ideological myth, due to its significance, is handled in a highly normative way. Lenin is central in a number of broadcasts in which present-day interpretations of his texts and the descriptions of his personality prevail. The individual experience of Lenin was commemorated - songs, poems, plays, films, posters, slogans, portraits in every school, monuments in every town. All these accompanied people in the way the often performed song did: *Lenin is with us, he lightens the world*. The 'light' called forth by this 'creator' had to do with many other phenomena in the world. Lenin's personality functions in the journalistic text as the representation of the whole mythical narrative.

Talking publicly about Lenin was permitted to people having a certain position in the hierarchy, researchers of his texts, and devoted journalists:

– Sellest on kolmteist aastat – kas tõesti nii palju? – kui raadioajakirjaniku töö viis meid üsna pikaks ajaks kokku Lenini teemaga. Alustasime tookord ülevaadet Lenini elust ja tööst, mida me jagude kaupa andsime eetrisse kahe ja poole aasta vältel. Lugesin kokku, et neid oli siis 75 raadiosaadet.

[– It is thirteen years since – is it really so much? Since the journalistic profession made me come across the Lenin's topic for a length of time. We started with the revue of Lenin's life and his work, broadcast it for a period of two years and a half. I counted up that we had 75 broadcasts on that topic then.]

Because of the paramount importance of the topic, the editing and censorship of the public text was highly regulated, as show the following examples from censored texts:

1. Deletion of subjectivity plus implied communication with implied questioning from the audience. Example:

Ja sellepärast muidugi, nii palju kui me tegime, pakkus see meile tööpoolest väga suurt rahuldust käia läbi kõik Lenini paigad Nõukogude Liidus, sina ka välismaal. ~~Jah, noh, kui kuulajad sellest kõigest kah natukene midagi talletasid ja mingil määral huvi tundsid, siis – ja mõningate vastukajade järele seda otsustada võis – siis me võisime tõesti rahul olla. //487 Minul igatahes oli see minu ajakirjanikutöös üks kõige huvitavamaid perioode.~~

[And that's why, for sure, as much as we did it we really enjoyed to visit all Lenin's places in the Soviet Union, You also abroad. ~~Eh, well, if our listeners learned at least~~

~~something and took some interest in all of it, then...and some feedback can prove it... then we could really feel satisfied:~~ 481 For me at least it was one of the most interesting periods in my career of a journalist.]

Contrary to the ideology manifestations, the journalist does not suppose that the topic of Lenin would necessarily interest everyone. This kind of doubt or the possibility thereof is eliminated.

2. Deletion of temporal circumstances and human details. Example:

Need materjalid 1922. aasta lõpust ja 1923. aasta jaanuarist, viimased kirjutatud või diktatsioonid kolm nädalat enne surma, need materjalid, kui neid sisuliselt jälgida, puudutavad põhiliselt kolme probleemi.

[These materials from the end of 1922 and January of 1923 ~~last of them written or dictated three weeks before his death~~; these materials, if you follow the content, concern three major or basic problems.]

It was considered inappropriate to mention Lenin's death (1924) or his mortality when talking about his eternal works.

3. Institutionalisation, formalisation and making the text anonymous and the deletion of real communication. Example:

Ma pakun nagu oma klassifikatsiooni järgi, aga ma arvan, et võib-olla see on mõningal määral õige. 488 Esiteks, puudutab Lenin nendes materjalides Nõukogude Liidu loomist ja eriti rahvuspoliitika küsimusi. Teiseks puudutab ta partei ühtsust ja partei juhtimise probleemi. Ja kolmandaks puudutab ta isiksusi. Ja eriti tekitas minus mõtte just see viimane aspekt, millel ma tahaksin peatuda pikemalt. Ja ma palun, Hillar, paku sina enne seda oma põhimõtted või oma toetuspunktid! //489

[I propose, so to say, according to my own classification, but I think it may be true to some extent. 488 Firstly, in these materials Lenin is concerned with the creation of the Soviet Union and the national politics in particular. Secondly, he writes about the unity of the Party and the problem of its guidance and leadership. And thirdly, he regards personalities and especially this latter aspect made me think and linger on it. ~~And before I proceed, Hillar, please present your beliefs, your starting points!~~ 489]]

The journalist has come up with his own way of structuring the material, which was insufficiently formal and institutionalised. The journalist's approach is presented as anonymous and normative. The text becomes institutionalised. Notice that the address to the interlocutor - 'Hillar, please' - and the presentation of one's own beliefs when talking about Lenin are not properly institutional. The implicit author of the text has been socialised, so, the journalist, as a talking actor has been formalised.

4. Deletion of generalisation and political metaphors. Example:

Või võtame NEP-i poliitika. Igatahes näiteid võib tuua palju, kusjuures tavaliselt suured teoreetikut on väga viletsad praktikud. 491 – Ma arvan, et siin, niisugustel momentidel, aitas Leninil tema haruldane anne näha mitu sammu ette.

[Or let us take the NEP policy. There are plenty of examples, ~~whereas big theorists usually prove [to be] poor practitioners~~. 491 I guess here, at such moments, the rare gift to foresee the coming moves helped Lenin very much.]

In discussing and talking about the activities of Lenin and Party, the author comes to a generalisation. The statement is erased because of the undue political generality and the metaphor. As a metaphor, it would link the similar experience of different ages, carrying humanist and philosophical meaning.

5. Deletion of the simple-minded ideologisation. Example:

Kui ma loen tema tööd 'Pahempoolsuse lastehaigus kommunismis'. Siin tõepoolest ei saa jätta imetlemata, ei saa jätta külmaks Lenini kui isiku suur geniaalsus ja see, kuidas ta oskas näha ette probleeme, mis nõuavad jõupingutusi kommunistidelt ka tänapäeval nii meie riigis kui rahvusvahelises mastaabis. 191

[Reading his work 'Pahempoolsuse lastehaigus kommunismis'. Here You just become astonished, amazed at Lenin's genius, his ability to foresee the problems still demanding the communists' efforts both in our country and internationally. 191]

The admiration and praise of a low level Party member is not worthy. The praise of mediocrity pulls the genius down and over-ideologises, destroying the natural 'taken for granted' effect.

6. Deletion of subjectiveness, low style, and the communicative function. Example:

Hästi on juba teada Lenini tähelepanelikkus inimeste vastu, tema soe ja südamlük suhtumine lastesse. Õn-ja. //200

[Lenin's attention towards people, his warm and cordial attitude to children is a well-known fact, isn't it? 200]

The mixing of mythical traits with intentional beliefs and querying is eliminated (accordingly, the communicative function is absent).

7. Deletion of ambiguity. Example:

~~—Ma mõtlen +~~ *Kahsten //211, kas on inimest, kommunisti, kes ei püüaks jälgendada Leninit milleski.*

[~~—I think +~~ I wonder 211 if there is a person, a communist who would not try to follow Lenin's example in some way.]

Lenin is the source of mythical identification and education. The expression 'I think belongs to the strange repertoire', emphasises subjectivity and thinking. The sentence allows ambivalent interpretation and draws attention to the thought's absurdity. Absurdity is replaced by the politically correct connotation and modality.

8. Reversal of connotation and attitude. Example:

Partei Keskkomitee novembripleenumil sm. Brezhnev mainis + ilmekalt rääkis //197, et me oleme küll palju suurendanud oma kapitaalimahutusi...

[At the [Party's] Central Committee's plenum held in November Brezhnev ~~mentioned~~ + eloquently spoke 197 regarding how significantly our capital investments have still been expanded, ...]

This respectful, authoritative way of speaking about leaders was the established norm and required in every detail.

6.2.2. The myth of the victory of the Great Soviet Socialist Revolution (Russian Revolution) and of a new era

This myth includes 'the sphere of consensus' and 'the sphere of legitimate controversy'. Everything is omitted that could be interpreted as doubt about the revolution and the new era of humanity or that has not been presented in a sufficiently dignified and celebratory style. The identity of a person and his or her presentation, as well as the treatment of history, has been changed in texts. The history of the Revolution is the main axis of human history in the field; the whole world model is constructed accordingly. The history of the Party and the state also belong here. This field exerted direct control over the periphery (Estonia) by the central power (Moscow). Estonian media showed interest in interpreting the annexation by Moscow in 1940. The Party veterans were expected to develop the interpretation, for they were the only witnesses who could have their say in public. This most intricate journalistic field was invariable and constantly present. Example:

Tuletame meelde kas või sedagi, et Lenin ju rääkis Kommunistliku Noorsooühingu III kongressil 1920. aastal, et meie põlvkond kommunistlikku ühiskonda ei näe, aga teie aasta 15 või 20 pärast saate elada kommunistlikus ühiskonnas. Ega Leningi ei võinud ette näha kõiki neid raskusi ja võimalusi, mida kommunistliku ühiskonna teostamine nõudis ette näha. Sellepärast need ajad, millest Lenin rääkis, 1935-l – 1940-l aastal meil ju veel ei olnud seda kommunistlikku ühiskonda. Meil ei ole seda praegugi. //003 Me teame, et 35-l, 40-l aastal me võisime rääkida alles sellest, et kommunistliku ühiskonna esimene aste sotsialism on "mustalt" //004 valmis. Aga me teame, et visandi ja romaani vahel on veel väga suur vahe. Seda tuleb veel väga palju ümber teha ja täiendada. Aga sellest ei maksa arvata, et romaan tuleks pooleli jätta. Ei, seda kahtlemata mitte. //005 Praktilises elus tuleb seda muidugi ette, et üksik inimene jätab pooleli aga ühiskond seda ei tee, sest Marxi on ütelnud, et ühiskond seab endale üles sellised ülesanded, mis on talle jõukohased sihid, mis on teostatavad.

[Let us recall the fact that at the III congress of the Youth's Union in 1920, Lenin claimed that our generation will not see a communist society, but you in 15 or 20 years will. Even Lenin could not foresee all the difficulties and possibilities the building of the communist society would require. That's why the time Lenin was talking about, in 1935, 1940 we didn't have this communist society. 003 We don't have it today either. In 1935, 1940, as we know, we could talk about the readiness of the communist society's first, ~~draft stage~~, 004 socialism. But we know there is a great difference between the ready novel and its draft. The latter needs much revising and rewriting. Which doesn't mean You have to give it up. By no means. 005 In reality, a single person happens to give up, but society does not do that, because as Marx has put it, society sets up for itself only feasible goals, such goals, which can be achieved.]

The above example shows the failure of the Party system's very foundation – the veterans – were not allowed to speak uncensored. The text tries to explain why the society's ideas have not come true. The topic is extremely delicate. The Party's history is being talked about and it should be a discussible subject. Yet it has become 'The History', and thus not open to critique, comparison, or analysis.

In the example, the Creator's 60-year old quotation has been used. Having analysed the ongoing processes, 'The Creator' put forward the hypothesis concerning future development: 'In 15 or 20 years you will live in the communist society'. Then follows the veteran's commentary, which justifies the Creator's mistake and with an opinion of present day society. The veteran's comment is eliminated. The next image-bearing statement about history – 'socialism, a draft stage of communism, is ready' - is used as the material for the mythical statement, 'socialism is ready'. The first part of the veteran's commentary on his thought (the metaphor) is eliminated, while the second part (the generalisation) is preserved. The metaphor is quite interesting. Reforming society is compared to creating, writing a novel, the earliest changes in society compared to a novel's draft. As it goes, today a draft, tomorrow a novel. The implied and indirect interpretational questions are: having finished the novel, shall we proceed with a new work? Firstly 'a draft' – now shall we test the ideas on people? Is that process by which societies should be formed? Is it the way we choose between two opposing methods? When should the sculptor remove bits of the existent 'material' (insignificant parts), and when should he add that 'material'?

The generalisation is based on the implied myth-causality: 'but society doesn't do that because even *Marx has said* that society sets itself only feasible goals'. The text functions as the ideological explanation of the societal processes, *seemingly an analysis*, which leads to myths and the classics, signifying the theory's priority.

The society is noticeably personified – 'the society sets up' – which in the veteran's opinion means moving in the direction of higher levels. This idea is closer to the original myths in which quantity is transformed into quality. In the public texts of the 1980s, this idea was forgotten and the myth changed. Society started to be examined and seen as moving 'forward' at the same level. This difference reflects the change in ideological and mythological world-view.

In total, this text, starting with the Creator Lenin and ending with Marx, traces and draws the subjective visual line of Soviet society's history. After being censored, it is a normative mythical text.

6.2.3. The myth of the Great Patriotic War and the invincibility of the Soviet Union with many enemies 'out there'

Representations of this myth contain the highest number of content interventions, with changes in modality and narrative being the most numerous of

them. Devices for removing 'deviancies' from texts include formalisation of text, reconstruction of story, refocusing, etc. Over the years, heroism and mythicity, as depicted in texts about war, continued to increase. The topic was divided in two: reminiscences of old veterans about the war of their youth, and the contemporary cold war with its confrontation between 'us' and 'them'. The myth of universal historic suffering and heroic victory was a textual means of education. The removal of subjective and human aspects led to textual 'ordering' and to formalisation of the identity of the Soviet soldier. Example:

Siis meid Leningradi mehi saadeti paranejate pataljoni praavima. Sealt meid saadeti kolhoosi.

~~—Kas sõja-aastatel saite kala ka püüda—?~~

~~—Ei ole. Sõja-aastate jooksul pole mitte kalaga kokku trehvanud. Pole niisuguste veekogude üürde sattunud.//758~~ — Nii et need aastad tuleb ka kalamehe staazhist maha arvata?

[— Then we, men from Leningrad were sent to the battalion hospital. From the battalion we were sent to a kolkhoz.

~~— Was there any chance to fish during the war?~~

~~— No. I didn't catch a single fish. I just didn't get near such waters. 758~~

— So these years are not part of your career as a fisherman. (23.II.1980)]

One of the aims of censorship was to retain the original purity of the Soviet myths; hence the deletions. The problem was that myths established a basis for analysing reality, and journalistic texts served as a mere illustration for an ideological myth. Example:

Seal moodustati sõjaväeosa, kellega seltsis jäämegi blokaadi. See Leningradi blokaad - see viletsus ja nälg - mis seal kõik osaks sai, tuli läbi elada, niikaua kui ükskord blokaad läbi murri. Siis pääsesime tagalasse.//757 Kui Eesti korpus moodustati, siis sõitsime korpusesse.

[A unit was set up there and we remained in the blockade with them. This blockade of Leningrad – we had to get through all that misery and hunger there, ~~until when the blockade was last broken. Then we were rescued and taken to the rear.~~ 757 When the Estonian Corps was formed, we were taken to the Corps.]

The war and war-veteran myth is not compatible with anonymous, non-heroic expressions such as 'the blockade was broken' and 'we were rescued', which show that the hero was only a passive participant in the events. In order to bolster the image of the soldier, the real conditions were blotted out in order to let the soldier figure become a part of the larger hero myth.

6.2.4. The myth of historical progression of socialism, communist world revolution, and communist future

This myth thrives on what may be called 'legitimised controversy', which is a staged representation of the opposition between 'us' and 'them'. Here, 'we' designates progressive mankind conquering the territory of the alien and capitalist 'them'. Events like celebration of Labour Day on the first of May are represented as 'their' crisis and

inevitable historical defeat, and a proof of 'our' natural expansion. Conflicts in certain geographic areas, for instance the USA, were cast in the most negative light (1, 2). And it was only natural to actualise myths about Lenin and the Revolution contextually. Propagandist and foreign policy texts are construed as teleologically independent myths. The legitimate, authorised presenters of such texts were party leaders or professional political commentators.

1.

Niisugused olid meie loosungid siis 1. mail. –Kui nüüd näiteks meie maal inimesed tulevad maidemonstratsioonile, siis nad tulevad lõbusatena ja pidulikena, aga seal ilmselt olid nad siiski natuke teist nägu.

–Ei saa ütelda just seda://467 Meil oli seal vahel orkester, siis olid seal rahvatantsijad.

–Rahvas laulis ka või?

–Jah, rahvas muidugi laulis ka.

–Aga mõni populaarsem maitlaul on ka olemas, mida siis korduvalt lauldakse?

–Eriti niisugust maidemonstratsiooni laulu seal õieti ei olnudki.

–Kas politsei ka mõnelpool vahele segas?//468

–Tihti peale politsei segas vahele, teinekord läks päris kähmluseks demonstrantide ja pealtvaatajate vahel. Ja siis sel juhul muidugi politsei segas ikka vahele://469 See oli +Korea//470 sõja alguses, siis oli päris niisugune väga suur demonstratsioon New Yorgis. Ja siis oli//471 politsei oli segatud ja siis üks lihtsalt tahtis provotseerida löömingut ja keegi oli selle ragultkaga lasknud kardavoi hobusele tagumikku. See kargas kohe tagumiste jalgade peale püsti ja kardavoi lendas sealt upakile maha uulitsale. ja siis läks seal päris löömaks. Mina olin ka lipukandja sel korral jälle. Mina sain ise ka päris hea täie kaikaga üle pea, aga ma sain kusagilt uksest sisse lipata ja lipu panin sinna üles II korrusele ja sel korral politsei ajas selle demonstratsiooni laiali.

[Our slogans used on May 1 were like that.

– Now, when in our country people come out to the May march, they are happy and dressed up, but there they probably looked somewhat different.

– Well, not exactly. 467 Sometimes we had a band, then there were folk dancers.

– So people sang, didn't they?

– Yes, of course, people also sang.

– Are there any more popular May songs taken up now and again?

– No, there is no particular May march song there. 468

– Did the police interfere sometimes?

– The police often interfered, sometimes there was fighting between the marchers and the on-lookers. And then the police, of course, came in. 469 This was when the +Korean 470 War had started, they had a fairly large march in New York. And the police were there and someone just wanted to get into a fight and someone used a catapult to shoot the ass of a street policeman's horse. This came up on its hind legs and the policeman tumbled down on the street. Then there was quite a fight. Me again, I carried a flag this time. I also once got beaten with a club, but then I jumped into a doorway and put the flag up there on the second floor and this time the police scattered the march.]

Occasionally a myth (or development of a myth) is incongruent with reality. The journalist checks the correspondence of the myth for actual facts and fails to find a match. But censoring* deprived the public of the opportunity to do such checking.

A mythical conflict has been woven into the plot of the text, such that the sequence of cause and effect has been reversed. The conflict between the marchers and onlookers has been turned into a conflict between the police and the marchers, whereas the police acting, as the guardian of public order in a defensive role, has been shown as an aggressive subject making the first offensive move. 'Our' march in their territory is not so positive and spontaneous as implicated in the text. The guest flag carrier from the Soviet Union actually demonstrates external organisation of the march (external construction of sign).

2. Labour Day march in Germany:

Samuti olid lahti viineriputkad, need müüsid viinereid, rändkaupmehed käisid. Välja oli mängitud loteriid, kusjuures isegi loterii peauhinna oli sõiduauto "Volkswagen" ja selle sai omandada 50 penni eest, see oli siis peauhinna.//483 Veel võiks üelda seda, et see pidustus kestis umbes kolm tundi, kui jõuti tribüünidele.

[The sausage stalls were open and sausage was offered, there were travelling salesmen. There were lotteries and the grand prize was a Volkswagen car, which could be had for 50 pfennig, this was the grand prize. 483 And let me tell you, the party went on for three hours before people got to the tribunes [marched by the stands where party leaders and the military received the parade].]

The description of the festivities refers to carnival style, commercial merrymaking different from the solemn Soviet ideological ritual. To an extent, this description has been tolerated. The boundary was observed to have been crossed with the prize of a car. Although a sign of the 'value' of the lottery, the car was perceived as an unwanted actualisation in the Soviet context (the country experienced a scarcity of cars). The element terminating the party was 'the tribune' - signifying respect for the party.

The two examples above demonstrate how the deletion of the initial ideological meaning turns traditions into a carnival and how ideological festivals acquire new content. The change of content is not particularly marked, but cannot be ignored either, as competitive Western broadcasters (the so-called 'Voices') were also busy reporting on international events. (In Bakhtinian terms this may be defined as carnivalised fiction and as such would definitely have been prohibited at an ideological festival.) In free circumstances, strictly ideological rituals are textually transformed in practice. The texts represent transformation of mythical context while retaining certain formal elements.

* The meaning of the words 'to edit' and 'editor' in the Soviet context covered activities from preparation of text through proof reading to political censorship.

6.2.5. The myth of the Soviet republics as a united family

This domain is ambivalent in principle, since the Soviet republics had few direct links and relations between them were to be conducted through Moscow (Example 2). Another problem solved with the help of this myth was the integration of the Soviet republics so as to become an efficient economic organisation (a plan that did not materialise). The third objective of the myth was the establishment of Russian as an 'international language of communication' in the republics (which included boosting Russian immigration to ethnic republics, extensive industrial development through 'brotherly labour aid', and intense mass propaganda). The myth is indirectly connected with the 'breeding' of a new human community - the Soviet people. This ideology encompassed the promotion of traditional ethnic cultures, mutual cultural contacts, and translation, all of which measures actually led to the translation of Russian-language literature into the languages of the non-Russian republics and dissemination of the Russian language as ideology and not culture.

The myth of the Soviet republics as a united family displays a strong opposition between 'us' and 'them' and establishes a mighty enemy figure outside of 'our' borders. The primary aim of this central propaganda myth was to modify and mould attitudes and to direct processes through ideology. The principal sources of the myth were official news, speeches by leaders, etc. In the texts, this myth is depicted as positive, and this attitude has been mostly retained in the edited versions. Changes of narrative and modality are most typical here.

1. Notice the deletion of demonstrations of the political opposition between 'us' and 'them':

Siis meie rajoonid ja kogu linn muutub tõesti niisuguseks, kuhu ei ole häbi kutsuda külalisi ükskiüks kus maalt. //299

[-- Then the city will be clean, you are not ashamed to invite visitors from any country. 299 (21.6.1981)]

The text is corrected to impose the political opposition 'socialist us—capitalist them' and to oppose diffusion. The censor has avoided presentation of a non-mythical attitude by modifying the identity of the speaking actor.

2. Deletion of political or economic inner conflict, or symbols of such conflict:

– Nii et puudused on ka joonistes, jah?

Jah, meil tulevad põhiliselt Moskva joonised, kontrollitakse küll meie poolt aga see töömaht on niivõrd suur, et konstruktori põhjenduse järel ta nii peenelt järgi kontrollida ei jõua //731.

[-- So the drawings are also somewhat inaccurate, aren't they?

– Yes. ~~We get most of our drawings from Moscow. We check them,~~ but there is so much work that the engineer says he cannot check all of it. 731(6.III.1980)]

Here real problems and criticisms are eliminated from the text. Forced connection of the remaining parts reverses the message of the text. The problem is, the issue, that prompted the radio broadcast or text, has ceased to exist. The text has lost its message, idea, and significance.

6.2.6. The myth of labour and constant improvement of the Soviet economy

Representation of work is a particularly controversial field, since it is connected with strong, fundamental, and nearly opaque myths. Work matters were 'protected' by myths. This attitude was well served by examples of economic malpractice or poor economic results in the Western countries, because these might be interpreted as 'good' in this particular context (cf. Eldridge 1993).

The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic was the most highly industrialised part of the Soviet Union; its employment ratio exceeded the average of the Soviet Union and the employment ratio of women was high. The traditions of work in Estonia were long-standing, as evidenced by proverbs such as 'Work rewards the worker', 'You shall respect work and bread', classic literary quotations such as 'Toil hard and face hardship, then you will find love', etc. The problems of work in Soviet Estonia differed from those of Moscow and the rest of the Soviet Union, where the Party representing the working class saw it as their task to make people work. The actual problem, which the censors attempted to eliminate from texts, was technical backwardness and the resulting inefficient production.

1. Typical examples of controlling and editorial censorship:

The editor gave texts a new institutionalised interpretation and transferred them from neutral to ideological contexts. As for method, it was common practice to bracket texts with the media-editor's foreword and closing remarks read aloud and focused upon by the newsreader. Here is an example of a closing remark to a censored text:

Uue viisaastaku ees seisavad suured ülesanded, et täielikult rahuldada kogu elanikkonna vajadused mitmesuguste kvaliteetsete kaupade järele.

[The new five-year plan faces great tasks, in order to fully satisfy the needs of the population for high-quality goods.]

The broadcasts are characteristically ideologised in the process of editing. Most commonly such ideologisation concerns the parts of texts that shape the context. Texts can be made to seem more ideological by eliminating the less ideological parts and by adding an ideological frame to the beginning and the end. The problem was that, in the editing broadcasts, all topics could be ideologically loaded by creation of a generalised frame.

2. Elimination of the basis of the conversation and the cause and effect relationship, plus deletion of facts about reality. Reversal of connotation and meaning (*I am more used > I am used*). An example:

—Eks muidugi://127 Nüüd ma olen nendega nagu rohkem harjunud, aga siis oli, seal õieti potnud nagu süüa eriti palju//128 kui hommikul lauta läksid, siis oli kange kisa...

[— I don't know what to say. 127 Now I am more used to them, but then, ~~there was not much to eat~~, 128 when I went to the piggery in the morning, I heard heavy squealing. (11.8.1980)]

The essential objects of manipulation, which distort the cause-effect relationship, are the basic meaning, and the individual perception and attitude toward the situation. The actual conditions of the workplace, with its real problems, was not to be made public. Also, the identity of the person presenting the subject was switched, and hesitation was turned into a purposeful certainty. The manipulation of causality was a typical strategy used in Soviet textual intervention. Real issues concerning working conditions and the like were converted to a myth involving the heroic worker and normal work.

Myth vs. myth – conflict of myths and ideas

For a long time the presentation of foreign policy issues supported domestic ideology, and the world was divided into positive and negative examples. However, the external world increasingly started to manifest phenomena which by all due criteria should have been subsumed under bad news. On the other hand, such information concerned the 'non-existent' domains of the Soviet world model and thus their actualisation in the press was avoided.

When speaking of foreign policy, domestic problems were not acceptable for actualisation. When it happened, it was through metaphors:

Vat tõmmata seda väikekodanlust konservatiivide poole, siduda ~~see~~ rohkem konservatiividega, tähendab laiendada konservatiivide massibaasi taolise väikekodanluse arvel, kes nägi riiklikus sekkumises ja järeleandmises streikivatele töölisele hindade tõus, inflatsioon, nägil/610 vaid faktorit, mis tema olukorda nõrgendas.

[Now, to pull such petty bourgeoisie to the conservatives, to tie it* up with the conservatives, this is to extend the mass base of conservatives on account of such petty bourgeoisie who just thought that state intervention and concessions to striking workers, ~~price-rises and inflation~~ 610 is a factor that weakens its position.]

[*It has been removed for grammatical reasons.]

The text explicates the mechanisms of social struggle in a capitalist society. 'The petty bourgeoisie' is a negative synonym used in myths for the middle class or the bourgeoisie. Price rises and inflation are significant negative features of the capitalist system, and here they are appropriately used for mythological purposes. However, naming those problems was to be avoided, because the domestic economy suffered from the same processes, and references to them were interdicted through official censorship (GLAVLIT). Domestic economic problems were removed from texts in a similar way:

~~[The production is so high, but there are no products. Where are the products? (3.2.1980)]~~

In the 1980s, ideological polarisation became increasingly formal. Hence representations usable as examples are fewer because the past and current global processes were relatively similar.

6.2.7. The myth of the working class as “the leading power”

This myth (Lenin 1917, *et al.*) was basic to all Soviet activities and political achievement processes. In everyday life, all power was exercised by bureaucratic functionaries responsible for taking care of the practical organisation of matters. Carriers of the highest social role – people’s deputies, representatives of the working class, and organisers of reality – were not able to discuss reality publicly.

Bussiliiklust selle rajooniga meil tegelikult ei ole, ja rahvas peab käima vana bussipeatuseni, kilomeeter-poolteist, enne tööd, peale tööd, vaatamata ilmale. Ja see tekitab palju pahandust. Nii et kaks korda on meie kaevanduses juhtunud, et //245 Oleme pöördunud Bussijaama juhtkonna poole, kuid seni rahuldavat vastust pole saanud.

[In fact we haven’t got a bus connection with this region and people are to go to the old bus station, a mile to walk before and after work, no matter what the weather. And this is really inconvenient and in our mining region we have twice gone 245 to the head of the bus station, and until now we have not got a satisfactory answer. (2.4.1981)]

In such texts emotions are levelled out and negative behaviour is concealed; thus the general emotional background is preserved and negative examples are deleted.

The press had a fixed set of topics permissible for negative treatment, and the journalists were to solve (real) everyday problems. Nevertheless, these criticisms of reality were expressed by workers, and they were the only social class that could legitimately be critical of anything.

In the following example, the method of conveyance contradicts the content of the myth. Although the text includes the manifesto: Tell the truth! It is void of any meaning when built up in a ‘dishonest’ way, through censorship of speech.

– Räägime nendest probleemidest, millega rahvas Teie juurde tuleb?

– Siin on probleemid mitmesugused. Peamine probleem on, mis on igal pool ja meie linnas ka kindlasti, see korteriküsimus. Ja eriti meie linnas oli vanu barakke väga palju, siis barakkidest uude korterisse saamise soovisilt, oli palju vaieldust ja mitterahulolemist. Sest barakk on suur, 10-15 perekonda. Tööstus võtab seal oma töölisel ära, jääb 2-3 perekonda terve baraki peale. Pool baraki on lammutatud ja kaks üksikut perekonda seal baraki sees, ja – noh, – tööpoolest – see on ju häbi meie korra juures, et ei saa siis ühel ajal kõiki ära paigutada. Ja just need 2-3 perekonda käivad ja nõuavad oma õigust, et mis nad siis hullemad on kui teised, kui nad töötavad väiketes asutustes, kellel kuhugi pole korterit anda. Teame, et on vastavad korraldused, vastavad käskkirjad, kus on ette nähtud järjekord. //258 Ja siis tulebki selle //258a inimesega rääkida puhtsüdamest, et kuidagi sellest asjast välja saada. Siis lepime kokku, et kas siis ma küsin tema töökohast järgi või täitevkomiteest järgi ja siis määrän uuesti päeva, et selleks ajaks mõni lahendus leida.

Ja kodu on ju inimesel kõige esmasem, ja selle tõttu just peabki väga tähelepanelikult ja väga ausalt rääkima.

[– Let’s speak about the problems with which people come to you.

– They have many problems. The main problem everywhere and in our town is the flats. And just in our town there were very many old barracks, and much quarrelling and anger between people who wanted to move to new flats because one barrack is large, ten to fifteen families. If the factory takes away its workers, only two or three families will stay in one barrack. Half the barrack is torn down and just two families live in it. And

~~really with our system it is a shame that one cannot do even this at once. And now the two or three families come here to claim their rights, they claim they are not worse than others, although they work in small institutions who have no spare flats. We know that there are regulations and that you have to wait for a flat. 258 And then you must speak to them honestly and solve it the best you can. Then we make a deal that I ask around at their workplace or the executive committee and then set a new date for solving it by that time.~~

- Home is an important thing in life and therefore it is necessary to talk about it with due consideration and honesty. (12.4.1981)]

6.2.8. The myth of free and happy Soviet people and the new type of human

Depiction of the new man was a strong shaper of identity. It involved representation of a holistically developed personality and the promotion of the image of the new Soviet human (1). People who are in conflict with the governing ideology also belong here as a negative example (2). The actual situation entailed a conflict because of the forceful limitations on choice and opportunity which had an anonymous impact, whereby people were defined as 'material' (Ex. 2) and doomed to the ever-lasting social status of a child. The ideal person was a man with a clear-cut role participating in institutionalised myths. The party functionaries and other people controlling the shaping of people, as represented in the texts, worked with 'the cadres'. The identities of participating 'common people' are changed. The dominant types of textual change include elimination of ambivalence and transformation of the agent's identity.

1. The following source text has been reconstructed as an ideological presentation. NB: The speaker is a Russian woman who lives in Estonia. The Estonian language makes no grammatical difference between the masculine and feminine pronoun, and this makes it possible to use editing to change the gender. Thus the last sentence of the example reads as applicable to the husband:

- *Eks igäühel jõuab kätte see aeg, kus tuleb hakata oma kodu looma. Selle Te otsustasite luua siin, Tallinnas?*

- *Jah, Tallinnas. Me saime tuttavaks spordikoolis. Abikaasa on ka sündinud Eestimaal. Abikaasa räägib ka eesti keelt, ma pean ütlema, palju paremini kui mina, kuna tema ema on eestlane. Minu ämm aga juhtus hoopis niimoodi, et ta abiellus venelasega, ise oli eestlane, ja ei osanud üldse vene keelt. //033 Õppis vene keele ära, ja siis ta oli eesti koolis vene keele õpetaja.*

[– A time will come for everyone to start to set up their home ... You decided to set it up here in Tallinn.

– Yes, in Tallinn. We met in a sports school. My husband was born in Estonia, too: ~~My husband also speaks Estonian. I must say that much better than me because his mother is Estonian. It so happened that my mother-in-law married a Russian, herself she was Estonian and didn't speak Russian at all.~~ 033 Learned Russian and then worked as a teacher of Russian in an Estonian school.]

The actor's identity and way of thinking have been changed to establish a suitable representation that fits with the mythological structure. An implied third

person emerges from the construction. equipped with the 'voice' of the first person and 'action' of the other. The censored version actually reads as if the husband and not the mother-in-law were a teacher of Russian.

2. Elimination of classification and thinking. An example:

Tänapäeval need võimalused on meil käes ja me peame kõikidel kasvandikel/196 tasanditel tõesti tegema kõik selleks, et neid võimalusi kasutada.

[Today all these opportunities are at our disposal and at all levels of 'material' 196 opportunity we must make every effort to use these skills...]

The word translated as *material* means literally people who are trained, taught for a particular purpose. It is used here to reflect the total control over the lives of people who are regarded as material. The 'material' was to be controlled and it was normal to interfere with their lives, in order to shape the free and happy Soviet people and the ideal new man.

3. Another example exemplifies the construction of an informal supportive representation (as if originating from artists). The example comes from the initial part of the broadcast about Labour Day, celebrated on May 1. (Soviet ideology regarded Labour Day as a central international holiday of workers' solidarity, expansion of communist ideology, etc.):

Maipühad on niisugune aeg, kus kõigil on vaba voli mitmeks päevaks. Tee mida süda lustib. Huvitav, kas kunstnikud peavad pühi nii, et ei võta kas-436 pliiatsit või pintslit kätte, või kui ilm on ilus, meeleolu just sobiv sellest päevast, mis on ju pidulik ja ülev, see kandub ka ateljeedesse. Kuidas on?

—Noh, nähtavasti, kuidas keegi-437 Ma teen pühade aeg muud, näiteks kasvõi aiatööd. Aga kuidas keegi, on kahtlemata inimesi, kes iga päeva peavad olema ateljees, olgu see siis suur püha, väike püha, tavaline puhkepäev.

— Kuidas teil on?

—Mul tuleb niikuinii rongkäigus käia 438 ja siis tulen tagasi, väike lõdvestus nii-ütelda ja ka ei tööta ja siis teistel pühadel lähen kalaretkele. Olen kalamees.

[— The May holiday is a time when everybody is free to do what he or she likes for several days. You can do whatever you like in your heart. [It is] Interesting if the artists also celebrate the holiday without taking either 436 a pencil or a brush in their hand, or if the weather is fine and the mood of this day, which is festive and inspiring gets carried to the studio. What is it like?

—Yeah, but then each has it his own way. 437 I do something else during holidays, like work in the garden. But people are different and there sure are people who must spend every day in their studio, be it a big holiday, a small holiday or just weekend.

— How about you?

—I must go to 438 the march anyway and then I come back, a small relaxation, so to say, and then I don't work and then on other holidays I go fishing. I am a fisherman.]

The journalist has managed to make an artist - a specially selected artist - place emphasis on the ideological representation of 'holiday' (*I do something else during holidays*), which is a sign of ideological norm as a natural environment (the public text further underscores this aspect regarding artists as a typical identity and general

representation). The approach of the ideological journalist – *Interesting if the artists also celebrate the holiday without taking either a pencil or a brush in their hand* – stresses the unconditional meaning of ‘holiday and its ‘natural’ influence on people who at such a time reorganise their central everyday activities.

The answer is restructured to make it a specifically servile answer to the question. In order to achieve this, the first sentence has been removed from the answer. The stubborn and self-confident respondent is made to toe the line. The device is used covertly to suppress the interviewed person textually and to boost the authority of the interviewer.

In the other alteration, the person’s identity and values are reversed. *I must go to the march anyway and ...* has been turned into *the march anyway and....* Thus the identity of the artist is corrected to fit the norm. This modification changes the identities and communicative positions and thereby even the social roles, positions and domains represented in the text. At a single listening, the reconstructed text may sound authentic to an inexperienced ear (which is a precondition of any censorship). If it is considered that in their conversation the interviewer and the interviewee are equal, open and candid and the interviewee has presented his/her text to a specific journalist, then subsequent substantial changes in the text without the interviewee’s knowledge can be regarded as violence humiliating the interviewee and destroying his/her identity.

Was this explicitly required? Hardly. And the interventions were made based on the intuition of the censoring editor (‘out of intuitive experience’ MU). The controller is in the role of an eternal avenger, taking revenge for his own enslavement (gatekeepers are typically people with low self-esteem). Editing methods used:

- Pre-definition and determination of language use
- Reconstruction of imposed obligation as free choice
- Restructuring that entails limitation and submission of people’s textual freedom and helps to enhance the editor’s authority

It can be asked which of the two – reconstruction of text and textual submission of the subject - is a means and which is an end. It can be argued that restructuring may be viewed as a method for textual submission, since pragmatic editing selects the means according to the aim. Interventions can be analysed as changes of function (see Ch. 8, on pre and post functions). Restructuring is a means for submission as change of function. As ideology is constructed on the identity of the artist, the artist (representation of a free man) has been turned into a servant of the ideology (subjected to ideology). Thus through the structural change an ideology, which has subjected art ‘in freedom’ or, in other words, to which art has freely surrendered, is celebrated as ‘free’.

6.3. Concealment of strategic mechanisms operative in the society

Propaganda and shaping of the new man and the Soviet people has in Soviet ideology and public texts been regarded as a positive activity leading to greater social coherence. These topics made up a normative ideological axis of the society represented in all decisions of the Central Committee of CPSU. In reality, analysis of such social issues as actual structure and operation of society, social processes and their control, real propaganda work, social text, psychological influencing, etc. was a strictly confidential domain (sphere of deviance), investigations and publications in the field were prohibited.

The boundaries between the ideological myth and real life become evident in representations of reality in the public text, which is a contact zone between both worlds where their respective hierarchies are reduced and represented. Public text is a structurally intermediate area enabling communication between the levels of ideology and reality. In journalistic texts, social structure and control of processes were reflected with different degrees of explicitness. When the field was actually discussed, the actors were de-personified or diffused; the presentation of process disconnected, naming of central components and generalisations avoided. The texts are characterised by the refocussing or obfuscation of the message.

The following example comes from a journalistically significant conversation between a journalist and old party veterans who influenced society in the 1940s. The veterans talk about directing the society and the cause-effect relationships in social processes. The topic itself is outside of 'the problematic sphere' and representation of the agent is taken for granted. At the beginning of the text, the focus is obscured by the removal of the specific question of the journalist and the first generalising answer. The methodology of shaping the new man's mind-set is hidden:

– Kui meie lugupeetud külalistel pole midagi selle vastu, siis palume veelkord puudutada küsimust ideaalidest. Kahel korral olete nendest kõnelnud, kõike üra öeldud muidugi pole. Ometi on aga põhjust rõhutada olulisemat. Kuidas ühiskond suunab ideaalide kujunemist?

– Praegu on selleks muidugi mitmesuguseid mõjutajaid. 001 Kõigepealt ideoloogiline mõjutamise vahend, alates koolist peale, siis massiteabevahendid, ajakirjandus, raadio, televisioon jne.

[– If our honourable guests do not have anything against it, we once more ask you to comment on ideals. You have spoken of them twice, of course, everything has not been said. Yet there is a reason to emphasise the more important aspects. How does society direct the shaping of ideals?]

– At present, of course, many different factors are at play. 001 First, this means of ideological influencing starting from the school, then the mass media, the press, radio, television and so on. In fact, everything used, so to say, to influence people's consciousness.]

The example is taken from the start of the conversation and represents the opening of the topic (this conversation has been preceded by two talks with the same

people and on the same topics held at weekly intervals). The journalist directs the conversation: *How does society direct the shaping of ideals?* A sentence earlier the journalist said: *Yet there is a reason to emphasise the more important aspects.* The utterance contains three phrases with strong connotation: *yet*, *emphasise*, and *more important*. *There is a reason* pointedly represents the cause and effect relationship and a rational basis of the discussion. The first sentence of the answer – *At present, of course, many different factors are at play [for it]* – is an inductive generalisation and the speaker continues to give reasons for it.

The modality '*At present*' in this context evokes the temporal opposition between now and before. *For it* refers to the existence of a purpose of activity; *different factors* refer to a number of factors. The modality '*of course*' extends the meaning of *different*, referring to various systems or a number of options, i.e., the existence of choice (depending on purpose). *At present* and *different* together can be interpreted as a reference to an earlier time when the speaker in practice had to make do with fewer means (permitted subjective memory). The question contains a covert reference to the imposition of the Soviet system in Estonia in which the speaker took an active part.

The expression *people's consciousness* is interesting, since it is not a philosophical abstraction of *a person's consciousness* or a social generalisation such as *consciousness of individuals*, but is an intermediate form. The form *people's*, emphasises the social aspect, and *consciousness* may refer to the typicality of organisation of social consciousness or the typicality of the consciousness itself.

Investigating the construction we can discern the first 'juncture' of the textual structure where it starts to branch out, providing a code for interpretation of further branching. At the level of function, at this point, the first decisive choice is made. This choice provides a basis for later choices, which reflect 'back' onto it. This is 'a code' for the structure of the text itself, telling about structural 'transitions' and about the levels-roles selected (activated) and represented in the subsequent 'course of thought'. Two sentences have been removed by the censoring editor: (1) the active and directing question of the interviewer and (2) the first generalising answer. The change has led to a transformation of the deep code structure of the text: (a) The first actual dialogue of the text has been removed; the 'dialogue-type' communication (an informal mode) has been replaced by 'propaganda' (a formal and non-problematic mode). (b) The first culmination in the hierarchy of the text has been removed; i.e., the 'summary' of the interviewer's introduction (1) and the interviewee's initial sequence of topic and self-definition (2); the area where the text establishes 'relationships', the moment of real 'dialogue', emergence of a social 'message' (1), and response with a 'message' (2) before the comments in the text continue. (c) The area or zone where 'message meets message' has been removed.

In summation, it can be said that the first intervention has both textual and contextual impact. The textual and local influence is evident in the elimination of the

first textual culmination point, the text is flattened and is unable to 'focus', because the indicator of 'the code structure' of the text has been eliminated. The textual and contextual influence ensues from the obscuring of the structure of the text and the texture; i.e., the structure and hierarchy of textual functions (functions of subtexts) is destroyed. The contextual influence consists in deletion of reference to the similarity between the structure of the text and the structure of the society, thereby avoiding projection of the textual structure onto a broader social structure. The mechanism of social construction and operation is hidden, because according to the social myth it is 'spontaneous' and must be taken for granted; the creation of problems construed as deviance is prohibited. The means used for control are 'deletion and restructuring', obscuring of focus, and modification of functions of the text.

As for its journalistic style, the text is a discussion of society which has been given added formality and normativity. The discussion of the mechanisms operative in the society has been transformed into ideology and presentation of propaganda.

6.4. Limitation of identities through obscuring of spatio-temporal environment

'It has become a cliché to assert that journalists write the first draft of history' (Edy 1999). This 'memory work' is extremely important, given the fact that news media make use of historical events at all: 'Stories about the past appear regularly in the news in three basic forms: commemorations, historical analogies, and historical context' (ibid.).

In the Soviet public text, the categories of time and space were ideologically controlled. Public text did not contain certain unmentionable phenomena, which were also absent also in the ideological world model. Unsuitable parts, ideas and words referring to something 'forbidden' or related to it logically or by association of ideas were eliminated from texts. As a result, the unity of text was corrupted and deprived of its pattern. The very mention of events had a decisive role in radio broadcasts, and the most widespread censoring practices involved elimination of the mention of certain events and the 'world' related to them. In the case of narrative texts, references to forbidden places, phenomena, and names were eliminated.

Thus, editing eliminated spheres of daily life and topics which were not considered to deserve the attention of journalism (cases where there were no conventions for speaking about them, or where possible approaches were ideologically and rigorously regimented). Spatio-temporal definitions were changed in the case of historical events that belonged to 'deviant place and time'. It was not possible to speak of different periods of Estonian history, the Republic of Estonia, or even of Estonians - all of which were forbidden definitions of identity in public text.

Nagu mäletame, toimus põllumajanduse mehhanisaatorite ettevalmistamine kodanlikes Eestis +tol ajal lühiajalistel, 2...4 nädalat vältavatel tasulistel kursustel. kus kahe aastakümne jooksul ette valmistati umbes kuus ja pool tuhat põllumajanduse mehhanisaatorit. 401

[As we remember, in bourgeois Estonia + at that time agricultural mechanisers were trained in short fee-based courses of 2-4 weeks where in two decades about six and a half thousand agricultural mechanisers were trained: 401]

Change: in bourgeois Estonia = 'at that time'.

Time has influenced the concept of place. Since it was permitted to name bourgeois Estonia only in a negative context, the actualisation of the name has been avoided to ensure 'preferred decoding' of the text.

The avoidance of specific times and places connected with Estonia in turn might lead to ideological errors, but this was considered to be a lesser problem than the actualisation of unwanted categories (it might have been presumed that the audience would not follow the text too carefully).

– Ma arvan, et naistel tuleks ära keelata öötöö. Lenin kirjutas sellest juba 1917. aasta aprillis või mais, kui partei uut programmi koostati. Tal on üks visand selle programmi kohta, seal on sees ka öötöö keeld. See ei olnud mitte Lenini väljamõeldis, aga see soov oli tol ajal juba rahvusvahelises tööliikumises üldine. Ja tema on ka õige – mihmel-pool kapitalistlikes maades ellu viidud. Ja kodanlikus Eestis oli see ka nii noil aastatel muuscas see öötöö keeld. Ma arvan, et meil oleks aeg ka selle juurde minna. (2.III 1981)

[– I think women should be prohibited to work at night. Lenin wrote about it already in April or May 1917 when the new party programme was being prepared. He has an outline of the programme that also includes the prohibition of nightwork. This was not only Lenin's idea, but was widely spread in international working class movement. And he is right, too – it has been carried out in several capitalist countries. And in bourgeois Estonia it was also so in those years, by the way, this nightwork prohibition. I think that we should also adopt it. (2. 3. 1981)]

The discussion has been censored where it refers positively to the practice and history of capitalist countries, especially those of the Republic of Estonia. In journalism, such topics were to be dealt with only in a certain way (negatively). The problem in such texts is that the stating of a problem is frequently followed by a proposed solution. Discussion and arguments are often shortened. Examples are adduced instead of arguments. In the above case, an error in content has been made through a wrong connection in restructuring the text: where in the uncensored version the idea is represented as borrowed from the practice of bourgeois Estonia, in the new construction the idea is displayed as originating from the *international working class movement*.

The ideological world was limited as to naming time and place, and this was difficult to overcome. Thus, in the case of representation of time and place in public, ideologically edited texts, the 'signs' (signifiers) were interpreted in several 'interpretation systems' (signifieds), whereas superfluous 'meanings' were excluded from the meaning system.

A similar problem was posed by time, which was ideologically restructured into the periods of 'before' and 'now'. The following text concerns the 1940 coup in Estonia as a result of which a Soviet style sign system was imposed. In a text about

Estonian agriculture in the year of annexation of the country (1940), the reference to 'bourgeois' has been removed.

1940. aasta suvel töötas kodanlikul/400a Eesti põldudel 1810 traktorit.

[In the summer of 1940 there were 1810 tractors working in the fields of bourgeois-400a Estonia.]

The author has tried correctly to emphasise that during that summer the 'past' and 'bourgeois' Estonia existed. The censor has removed this excessive zeal, because the summer of 1940 is regarded as questionable. Since the coup happened in the middle of summer, the time of use of the tractors actually extended to both 'eras'.

A general tendency was to prohibit any evocation of the wrong time, place and attendant circumstances, which could have given information about real social processes.

Nagu mäletame, toimus põllumajanduse mehhanisaatorite ettevalmistamine kodanlikus-Eestis +tol ajal lühiajalistel, 2...4 nädalat vältavatel tasulistel kursustel. kus kahe-aastakümne jooksul ette valmistati umbes kuus ja pool tuhat põllumajanduse mehhanisaatorit. 401

[As we remember, in bourgeois-Estonia + at that time agricultural mechanisers were trained in short fee-based courses of 2-4 weeks where in two decades about six and a half thousand agricultural mechanisers were trained. 401]

Notice that time, here, influences the identification of place. Naming was avoided in order not to actualise 'alien' signs and bring them to consciousness. As a result, texts became diffuse and indefinite. Because the text is about the period 1920–1940 in the Republic of Estonia, any positive information that would make it possible to analyse processes or compare them is excluded. The previous sentence, however, is good enough, since it refers to the short term of the courses and the fee. The sentence has a defensive beginning – *As we remember* – which signals that the fact should be common knowledge (which actually need not have been like that, but yielded protection against the careful 'censor'). Here we can see deliberate action - the author's style as acting against subsequent 'attacking' behaviour (censorship), a way to pre-empt the censor's sign code.

The author puts emphasis on the information that specialized training was received by *six and a half thousand agricultural mechanics*. Information about 'alien' time and place (Estonia before the year 1940) was removed because that period was to be treated exclusively negatively, so as to fit the myth of the 'new' people. Real naming and analysis of historical processes were still prohibited 40 years later.

Obscuring the actualisation of 'alien' place

Another driving force was operative in the imposed world model and 'alien' text, with its respective time, place and actor identities diffused and weakened. Here is an example of deactualisation of alien place where the name of the state has been removed from the text, depriving the audience of a piece of central information.

– 70-ndail aastail siis // 571 tekkisid mõrad senisesse parteipoliitilisse süsteemi. 70-ndate aastate esimesel poolel neid mõrasid iseloomustas nn. kolmandate parteide pooldajaskonna kasv. 74. aasta veebruaris hääletas 25 protsenti valimistest osavõtnutest Inglise- ja Suurbritannias // 572 kolmandate parteide, liberaalide ja rahvusparteide poolt. 70-ndate aastate lõpul see protsess nagu peatus. Liberaalide ja rahvusparteide, shotlaste-welslaste poolt antud hääled isegi vähenesid mingil määral, kuigi ei saa ütelda, et nad oma positsioonid oleks kaotanud.

[Thus, in the 1970s the previous political system of parties rifted. In the first half of the 70s those rifts were characterised by an increase of the number of supporters of the so-called third parties. In February 1974, twenty-five per cent of voters at the elections in England, Great Britain 572 voted for the third parties – for the liberal and nationalist parties. It seems that this process stopped in the end of the 1970s. The number of votes given to the liberal and nationalist parties, Scots and Welsh, even decreased to some extent, although we cannot say that they lost their positions.]

The nature of the intervention suggests that the text has not been scrutinized too attentively nor its meanings analysed, yet the actualisation of spatial coordinates has been avoided. Since spatial definitions were eliminated from the text, we can make a general claim that texts on foreign policy as an educational tool did not actually fulfil the function of creating system and clarity. (In radio broadcasting theory it is particularly vital to make repeated reference to people and locations in the text in order to make the text easier to follow.)

The Soviet Union as the whole world?

An extreme example that of the text 'widens' children's world view, such that publication of books is seen as natural only within the Soviet Union and knowledge of Russian goes without saying.

Kui meile kätte satub ükskõik missuguse teise keelne tekst – Nõukogude Liidus trükitakse raamatuid 70 keeles – oskame sellest välja noppida tuttavaid nimesid, kas siis Tallinn, Tartu või Kreutzwald, Ernesaks. Ükskõik kas ladina või vene tähtedega trükitult, ära tunneme ikka.

[If we lay our hands on a text in any other language – and in the Soviet Union books are printed in 70 languages – we come across familiar names there, be it Tallinn, Tartu, Kreutzwald, Ernesaks. It may be printed in Latin or Cyrillic script, we recognise it anyway.]

Moscow as an absolute representation

Moscow is regarded as an absolute representation. It is a metaphor uniting time, place and actor. The metaphor of Moscow has been eliminated.

– Nii et puudused on ka joonistes, jah?

– Jah, meil tulevad põhiliselt Moskva joonised, kontrollitakse küll meie poolt aga see võimab on niivõrd suur, et konstruktori põhjenduse järel ta nii peenelt järgi kontrollida ei jõua ja väike viga võib montaažhi ajal päris suure paranduse teha jõuda. // 731

– Aga teie töölisel loevad nii hästi ikka jooniseid, et nad juba taipavad, kus see viga tekkida võib?

[– So the drawings are also somewhat inaccurate, aren't they?

– Yes. ~~We get most of our drawings from Moscow. We check them,~~ but there is so much work that the engineer says he cannot check all of it and a small error may cause great trouble during assembly. 731

– But your workers are able to read drawings so well that they are able to understand where an error may have occurred?]

It was also prohibited to actualise facts that produce from Estonia, which suffered food shortages, was exported to Moscow, as this would have sounded like criticism.

Arvestades meie loomakasvatuse spetsialiseerimist piima- ja lihakarja kasvatamiseks on põllumajanduses nendeks toodeteks liha, või, juust ja täispiimatooted, mida me peamiselt saadame Leningradi ja Moskvasse. //385

[Considering the specialisation of our cattle breeding in dairy and meat cattle, in agriculture these products are meat, butter, cheese and full milk products which we send mainly to Leningrad and Moscow: 385]

Right place, wrong representation and identity

Why is the following an ideologically correct and positive representation, in which these artists who have visited factories in the Soviet Union have been removed?

Vaatad, et kuskile jalgu ei jää. Me oleme käinud kõik kolmekesi koos mitmel pool Nõukogude Liidus //441 vabrikutes ja kui me käisime kunagi Masinatehases, pead vaatama et kuskil jalgu ei jää. Leiad koha, paber kätte ja vaikselt sekkendad, kuni töömees ei saa aru, siis ajab minema, et ärge segage. Aga neid on muidugi vähe.

[You keep watching out just not to be run over. All three of us went to various factories in the Soviet Union 441 and when we once went to a machinery plant, you were to look out not to be run over. You find a place, grab your paper and draw away quietly until the worker understands, then he drives you away, saying you disturb me. But, of course, there are few such people.]

The correct reference to place has been removed because the very emphasis on the 'naturalness' of the fact evokes the existence of other possibilities. The number of meanings that are actually actualised is inevitably greater, since this orderliness, although candid, exceeds the limits of credibility in the case of artists and obtains an ironic taste because of excessive correctness. This is further reinforced by the discrepancy between the informal wording and the formal representation, which produces irony about the very factories which the three artists visited. The sight and the experience may have been extremely varied and interesting, even adventurous from a layman's point of view. The implication is that the artists do not have sufficient respect for the holy myth of work and worker. The impression of imaginary representations is mentally captivating. The ability of art to move freely, to select and capture (in a free and individual way) the social reality is close to the purposeful and consciously systematic scientific method which was reserved for the interpretation of ideology (scientific communism). This makes the person who grasps and interprets it

superior. This was the real, hidden key-issue and battlefield of the ruling ideology. The artist who depicts workmen creates and generalises the mental representation of his era. This fairly pretentious position was not to be promoted or expanded to one of a supervisor and describer of the whole Soviet Union.

We are dealing with a conflict with current myths, where only the 'correct' representations and roles are entitled to represent myths as reality. Connotations showing insufficient respect have also been removed, for example:

Kui sul ikka tõesti midagi vaja on, siis võtad selle rongipileti ja käid ~~seal~~ 527 Leningradis või Moskvaa ära.

[If you really need something, you get this train ticket and go to this 527 Leningrad or Moscow.]

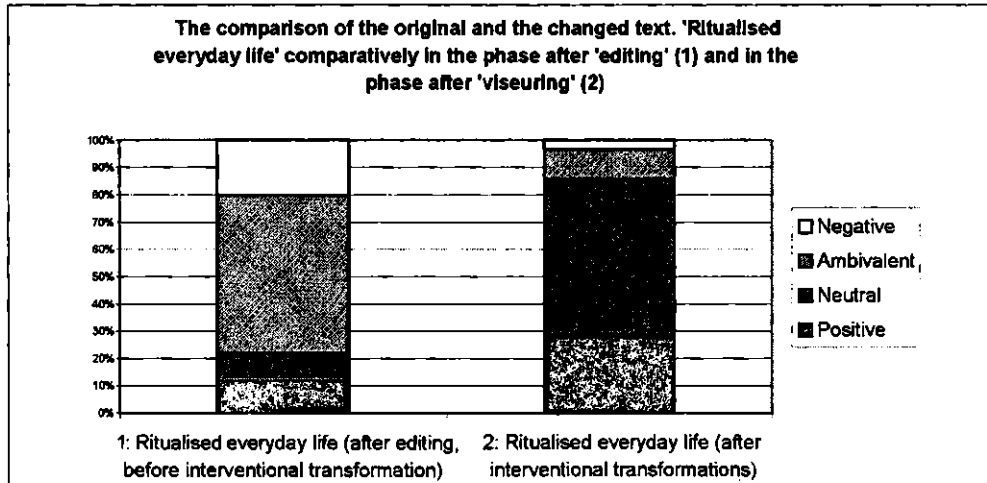
6.5. Limitation and reshaping of narrative of everyday experience and social processes

Mainstream texts tended to contain mostly ideological and political material, and everyday life as reflected in such texts had strict norms imposed on it. In off-stream texts, the situation was reflected with greater flexibility, and the context allowed for a greater role of imaginary interpretations, because this was predominantly an area of 'local' problems.

The shaping of the narrative of everyday life mainly happened in texts on culture, education, home, family and up-bringing - i.e., in off-stream texts with no prominent standing (such public texts were often printed on the last pages of newspapers or broadcast outside of prime time; see Ch. 3). This included living conditions, regulations, standard information and practical experience, as long as these fit in with higher level, normative myths. In such 'everyday' texts, reality is often expressed fairly naturally as conflicts between children and parents, workers and directors; the opposition between skilled workmen and professionals and the social role expected of them were very obvious in reality. Strong emotional expression of conflict is frequently deleted or attenuated through changes of connotation and modality. Texts of ritualised everyday practice are usually longer narratives, which model the world linguistically.

The texts of ritualised everyday practice attempted to achieve an impression of 'natural', open, and direct representation of the world. With this claim on reliability, these texts had assumed the function of representation of reality and practice and the responsibility for adequate representation of the world. Unification and shaping of the world model in texts happened through selective and biased representation of the actual social environment. In representation of ritualised everyday practice, material originating from reality was used for building the necessary examples and for representing these as reality. Here we are dealing with the (journalistic) representation of man.

Since depiction of daily life is a mental form of representing the world, the mapping and mental containment of it, existing and absent phenomena may be regarded as signs which had to and could exist on this map and which have or have not been removed from it. Analysis of control of everyday texts reveals conflicts between reality and ideological control of current names and the renovation-expansion of journalistic practice. This has happened through constant control of the boundaries between the spheres of 'deviance', 'legitimised controversy', and 'consensus', whereby these have been redefined for purposes of everyday practice (Figure 17).



Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

Figure 17. Character of original and changed text when texts reflect everyday practice. Titles of columns: Ritualised everyday life before (N=107); Ritualised everyday life after (N=67).

Of the text changes analysed, 122 cases (22% of changes of content) are illustrative of this procedure. The originally ambivalent (71 cases), negative (24), neutral (12) or positive (15) attitude has been removed or transformed into neutral (54 cases), positive (27), ambivalent (10), or negative (3), respectively.

What is happening in real life: Explicit and implicit questions about values and processes

When representing social life, journalism attempted to achieve harmony, avoid problems and create a safe and positive impression and environment. The processes for amplified presentation were selected accordingly (meetings of representatives of union republics, cooperation between the republics, etc.), and real developments and tendencies of other processes were not dealt with in public text (directions of social development, nationality issues, state budget, economic development, public opinion).

The most frequent practices that are used in text control are reconceptualisation and recontextualisation. For everyday texts, the hiding of 'everyday experience of deviance' is typical. Thus ideologically alien processes, tendencies and attitudes, which actually were a part of daily practices, have been deleted or renamed. Methods used to avoid actual changing of processes include elimination from texts of direct reference to unacceptable representations or the diffusion of controversy – partial and forcible 'neutralisation and adaptation' (Torop 2000). Thus, the world model lacked several social roles, consequently also problems and solutions to them. There were no psychoanalysts to lend a helping hand, nor were there any computers:

See on inimese enda vaba valik, millisena ta ennast tutvustab. See tagabki võrduse, sest inimene, kes talle vastab, ta ei saa ju mingisugust psühhoanalüütiku abi ja peab ennast ikkagi ise tutvustama. Nii et //775

[... This guarantees equality, because a man who answers him does not receive any help from a psychoanalyst, and still has to introduce himself... 775 (8.3.1980.9.00)]

— seal emotsioonid üldse kaasa ei mängi. Sest see, kelle raat välja viskas, on olnud ka kunagi valija osas ja talle on ka kedagi välja pakutud. 776

[Emotions do not play any role here, the computer selects a person who once was an elector. 776 (8.3.1980)]

See tark mõte on aus tänaseni. Esimeseks ulatatakse söögilauas ikka leivataldrik. Ent mida iga päev küllhaga käes, nibkub meie väärtuste skaalas üsna tagasihoidlikule kohale. Vili – leib – leivavili – on probleemiks meie ajal veel ainult põllumeestele ja juhtivatele majandustöötajatele. Sest //050 vili ei ole ainult leib, vili on loomade jõusööt ja seda rada pidi ka piim, munad, liha, või koor, juust. Vili on aluseks kõikidele täisväärtslikele valgu- ning vitamiinirikastele toitudele iga pere söögilaul.

Nüüd sama märkamatuks – igapäevaseks nagu jääb pidulauas leivataldrik, kipub jääma ka töö, mis vilja kasvatab. Tagasihoidlikud on selle töö inimesedki, rohkem jagatakse nendele käike ja õpetusi kui kiidusõnu. //051 Seepärast arvan, et pole lihtne täna hommikul veelkord ära kuulata üks vana päevauudis, mis ette loeti raadios paar nädalat tagasi.

[This wisdom is honoured also today. At first the plate of bread is offered at table. But what we have plenty of every day has moved to a modest place in our scale of values. In our time grain and bread are a problem only for agricultural workers and top economic leaders. Because 050 grain is not only bread, grain is cattle feed and this way come also milk, eggs, meat, butter, cream and cheese. Grain is the basis of all nutritious protein- and vitamin-rich foods on the table of every family. The work which is needed to grow the grain tends to remain just as commonplace as the plate of bread on a table laid for a feast. And the people who do this work are also modest and receive more orders and instructions than praise. 051 Therefore I think that it is not easy this morning once more to listen to an old news item read out over the radio a couple of weeks ago.]

The above excerpt comes from an agricultural programme where the journalist is concerned about the disappearance or decreased stature of traditional values and reminds the audience that the basis of existence and the respective system of values should not be cast aside.

The first intervention gives the argument a flavour of formal information. Ironically, the change has been made on the basis of the same set of values on which the journalist's argument is based and which is seen as the problem. A too-human

understanding of values and a covert prudent reproach of current processes are in evidence. Instructions and guidelines of 'tough' policy are judged to be over-emphasised, and positive acknowledgement and praise is found to be too scarce. The text recognises 'modesty' as a value, which in fact is ambivalent - its positivity or negativity being dependent on the context (the property of modesty is attributed to the mythical hero Lenin 19). The metaphorical comparison *just as unnoticeable* (interpretation of an interpretation) makes critical reference to the general situation where the values of 'the feast' (consumption, lavish spending) have become dominant over those of manufacturing and work creativity. With the society having achieved its mature stage, creative work and (re) constructive work is increasingly assigned a secondary role. Propaganda structured public texts to replace analysis and interpretation with a display of ongoing active reconstruction work in the society (the stage actually passed through in the 1950s and 1960s).

New attitudes were taking shape in the society, mainly connected with 'consumption', 'fashion' and other lighter facets of 'lifestyle'. Their presentation in the public text was problematic

Aga ta ei arene niimoodi paugupealt, et nüüd tuli mingi uus mood ja kohe kõik ütleme karvõ vältisid, et 064 panevad nüüd mingi muu moega rõivad selga. Ei, mitte seda.

[But it does not develop just with a big bang, so that now a new fashion appears and everybody, say abroad, 064 dresses up with some new fashion. No, not that.]

The correction indicates that here fashion is not observed. This specification or correction has been removed because (1) of the emphasis given it, (2) the opposition between us and them, (3) the emphasis on 'our' poverty and difference, (4) the dreamlike, imaginary tone, (5) the 'opportunities' that we do not have. Indirectly, this refers to the formation of a consumer society and emphasis on fashion and momentary values (sociological research). On the other hand, at the beginning of the 1980s a new situation was developing where in some domains (retail trade) there was an attempt to avoid underscoring the us-them difference and even to render the difference between quality of life 'here' and 'abroad' negligible (adaptation, neutralisation). The best way to avoid the problem was not to raise the issue (preferred decoding).

Consider the following example:

Ja ma võiksin öelda, et võib-olla mis nagu kõige rohkem minu arvates publikute //067 silma torkab, on see, et mood on läinud küllaltki lühikeseks.

[And I might say that what I think most strikes the eye of the public 067 is that fashion has become fairly short.]

The public is an alien representation of a different world-view where there is an active sector of people who control a passive group of consumers. In the Soviet world model, man was an actively participating agent who makes active choices. The actual passivisation of people was concealed, although the number of such people was growing (lifestyle studies).

In the next example, content conflicting with established social norms is removed:

Juba sellepärast, et esiteks see teenus //783 on mõeldud ainult vallalistele.

[At first already because this service 783 is meant only for unmarried people.]

If family counselling is talked about - phrases like 'the area of family counselling', 'subscriber of a meeting service', 'matchmaker', 'to live in true marriage' and other intimate matters have not reached public text - then it cannot be called a *service*, which would give it a status of normality. Hence, the activity lacks another name in the text, remaining a '*this*', and the grammatical determiner becomes the subject. In actuality, social relationships and family organisation was an important part of people's lives, and it was expected to be dealt with in the press (the audience of the broadcast *Home and Family* was 60% of potential listeners). The whole field was regulated to a fine degree of nuance, as it was not included in the official party functions of journalism.

The real situation influenced journalistic texts. For instance, because there was a scarcity of foodstuffs and consumer goods, those items were not to be discussed in texts.

Järgmised suuremad rühmad on toidainead ja tarbe-kaubad, ning //386 masinad, seadmed ning instrumendid.

[The next larger groups are foodstuffs and consumer goods, and 386 machines, equipment and instruments.]

Mention of 'food' and 'consumer goods' as a separate class is avoided, since there was a scarcity of both (a deficit).

When real life was dealt with in humorous texts, the 'complex code' permissible for this genre frequently represented a simple and accessible reflection of reality. But the narrative of such stories in the public text was not always the same as in the original. We can see in the following example that an apparently insignificant elimination of some words may transform the idea of the whole story:

Ja siis mõni tuleb näiteks niimoodi ja ütleb, et pool aastat tagasi ma registreerisin siin oma lapse sünni ja vallasema-olul //341 panin ta isanimeks Edgar, aga nüüd vaatan, et läheb vägisi Jaani nägu! Meie ametnik ütles siis: "Mis sa väiksest lapsest aru saad, ootame üks aasta veel, võib-olla läheb Juhani nägu!" – Aitäh seltsimees Sillale nende õpetlike lugude eest, mis aitavad kaasa edaspidisteks abieludeks õnnelikes mõtetes! (– muusika-"Üllatus")

[And then someone, for instance, comes, just comes in and says that half a year ago I registered here the birth of my child and – ~~she was an unmarried mother~~ 341 – I gave his patronymic as Edgar, but now I see that he's clearly getting Jaan's features! Our employee then said: 'You cannot tell with such small child, let's wait for another year, maybe he'll have Juhan's face!' – Let me thank comrade Sild for these instructive stories which help to conclude happy marriages in future! (Music 'Surprise'.)]

Understanding of the text crucially depends on the fact that the woman was unmarried. When the concept 'unmarried mother' is removed, the text becomes ambiguous; however, the wrong decoding of the whole narrative has been considered less important than removing the representation 'unmarried mother'.

Mitigation of family problems

The public text took a lofty, pompous and generalised view of family life. Typical and serious everyday family problems were seldom discussed and analysed in the public text. A weekly one-hour family broadcast presented specialized advice to parents. The following examples come from illustrations in a specialist's commentary on the topic 'Are children punished too harshly'? The illustrations were selected by the journalist and removed by the censoring editor.

—Vahel karistatakse küll, kuid minu meelest pole vahel ka õiglane, kui karistatakse. Vahel olen ema peale nii vihane, et nutan kasvõi vihaselt.//015

—Lähem teise tuppa ja panen ukse kinni ja ootan kuni ema-maha rahuneb. Tavaliselt ta nagu ribnma ei tarvita, aga sõimab ja lubab kõike asju, ähvardab. ähvardab, et ei anna mulle makki kasutada niidat aega, või nii kama kui ma pole käekirja ära parandanud.//016

[—Sometimes they punish me, but to my mind sometimes it is not just when they punish me. Sometimes I'm so angry with my mother that I cry just of anger. 015

—I go to the other room, close the door and wait till mother calms down. Usually she doesn't use the belt, but abuses me and promises all kinds of things, threatens, threatens that she would not let me use the tape recorder for a week or until I have improved my handwriting. 016]

The youngster, represented typically as an immature social agent, over-reacts and displays an unacceptably direct view of the cause-effect relationship entailed in punishment. Also, the whole approach manifest in this text does not correspond to the rules for depicting 'ritualised everyday life'. It is not possible to 'edit' these texts because the issue derives from an attitude. The idea is put forward independently and forcefully, in a way that is unacceptable for conventions of public text. In public texts, the meanings were amplified anyway, emotionality acquired symbolic force, narratives were mythologised, etc.

6.6. Construction and obscuring of conflicts

The handling of social processes in texts inevitably involves a zone of tensions evoked both when topics and processes are dealt with and when censorship has eliminated direct discussion of problematic issues from the text. Nevertheless, a reflexive observer gets a chance to perceive the impetus and context of the message through comprehending the text on the basis of its approximate context and the field that has been actualised.

The social field of the journalistic text was characterised by a number of tensions in carrying normative ideologies as actualised or present in the text, on the axis of text and context, or in the context referred to by the text. Text was particularly sensitive to context and acted as a code for interpretation and analysis of context as a sign. A non-existent reality was shaped (as a sign) through the construction of conflicts in

texts. Textual 'enemies' and 'aliens' were treated on different levels: forbidden, permissible, and officially obligatory. In the case of conflicts, several different types of manifestations are analysed below, concerning their presentation or non-presentation in substance or form. During the Cold War, daily subjects included the invasion of Afghanistan, the Solidarity unions in Poland, and comparisons of lifestyles (an area of substantial conflict). Thus, textual depiction and construction of conflicts and conflict as style became more widespread.

Conflict subdued: Transformation of foreign policy narrative in the context of daily life

In texts on foreign policy, parts of referent context may be domestic. This way the mainstream texts were connected with everyday local life, and in changes made in texts a structural recognition and reaction to the actual local situation can be discerned.

Ja rüli välja nii, et selle asemele, et kulutada nüüd seda subsidiiumide andmiseks natsionaliseeritud tööstusele või siis vastavatele erafirmadele, oli nüüd konservatiivide valitus sunnitud sedasama riigi raha kulutama juba selleks, et lihtsalt neid inimesi vaesuse tingimustes lubada neil eksisteerida, et mitte neid sõna tõsisel mõttes lasta siis 1605 nälga surra või täiesti ilma elatusvahenditeta jätta.

[And so it turned out that instead of spending it on subsidies to nationalised industry or respective private companies, now the conservative government was forced to spend the same state's money in order just to let these people, ~~them~~ to exist in conditions of poverty, in order not to, in the direct sense of the word, ~~then~~ 605 let them starve to death or stay without any means of livelihood.]

Institutionalisation of public text was carried out using several editing methods. Elimination of spoken language and interventions to achieve grammatical quality were the most widespread of such methods.

Grammatical correctness symbolises obedience and submission to norms, and in suitable contexts it might have been used for demonstrating submission to the norms of a wider or narrower social canon - grammatical speech with correct syntax was a value in itself. Features of spoken language in public text were interpreted as a sign of superciliousness or 'non-submission'. In the above case, the sentence is not quite grammatically correct even after the interventions, but the errors become less conspicuous and leave the impression of an unsuccessful presentation of the sentence (consequently seen as a lesser error) instead of the earlier, slovenly and careless wording (representation of superciliousness).

The problem is that the above text represents the 'us-them' ideology where 'they' (the capitalists) live with their own problems. Descriptions of problems were to appear only in the analysis of foreign countries. The characteristic expressions in this repertoire are, for instance, *poverty, without means of livelihood*. At the same time, the text displays the state and politics as 'actively' operating on a high level (this

comparison may have been refreshing for the recipient). Such an approach to domestic economic problems would have been unthinkable. Through criticism, which was based on double coding and thus to some extent referred to new concepts and 'representations' of the world, the discussion of topics of foreign economy and policy provided an educative example, as the recipient was able to interpret the content independently. For instance, the 'double-decoded' sentence reveals the message that, in the matter of private ownership, the state nevertheless supported people. It would have been impossible to word the statement directly without criticism, as this would have been in conflict with the ideology. 'Criticism' was a widespread means for double coding and metacoding, and it required the swapping of signs (positive or negative) of the evaluation system of the context:

Vat tõmmata seda väikekodanlust konservatiivide poole, siduda see rohkem konservatiividega, tähendab laiendada konservatiivide massibaasi taolise väikekodanluse arvel, kes nägi riiklikus sekkumises ja järeleandmises streikivatele töölisele hindade tõusus, inflatsioonis, nägi 19610 vaid faktorit, mis tema olukorda nõrgendas.

Now, to direct such petty bourgeoisie to the conservatives, to tie it* up with the conservatives, this is to extend the mass base of conservatives on account of such petty bourgeoisie who just thought that state intervention and concessions to striking workers, price-rises and inflation 610 are factors that weaken its position.

[*It was removed for grammatical reasons.]

Rising prices rises and inflation were officially stamped as phenomena of the capitalist system. Appearance of the same phenomena in the domestic economy led to censorial prohibition (GLAVLIT) of talk about them. By the 1980s, ideological polarisation had become a mere slogan, and there were few actually used substantial opposition, as similar processes were happening globally.

Conflict as style: Omnipresent politicisation of everyday life

The requirement of ideological correctness was consistent, but in the 1980s it had certain limits. At the same time, a new generation of authors of new-ideological texts (poorly educated, middle-aged individuals) was coming to the fore. This direction was characterised by the presentation of everyday text with ideologised structure. These are texts that are formally 'correct' and contain nothing 'prohibited'; i.e., no tensions between content and language. Such rather absurd linguistic practice was based on and furthered Soviet ideology.

The phenomenon may be dubbed 'new-ideological' text. Occasionally such texts displayed some metaphorical wisdom or provided 'guidance' to the lower levels concerning their mutual interests and safety. The straightforwardly comical has in those cases been removed, and a more indirect ambivalence retained. The offensive verbiage of Soviet journalistic practice had been reduced to the level of fighting with weeds:

Siin on tööd väga palju. Praegu võitleme põhiliselt umbrohuga, aga kui kõik ei võta tõsiselt //301 ja peamiseks umbrohuks, millega võitleme, on võilill, see on niivõrd visa ja tark taim, et sellega muidu võidelda ei saa, kui tuleb välja juurida ja ma arvan, et ka meie teadvuses peab see seeme idanema hakkama, mis jääb nii tugevalt sisse, nagu võilill maasse, et meie ümbrus oleks korras, siis on meil hea olla. Pahatihti juhtub nii, et meil on oma korter korras, aga koja ukse taha võib juba kõik maha panna.

[Here we have lots of work. Now we are mainly fighting the weeds, but if everybody does not take it seriously 301 and the main weed that we fight is the dandelion, this is so tough and clever plant that it cannot be fought otherwise than by rooting it up, and I think that also in our consciousness this seed must take root, which will stay in so deep as the dandelion in ground, so that our neighbourhood would be clean, then we can feel good. Too often our own flat is in order, but you can throw everything just next to your front door.]

Here is an example of rhetoric full of pathos, which emanates intense and solemn politically correct feeling. The text also contains factual inaccuracies.

Kuid täna on maimõte levinud üle kogu maailma. Kõikjal meie koduplaneedil lehvivad täna võitluslipud väljendades võõrahva võitlusjõudu, järjest tugevnevad internatsionalistlikku solidaarsust. Maipüha mõttesse kätkevad suur töde on globaalne töde ja seda väljendataksegi täna kõikjal. //459

[But today the idea of May has spread all over the world. Everywhere on our home planet the flags of battle are flying, expressing the battle spirit of the working people, the ever growing international solidarity. The huge truth embodied in the idea of May Day is a global truth and this is today expressed everywhere. 459]

Another example of such a text was aired on a youth programme. Because this example is fairly typical, it will be discussed in greater detail. The text represents an author bred and shaped in the environment of censored texts, the new type of a not-too-intelligent editor sincerely embracing the presented texts without problematising them. The deep-level construction meets and even exceeds the norms of surface-level editing. The process of texts deteriorates - there is no internal distinction between categories and the text is 'untidy'. The text is ideological and formal, containing disinformation and inaccuracies; it is invalid also linguistically, since language and thought do not meet each other in texts of this style. The robust ignorance of facts of the ideology of the new generation has led to the emergence of new 'makers of public texts' who are unaware of facts (these are not required!). But they have mastered the active political stance and the 'language' representing it, together with the necessary, ideologically 'correct' evaluations. Such texts were typically presented by ideology journalists (including those sent from the Central Committee of Estonian Komsomol), party bureaucrats, and others.

– On suvepäevade ajaloo ka midagi muutunud?

– Tahaks öelda seda, et need noorte suvepäevad on ise omaette ajalugu, mis muutis ära suure ettevõtmise, mis aastasadu oli meie vabariigi – leeriskäimise. //499 Ja kui me räägime esimestest suvepäevadest 1957. a., . kui osavõtjaid oli 39 siis, 1958. a. sai meie rajoonis suvepäevade populaarsus nii suureks, et tuli osavõtjaid 500. Ja nüüd me võime öelda, et vastulöögiks leeriskäimisele on suvepäevad enmast väga õigustanud. //500 Suvepäevad on selline noorsooüritus, mida tuleb lugeda vabariigi komsomolitraditsioonidest kõige kauakestvamaks, kõige kaasaegsemaks, elamusrohkemaks ja nooruslikumaks.

[– Has anything changed during the history of the Summer Days?

– ~~I'd like to say that those Youth Summer Days are itself a history which cancelled a big event which had for centuries existed in our republic – confirmation.~~ 499 And when we are talking of the first Summer Days in 1957 when there were 39 participants, then in 1958 in our region the popularity of the Summer Days was so great that there were 500 participants. ~~And now we can say that as a counterblow to religious confirmation the Summer Days have worked very well.~~ 500 The Summer Days is a youth event which should be considered to be the most long-standing one of the republic's Komsomol traditions, it is most modern, eventful and youthful.]

Here we can hear successors of the generation of 'winners' speaking. They have mastered the skills of ideological presentation of phenomena, and they actually do not care to see phenomena in their natural context and against their cultural background. The ideology of brainwashing is regarded as natural by them.

For instance, the phrase *in our republic*, as used in the text, defines the Soviet system of only 40-years standing as natural and everlasting. Because *in our republic* is ideologically correct, the phrase *for centuries* has been removed, since it represents another spatio-temporal dimension and system, of which the presenter has no perception. *As for centuries* comes ahead of *in our republic* in this particular sentence, the latter expression has been deemed inappropriate.

The second censoring control has cut down on exaggerations and removed the topic. The phrase *big event ... confirmation* is used by the presenter to emphasise the scale and heroism of the ideological victory. The combination is a post-modern and eclectic merger of different 'discourses': 'big event' was frequently used to mean ideological activity; 'confirmation' was a traditional cultural 'remnant', a custom and habit to be given an ideological 'counterblow'. A background and opposition has been necessary to bring out the 'victory'. Thereby a 'remnant', i.e. confirmation, is 'actualised' in order to win an ideological 'victory' over it.

The text is an example of politicisation of initiation rites as 'signs', whereby they were textually (and thus also in reality) subsumed into the Soviet world model. The text signifies a victory over traditional (thus old and hostile) signs and meanings.

Presentation of social processes and individuals

Journalists, when speaking of works of art and achievements of science, were sensitive analysers of processes and indicators of change. Texts about these fields were numerous, and changes made in the pretext stage reveal the methods used for elimination of social ideas and analytical levels.

A journalist communicates with people of all walks of life, and reports their views on changes of time and in people, and adds to these his/her own general viewpoint as a bystander. The arts are a favourite field of journalism, since they provide the opportunity, through observation of the process of expression, to

characterise changes most clearly. The role of persons and change has been reduced in the following text.

Niimoodi muutubki tänane tööstus läbi teesuguste meeste kunstiväärtuseks, kultuuriks ja miks me ei võiks siis oma elu niisugust mitmepalgelisust mitmeti jäädvustada. Peamegi seda ilmselt tegema ja tore oli teid kuulata, et te ei näe mitte seda ainult, et tööstushooned lähevad kõrgemaks ja pikemaks ja korstnad ja mastid võimsamaks, vaid et kõige looja, see tänane tööline, kelle kohta on võimalik tööline juba vähe öeldud, sest nad on operaatorid, dispetserid, eriharidusega, et nende töö ei jää varju. Olgu ta siis otseselt veel kätega töö, aga järjest rohkem ikkagi see masinatöö, elektroonika abil töö. //457 Võibolla me lihtsalt ei jõua kunstinäitusi vaadates järele sellele, kui kiiresti elu meie kõrval tõttab ja selle tõttu vahelgi langetame hinnanguid liiga kiirelt, et mis torude rägestik see siin on, või mis vilkurid need siin on. Aga see on ka osake tänasest tööstusest, elust, inimeste loominguist. Nii et teie mured - inimene - on huvitavam. Ega see ei kao kuhugi, inimene jääb sinna sisse ja jääb sinna ette ja ka konstruktori laua taha. Aga kui tuleb seda voolulüüsi juurde, siis ei tohi ta teie silmapaaride vahelt välja jääda.

[So, through men like you our industry becomes valuable art and culture and why couldn't we record such versatility of our life in several ways? And that's what we should probably do and it was nice to listen to you, that you do not only see that industrial buildings become taller and longer and smoke stacks and masts become more powerful, but the creator of all this, this today's worker, of whom it is maybe too little to say 'worker', as they are operators, dispatchers, have specialist education, that work will not remain unnoticed. Even if it's still manual work in the direct sense, but more and more it is machine work, work with the help of electronics. 457 Maybe when looking at art exhibitions we do not catch up with how fast life beside us is rushing by and that is why we often make assessments too quickly, like what is this scramble of tubes, or what these flashing lights are about. But this also is a part of today's industry, life, people's creation, so that your concern - man - is more interesting. And this does not go anywhere, man will be in there and will be in front of it and also at the designer's table. But if more of this trend should appear, then your eyes must not miss it *.]

[* The word translated as 'trend' can in the Estonian original hardly be taken to mean anything connected with art. The literal translation would be 'assembly line' and its use probably conveys a perception of art as production process.]

The next example concerns the acquisition and distribution of data about social issues and processes (science included).

Mul on need andmed käepärast olemas //692a - ma võin need ette lugeda: 1977.a. oli meile laekunud söötades toorproteiini 28 %, 1981. a. I kvartali jooksul oli see protsent 23... Tähendab: siitsamast ongi tingitud vajadus seda proteiini asendada ja ma näen //692b

[I have these data at hand, 692a I may read them out to you: in 1977 we received 28% of raw protein in feeds. In the first quarter of 1981 this percentage was 23 ... It means that this causes the need to replace this protein and I can see that ... 692b]

This deletion can be interpreted metaphorically or literally/ (1) According to the first interpretation, the corrections can be seen as the metaphorical removal of social criticism, as 'data' were not to be had distributed or commented upon (*and I can see that*). (2) According to the literal interpretation, it can be said that the distance between the researcher and the subject in the text has been increased. The role of a

scientist was to be a mediator, a person who displays science, since science was held to be something separate, which a person could not consider as his or her 'own'. The myth of science considered science to be anonymous and objective, i.e., 'made'. The myth of the scientist is controversial. Direct communication, self-expression, presence, and the element of discussion have been removed from it. The above example is comparable to numerous other situations and fields of science and life where no data were at hand and access to data were excluded. The conducting of social analyses was prohibited, and data about social processes were secret.

The other intervention concerns the role of the scientist in science and society. '*... and I can see that*' raises the question about the relationship of priority between fact and authority. The scientist has his own role and responsibility, and in generalising he assumes this role (professional identity), which the journalist accepts. The censor has found this to be too emphatic about the person and too 'degrading' for science. As a result, the sentence has been made anonymous and impersonal. This was a widespread method used with social mythological texts. Significantly, the sentence left standing - *I may read them out* - refers to the existence of 'material' in science. The 'making' of science or production of ideas did not fit within the limits of journalistic norms, although in principle (according to the theory of journalism), journalism should have been doing analytical work together with science.

Construction of conflicts between 'own and alien' in texts

The modelling of the 'enemy' figure was a part of all the myths. In texts it had its narrative and compositional function. From the annual decisions of CPSU, the statement that 'war heroes provide a rewarding and inexhaustible source for the press' (Central Committee of CPSU, 1979) can actually be interpreted as routine presentation of the Soviet ideological history in everyday texts, and it implicitly refers to direct or covert construction of the enemy figure. The enemy figure makes use of references to total negativity, anonymity, and obscurity. Enemy figures are created and presented through oppositions locating the enemy on 'the wrong side' of the zone determined as positive in the text. Creators and presenters of the enemy figure were war veterans, party bureaucrats, and other officials who worked with 'the cadres' in directing the development of people. The enemy is construed as a general and anonymous idea, never personified as an individual. Close descriptions of 'the enemy' or specific instances of the phenomenon were never illustrated by specific examples or evidence.

Attitudes and oppositions, as well as history itself, tend to change over the course of time. An ideological opposition, however, is a state of affairs without a history or development, i.e., a state whose historical change is textually concealed. The Soviet-established dichotomies between the warring political camps, 'us and them', were in mass journalism presented as a certain state; the oppositions were 'given' and

everlasting, without a historical background and development. No analysis, possible amendments, or improvements were suggested.

All the above considerations do not merely serve to exemplify the level of everyday journalism, but ensue from the top hierarchical level - the decisions of the Central Committee of the CPSU. In texts, references to the history of relationships and different historical situations were erased.

– See oli New Yorgis. Sel ajal Ameerika väga vaenulik Nõukogude Liiduga ei olnud, sest et isegi seal abistati ühte ja teist viisi.//462 See oli 42. aastal. Ja 46. aastal siis ma võtsin osa sellest maidemonstratsioonist San Franciscos. Siis oli asi juba natukene teisem, subruisid juba vaenulikult demonstratsioonidesse ja ühesõnaga Nõukogude Liidusse.//463 Demonstratsiooni organiseerisid samuti niisugused progressiivsed ametiühingud.

[– It happened in New York. At that time they were not too hostile to the Soviet Union in America, because even there they gave help this way and that. 462 This was in year 42. And then in 46 I went to this Labour Day march in San Francisco. At that time things were already a bit different, they had hostile attitude to demonstrations and, in fact, the Soviet Union. 463 The demonstration was organised also by such progressive unions ...]

The sign *demonstration* has been interpreted as a total representation of the Soviet Union, and the attitude toward demonstrations is symbolically identified with the attitude toward the Soviet Union. Definition of the political process happens on a symbolic field of conflict, through political 'litmus' events and interpretation of reactions to them. In world politics, the workers' groups, which in the 1940s and 1950s were a means of importing communist ideas, have been configured into a means for demolition of the same ideology (the Polish example). Up-to-date analysis of foreign policy never reached the public text, although the commentators attempted to relay precisely this. In the texts from the beginning of the 1980s descriptions of political controversy were eliminated and displayed as a problem of the past.

Kõikehõlmava propagandapealetungi murtud selgroogu on püütud parandada Poola-plaastriiga. Naaberriigis on töepoolest keeruline ja raske olukord. Tegemist on mitte sotsialismi kui sellise kriisiga, vaid kriisiga Poola +endises juhtimises ja juhtivate organisites +kriisiga nendes viisides kuidas Poolas sotsialismi põhimõtteid on tõlgendatud ja püütud +tõlgendati ja püüti//094ellu viia. Poola juhid ja ajakirjandus rõhutavad praegu, et Poola suudab ise tulla toime oma raskustega. Seejuures tuginetakse ka teiste sotsialistlike riikide abile – sealhulgas Nõukogude Liidu suurtele laenulele ja täiendavatele kaubasaadetistele. Tuleb tõdeda, et Lääne eriteenistustel on Poola sündmustes olnud märgatav roll. Tihtipeale on neil õnnestunud tegutseda kasutades ära kapitalistlike riikide ametiühinguliikumist. Nende ettevõtmisi esitatakse kui mingit "solidarsust" Poola töölistega. Töepoolest – Lääne-Euroopa ametiühingute võitluses on eri riikide töörajate vastastikusel toetusel, sealhulgas streikide korral rahaliste vahendite saatmisel suur osa. Kui aga neid summasisid kasutatakse selleks, et ühtesid töörajaid õhutada nõudma endal midagi töörajate arvel, tekitama riigis segadust, mille tõttu Poola tootmine on praegu langenud mitu aastat tahapoole?//095.

Eriti suurt tähelepanu on Lääne propagandakeskustes osutatud noortele – seda just sotsialistlike riikide vastu suunatud propagandas

[It was attempted to cure the broken back of the overwhelming propaganda attack with the Polish remedy. The situation in the neighbouring state is really difficult. Here

we do not have a crisis of socialism as such, but a crisis in the former leadership and governing bodies of Poland, + a crisis of ways how the principles of socialism have been interpreted and how it has been attempted + were interpreted and how it was attempted to implement them. 094 Polish leaders and journalists now emphasise that Poland can cope with its problems itself. For this purpose help from other Socialist states is used as support, including large loans and additional shipments of goods from the Soviet Union. We have to point out that the Western special services have had considerable role in the Polish events. They have often managed to operate using the trade union movement in capitalist states. Their ventures are represented as some kind of "solidarity" with the Polish workers. Actually, in the struggle of the West European trade unions great role is played by mutual support of workers of different countries, including the transfer of finances during strikes. But if these finances are used to urge some workers to demand something for themselves on account of others, to stir up confusion in the state, causing the production in Poland to fall to the level where it was many years ago? 095

Special attention in the Western propaganda centres has been dedicated to young people - especially in propaganda directed against the socialist states. And it is more difficult to convince the older generation than to attract the as yet immature world-views of the young.]

The intervention is made to disrupt the temporal connection and, as a result, to cut off the political connections and problems. It is in order to establish a boundary, to show the advent of new times and situations and to cast aside part of the responsibility for 'old' errors. Grammatically, the present perfect tense has been replaced with the simple past. The treatment of the Polish remedy involves a relevant analysis of cause and effect, which is quite open about foreign financial support to the processes. Yet that part has been removed, because any financial support to political processes was an absolute taboo as a topic (deviance).

Negativisation of 'them'

Foreign policy topics, involving 'the boundary', were kept in constant focus as such topics were used to define and consolidate the existence of such boundaries in consciousness. The 'boundary' topics were handled so as to keep 'the boundaries' clear. The distinctive 'boundary' was construed as existing in the intellects of representatives of 'us' and 'them'. 'We' represented an ordered type, whereas 'they' was a chaotic and manipulated type, without an ordered and systematic base.

Siit ka osa Lääne noorte vaadete äärmise vastuolulisus, neil segunevad rahulolematu valitseva korraga ja naiivsetele ~~alustele~~ + ettekujutustele //096 tuginev sotsialistliku ühiskonna eitamine.

[Hence the extremely controversial nature of the views of the Western youth, dissatisfaction with the ruling order and denial of socialist society deriving from naive ~~bases~~ + ideas 096.]

In changing the modality, the censor has consciously attempted to negativise the conceptual framework: *bases* would have implied actual existence of the situation

referred to, whereas *ideas* have an indeterminate referent, and views of people with mere *ideas* cannot be consistent or systematic.

Positivation or alleviation of negative evaluation of 'our friends'

In descriptions of 'progressive' or friendly states possible negative connotations have been modified. For instance, in a description of conditions in Kampuchea, the labelling of the bad situation as *primitive* is avoided.

– *Noor riik sai pärandiks laostatud maa. Niigi algetisel tasemel +väike* //659 tööstus seisis, tööpingid olid rikutud, kaader hävitatud.

[– The young state inherited a devastated country. The primitive + small industry 659 was in standstill, machine tools had been sabotaged and cadres exterminated.]

In depiction of 'progressive' states, facts were changed to avoid any comic or negative impression of barbarity; instead, activities are displayed as efficient. This method has been used to consciously manipulate the actual experience of the audience. For instance, in the following example about fishing, a fact that is culturally significant, but that might cause surprise or raise questions, has been deleted.

Hoogu võtab kalandus. Kalu püütakse suurtest jõgedest, aga ka knivaperioodil madalateks jäänud //661 niisutuskanaleist.

[Fishing is developing rapidly. Fish are caught in big rivers, but also the irrigation channels which have become low in the dry period. 661]

Silent 'diffusion' of 'alien' content takes place when texts represent phenomena which are factually 'alien' but are to be treated politically as 'own'. The text has been transformed in order to direct and influence the correct and preferred decoding process of the audience. This example illustrates diffusion and obscuring of alien and negative. The phenomenon is brought closer and displayed as more pleasant; sympathy is evoked.

– *Kui pidu läbi saab, siis tuleb jälle argipäev ja ega see argipäev vist nii väga kerge lihtrahvale ei ole?*

– *Meie mõiste järgi on ta ikka väga raske. Nad on meie arust ka natuke muretud, sest kui tooduses kasvab banaane erilise hoolitsemiseta, samuti mandariinisalud, apelsinisalud, siis meie mõiste järgi ei ole puuvilja kasvatamine mingi probleem, mitu korda aastas väiksel maalapilt võetakse maisi- ja kartulisaaki, sellega tuleb terakene vacva näha, aga nii suurt vacva, kui meie näeme siin oma põllumajandusega, selles kliimas ei vajata. Teisalt agal/476 talupojad enamus kuuluvad mõisnikele ja olla tänapäeval feodaali omand on sootuks teine, kui olla vaba inimesena põllumajandustöötaja.*

[– When the party is over, there will be another workday and workdays are not too easy for the common people, are they?

– Yes, in our sense they are very hard. For us they are also a bit casual, as when the nature grows you bananas without any particular care, also tangerine groves, orange groves, then in our sense growing fruit is no problem, many times a year corn is harvested from a small plot of land, and potato, with this you have to work a little, but such work as we need to do with our agriculture is not needed in that climate. On the other hand 476 most peasants belong to landlords and to be owned by feudal in modern times is quite different from being an agricultural worker as a free man.]

The above myth of poverty of workers in other states is constructed on the example of Ecuador. The interviewee's positive, analytical and detailed picture of reality is deconstructed into politically normative and disinformative fact.

We

In the text of real people the identity and values of the hero are constructed according to a fixed pattern. The text has been 'typified' by removing the actual atypical and exceptional aspects of the agent. This example, in which 'an exception' has been typified, describes historical processes and is meant to aid in the breeding of 'the new man'. The changed and corrected text has been turned into a hero story offering an opportunity for identification, a typical positive example (Schramm). The hero represented in journalism as an example for the masses cannot, as a mythical character, reveal his dependence and lack of independent thinking (e.g., the removed causal *as* would show weakness and lack of independence on the hero's part).

Mul oli niisuguseks eeskujuks mu onu, kes oli kunagi võtnud osa oktoobrerevi-i päevil Petrogradis nendest sündmustest ja oli tuntud oma pahempoolsete, s.o. kommunistlike vaadete poolest ja kuna ta oli mulle kõigiti eeskujuks oma niisuguse heasüdamlikkuse ja avara silmaringi poolest, väga mõnusa ja toreka onuna siis ma ei suutnud uskuda, et need kommunistid on väga koledad inimesed, nagu paljudel noortel oli arvamine jäänud. 509

[For me such example was my uncle who once in the October days in Petrograd had taken part in these events and was known for his left wing, that is communist, views and as he was in every way an example for me with his such geniality and knowledge as a really fine uncle, then I was not able to believe that communists are such terrible people as many young people were thinking. 509]

On the other hand, this individual who has made certain choices, the hero of the text, is indeed independent when speaking of his actual person without an ideological pattern. To show this kind of independence in a myth would have been impossible.

Boundaries - Removal of the third way

In the representation of identities and world models of subjects, boundaries were redefined and reduced to fixed patterns. Firstly, the hero's identity, the definition of his affiliation, was transformed. A hero does not define himself as a representative of an ideology or identify himself with the enemy. He defines himself in the third way: his 'we' identity is connected with his people. In the following example, the third way for defining identity is removed, as *the gangs* are decontextualised from the environment of the hero's identity, and thus a direct linkage with the enemy (*German patrols*) is constructed. The third option, the more multifaceted identity, the nexus of tragedy of conflict, has been removed:

Toimusid väiksed lahingud saksa eelvägedega, metsa jooksnud meie oma rahva hulgast 512 bandedega ja niiviisi toimusid lahingud kuni augustikuu keskpaigani...

[There were small clashes with German patrols, the gangs of our own people 512 who had escaped to the woods and the battles went on and on until the middle of August.]

Secondly, deactualisation of the third option consolidates the impression of inevitability of political boundaries and the institutions controlling them.

Paar aastat tagasi üks Lääne-Saksa kirjanik kirjutas raamatu nõukogude noorsoo elust, sealhulgas ka ENSV noorte elust ning väga paljusid nähtusi valgustas tendentslikult, moonutatud kujul. Kui suhtleksime ainult sõpradega ja kõik väga libedalt läheks, siis poleks võibolla meie komitee tööd vajagi, saaksime turismifirmade kaudu suhteid arendada.//101 Kuid just selleiste tõsiste probleemidega kokkupuutumine teebki meie töö huvitavaks. (text 13)

[A couple of years ago a West-German writer wrote a book about the life of the Soviet youth, including the life of the youth in the ESSR, and very many phenomena were depicted with bias, in a distorted way. ~~If we communicated only with our friends and everything went smoothly, then maybe the work of our committee would not be necessary, we would be able to develop relationships through travel companies.~~ 101 But contact with such serious problems is what makes our work interesting.]

The possibility of a new and less oppositional structure is removed from the above narrative of an ideologue as an impossible idea (deviance). The argument of the professional ideologue actualised a third possibility, which did not exist in the ideological world model.

6.7. Curbing of subjectivity and shaping of new identity

The Soviet public text construed various identities which all represented a typical 'we' (Soviet, Estonian, progressive mankind) as opposed to 'them' (capitalists, historical and political-economical enemies), who in texts were regarded as alien. Such phenomena were either specially marked or deleted.

The natural and typical (cultural) identity which forms the basis for a common meaningful space and historical-cultural framework was treated as 'wrong', 'alien' and 'unsuitable' for public communication because it represented an insufficiently political or altogether apolitical world model. In fact, only few identities were suitable for the public text, and the level of the collective as self-concept was dominated by cultural symbols and meanings (cf. Castells 1997: 8). The common and meaningful communicative space was totally different from the ideological self-concept displayed in the media. Public text and textual environment were used to shape identity (myth 8) and create institutionalised semantic space, as well as to reinforce certain symbols while curbing other references. The newly constructed meanings and identities were communicated through the public text as actual realities.

Sociological data show that people were politically passive, but performed active roles in their daily social lives (e.g., in research IAK 1984, 70% of the respondents had some voluntary social duties or roles). The media did not relay any specific 'Estonian' identity and identity was limited to social status and role (worker, etc.). The notion of

'here' included the meaning of 'we' and was thus controlled or eliminated as a too-potent sign of local common solidarity; however, the political institutions were positioned as 'us'.

The representations give evidence of (tacit) requirements as for the status and role of persons who can speak on certain topics (and have certain roles). In texts the speakers are mostly representatives of institutions or social classes, and, according to the level of political editing applied, the texts may be divided into (1) natural representations and (2) constructed representations. Natural representations fit in with the system and only minimal corrections were made to them. This class subsumes texts where the speakers were 'suitable' only due to their roles, but these were the very roles that the texts represented. Constructed representations were obtained by deliberate editing of texts, in the course of which the impression of the speaker's properties and/or affiliation – i.e., identity – underwent considerable changes.

Differences between channels of different levels of political importance may be discerned, and a distinction can be made between 'mainstream identities' and 'off-stream identities'. The principal representations as used in practice are presented in the following (cf. Ch. 4, Table 13):

1. **Mythology of existence.** Texts in this field are Party speeches or are presented by representatives of the party system, bureaucrats and war veterans.

2. **Mythology of achievement.** These texts are presented by party functionaries, ideology journalists, specialists, experts, persons featured as representatives of the society.

3. **Ritualised everyday practice.** Texts presented by journalists, experts, persons featured as representatives of the society and persons without roles.

4. **Everyday life and free expression.** Free expression by common people, artists, or immature and unsocial persons; selected and edited parts of their text are used.

Presentation the speakers' ideas was controlled as to its textual suitability for representation of the given topic. In the public text, the ideas of 'free' speakers were institutionalised. Depending on the text, representations were modified to a greater or lesser. Changing the way of thinking of agents-representations was a typical method of text control.

There follow some examples of changes made in order to control representations. In the case of this suitable natural representation – an academic giving a popular review of life in Africa – the modality has been corrected to remove possible doubt or inaccuracy:

Ajaleht ilmub, aga kirjaoskamatuse protsent on ikkagi vist //479 veel üle 90 ja sellepärast niisugune rahva kokkusaamine, vahetu kokkusaamine, vahetu muljete jagamine, sealhulgas ka vahetu kokkupuude juhtidega, sellel on omaette võib-olla suuremgi tähendus, kui meil, kes me oleme massiteabevahendite küllusega väga harjunud.

[There is a newspaper, but the percentage of illiteracy is yet maybe 479 over ninety and thus such meeting of the people, direct meeting, direct sharing of impressions, and also direct contact with the leaders, this itself has maybe greater importance than for us who we are very accustomed to the abundance of media.]

Such intervention of persons (representations) is a type of institutionalisation, whereby the institution of media represents itself and its identity. Every presentation has been treated as a representation of the institution, and the resulting impression has been taken care of, with regard to the finest details.

Specialist was the most frequent social role presented. Their ways of thinking were changed, mostly by limiting them in areas which exceeded their narrow speciality, and entailed generalisation or analysis. In this example, the recommendation of the psychologist who speaks as a specialist is contradictory to the ideological educational norm: an unknown authority has been quoted.

Väga hästi on öelnud psühholoog...—laps ei mängi sellepärast, et ta on noor, vaid noorus on antud talle sellepärast, et ta mängiks.—//304

[A psychologist has very aptly said that a child does not play because he is young, but that youth is given to the child to play: 304]

An ordinary psychologist, whose profound statement would have taken some thought, was not suitable for the role of an authority.

The conflict of social reality and representations caused a situation where even a people's deputy (representative of the people) was not able to analyse real problems in public text. The example involves a double conflict. The censored topic itself is about 'honest heart-to-heart talk' which, as a practical example, has been eliminated from the text. The changing of the text has also changed the properties of the deputy's person.

– Räägime nendest probleemidest, millega rahvas Teie juurde tuleb?

– Siin on probleemid mitmesugused. Peamine probleem on, mis on igal pool ja meie linnas ka kindlasti, see korteriküsimus. Ja eriti meie linnas oli vanu barakke väga palju, siis barakkidest uude korterisse saamise soovid, oli palju vaieldust ja mitterahulolemist. Sest barakk on suur, 10-15 perekonda. ...

– Ja kodu on ju inimesel kõige esmasem, ja selle tõttu just peabki väga tähelepanelikult ja väga ausalt rääkima.

[– Let's speak about the problems with what people come to you.

– They have many problems. The main problem everywhere and in our town is the flats. And just in our town there were very many old barracks, and much quarrelling and anger between people who wanted to move to new flats because one barrack is large, ten to fifteen families ...

– Home is an important thing in life and therefore it is necessary to talk about it with due consideration and honesty. (Text: People and the deputy)]

The topic of the scarcity of flats, removed from the text, reflected a situation where workers' families had wait in line to improve their living conditions. (The ruling ideology followed the position of the communist party from the beginning of the century, according to which the party was to take care of the working class.

Theoretically, the working class formed the core of the ruling party.) In the Soviet media, the people's deputies were able to talk about actual problems much more openly than were ordinary people. The changed text shows the limit acceptable in an analysis of reality, i.e., the limit beyond which was a taboo area.

A graphic example is provided by an analysis of the character of 'their' politician. It shows that discussion and details were not permissible. Role analysis of persons and their 'representations' as a method was not admissible in public discussion.

1975. aastal kaasaja kapitalistliku Euroopa parteilises elus valiti Heathi asemele konservatiivide liidriks Inglismaal//586 Margaret Thatcher. Põhitähtsus ei olnud niid siin tema sees, vaid siiski poliitikas, mida ta esindas.//587 Thatcher esindas parempoolset suunitlust konservatiivide parteis.

[In 1975 in contemporary political life of capitalist Europe 586 Margaret Thatcher was elected prime minister instead of Heath in England. It was not her, but the policy that she represented that was important. 587 Thatcher represented right wing tendencies in the conservative party.]

6.8. Limitation of communication and criticism

The texts show that journalism did not serve as a PR institution of the communist party. Within the profession it is possible to distinguish an existentialist branch based on subjective practice and analysis of experience which dealt with empirical treatment and generalisation of problems. Despite prohibitions, the journalists submitted such texts to controlling editors, fully aware that these would never make publication. Thinking of such problems and writing about them helped journalists retain their professional skills. A top radio journalist said this about journalistic genres: 'Genres are (1) practically applied, (2) practically applicable, (3) theoretically known, and (4) theoretically possible. To create a universal classification of genres, these four components must be taken into account. Only when the scale of genres includes not just existing genres, but also those genres which are possible in our situation, can a future theory of genres actually influence practical radio work. Once we have a general classification of genres and have it on paper, we can ask where are these genres? The answer is short: most genres have no meaningful role in radio programmes. The tall ladder of genres has but three rungs which in fact do not let us climb too high.' (Pant 1965: 93). In practice, it was vital to be well aware of the established norms and myths in order to be able to get access to new issues and questions through them.

In journalism, which theoretically was meant to analyse 'everyday experience', the actual situation was such that every emphasis on analysis of experience and reflection was removed from texts.

Kõik oleneb sellest, millega sa harjunud oled. Võin seda öelda oma kogemuste põhjal.//082

[All depends on what you are used to. I can say that on the basis of my experience.]

The corpus includes texts which clearly show that journalism has given in to the so-called spirit of the times and made the easier choices. Texts with such changes are directed mainly to the youth, so as to mould their system of values.

– Enne kui me lindistama hakkasime, siin oli juttu sellest, et see kirjandustund on teil. Ja keegi ütleski, et//086 meil nii palju kirjandust ei jõua me läbi võtta, meil nii palju ei nõuta. Kuidas sellega nüüd on siis, kui te saate rätsepaks, tõepoolest, võib ju tunduda, et teie ei pea olema läbi//087 lugenud “Sõda ja rahu” või “Tõde ja õigust”. Aga kuidas endal nüüd see //088 tunne on?

[– Before, when we started to record, there was talk that you have literature classes. And somebody said that 086 we cannot go through so much literature, that we won't be required to do that much. Really, now, if you become a tailor, it may really seem that you do not have to have read through 087 'War and Peace' or 'Truth and Justice', but how do you yourselves feel about this? 088]

The intervention has reversed the journalist's idea and the new function of the text is to promote the 'not-reading' of literature.

Journalistic criticism was divided into permitted and forbidden criticism. The specific division depended on the object of criticism and the context, whereas these in turn were determined by established social mythology. Thus, criticism was welcome in foreign policy texts in which countries and nations defined as 'them' were concerned. Domestically harsh criticism (as an example that criticism exists) was allowed to hit leaders of lower levels and small problems, e.g., apartment house management and the organisation of the collection of paper for recycling.

Criticism of social processes was inadmissible. In the following example, the author has attempted to construe criticism as a shared and unifying phenomenon and defined it as a problem of *elderly people*, thus avoiding a broader political generalisation. Nevertheless, the message of the criticism, namely the need for recognition of real changes and the demand that new problems be solved, has been removed in its entirety.

S. – Tõsi, mitte kõik kuulajad ei olnud nõus, et suhtumine töösse on paratamatult seotud aja muutumisega. Paraku näevad kõik nurisejad (ja need on, nagu kirjadest selgub, kõik vanemad inimesed) ainult füüsilist tööd, see on aga siiski nüüdisajal vast liiga ühekülgne käsitus ja kõik väited taanduvad ikka sellele lihtsale veendumusele, et vanasti, kui meie noored olime, vaata siis... siis oli kõik parem ja õigem.

M. – Kujutaks on terve rida kirjutajaid lasknud kõrvust mööda just selle sisulise mõtte, mida professor Saarma esile tõi – et me ei suuda pahatihhi mõista, ammuigi mitte tunnetada aja muutumist ja sellega kaasaskäivaid muutusi ning tembeldame kergel käel kobe kõik selle, mis pole harjumuspäraselt omanic, halvaks, ega otsigi uutele olukordadele lahendusi.//734

[S. – Yet all those who complain (and letters show that they are all elderly people) notice only physical work, yet today this is maybe a too-biased view and all arguments are reduced to this simple conviction that in the past, when we were young, that then we ... that then all was better and brighter.]

M. – Unfortunately a number of writers have ignored this important idea that professor Saarma referred to, that too often we are unable to notice, let alone understand, the passage of time and the changes accompanying it and readily label

everything that we are not used to as bad and that we do not try to find solutions to new situations. 734]

The author has tried to mitigate the criticism with the soft pronoun *we*, thus assuming participation and sharing of 'guilt'. But there are several opposing 'we's' and by partaking in the 'we' of criticism, the author inevitably evokes someone who is not willing to share the guilt, who has power, and on whose orders such criticism was indeed removed. Thus, the author's ploy did not succeed because the accusation was too serious.

In fact, oral speech lends particular prominence to the pronouns 'I' and 'we' and in comparison with written language. These acquire greater significance as bases of constructions and structures.

Inadmissible were analyses of the mechanisms of preparation of official information and particularly the criticism of methods of production of such biased information. A situation transpired where the journalist attempted to comment on a census questionnaire, which she found to be 'unscientific' and inefficient for gathering actual information, and instead ideological and determinative of the limits of possible answers. Thus, the 'right' answers were actually predetermined. The first round of editorial review has added connotations to mitigate the content. In the second round, the whole text was banned.

Palun sõna repliigiks. Meil käis rahvaloendaja. Rahvaloendus võiks, peaks, saaks olla kultuuri mõjutav aksioon ja sellepärast paneme neid päevi tähele ja võtame asja tõsiselt. Noor volitatud tegi oma tööd hoolikalt ja siin pole tal õlgadelt vähe – üle saja korteri ja üle kolmesaja inimese. Tema rääkitud paberid lähevad arvuti lõugade vahele ja siis kunagi saame täpselt teada – jah, mida ikkagi me saame teada? Minu süda valutab jälle selle keelepunkti pärast. Peale emakeele sai (võis, tohtis, mahtus) olla ainult üks veel. Ja siingi oli piir. Nõukogude Liidu rahvaste keel. Miks nii? Aga kui keegi valdab mitut keelt, sealhulgas maailma niisuguste rahvaste keeli, kes ei ela N. Liidus. "Soome keele saan ma teile panna," ütles loendaja, sest karjalasi meil elab. Aga osanuksin ma hiina keelt? Kas hiinlasi meil elab? Võib-olla, aga nad ei ole N. Liidu rahvad. Miks karjalane siis rohkem N. Liidu rahvas on? Mis teha Volga sakslastega? Meelde tuleb ka see, et omal ajal ei saanud liivlased oma passi oma rahvast kirjutada, nad said (võisid, tohtisid) ainult lätlased olla.

Me teeme suurt sotsioloog On käimas suur sotsioloogiline aksioon. Sajad inimesed töötavad, täidavad pabereid, esitavad kümneid küsimusi. Miks me ei taha saada sellest täit teadmist, inimesele on omane taha kõike teada. Miks meid ei huvita + keelte oskuse pilt N. Liidus üldset, kui palju eestlasi oskab armeenia, inglise, hiina või ukraina keelt? Miks ei taha teada, kui palju N. Liidus osatakse hispaania või juudi keelt? Miks me tõmbame jälle piirid meie ja nende vahele selles kohas, kus need üldse loomulikud ei ole? Niisiis, ma tahaksin teatada endast sinna suurde statistikakogusse, et ma oskan + vene ja soome keelt – viimasel on ka + eril põhjus – + eestlasena ja naabrina tunnen huvi lähedase sugulasrahva kultuuri vastu. See ei mahu ankeeti. Sest seal + Küsimustikus nimelst on ainult üks koht eesti keele kõrval. Kuni see pole kinni, kirjutan sinna: soome keel. // 378

[May I have the floor? A census interviewer visited us. The census could, should and might be an action that influences the culture and that's why we pay attention to these days and take it seriously.

I am worried again about this language thing. Beside the native language only one other language could (might, was allowed to*) go in (there was space for it). And there was a limit there, too: a language of the Soviet nationalities.

~~Big sociological action is going on. Hundreds of people work, fill in papers, ask tens of questions. Why don't we want to learn everything about it, it is the character of human beings that they want to know everything. Why are we not interested in + the picture of language skills all over Soviet Union how many Estonians speak Armenian, English, Chinese or Ukrainian? Why don't we want to know how much Spanish or Jewish is spoken in the Soviet Union? Why are we drawing lines between us again and in a place where they are not natural at all?~~

~~So, I'd like to inform this big collection of statistics about myself – that I can speak + Russian and Finnish – there is a + special reason for it – + as an Estonian and a neighbour I am interested in the culture of this closely related nation. There is no space for this in the questionnaire. Because there + Namely in the questionnaire there is only one place next to Estonian. When it's not full, I will write there: Finnish.]~~

[*The words in brackets are thus represented in the author's text prepared for oral presentation. The text has been censored repeatedly as is evident from the additions and deletions. Finally the whole text was banned. In Soviet official papers it was normal practice to refer to languages other than Russian as 'the language' Hence, for instance, the designation 'fiction in languages' referred to fiction in the languages spoken in the republics of the Soviet Union, but not Russian.]

Metaphor as political criticism

Control of metaphors may be described as the checking and censorship of images. In those cases, censorship was to map and analyse ideas deriving from linguistic images indirectly, and also their potential meanings in different contexts, i.e., in reality. Two types may be distinguished among the removed metaphors. The first type is superficially politically correct, but has too much potential for extension of meaning. The other type subsumes metaphors, which are mythologically correct but unacceptable due to their excessive evocative power. Text gatekeepers were trained to spot the dubious cases. Because general norms and rules for public text were strict, most serious discussion at structurally lower levels seemed metonymical or metaphorical and was thus impossible. Critical talk about a particular field was structurally interpretable as large-scale social generalisation.

~~– Mida kujutab siis endast nn. kriitiline kolmas eluaasta? See on see periood, kui lapse kõneste tekib äkki sõna "mina", "Mina ise". Selleks ajaks on laps saanud teatud iseseisvuse. Ta suudab kiiresti joosta, suudab ise ennast kuigi palju teenindada, tahab kõike ise teha. Täiskasvanud peavad seda kas kapriisiks või jonniks, näevad selles lihtsalt negativismi ja pahatühti suruvad selle iseseisvuse maha. Ühe sõnaga, toovad oma enese mugavusele ohvriks lapse iseseisvat +uset arengu.~~

~~– Aga milles see väljendub?~~

~~– Väljendub eelkõige selles, et ühelt poolt laps tahab väga paljusid asju teha ise, täiskasvanu, aga nähes, et lapsel ei tule see välja nii ladusasti kergesti, ei anna lihtsalt talle selleks võimalusi.~~

[– So, what does the so-called critical third year mean? It is a period when the word 'I' appears in speech of the child, 'me myself'. By this time the child has achieved a degree of independence. He can run fast, take some care of himself and wants to do everything

himself. Adults see this as a caprice or abnormality, say, see only the negative and very often stamp out such independence. In a word, they sacrifice development of independence of the child for the sake of their own comfort.

—But where is it expressed?

—Above all it is expressed in the fact that on the one hand the child wants to do many things himself and the adult who sees that the child doesn't manage it smoothly enough just doesn't give the child a chance.]

Another example of metaphor is a description of country life and holiday festivities, in which the censor was looking for political discourse in the text. The censor has perceived the roebuck mentioned in the text as a representative of occupation in Estonia; this is amplified by the description of the roebuck's behaviour, which is suspiciously similar to the description of annexation and occupation. Therefore the paragraph taken to be a political metaphor has been removed.

Mändidega on põtradel omad vahekorrad ja neid, mis siin maja ümber kenamad männid, oleme püüdnud kaitsta. Siis tavalisi hekikuuski võivad kitsed näksida. Aga hullem on sokk. Sokk nibib oma sarvega koore noortelt puudelt maha ja kui ma ei eksi, siis veel lõhnastab seda oma näärmeeritisega — märgistab oma territooriumi. Ja millegipärast meie arusaamad territooriumist lähevad lahku, sokk arvab, et osa dendroparki on tema territoorium. Ja selle tulemusena on ta mitmed nuld, lehised, vahtrad ära koorinud, nii et mõned isegi surid täiesti ära.//175 Vaatad eemalt — tüvi valendab, jälle sokk käinud kallal.

[Elk have their own relationships with pines and those nicer pines here around the house we have tried to protect. The roedeer have permission to nibble at the usual hedge firs. But the roebuck is a real disaster. With his horns the roebuck rubs bark off young trees and if I'm not mistaken, odourises it with his gland secret — designates his territory. And somehow our understandings of the territory disagree, the roebuck thinks that part of the dendrology park is his territory and as a result he has debarked several silver firs, larches and maples, so that some of them died altogether. 175 You look at it from a distance — the trunk is white, again the roebuck has been at it.]

Fashion as symbolic renovation

Mythologies were facilitated by such journalistic methods as simplification of life, absence of choice, and predetermination, against which professional journalists attempted to fight. Thus, journalists were not against situations when interviewees left their answers open, expanded them, added interpretations, or even emphasised the multitude of options and ambivalence. Such style did not survive the editing process.

Olgugi, et ma siiski olen kohanud väga palju inimesi, kes ei armasta musta, eriti näo juures kanda. Aga teisalt jälle armastatakse.//062

[Although I have yet met very many people who do not like to wear black, particularly near to face. But on the other hand, some like it. 062]

Although in thinking both options might have been 'correct', such ambivalence is not permissible in public text, as it would legitimise the idea of ambivalence in general.

Here is an example of change in the way of thinking and curbing of subjectivity of personal taste.

~~Ma ei mõtle muidugi sealjuures, et peaks kandma ainult tumedaid toone, aga näiteks väga kriiskavaid värve võivad lubada endale ikka noored ja ka brünetid inimesed. Aga kes on niisugused keskmised või heledad, need peavad ikka valima omale niisugused toonid, mis nii väga silma ei torka, ei ole väga erksad.~~

~~—On ikka kujunenud nii iga kollektiivis, perekonnas, oma tutvusringkonnaski, et teame, ütleme, et sellel inimesel on hea maitse.~~

~~Jah on küll niimoodi. Ja //060 mõni kohe torkab silma sellega, et ta on alati kenasti ja maitsekalt riidetatud.~~

[Of course, I don't think that only dark colours should be worn, but it is the young who can permit themselves to wear very gaudy colours and also brunettes. But those who are average or fair, those must choose such colours which do not strike the eye very much, and are not very bright.

—And it happens in every collective, family and circle of friends that we know, we say that this person has good taste.

—Yes, it's like that. 060 And some people are just noticed because they are always nicely and tastefully dressed.]

The censoring editor has skilfully introduced a new idea formerly absent in the text: *Of course, I don't think that only dark colours should be worn, but some people are just noticed because they are always nicely and tastefully dressed.* It is particularly the retention of the 'but' in the new construction joining the two unrelated sentences that represents constructed thinking not present in the text but contributed by the censoring editor. On the other hand, this artificial construction changes the identity of the interviewed fashion designer, since the refocused text represents this information as if it were coming from her.

Examples of open thinking are frequently connected with some topic, whereas the meanings of the generalisations made exceed the context of the given topic or are metaphorical.

~~—Sest ega maitse pole ainult ju rõivastuses.~~

~~—Oh ei, kaugelki mitte. //058~~

~~[—Because taste does not appear only in dress.~~

~~—Oh no, by far not. 058]~~

Journalistic discourse has attempted to present the extent of interpretation in a wider structure, but the controlling discourse has restricted the extent of interpretation and the field of interpretation (metaphors and double codes are used to display the 'structure' and the respective functionality). Thus, the designer speaking of new fashion has extended the philosophical extent and meaning field of her topic and linked it with general philosophical issues. Hence, the principle of transition or linkage that has been removed.

Journalistic style

The situation in the country and the linguistic practices in ‘normalized’ texts tempted journalists covering current social issues to extend the style to an everyday level. As a result, the pathos of elevated style used in a new context ridiculed the discourse and style of political rhetoric as such. This was a widespread form of covert criticism.

Läheb natuke aega mööda, hakatakse tahtma juba, et korter oleks korras, veel natuke, on veel tähtsam, et laua peal valik, mis praeguses olukorras, kus on ajutised ja ebatüüpilised, aga siiski täiesti märgatavad raskused toiduainetega//783b teevad naise elu veelgi raskemaks, mida mehele ja perekonnale lauale panna.

[Some time passes and already people want that the flat would be in order, a bit more and it is more important that a wide selection is on the table that in the present situation where we are experiencing temporary and untypical, but nevertheless quite noticeable difficulties with groceries 783b make a woman’s life even more difficult, as to what to put on the table for her husband and family.]

Editing has eliminated the elevated-style, subordinate sentence about the practical situation.

As a rule, the author’s personal vivid style suffers as subjectivity and imagery is reduced during final checking. An interesting correction is the modification of *you do such poor work* to *they do such poor work*, as the subjectivity of the first option impacts the recipient as a direct address – in fact a question.

Õi ei kuipalju peab suur hulk inimesi istuma igasugustel nõupidamistel ja istungitel ning koosolekudel. Väga Paljude koosolekuste plaan näeb reeglina nii välja: ülemus raiub sõnadega vastu väiksemate meeste ja naiste pealuid et miks +see ja see ja see nii kehvalt tööd teete +teevad, ja nood õnnetud tõusevad ügall/349 ükshaaval püsti ning alustavad nutulaulu – ei ole seda, ei saa toda, see läks katki, too lagunes päris ära, see lubas aga ei teinud, too ei lubanud ja ei teinud kah.

[Oh no, for how long large numbers of people have to sit at all kinds of conferences; gatherings and meetings. The plan of very many meetings as a rule looks like this: the boss hurles words against the skulls of smaller men and women that why + this, this and this person / you + they do such poor work and those unhappy people just 349 get up one by one and start miserably that they can’t get this or that thing, that this thing broke, that thing broke down completely, that person promised, but didn’t do, another didn’t promise and didn’t do either.]

In a situation where the mythological system is fully established and has become a norm, it is important to be well versed in the structure and method of myths in order to be able to bring out new issues and use styles and nuances as paraphrases. In presentation of texts, ‘mythical’ narrative and the presenter’s own discourse might intermingle and yield a new narrative, a virtual revision of the symbolic ‘legend’. In principle this was a prohibited, but tempting practice. In telling such narratives the presenter takes the legend as reality and questions it, because the logic of processes does not ring true. The author questions the possibility of such a major structural change in the established identity. Such doubts, however, are not permitted because the myth of breeding the new man involved ‘reformation of character’.

– Pommi viskajaga oli ju veel niisugune episood – see oli niisugune, mitte eriti kindlate veendumustega, vist oli maapoiss veel, – aga see siis kõne ajal, parajasti saadeti punaarmee lasi rindele, ja ta nägi siis Lenini silmi ja kuulis tema juttu, ja nägi, kui populaarne ta on rahva silmis, et – noh, see ei saa halb inimene olla, need esseerid ikka rääkisid mulle midagi valesti. Ja ta ei olnud võimeline pommi viskama, kuigi füüsiliselt oleks võimalik olnud seda teha. Ja siis see “Kapten” lasi, kui nägi, et pommi ei heidetud. Need mehed püüti kinni, tehti asi selgeks. Aga nad palusid, et neid saadetaks nüüd pattude lunastamiseks Kodusõja rindele. Ja tõepoolest Nõukogude valitsus, kindlasti oli seal ka Lenini enda sõna mängus, – lubati seda. Võib-olla, kui see maapoiss nüüd vapraht võitles nõukogude poolt, siis – aga selles “Kaptenis” ma küll kahtlen. Muidugi, ajalugu vahtub sellest, mis nendest edasi sai, seda ei tea keegi. //497

– Jaa. Ajaloos on juhtunud nii mõndagi. Me oleme täna mitu korda nimetanud Gorki nime.

[– And then, there was an episode with the bomb thrower – it was such, probably still a country lad, not with too firm convictions – but it happened during the speech, Red Guard was just being sent to the front and then he saw Lenin’s eyes and heard him speak and saw how popular he was among people and that – well, that he can’t be a bad person, that those socialist revolutionaries have somehow misled me. And then this ‘captain’ fired, when he saw that the bomb was not thrown. These men were caught, the matter was cleared up. But they asked to be sent to the civil war front to redeem their sins. And indeed, the Soviet government, surely Lenin’s own word was involved there – this was granted. Maybe if this country lad then fought bravely on the Soviet front, then I have doubts about this ‘captain’. Of course, history is silent about what happened to them, nobody knows it. 497

– Yes. Many things have happened in history. Today we have mentioned Gorki’s name several times.]

Party control over ‘the new’

The role of journalism as a mediator of ‘the new’ constantly actualises, in society, the question of what is new. A substantial answer to this question was avoided, and definitions used in the documents of the Central Committee of the CPSU were used in daily practice. Actual treatment of ‘the new’ was limited both in content and form, as ‘the new’ established by the CPSU and the journalistic ‘new’ were ambivalent phenomena and had less common and more different features. Thus, what the party saw as ‘self-evident’ or also deviant or non-existent, might journalistically have been a significant ‘new problem’. Below, two different approaches to the treatment and editing of ‘the new’ in texts are delineated. The meaning of ‘the new’ itself in each case is radically different and opposite.

1. In this situation small changes have been made in order to create ‘the new’. The naïve ‘new’ has been removed from the text.

Täna pärastlõunal külastatakse Nõukogude võimu eest võidelnute memoriaalkompleksi Maarjamäel. Tänuäheks meie päevadest jäävad sinna lilled. Homme toimuvad meie koolides ja tehnikumides mehisuse tunnind – aukülastuste ja delegatsioonide osavõtt. //507b Kinos “Sõprus” avatakse homme mälestusvalve raames kinofestival.

[This afternoon the memorial of fighters for the Soviet power at Maarjamäe will be visited. As a token of gratitude from our days flowers will remain at the memorial.

~~Tomorrow classes of heroism are conducted in our schools and vocational schools; guests of honour and delegations will participate in them. 507b Tomorrow a film festival is opened in 'Friendship' cinema in the framework of the memorial vigil campaign.]~~

The news item refers to 'holding of events'. The myth is transferred to reality and respective real action follows.

2. When the journalistic 'new' concerns the party, it may turn out to be prohibited information. Here the news item contains information, which might really be of interest, by offering an opportunity to communicate with the party, access to which was extremely limited and controlled. The real message of the text is deleted.

– Aga ega siin vahet ei ole, samade mõtete ja samasuguste probleemidega peaks kümna tegelikult iga linnaelanik ringi?

– Möödunud aastal keskkomitees tehti lahtiste kirjade laud. Ja möödunud aastal 253 olid lahtiste kirjade päevad ka! Kohtla-Järvel. Ja see andis suure tõuke täitevkomiteele, sest väga palju kirju tuli rahva hulgast, tööliste ja ametikohtade hulgast, selle linna heaolu ja rahva heaolu parandamiseks. Ma vaatan, see lahtiste kirjade päev, see on väga hea üritus, seda tuleb muidugi laiendada ja tegelikult iga kirja eraldi arutada ja siis anda rahvale vastus.

[– And there is no difference here, actually every citizen of the city should be walking around with similar problems?

~~– Last year a table of open letters was made in the Central Committee. And last year 253 days of open letters were held also in Kohtla-Järve. And this gave a big impetus to the executive committee, as very many letters came from the people, workers and offices, to improve the welfare of the city and people. I think that the open letters day is a very good event, it should, of course, be extended and in fact discuss every letter separately and then give an answer to the people.]~~

The premise enabling the activity in the cause-effect chain has been removed. Wider dissemination about creation of this premise is avoided and, as a result, the common people were left unaware of the existence of the table of open letters in the Central Committee. On the other hand, the recipient might have asked why last year such a table was instituted or why this was done just last year. The listener may also have been interested in what kinds of letters arrive in the largest quantities.

Purposeful use of hinting

Myths may be present in texts in different roles, as either the core or the shell. A professional can break through the myth and get to the problem. Certain expressions acquire the role of signs referring to a vital part of the text (depending on the presenter of the text, the speaker and representation). For instance, expressions referring to general knowledge of something (*everybody knows that*, etc.) are linked with processes which actually have been insufficiently spoken of (acceleration of growth, a nuclear power plant that is general knowledge). The problems are discussed by experts who have 'learned' the rules and codes of presentation of public text. These experts are able

to 'encode' into their texts 'messages' concerning extremely significant general problems and processes. Sometimes they are successful (cases 2, 3), but not always (case 1).

Case 1.

~~–Kas need kolm aastat on raudbalt kõigi laste puhul just kolm?
–Kindlasti mitte. Ja üldse tänapäevase oleva üldreaga aktseleratsiooniga on need piirid nihkunud, aga enamvähem kolmanda eluaasta algul, kellel varem, kellel hiljem, igal juhul see periood ikkagi algab.~~

~~[–And this three years is just definitely three years for all children?]~~

~~–Definitely not. And with acceleration well-known in the modern world those borders have shifted, but more or less in the beginning of the third year, for whom earlier, for whom later, this period starts anyway:]~~

Case 2.

~~Nagu mäletame, toimus põllumajanduse mehhanisaatorite ettevalmistamine kodandikes Eestis/ +rol ajal lühiajalistel, 2...4 nädalat vältavatel tasulistel kursustel. kus kahe aastakümne jooksul ette valmistati umbes kuus ja pool tuhat põllumajanduse mehhanisaatorit //401~~

~~[As we remember, in bourgeois Estonia + at that time agricultural mechanisers were trained in short fee-based courses of 2-4 weeks where in two decades about six and a half thousand agricultural mechanisers were trained: 401]~~

In the above case, time influences the notion of place. Naming was avoided in order not to actualise 'alien' signs, nor to bring them to consciousness. As a result, texts became obscure and indefinite. Since the text is about the period 1920-1940 of the Republic of Estonia, any positive information, which would make it possible to analyse processes or compare them, is excluded. The previous sentence, however, is good enough, as it refers to the short term of the courses and the fee. The sentence has a defensive beginning *As we remember*, which signals that the fact should be common knowledge (which actually need not have been like that, but yielded protection against the careful censor). Here we can see deliberate action – the author's style as behaviour against subsequent censorship.

Case 3.

~~Nii et vedelkütus, nafta kujul tuleb sisse vedada. Ja sellest tuleb niisugune probleem, et energeetikat arendatakse looderajoonides ja üldiselt Nõukogude Liidu Euroopaosas lähemas tulevikus võimsate aatomijõujaamade ehitamisega. Ka meie lähemate naabrite juures ehitatakse võimsat aatomielektrijaama. Kõigile on teada, et juba mitu aastat töötab Leningradi aatomielektrijaam. Ka Leedus on hakatud suure aatomielektrijaama ehitamisega. Nende jaamade valmissaamisega kaetakse elektrikoormuse baasiline osa, s.t, et aatomielektrijaamad hakkavad töötama pidevalt täiskoormusega.~~

~~[So that liquid fuel in the form of petroleum must be imported. And this causes the problem that energy industry is developed in the north-western regions and generally in the European part of the Soviet Union in the near future by building powerful nuclear power plants. And a powerful nuclear power plant is being built at our close neighbours. Everyone knows that the Leningrad nuclear power plant has been working for several years already.]~~

The technique of problem construction required attention to and manipulation of different textual, social, ideological, and process levels. This became possible only in professional cooperation between journalists and interviewees and presupposed a fine technique for transmission and concealment of information. The text above, on the nuclear power plant (as a strategic object), is a skilful borderline case.

1. The serious problem is seemingly linked to a 'positive achievement myth', and in this context 'the nuclear power plant is good as technological progress' and should be decoded using the decoding rules of myths.

2. *The north-west regions* in the text refers to the 'correct' Moscow-centred position in dealing with economic problems. This is actually an important representation of place in the text and it is important to relay it to the receiver as 'natural', although the sentence refers to building of nuclear power plants in the European part of the Soviet Union.

3. The next sentence, *And a powerful nuclear power plant is being built at our close neighbours* (obscured in order to be on the safe side) is presented as if a positive example concerning the preceding statement. Actual decoding may turn out to be external to the myth: construction of the power plant is actual, already under way and happening quite near. Attention is definitely sharpened and anxiety arises. Where? Who are 'the close neighbours'? An information gap causing the receiver to look for information results from the fact that the closest neighbours are not named more specifically (a search for code may be initiated, as the neighbours are definitely not Russian or Latvian, or he would have said 'the closest neighbours'). This interpretation is open to question, as the speaker may have preferred *not* to use the superlative 'the closest neighbours' for idiosyncratic linguistic reasons. Such 'informing' through implication served to send a signal about the problem and notify as to the absence of information about it.

4. For an inhabitant of *the north-west regions* it was even more alarming to hear that *Everybody knows that the Leningrad nuclear power plant has been working for several years already*. In fact, there is a lack of information about the plant, and the sentence refers to the danger entailed by being surrounded by two nuclear power plants which are near, maybe even closer than the *close neighbours*.

5. The final sentence would not have been suitable as a simple statement, but the beginning of the sentence *Everybody knows that* lends the sentence a shade of meaning which shows that information is given about a myth of 'being informed about the achievements of Soviet energy industry and technology'. And that was a right that people had.

The need for sane depiction of reality gave rise to methods of transmitting messages (the so-called double coding) largely based on particularly emphatic actualisation of the context and stylistic levels, which yielded opportunities for the creation of multiple meanings.

6.9. The myth of audience

Certain beliefs existed in journalism, the most important of which was the hope that in spite of strict norms something generally important is expressed through or between the lines. The belief in specialists was also strong. The same attitude prevailed also in the normative approach, but the reasons for believing were different. At the normative level the specialist represented a professional worker and was thus the correct representation of the main idea. However, it gave critical journalism the possibility to treat reality, the real problems and processes of the community. If possible, journalism also strengthened its own role, the myth of the informed and central influencer. A situation was developing in society where journalists really had important information due to their contacts and travelling potential.

Canonical rituals manifest themselves in texts, the most typical of them being normative legal texts, problem texts on normative themes, and the normative approach. In propaganda broadcasts party documents were mentioned at the beginning of texts; editors and chief editors tried to formalise this. The texts characteristically presented clear ideological or social conceptions through clear narrative. The concept of the text was introduced at the beginning, when motivating the choice of themes:

M. – Meeldivalt palju tõi meie kirju vestlus professor Jüri Saarmaga. Eks seepärast me sellise teema ju oma saates võtsimegi, et äratada teis mõtteid laste töökasvatuse ümber, et meie lastest kasvaksid tublid tööinimesed.

[M. – Our conversation with profesor Jüri Saarma brought us many letters. That's why we chose such a theme in our broadcast – to evoke thoughts about work education of children, to bring up our children as good workers. (Text 64)]

Journalism also tried to increase and emphasise its role, which caused changes in text substitution. The change consisted in increasing and emphasising the phenomenon.

Toimetus sai kirja +on saanud palju kirju/431 kus tuntakse huvi USA sõltumatu presidendikandidaadi John Andersoni vastu.

[Editorial office received a letter +has received many letters 431 that inquired after the independent candidate of the US president John Anderson.]

Summary description: In reality, there might have been no letter at all. The phrase 'we received a letter' served as a typical phrase to initiate a theme, also to justify a theme based on imaginary contact with the audience. It was also used for opposite reasons: to justify the need of publication of critical themes as well as to cover the presentation of compulsory political themes.

A complicated dialectical problem in editing was the (real) relation of 'individual to general' and its presentation in text. The method of editing 'substitution' enabled the reshaping of processes, tendencies, and scope. It was typical that ideologically suitable individual examples, or exceptions that were not to be

natural and could be constructed, were presented as typical, i.e., as the representation of the general.

The opposite extreme of the same method was that the real functioning processes were not analysed or reflected on at all; they were either viewed negatively or were noted only for their 'exceptionality'. This role of the influencer of processes was attributed to journalism due to the impression of informedness, the impression that journalism possesses information and is active in systematising it. As bidding up its role (indirectly calling for participation), the processes were presented as 'general'. Thus, in a public text a process is changed from an individual phenomenon into a general and typical one, as needed.

CHAPTER VII

Interlude: presentation of work and worker in texts

Themes connected with work and workers can be observed, which united, as the ideological centre, the levels of individual, social group, and society as a whole, as if it was 'the state of workers and peasants'. This ideology was still followed at the beginning of the 1980s when these original concepts in their basic relationships had almost disappeared from practice but rethinking them was not allowed. At the same time, the real work and worker's life produced real journalistic material, but its coverage in the public text was complicated (as shown by documents of party meetings in 1980-84). Officially and constitutionally it was demanded that the journalists continue this mythological line, and critical appraisal of 'negative phenomena' was allowed only in the frame of supporting this myth:

'Süsteematiselt üldistada ja propageerida töötajate klassilise ja internatsionalistliku kasvatustöö kogemusi, kõnelda juhtiva töötaja kui partei ja riigi usaldusisiku mitmekülgsest tootmisalasest ja ühiskondlikust tegevusest', 'avada puuduste põhjuseid ning kritiseerida printsiipsiaalselt negatiivseid ilminguid'. (NLKP KK otsus 'ENSV juhtiva kaadri osavõtust töötajate hulgas tehtavast poliitilisest kasvatustööst' 1984)

'To generalise systematically and propagate the experience of the class and international educating of workers, to talk about the manifold industrial and social activities of an executive as the confidential person of the Party and the state, reveal the reasons for deficiencies and criticise principally negative phenomena'. (The decision of the CC of the CPSU 'About the participation of the leading staff of ESSR in the political educating of workers' 1984)

By what means and methods did journalism keep alive the idea of the working class?

Representation 1. The working class and the history of the class struggle.

The victory of the working class is depicted in 1980 in a work broadcast as censored into a myth. Generally, history was replaced by partial history, history as

seen from the position of the working class (which was *not* the history of the working class), a point of view that depicted the inevitability of the historic victory of the working class. The central position in this representation is occupied by the Great Patriotic War, a part of WW II. Departing from the so-called class position, texts were purified of politically non-existent concepts of history and culture. I point out an example from a text depicting the fight and victory of poor peasants and other representatives of workers (the phrases themselves were eliminated!). I have provided commentaries to the examples.

Siinsetes paikades toimusid kodusõja ügedad lahingud alates 1918. a. detsembrist, aga eriti 1919. a. algusest kuni maikuuni välja. //042 Siin mail võitlesid mitmed tol ajal Eesti Töörühvakommuuni sõjaväevalitsusele allunud Punaarmee väeosad.

[In these places fierce battles were held during the civil war from December 1918 and especially from the beginning of 1919 up to May. 042 Here fought several units of the Red Army subordinated to the army government of the Workers Commune.]

Particular time has been eliminated from the text, the period by which the receiver could limit the events of the text according to his knowledge. The emphasis has been removed from the real period to the symbolic idea – the fight ‘in general’. Obviously, it is possible to manipulate a naive receiver in this way, so as to make the period seem longer.

Nende hulgas erilist kohta omab Võrus moodustatud Võru Kommunistlik Kütipolk, milline koosnes peamiselt Võrumaa kehvik-talupoegade ja ka teiste naaberpiirkondade töörahva esindajatest. Selles väeüksuses, kes alustas oma lahinguteed Võrust taganemisega kuni Aluksnesse, tolleaegse Marienburgini ja hiljem pealinnani //043 kodukoha vabastamisel võitlesid praegugi tuntud sõjaväe juhid nagu erukindralmajor Karl Aru, hiljuti manalasse varisenud Võru Sõjaveteranide Nõukogu esimees Julius Metsavas. Ja tuleb mainida läti rahvuskangelast Janis Fabritsiust, kes 1918. aastal aitas kihutada Vastseliinast välja saksa keisririigi vägede jäänused ja siin kehtestada nõukogude korda.

[A special place among them is held by the Võru Communist Rifle Regiment, established in that town's regional area, consisting mostly of poor peasants of Võrumaa and the representatives of workers from the neighbouring regions. In this army unit the fight started with a retreat from Võru to Aluksne, previously called Marienburg, and later on they made an attack 043 to liberate their homeland. Participating in this were such well-known leaders of the army as the retired major general Karl Aru and the late leader of the Council of Võru War Veterans Julius Metsavas. We also have to mention the national hero of Latvia, Janis Fabritsius, who helped to drive the remnants of the German army from Vastseliina in 1918 and establish Soviet power there.]

Determining the class, especially the poorer classes such as peasants and workers, was not considered important for the general picture of the struggle. The geographic details and movements in the particular landscape also lose their meaning. The text is turned into generalisation, continuing with representations and symbols into the present time, and real persons are mentioned (Aru, Metsavas) who participated in the event.

The following depiction of events dates from the 1940s, but since time has been eliminated from the previous story they are united into one period for the unwary

listener. In this way a reference to the year 1918 at the end of the previous paragraph leaves the impression of a casual episode, historical context of reference, representing historic element of the Soviet struggle and victory.

Mis puutub Vana-Saalusesse ja sellesse mälestusmärki, siis on see seotud pealetungilahingutega Võru suunas mullal Vastseliina asula ja Vastseliina mõis oli langenud siis juba valgete kätte. //045 Ja parema tiiva väed püüdsid vallutada Vastseliina ees olevat Vana-Saaluse mõisat valgete käest ära. //046 Tolleaegsete pealtnägijate jutustuse järgi oli lahing nii äge olnud, et padrunikesti tema sauna taga oli pool kartulikorvitiit võinud pärast korjata üles. Vana-Saaluse mõisat aga vallutada ei õnnestunud punaarmedlastel ja //047 kolm punaarmedlast langenud vangi. Ning õhtul, kuid //048 Hommikul neid siis hakatud maha laskma siinsamas metsa ääres, kusjuures ühel õnnestunud jooksu pääseda. Kuid ka tema oli tagant tulistatud siia samama nurme peale maha. Nüüd hiljem nad on ühiselt siia ühishauda maetud, mille kohale nüüd //049 pärast Suurt Isamaasõda on asetatud selline mälestuskivi – memoriaaltahvliga.

[What concerns Vana-Saaluse and this monument, is connected with the attack of the troops on Võru Vastseliina and its manor house and by then fallen into the hands of The white: 045 And the troops on the right tried to conquer the manor of Vana-Saaluse near Vastseliina from the white. 046 According to the lookers-on of those events were the battles so fierce that behind the sauna we could afterwards gather half of the potatoe-basket of empty cartridge cases. But there didn't succeed in conquering Vana-Saaluse manor and 047 three soldiers of the Red Army taken prisoners. And in the evening but in the 048 In the morning they started to shoot them right here, near the forest, one of them managed to run away. But they shot him as well. Now later they have been buried all together into this mass grave here, on which now 049 after the Great Patriotic War a memorial plaque has been set.]

The depiction of the battle includes several non-existent concepts (the manor house had already fallen into the hands of the Whites so the Red Army could not occupy the manor). In the depiction of the battle, the second half of the combat and the logic of the events have been eliminated, yet the mythical 'feeling' has been retained. Special attention should be paid the temporal adverb 'now', which indicates the mythical use of language by the storyteller: 'then' = in the war, 'now' = after the war (the phrase 'just now after the Great Patriotic War' is used from, which the censoring editor has deleted the word 'now'). Thus, mythological classification of time is 40 years later in his active use of language. The speaker is either closely related to the events told or has presented the text recurrently.

Representation 2. The heroic worker and his awards.

Workers' representation meant a selection from among workers, representation of the heroic elite, who in reality were not very many. In the next example, in the conversation with a professional worker the reporter says, 'I have usually talked to you when the gossamers hang in the air and the air is crisp and clear'. An indication of quite frequent visits displays that there were certain types of workers whom reporters willingly visited. And still he starts his conversation with the worker, as if it was the first time latter was speaking about his life and work. To classify a worker, first his length of service is taken into account, then awards given, and then something

informal (in this case a jubilee). From the short conversation an important theme the speaker touches on, about children's education, has been removed. It is evident from the conversation that the worker would not himself talk about his award, since when he speaks about it, he repeats exactly the phrase of the reporter - 'an oak garland came' - and he does not remember exactly when it was given. When making the worker heroic the text and his identity are restructured as if he automatically had started to talk about his awards.

No enamvähem 20 aastat olen töötanud siin Haage osakonnas. Adaveres olin ma enne. Mul tapsed tahtsid vene kooli minna ja siin ei olnud seda vene kooli ja sellepärast ma tulin siia. Siin oli seekord vene kool. //053 Esimese töö sain traktoril T-20. Töötasin paar aastat sellel. Sügisel sain kombaini ka ikka. SK-3 oli.

Rep. – Millal esimene tammepärg tuli, millal "Tööpunalipu orden" tuli? //054

– Tammepärg tuli 68 aastal. Ja "Tööpunalipu ordeneid" on mul kaks tükki praegu – esimene tuli vist //055 72 aastal ja järgmine möödunud aastal.

Rep. – Kuidas juubel läks?

– Mis seal ikka minna – tööaeg oli siis kõva ja ei saanudki pidada pikalt seal.

[Almost 20 years I have been working here in the Haage department. Before that I was in Adavere. My children wanted to go to Russian school and there was no Russian school there and therefore I came here. Here was a Russian school at that time...053 At first I worked with tractor T-20. I worked with it for a couple of years. In autumn I got a combine also. It was a SK-3.

– When did the oak garland come and when did the Work Red Flag order come? 054

The oak garland came in 1968. And the Work Red Flag orders I have two now, the first came in 1972 I think 055 and the other came last year.

– How was the jubilee?

– Nothing special – there was a lot of work to do at the time and I couldn't celebrate it long.]

Work is a human environment of varied aspects, materially as well as in a wider sense.

Kõigepealt töö rahuldab inimese materiaalseid vajadusi selleks, et inimene oleks söönud, joonud, riides ja tal oleks katus pea peal. Nüüd, kui need vajadused on ära rahuldatud, siis töösituatsioon rahuldab +veel//735 inimese suhtlemisvajaduse sõpruse, kollektiivi järele. ~~Ant oli võimalus uurida +jäljida uurimusi, mis on tehtud 50-ndate aastate keskel Vene föderatsioonis kuskil oblastis. Ja siis naised, mikspärast nad käivad tööle, siis 75% käis sellepärast, et saada lisateenistus, sissetulekut perekonna jaoks, aga Eestis mõned aastat tagasi viidud läbi +läbi viidud//736 küsitulus ühes õmblusettevõttes näitas seda, et üle poolte naistele oli esmane tähtsus just see kollektiiv, et selle kollektiivi pärast.~~

[First of all work satisfies man's material needs – that he would have food and clothes and a place where to live. Now, if all those needs are satisfied, the work situation satisfies +also 735 Man's need for communication, A need for friends and the collective. ~~Had a possibility to see research works made in some Russian oblast in the middle of the 1950s. And then women, why they went to work – 75% of them wanted to get additional money for the family but in Estonia in a few years ago organized 736 enquiry in a sewing factory showed that for more than half of the women the most important was the collective, they did it just for the collective.]~~

Work is connected with the mythical frame in which belonged the understanding that you have to make work educational and to explain the importance of work. Work is the basic life requirement and has been the favourite theme for propagandists. In this explanation, journalism also has participated with the probable supposition that, with the help of the theme's continual journalistic coverage, the obligation to work will be made pleasant. Yet, it was not a rare case when work really was the basis for the internal/inner harmony of a person. In such cases the inner emphasis has been lessened:

– 76. aastast peale ja üldse ma juhendan neid lapsi väga kaua aega, kui ma töötasin ise veel kui tantsija. Ja mulle see töö väga//563 meeldib. Mina olen töötanud "Estonia" teatris. Seal ma läksin ka pensionile.

[–From the year 1976 and in general, I have been supervising those children for quite a long time, when I myself still worked as a dancer. I like the work very much-563. I have been working in the theatre 'Estonia'. From there I retired.]

Representation 3. The theme of work as universal material for the ideological text.

Work is also a symbolic environment. Because the worker is positive and of universal representation, several other myths and themes are also connected with work, including heroic deeds, work heroes, war and political history, and especially friendship among peoples. In addition, in the work collectives, full of immigrants, there existed a 'school for international education'. Journalistic texts about such collectives appeared frequently.

Tugevatel seostel inimeste vahel on kahtlemata ka tugev tagapõhi olemas. Sõprus võib sündida ühises töös. Ka erinevatest rahvustest inimeste vahel://020 Võtkem näiteks kas või BAM-i grandioosne ehitus. Seal on koos kõigi liiduvabariikide esindajad. Kuid BAM-il ma ei käinud. Käisin vaid Mustamäe ääremail asuvas Vilhelmine Klementi nimelises Õmblustootmiskoondises. Ka seal töötavatel inimestel on märkimisväärsed sõprussidemed://021 Minu vestluskaaslasteks on ühistöös sõbratarideks saanud Aino Grauberg ja Valentina Shljushenkova. Juba need kaks nime üheskoos nimetades ütlevad midagi, panevad millegi üle mõtlema://022 A.G. – Meie ettevõttes töötab umbes 1600 inimest ja umbes 13 erinevat rahvust. Põhiliselt on eestlased, venelased, siis ukrainlasi, valgevenelasi, tatarlasi, ja veel, nii väiksem protsent, mis ei oma määravat osatähtsust//023, ka teisi rahvusi. Kes meie ettevõttes töötavad, nad on õppinud eesti keelt, meie oma rahvas siis, eestlased, on õppinud siis vastavalt vene keelt ja suhtlemine on väga sõbralik, nagu ühtne sõbralik pere.–//024 Me oleme hoidnud 27 kvartalit järjest oma käes sotsialistliku võistluse lippu. Üleliidulise. Ja meie ei kavatse veel seda endi käest ära anda. Nii et – ühtse perena oleme me siiani ka teiste ettevõtete eesreas. (tekst 3)

[Close relationships between people certainly have a strong background. Friendship may be born in joint work. Also between people from different nations:020 Let us take, for example, the grandiose building of BAM. There meet together the representatives of all the Soviet republics. But I didn't visit BAM. I only went to the Vilhelmine Klementi Sewing Factory in Mustamäe. People working there have also remarkable ties of friendship:021 My conversation partners are Aino Grauberg and Valentina Shljushenkova who have become friends in joint work. Already these two names together tell you something, make you think:022]

A.G. – In our establishment there are employed about 1600 people from roughly 13 different nations. Mainly there are Estonians, Russians, then Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Tartars and a smaller percentage ~~that doesn't have any importance~~// 023 of other nations. Those who work in our factory have learnt Estonian and our own people, Estonians have ~~accordingly~~ learnt Russian and our communication is very friendly, as a ~~friendly joint family~~024 For 27 quarters running we have kept in our hands the flag of the Socialist contest. The All-Union one. And we will not let it fall from our hands. So that, as a joint family, we are still at the head of the other establishments. (Text 3)]

Representation 4. Work as a need for openness and communication without real borders.

Broader issue concerning work and industry were inevitable. Industry was more and more integrated into the Soviet system, including foreign industry. Workers considered important the change of experience and learning, with industrial establishments getting their materials from increasingly varied areas. Still, there were certain limitations in determining industry as an ideological 'border', with which one could change experiences, and whether emphasising that classification was good or rather gave the impression of underscoring limitation and irony. There are different problems in the field of industry, as is seen from the industry texts.

– *Meil on praegu suur mure import//321 sametist mantlite töötlemisega.*

[– We are now having a problem with coats of ~~imported~~ 321 velvet.]

'Imported' has been removed from the text as a possible evaluational indication to the poorer quality of the local materials.

Experiences could also be received from fellow sufferers. One just had to ask.

Still, direct experience from neighbouring areas was not positive in reality, though according to the myth it should have been. A paragraph about learning from Lithuania's experience has been eliminated from the text below, for it may show the real things that the Baltic states had in common.

– *Ostjad ei tea sugugi, kui palju selle mantliga on siin vaeva nähtud. Hea on minna küll ja osta! Eks teil on ka kindlasti hea meel, kui töö hakkab lõpuks nii minema, kui te olete mõelnud.*

– *Alles hiljuti meie inseneridegrupp käisime Leedus, sõarestevõttes Lelja, kus samuti on töös sünteesilisest sametist mantel, väga sarnane mudel meil töös oleva mudeliga ja probleemid on meil täiesti ühesugused. Ka nemad on väga mures teatud operatsioonide valmistamisega mantlite juurdelõikamisega. Kuid ma pean ütlema, et need naised ka on väga optimistlikud, lahendavad koos ITP töötajatega neid küsimusi ja ma usun, et nii nende kui meie tooted omavad väga suurt nõudlust.//325*

– *Elus on ikka nii, et kus on töö, seal on ka mured. Teie, peainsener Aili Konakova, võite seda kinnitada.*

[– The consumers don't know at all how much trouble we have had with the coat here. It's very simple to go and buy! You must be pleased that the work is finally going the way you intended it to go.

– Not far back, our group of engineers visited Lithuania in the sister establishment Lelja where they also produce synthetic velvet coats, very similar to our model and our

problems are also very similar. They are also worried about certain operations in cutting out the coats. But I must say those women are very optimistic, they solve the problems with the ITP workers and I hope that their products as well as ours will be in great demand: 325

– It tends to be so in life that where is work, there is also trouble. You, chief engineer Aili Konakova may affirm it.]

The representation of everyday friendship was much more complicated, due to economic, political interrelations and meanings. Connections are eliminated, if there are real problems that could have wider symbolic power of generalisation in journalism.

– *Nii et puudused on ka joonistes, jah?*

– *Jah, meil tulevad põhiliselt Moskva joonised, kontrollitakse küll meie poolt aga see töömaht on niivõrd suur, et konstruktori põhjenduse järele ta nii peenelt järgi kontrollida ei jõua ja väike viga võib montaaži ajal päris suure paranduse teha jõuda 11731.*

– *Aga teie töölisel loevad nii hästi ikka jooniseid, et nad juba taipavad, kus see viga rekkida võib?*

[– So there are deficiencies also in the designs?

– Yes, we get the designs mostly from Moscow, we check them but the amount of work is so great that the constructor claims he can't check every detail and a little mistake may cause quite a great correction in montage 731

– But your workers understand the designs so well that they already guess where the mistake may occur?]

The phrase 'we get the designs mostly from Moscow' has been removed as unthinkable criticism. Detail, as a fact, gives the impression of generalisation as a political metaphor (Ch. 9.6.), for the structure of the sentence (microlevel) is projected in the social system through hierarchies into a general question of structure (macrolevel). Many mistakes typically take place. People in industry are used to them, which indicates their knowledge of structure (mistakes). Also, given the knowledge of corresponding meanings and interpretations (practical, real), the game is clear and routine. In the work text there is also generalisation of 'transparency' of philosophical structural change and levels of structure. Thus, the above example is a practical example from the work-place, where a small (unnoticed) mistake leads to great changes, work and energy being wasted to keep the process unchanged.

Representation 5. A representative of the power of workers is a deputy, a public figure. He talks about his work and problems.

In the Soviet media, the worker deputies could talk much more about the social problems than ordinary people were allowed to do. This next example shows the border the analysis of reality could reach, after which it enters a completely restricted area. The worker deputy, as a representation, was a direct connection between the structures of society, who could talk most freely in the media and whose duty was to deal with real problems. This is emphasised at the beginning of the interview, where his long time work as a simple miner and his high social status are evaluated:

Kohtla-Järve rajoonis ja Narva linnas tuntakse Evald Vahti väga hästi. Muidugi! Straazhikas kaevur, on aastaid olnud "Viru kaevanduse" brigadir. Ja kindlasti teatakse ka seda, et ta on rahvasaadik, kes esindab oma valijaid Nõukogude Liidu Ülemnõukogus. On inimene, kellelt nõu küsida, kellele murest rääkida, ja kui on soov või ettepanek midagi paremini teha või paremini korraldada, siis tema kaudu jõuavad need vajalikesse ametiasutustesse, ja kui tarvis, riigi kõige kõrgemasse võimuorganisse.

– Räägime nendest probleemidest, millega rahvas Teie juurde tuleb?

– Siin on probleemid mitmesugused. Peamine probleem on, mis on igal pool ja meie linnas ka kindlasti, see korteriküsimus. Ja eriti meie linnas oli vanu barakke väga palju, siis barakkidest uude korterisse saamise soovid, oli palju vaieldust ja mitterahulolemist. Sest barakk on suur, 10-15 perekonda. Tööstus võtab seal oma töölised ära, jääb 2-3 perekonda terve baraki peale. Pool barakki on lammutatud ja kaks üksikut perekonda seal baraki sees, ja – noh, – tööpoolest – see on ju häbi meie korra juures, et ei saa siis ühel ajal kõiki ära paigutada. Ja just need 2-3 perekonda käivad ja nõuavad oma õigust, et mis nad siis hullumad on kui teised, kui nad töötavad väikestes asutustes, kellel kuhugi pole korterit anda. Teame, et on vastavad korraldused, vastavad käskkirjad, kus on ette nähtud järjekord. //258 Ja siis tulebki selle //258a inimesega rääkida puhtsüdamest, et kuidagi sellest asjast välja saada. Siis lepime kokku, et kas siis ma küsin tema töökohast järgi või täitevkomiteest järgi ja siis määrän uuesti päeva, et selleks ajaks mõni lahendus leida.

– Ja kodu on ju inimesel kõige esmasem, ja selle tõttu just peabki väga tähelepanelikult ja väga ausalt rääkima.

– Rahvas ootas väga palju XXVI-st kongressist. Ja siin on ju seltsimees Leonid Brezhnevi sõnavõttus öeldud, et peab igat inimest, tema soovisid põhjalikult uurima ja siis soodustused ka väljatöötamisel, et anda just esmajärjekorras korterid noorpaaridele, perekondadele, naisterahvastele, kes omavad lapsi, nii et – nendel on mingisugused eesõigused, siamaani ei olnud.

[Evald Vaht is well known in the region of Kohtla-Järve and in Narva town. Of course! He has worked for years as a brigade leader in 'Viru Mine'. And certainly people know also that he is a deputy who represents his electors in the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union. He is a man from whom you can get advice, to whom you can talk about your problems and if you have an idea how to organise things better, then through him your idea will reach the necessary establishment, and, if needed, the highest governing body of the state.

– Let's speak about the problems that bring people to you.

– They have various problems. The main problem existing everywhere and certainly in our town is the question of flats. And especially in our town there were very many old barracks and many disagreements and a lot of discontent between those who wanted to move into a new flat, as one barrack is large, 10-15 families. If industry removes their workers only 2-3 families will live in one barrack. Half of the barrack has been dismantled, and two single families living in it, and – so – really – it is a shame considering our system that one cannot make an effort all at once. And just these 2 or 3 families come here to demand their rights, claiming that they are not worse than others although work in small institutions which have no flats to give. We know, that there are certain regulations, certain orders which foresee waiting. 258 And then one should talk to a person sincerely, to improve the situation somehow. Then we reach an agreement that I shall ask about it in his or her working place or executive committee and once again fix the date, to find some solutions by that time. As home is an important thing in life, it is therefore necessary to talk about it with great attention and honesty. (12.4.1981 People and its deputy)

People expected much from the XXVI Congress. And here Leonid Brezhnev says in his speech that it is necessary to study thoroughly every person and his wishes and then work out advantages. Some suggestions were to give flats in the first place to young couples, families, women with children, so that they have some privileges, which up to now they didn't have.]

A conflict of social reality and social mythology is manifested in the text. At the same time all the text is about the same issue: how the deputy solves his electors' problems. Here the theme itself sets a rigorous limit to any generalisations developed on the basis of details of everyday life. In the present text, the limit consists of the details of reality specifying a poor district of the town, the inhabitants of which demand better living conditions. (The main builder of dwelling houses in the society was the state, so to receive a flat was a certain privilege.) The textual mix may be ironical when the censored theme of conversation deals with the 'sincere, honest talk'. The example is thus doubly conflicting, since it concerns a method which is allowed and compulsory for a deputy in his public speech, while at the same time it is forbidden in journalism (as seen from the same example) 'to talk to a person sincerely and honestly'.

Though in the next text, the interviewee has described himself through his works, the interviewer still asks directly about his intent:

– Alati on teie süda mures, – kas saab ja kuidas saab, kuidas ma oma valijate usalduse õigustan?

– Jaa, see õigustamine on üks asi. Aga nende soovide mittetäitmine teeb omale ka pahameelt ja muret. Ma tahan rahul lihtsalt olla, et, nii rahulik, et ükskõik, et ei saanud – ei saanud, aga ikka piinab midagi. //268

[– You are always worried if it things can be done and how they can be done, how I will justify my electors' confidence?

– Yes, this justification is one thing. But if you don't fulfil their wishes you will be angry and worried. I simply want to be satisfied, calm, it's all the same, I couldn't do it, then I couldn't but something still anguishes me. 268]

The interview underlines the empathy and sympathetic traits of the interviewee, his sense of duty. However, his intentional relation with his work and problems has been removed. At this point there is also a limit. Though work must be taken personally and close attention paid to it, it must not produce personal problems or suffering. If it does, it cannot be published in public text.

Representation 6. The process of changing life and work. Just the changing of a worker and work is a praiseworthy theme that suits ideologists as well as journalists.

The following generalisation of a journalist about the changes of a worker is classic. The description moves from outward signs (red-yellow helmets) to inward ones (the person himself has changed). At the same time, an ideological limit is drawn in texts. Generalisation and details about the responsibility and intelligence of a modern worker have been eliminated.

Inimene on muutunud. Oma riietusega juba, mis ta oli 10-15 aastat tagasi ja praegu, kus on punased ja kollased kiibrid ja ühtvärvi runked, joped, vastavad kaitseriided. Ja mitte ainult riietus, inimene ise on ka muutunud. Ta peab rohkem töötama ajudega ja ütleva mitte niisuguse lihtsama tööriistaga.

Samal ajal vastutus tänapäeva töölistel, selle suure puldi dispetscheril on ju tohutult suur. Tema käes on miljonid korraga. Kas te olete märganud ka, kui te jälgite neid inimesi, et nende näos on midagi niisugust, mis kohe otsa ajudest tuleb sinna näo välisilmel, mingit pinget või mingit niisugust tänapäeva kortsu. //448

Nad teevad vaimset tööd. Aga tihtipeale on neis samades pultides terved read nuppe ja osuteid täis, aga nad on hämmastavalt rahulikud need operaatorid. Seal on kontsentratsioon.

Niimoodi muutubki tänane tööstus läbi teiesuguste meeste kunstiväärtuseks, kultuuriks ja miks me ei võiks siis oma elu niisugust mitmepalgelisust mitmeti jäädvustada. Peamegi seda ilmselt tegema ja tore oli teid kuulata, et te ei näe mitte seda ainult, et tööstushooned lähevad kõrgemaks ja pikemaks ja korstnad ja mastid võimsamaks, vaid et kõige looja, see tänane tööline, kelle kohta on võibolla tööline juba vähe öeldud, sest nad on operaatorid, dispetscherid, eriharidusega, et nende töö ei jää varju. Olgu ta siis otseselt veel kätega töö, aga järjest rohkem ikkagi see masinatöö, elektroonika abil töö. //457

[A man has changed. Already his clothing, what he had 10–15 years ago and now when we have red and yellow helmets and one coloured clothes, special protective clothes.

And not only clothes, man himself has changed. He has to work more with his brain and not with such a simpler tool.

At the same time the responsibility of the modern worker at a control desk is enormous. He controls millions. Have you noticed when you observe these people that in their face there is something that comes directly from the brain to the countenance, some strain or such modern wrinkle 448

They do mental work. Often those control desks are full of rows of knobs and pointers but they are so calm, those operators. It's concentration.

So the modern industry changes through men like you into an artistic value, into culture and why we couldn't retain such many-foldednesses of our life. We probably have to do this and it was nice to hear that you don't only see that the industrial buildings get higher and longer and the chimneys and masts get more powerful but that the creator of everything, the modern worker whom you can't call simply a worker any more because they are operators, dispatchers, with special education, their work will not remain in the shadow. Be it work with hands directly but more and more it will be work with machines, work with electronics. 457]

A principal ideological statement has been eliminated for it differs from the original ideology of the working class, though it is essentially near it. The working class is acknowledged here not formally but essentially, giving logical motivation. It would mean the real emancipation of the working class, the real revival of the myth and also the disappearance of the myth, which the ideologists could not foresee.

Representation 7. The real valuation of work, the emphasising of its real importance, was not possible.

In spite of all the mythical emphasis, the real work and real worker remain in the shadows, silenced by the myths and unable to get out from behind them. Valuation systems in society deviated from the work-centered situation. One of the reasons for that might have been the ideological mythologizing of work., which diffused the real problems. Little respect for work and worker, along with misunderstanding them, had become a real problem in society. In the next example the low valuation of work is depicted by a journalist who has raised this problem, only to have his comments about it deleted:

See tark mõte on aus tänaseni. Esimeseks ulatatakse söögilauas ikka leivataldrik. Ent mida iga päev küllaga käes, nihkub meie väärtuste skaala üsna tagasihoidlikule kohale. Vili – leib – leivavili – on probleemiks meie ajal veel ainult põllumeestele ja juhtivatele majandustöötajatele. Sest //050 vili ei ole ainult leib, vili on loomade jõusööt ja seda rada pidi ka piim, munad, liha, või koor, juust. Vili on aluseks kõikidele täisväärtuslikele valgu- ning vitamiinirikastele toitudele iga pere söögilaual.

Nüü sama märkamatuks – igapäevaseks nagu jääb pidulauas leivataldrik, kipub jääma ka töö, mis vilja kasvatab. Tagasihoidlikud on selle töö inimesedki, rohkem jagatakse nende käste ja õpetusi kui kiidusõnu. //051 See pärast arvan, et pole lihtne täna hommikul veel kord ära kuulata üks vana päevauudis, mis ette loeti raadios paar nädalat tagasi.

[This wise thought is honoured up to this day. The bread plate is still offered first at the table. But if you have enough of something every day, it moves to a secondary place in our valuation scale. Grain – bread – breadgrain is nowadays a problem only for farmers and economy leaders. Because 050 grain is not only bread, grain is also fodder for cattle and through it also milk, eggs, meat, butter, cream, cheese. Grain is the basis of all valuable food rich in protein and vitamins on the family's dinner table.

Just as unnoticed as the bread plate remaining on the festive table tends also the work to be present with which the grain is grown. The people who do this work are modest; they get more orders and advice than praise. 051 Therefore I think that it's not easy to listen once more to the news this morning that was read in the radio a couple of weeks ago.]

The control of the text has changed the surface level, thereby destroying the deep level as well. The newly constructed text is void of content, without a journalistic message. The new construction is not functional journalistically, since it eliminates the tension and very conception of the original text.

Representation 8: Work, technical backwardness and scarcity of production as a problem.

The reasons for this were the unsolved problems in the field of work, the standstill of technical development, and the lack of essential motivation to work, because of poor production and limited distribution of products. Active processing of the actual reality into the material of myth caused, in the 1980s, a semiotically opposite effect, making one investigate the text attentively so as to discover 'the reason' why talking in myths was used as pretext or cover.

The result of censorship was mechanical reconstruction and formalisation of text.

Technical backwardness and underdevelopment were concealed by forced exploitation of the human factor, demanding from people permanent unnatural effort and competitiveness in a situation where it was impossible to compensate for technical backwardness with human effort. It was increasingly difficult to relate work with real activities and results because the results of the work process were diffused into myths. In actuality, the real questions were, What does the product cost? And where is the product? What processes would lead to real production? The answers appeared as formal appraisals by the authorities and as informational summaries.

Fööstuses realiseeriti üle plaani 50-e miljoni rubla ulatuses toodangut, sealhulgas 30-e miljoni rubla väärtuses tarbekaupu. Eelmise aasta sama ajavahemikuga võrreldes suurenes loomade varumine 16 ja piima kokkuost 9 protsenti. Suurenesid ka ehitus- ning kaubakäibe ja teenuste maht. Kui jätkame samas vaimus, siis loome aluse ka XI-nda viisaastaku veelgi pingelisemate ülesannete edukaks täitmiseks. //393

[In industry the surplus realisation of production extended to 50 million roubles, including the consumer products for 30 million roubles. Purveyance of cattle increased 16% and purveyance of milk 9% as compared to the same period last year. The amount of construction, trade and service also increased. If we continue like that, we will create the basis for successful fulfilment of the increasingly strenuous tasks of the XI five-year plan. 393]

Since there was a real-life deficit of goods which people should have gotten for their work, the names of products and goods were deleted from the text.

Järgmised suuremad rühmad on toiduained ja tarbe-kaubad, ning masinad, seadmed +ning //386 instrumendid.

[The next bigger groups are food and consumer products and machines, devices and instruments.]

Foreign policy text told about something that was missed in reality. The foreign news items had to be cleared of everything that had been suitable before for negative characterisation of the enemy, but was now the reality in our own environment. Its activation, even through the 'alien', would have brought to mind our own problems.

Vat tõmmata seda väikekodanlust konservatiivide poole, siduda seda rohkem konservatiividega, tähendab laiendada konservatiivide massibaasi taolise väikekodanluse arvel, kes nägi riiklikus sekkumises ja järeleandmises streikivatele töölistele hindade tõusust, inflatsioonist, nägi //610 vaid faktorit, mis tema olukorda nõrgendas.

[To draw the petty bourgeoisie towards the conservatives, to tie it more closely to the conservatives means to broaden the mass basis of the conservatives at the cost of such petty bourgeoisie who saw in the state intervention and giving in to the striking workers, in the rising of prices, inflation saw 610 only a factor weakening his position.]

Representation 9: Directing criticism into unimportant fields.

Real criticism did not interest the authorities, and real feedback did not exist. The spreading of information about the limited possibilities of feedback was also hindered. Journalism was prepared to control and activate the system, but the

ideological controls forbid it. Hence, criticism was directed into fields that were harmless, for example, the gathering of recycled materials. Here, criticism could even be increased, probably because the theme would spark social interest and hence would not seem artificial.

Kuus kuud tagasi me oma saates "Mikrofoni ja märkmikuga" jõudsime järeldusele, et Tallinnas vanapaberi kogumisega pole asjad täiesti- //761 korras.

[Six months ago we reached a conclusion in our broadcast 'With microphone and notebook' that the situation in gathering the recycled paper in Tallinn is not quite-761 good.]

Representation 10: Where is the representation of the real worker?

The real representation of the worker became more and more problematic, because usually he was not capable of producing textual games and multicode texts, and his normative talk about work interested neither the journalist nor the listener. The worker might simply and clearly talk about his real situation, work. 'There is no product, where's the product?' is a severe political reproach when presented by the worker, but when presented by the journalist it does not have such import.

The texts manifest a conflict of the real values connected with work versus the seeming values. The stories about the new, changes, actions and activity are really directed to a certain safe stable basis that was expressed in the mythical language: the ideology is right, the decisions of the Party function, etc. The Party sought for the stability of the way of life; the obvious real values and actual problems were avoided.

Representation 11. The rules of the journalistic text decoding in 1980.

Deficiency of materials, resources, technical equipment, possibilities of travelling (beyond the border), new experiences and ideas, the new construction of the future and searching for ideas. In discussions of such issues, the effect of 'reversing the meaning system' came into play; i.e. talking about myth and mythical language as a certain code, in the sense of concealing deficiencies and problems. This focused attention on deficiencies and problems in the field, since it had become in practice an indication of new unsolved problems in reality.

The effect of reversing the meaning system functioned also at the level of basic cultural concepts. Politically determined, basic concepts were in conflict with the actual cultural experience in Estonia, the main problem being the establishment and retaining of the annexing system of meanings. This caused an inevitable conflict between the political and cultural conceptual systems, ambivalence of cultural and ideological meanings, and accordingly different ways of reading and creating texts (Castells 1997, II: 8). This phenomenon also explains the unusually great interest of people in cultural journalism, regardless of their education and social status, since it was a question of retaining the elementary internal sign system, the memory.

The public text is thus an important public means of controlling thinking. Its official form was post-censorship, where texts were observed by political institutions and wrong definitions or interpretations caused a reaction. The Soviet regime (the carriers of its ideas) had conquered and 'liberated' the Soviet idea of power that forced the destruction of the previous meaning system in order to establish its power in the name of 'liberation'. Several parallel meaning systems came into being in such situations. The real Soviet meaning system can be regarded as a third type of language: a system that was based on the real existence of different meaning systems, the established and the natural, cultural one.

Representation 12. Work education, future. The workers want better management and arrangement.

Practical work education came to have less and less to do with myths. In this field, special types of censorship can be found, such as informal approaches to formal themes dealing with the real mentality prevailing in industry, informal presentation, and development of problems to make real education possible.

Siis parem paiguta nii, kui kardad, et nahast puudu tuleb, et paneks näiteks ninasse see, mis ei ole seestpoolt näha. Muidugi, kui auk on, siis ei tohi ikka sisse lüüa. Aga algul tuli seda ka ette.

– Fühendab, omamoodi peab aus ka olema?

– Jah, ikka.

– Nii et mitte viga ära peita kuidagi, et – las ostab ära ja paar päeva küib, siis tuleb see viga välja? – Üldiselt 'Kommunaaril' on praegu niisugune halb maine, aga me käisime ekskursioonil siin liini peal, – seal tehakse ikka väga, väga ilusaid kingi. Poes ei ole näinud selliseid veel. Kogenenumad naised, kellel on staazhi rohkem, teevad nende kingadele ka voodreid. Ja see naha kvaliteet on ka hoopis teine. 090

[Then you'd better put it so that, if you are afraid that there's not enough leather, that it would be in the toe, then it will not show. But, if there is a hole, then you can't use it. But first there were such cases too.

– So that you have to be honest too, in a way?

– Yes, of course.

– So that you can't hide a mistake somehow, let somebody buy it and wear for a couple of days and then the mistake will be seen?

– 'Kommunaar' has generally a very bad renome but we had an excursion to this department, they do very beautiful shoes there. I haven't yet seen such shoes in shops. The women who have more experience put lining to them. And the quality of the leather is also quite different. 090]

Myth and problem-solving were demanded simultaneously from journalism, with formal representation and solving of the real problems (or rather the positive example of solving them). For example, a broadcast about the jubilee of the children's technical circle is an ironic example of the controversy between the myths and reality.

Et üks ring saaks tegutseda korralikult, ja et ta oleks elujõuline, on vaja kõigepealt reaalselt baasi. Ilma selleta tehnikainimestel ei ole mitte midagi peale hakata. Ja muidugi mõõtevahendid samuti. Ja nende hankimine ja soetamine, see on väga raske probleem see on ise mõnikord ületamatu probleem. //521

[For a circle to be able to function normally, to be thriving, it first of all needs the real base. Without that the people interested in technics can do nothing. And of course the measuring devices as well. Their purveyance is a difficult problem ~~sometimes it's a problem that cannot be solved.~~ 521]

Journalists must answer such criticism, hence the text continues on a new level, trade. The essential decrease of problems or 'limitation' is demanded there; it decreases the general political metaphor:

Kuna meie jutt käib ringidest, kuhu koondunud põhiliselt elektroonikahuvilised poisid, st. kelledest paljudel on hobiks raadiotehnika, siis läksin koos Eesti Raadiospordi Föderatsiooni tehnikasektsiooni esimehe Teolana Tomsoniga Tallinna raadiopoodi "Rekord" et +selle defitsiidi suuruses ja tõsiduses selgust saada. ~~+ sõnastada konkreetselt, millisest defitsiidist on jutt.~~//525

As we are talking about the circles where mainly boys with technical interests are assembled, many of whom having radio technics as a hobby, I went with the chairman of the technical section of the Radio Sport Federation to the Tallinn radio shop 'Rekord' to ~~make sure about the amount and severity of + this/deficit.~~ + tell correctly what deficit is meant. 525

The phrase 'to make sure about the amount and severity of the deficit' has been replaced with 'to state correctly what deficit is meant'.

For a moment, I concentrate on the secondary theme of the text, to show how the dialogue foregrounds the very impossibility of dialogue. The secondary theme shows the change in the way of life was a real problem - a euphemistic indication that the rulers of mythology need to change, to awaken, see the reality, and adapt, thus creating more possibilities and choices. In the text above, this is manifested in the discussion about the connection of technological interest and technology with the way of life. The text notices the connection between technologies and ways of life, develops the theme (which is essentially future-oriented). The discussion about the resultant, changed way of life has been removed by political censorship.

Aga miks neid tehnikahuvilisi siis ikkagi ei ole ega tule? Selleks on palju põhjusi. Üks põhjus on siis selles, et meie poistes järkjärgult on kadunud huvitehnika vastu, seoses linnastumise arenguga. Sest pole ju võimalik meie kaasaegsies korterites poistele sisse seada tööpinke, pole seal võimalik enam vasaraga kopsida ega siis ka teiste tööriistadega vajalikku tööd teha. Kõnelemata sellest, et paljud meie korterid on lüütnud üle juba keskküttele ja paljud linnanoormehed ei oska enam puidki raiuda, kõnelemata siis keerukamate tehnilistest ülesannetest.//523

[But why is there no interest in technics? There are many reasons for it. One reason is that our boys have gradually lost their interest in technics due to urbanisation. For it is not possible to install in our modern flats workbenches, it is not possible to use a hammer or any other necessary tool. Let alone the fact that in many places flats have been transferred to central heating, many boys who live in towns, can't even chop wood, not to mention other, more complicated tasks.- 523]

This method of censorship is not directly the choice of GLAVLIT, which guards state secrets, but of the Party (guarding the interests of the Party). It exemplifies a method by which feedback and dialogue was interrupted journalistic means. When the ideological workers in the Central Committee 'reached for the newspapers in the

morning to get acquainted with life' (the phrase of the chairman of the propaganda department of the Central Committee of the ECP), the issues were full of the magnified problems of their own small circle, without the disturbing reality and its problems, since the latter had been eliminated so as to avoid disturbance.

The next intervention also refers to the providential mechanism of Party censorship. Myths start to replace reality, and following them becomes a general demand. The next text asks where are the promised means for the work education of the young, for the supervisor has the right to demand elementary conditions for his activities:

– Tuleb võtta probleemi täiesti täie tõsidusega. Kuna vastavad partei ja valitsuse määrused on meil ju olemas, direktiivmaterjali on meil ju olemas täiesti piisavalt //531. Peab hakkama neid rakendama vahetult ellu.

[– The problem has to be treated with absolute seriousness. As we have corresponding regulations of the Party and government, there is enough directive material 531. We have to start applying it.]

The phrase 'there is enough directive material' is ironical and seems to be a threat. The speaker refers ironically to the enormous amount of Party documents and speeches, and it is a metaphorical generalisation of being tired of speeches. It is also mentions and criticises an official method of power: the producing of directives. The text is a sign of the tiredness of a socially active person because of the malfunctioning of the structure. Even if one was willing to put the social system in action, it was not possible due to the lack of material.

Representation 13: Jokes about work as an intellectual genre.

Spontaneous negative interpretations were forbidden in analysis, but they were allowed in special genres (for example, in an entertainment story). Even in entertainment criticism the wording was turned from negative ('I defend other people from defective goods') to positive ('thanks to me the others can enjoy only quality goods').

"Kuulge, lugupeetud kodanik," vastas komisjoni esimees rangelt. "Kas te ei tea, et kui õpilane teeb etteütluses ühe vea, siis pannakse talle "neli"? Kolmkümmend üheksa korterit neljakümnest on ehitajad teinud uhked ja hubased, ainult üks korter – see teie oma – on neil pisut ebaõnnestunud..."

Nii ma hakkasingi tasapisi harjuma. Veel enam: Mind täitis koguni uhkusetunne, et kahtlen nii-öelda rinnaga kaasanimesi praagi eest. +et tänu minule saavad teised nautida ainult kvaliteetseid kaupu. //085

['Listen, honourable citizen,' the chairman of the committee answered strictly. 'Don't you know that if a pupil makes a mistake in a dictation, he will get a 'four'? Thirty nine flats out of forty the builders have made beautiful and comfortable, only in one case, your flat, they have failed...']

So I began to get used gradually. Even more: I became proud that I defend others from defect goods: +that thanks to me the others can enjoy only quality goods. 085]

Representation 14: Accumulation of unsolved problems is common in the system.

The broadcast about the anniversary of the technical circle continues with the analysis of the causes of the deficit problems and reaches generalisation.

—Kindlasti mitte. Nagu siin juba märgiti, kahtlemata sellised tingimused või veelgi paremad tingimused on paljude teiste koolide juures. Aga peapõhjus on siiski passiivsus ja selles, et meie ei leia lihtsalt piisavalt inimesi, kellel oleks soovi ja tahtmist noortega tegeleda. Siin juba toodi näide, et paljud meie ettevõtete juhid leiavad alati võimalusi ütlemiseks, et nendel on küllaltki kitsad töötingimused, ei ole võimalusi noorteringide tööerakendamiseks. Kuid see on ainult praeguse, väga lühinägeliku pilguga vaatamine. Sest just need noored, kes praegu siin kõrvalruumis vestlevad, need on need noored, kes kujundavad meie vabariigi tööstuse ja teaduse palge kümne-viieteistkümne aasta pärast. Ja meie vabariigi pingelise tööbilansi juures on hea tehniline ettevalmistus alati vajalik. Ja kahtlemata mitmed need tootmisjuhid, kes praegu juhivad ettevõtteid, juhivad ka neid ettevõtteid võib-olla kümne-viieteistkümne aasta pärast. Ja siis nad löövad jällegi kahte kätt kokku, et — ei ole, ei ole võimalusi, ei saa teha. Aga tegelikult head võimalused nad läsevad sageli mööda.

—Milles Te näete väljapääsu? //533

A. Raukas: Väljapääs peab olema. Kõigepealt peaks üldistama nende vennasvabariikide, sotsialismimaade kogemused — siin toodi näitena Saksa Demokraatlik Vabariik; //534 kus see töö on tunduvalt paremini töstatatud. Neid tunduvalt rohkem valgustama meie vabariigi ajakirjanduse, raadio ja televisiooni kaudu.

[—Certainly not. As it was mentioned already, certainly there are such possibilities or even better ones at many schools. But the main reason is passiveness, we can't find enough people who would have the wish to deal with the young. A statement was already pronounced here that many leaders of our establishments always find a possibility to say that their working conditions are not good enough, there is no possibility to initiate the circles of young people. But this is a very narrow-sighted view. Because just these youths who are now talking in the next room, only they will shape our industry and science in 10-15 years. And by the strenuous work balance of our republic, good technical education is always necessary. And certainly many of these industry leaders who are now leading enterprises, will lead these companies and factories in 10-15 years. And then they will be complaining again that there are no possibilities, they cannot do anything. But good possibilities they will just let pass.

—Where do you see the solution? 533

A. Raukas: There must be a solution. First of all we have to generalize the experiences of the sister republics, the Socialist states — the German democratic Republic was given here as an example; 534 where this work has been arranged much better. We have to reflect them much more through the journalism, radio and television of our republic.]

The text analyses a field that was not open to public discussion though it was one of the most complicated problems socially. The question has been presented in a certain context without trying to broaden the problem. However, in reality the problem is common.

The Soviet symbol of the worker creating all values (the mythical 'Worker and woman from a kolkhoz') was in a difficult situation in the 1980s. Though all the CP issues bore an 'open slogan' - 'Workers of all countries, unite!' - the journalistic texts were not open to real collaboration. The backwardness of education and technology,

and suggestions for real method of making changes, do not reach the addressee as journalistic feedback. A strong demand for a change of social structure appeared, whereas journalism was seen as an important determinant of mediated experience: '... more than half of the population is or has been engaged in household jobs, bringing up children, handicraft craftsmanship, amateur art or sports; in other areas social labour distribution has produced numerous groups of people who have received or receive information about one another's work, efforts etc. only through other people, mass media and other ways, obtaining namely mediated experience' (Tamre 1980: 119).

Representation 15. Censorship as construction of interruption.

The irreversible decline of the mythical meaning system guarded by censorship began with the reflection of activities of the trade-union 'Solidarity' movement in Poland. One of the Soviet Union's most mythical words - 'Solidarity' - attained a new and, up to then, inconceivable meaning. The new usage of 'solidarity', one of the main concepts of Lenin's ideology, started to destroy the total symbolical environment. The new essence of the concept of solidarity, and through it the emptying of other ideological-mythological signs, accelerated the diffusion of the Soviet meaning system based on the workers solidarity.

To construct and keep up the fiction and present it as a fact was the task of the total censorship. Events occurred in the external/outer world that the Soviet public text either silenced or referred to as fictional. Elementary analyses of the Polish workers' movement 'Solidarity' in the Soviet public text were censored and reconstructed into a 'problem of the past', whose influence on the modern processes was textually interrupted by censorial control.

Kõikehõlmava propandapealetungi murtud selgroogu on püütud parandada Poola-plaastriga. Naaberriiis on tööpoolest keeruline ja raske olukord. Tegemist on mitte sotsialismi kui sellise kriisiga, vaid kriisiga-Poola +endises juhtimises ja juhtivates organites +kriisiga, nendes viisides kuidas Poolas sotsialismi põhimõtteid on tõlgendatud ja püütud +tõlgendati ja püüti//094 ellu viia. Poola juhid ja ajakirjandus rõhutavad praegu, et Poola suudab ise tulla toime oma raskustega. Seejuures tugineakse ka teiste sotsialistlike riikide abile – sealhulgas Nõukogude Liidu suurtele laenudele ja täiendavatele kaubasaadetistele. Tuleb tõdeda, et Lääne eriteenistustel on Poola sündmustes olnud märgatav roll. Tihti pole neil õnnestunud tegutseda kasutades ära kapitalistlike riikide ametiühinguliikumist. Nende ettevõtmisi esitatakse kui mingit "solidaarsust" Poola töölistega. Tööpoolest – Lääne-Euroopa ametiühingute võitluses on eri riikide töötajate vastastikusel toetusel sealhulgas streikide korral rahaliste vahendite saatmisel suur osa. Kui aga neid summastid kasutatakse selleks, et ühtesid töötajaid õhutada nõudma endale midagi töötajate arvel, tekitama riigis segadust, mille tõttu Poola tootmine on praegu langenud mitu aastat tahapoole?//095

Eriti suurt tähelepanu on Lääne propandakeskustes osutatud noortele – seda just sotsialistlike riikide vastu suunatud propandas.

[The broken spinal cord of the overwhelming propaganda attack was attempted to be cured using Polish plaster. The crisis of Socialism as such but crisis in Polish +previous/

~~leadership and the governing body +crisis in the way the Socialist principles have been interpreted and tried +were interpreted and tried 094 to apply. Polish leaders and journalism emphasize now what Poland can itself cope with its problems. In the situation Poland is supported by other Socialist states, including great loans and additional amount of goods from the Soviet Union. We have to admit that the Western special services have had a remarkable role in the Polish events. They have often acted, using the trade union movement of the Capitalist states. Their undertakings are presented as some "solidarity" with the Polish workers. Actually, in the fight of the West European trade unions the support of different states, including financial help in case of strikes, plays great role. But if these sums are used for propagating some workers to demand something for themselves at the cost of the others, to cause mess in the state, so that production in Poland has fallen to the level where it was several years ago? 095~~

Special attention in the Western propaganda centres has been devoted to young people, especially in the propaganda directed towards the Socialist countries.]

The above intervention represents the technique of how the censor constructed an interruption, i.e., how he disconnects the policies of the previous, guilty government from those of the new government that is able to solve the problems. The change of past perfect ('has been interpreted', 'has been tried') into simple past ('motivated', 'tried') decreases causality and influence on modern times.

Solidarity was a sign that started a series of events in reality, and this was not even allowed mention in the public text. The Soviet model of the world, the constructions 'own' and 'alien', etc., started to dissolve first in the public text, and after that in reality, in the real structure.

Representation 16. The meeting and reciprocal influence of the real and textual structure.

To the example of Polish 'solidarity', seven years later similar events in Estonia were added: meetings, MRP discussions, etc., the mentioning of which was forbidden by official censorship. The situation in which mention of real events in the public text was strictly forbidden continued for 3 more years, 1987-1990. The most remarkable example was a conflict in the public text itself. In the programme of a candidate for the Moscow Supreme Council, which was to be published in the media, included the phrase 'to eliminate from the Constitution § 6' (*Edasi*, 12.3.1989). This was a key paragraph, building up the whole state, asserting that power in the USSR belongs to the CPSU. This thought, the smallest hint of which editors and censors should have eliminated from the ordinary text, had to be published in the same censored journalism as 'the election platform of the deputy candidate'.

Conclusion.

Soviet ideology was spread in the public text by corresponding myths, the normative retaining of which in the public text was ensured by the work of controls and censors.

Though the Soviet public text was under the tight control of several censorship levels, it covertly included unstructural elements, the direct message of which had been eliminated but whose overall sentiment and structure were partially retained.

In the three last presented examples of text, which really did not reach the public text but which were included in the journalists' last variant, the question is not so much in the phrasing but in the essence of the message itself, since they together manifest the existence of 'management crisis'. Beyond the power and representation of the worker myth, one of the reasons for problems was the lack of adequate real analysis and prospective leadership. Generally, the situation prevailed in which a manager did not think of the future of his establishment in 15 years, but rather of ensuring for himself the post of manager for 15 years. Directives had lost their essential meaning and had become ironic, general concept 'directives'. Real international events were no longer controllable simply because they did not fit into the Soviet meaning system and world model.

Summary of methods that have used for editing and changing texts depicting work, worker, and working people.

Of the textual inversion methods the most often used ones were text deletion, text substitution, 'restructuring', and 'refocusing'. Discourses deleted from work and worker texts: (1) Worker presenting the real work; (2) crisis of industry management; (3) the theme of technical backwardness; (4) themes of dysfunctional supply systems and deficit of products. Limitations on the depiction of work, worker, and work problems. along with the system of respective censorial choices, reflects the crisis of ideology and community in the 1980s.

CHAPTER VIII

Transformation of functions of elements of text: Effects of textual transformation

In the present chapter, I explicate the relatedness of textual meaning and the transformation of textual function. Journalistic texts are characterised by the complexity of functions, and elements or parts of the text may serve various functions. Different texts, corresponding textual elements, (dialogue, criticism, propaganda, information, aesthetics, etc.; Ch. 4.3) have a certain combination of functions, which make it possible to regard most texts as polyfunctional.

The present study focuses on the concept of function at two levels:

1. *Textual level.* This refers to how the transformation of the meaning of text is related to functions, how the functions of text have been transformed. For this study, the functions of the *original* parts of the text and the *transformed* parts of the text have been fixed.

In the preliminary stage of the public text, one of the last activities is the controlling, limiting, and directing of the functions and imaginable effects of the public text (McQuail 2000: 426; Löhmus 1999). Textual intervention is conducted on the basis of specific *strategic principles*. This chapter, which presents the transforming functions of substituted or eliminated parts of texts, includes an overview of the main strategic principles of textual intervention (*visuring*) by addition, elimination, reversal, and/or reconstruction.

2. *Socio-functional level.* This concerns the purpose of the functional transformation. Although I deal mainly with the level of textual functions, the latter is also related to social structure as well as to general questions of community functions. In the third part of the chapter, an analysis of long-term effects, I try to determine which socio-functional transformation has been produced by the textual transformation.

I discuss textual transformation as the positivisation of texts. (1) I present the internal structural-functional transformation of the functions of textual transformation at the levels of individual, community, text and communication. (2) I determine the

function of textual transformation as post-textual guarantor of effects. (3) I argue that investigating the transformation of textual functions presupposes an understanding about the purpose of the functions.

This study does not discuss the functions of texts or analyse the changes of function at the level of social structures. This is because the available material seems to contain an insufficient amount of institutional references structuring the social continuum. Nevertheless, the material makes it possible to delineate some usual tendencies of presentation, control, and directing of the social continuum.

This chapter explains which functional transformations were produced in the practice of journalism, but we might also claim the opposite: that the Soviet public text had to serve and strengthen certain functions. The parts of the texts not guaranteed to do that were changed or eliminated.

8.1. Transformation of textual functions

Functional transformation, as understood here, is the difference between the original public text of the author and the final version of it transformed into a suitable form. Determinations have been made as to whether the transformations strengthen or weaken the given phenomenon. Functions have been determined as the functions of the original text and the functions of the changed text according to their occurrence in the passages of the text.

I have determined 20 textual functions (Ch. 4.2 and Figure 18). The 20 functions were selected on the basis of the materials and are thus representative of the typical functions of the Soviet text of the 1980s. Because the principles, extent and methods of text processing appear to be typical, I presume that the changes of function deriving from modification of the meaning of the texts are similarly typical in the context of the time.

The materials indicate that typically the 'original' text can be viewed as the initial stage of professional editing, and the textual functions present at this stage appear to be the *functions of professional journalism*. The changed text, on the other hand, may be regarded as a resulting *function of ideological control*, which is inherently at odds with the role of professional journalism. Thus determination of the functions of the changed text comprises the determination of the functions of textual intervention.

The aim of the survey is to identify changes in textual functions occurring during the transformation of the original journalistic text into its final censored version. For this purpose, a statistical analysis has been conducted. A pervasive finding was that the spectrum of functions of the original texts was wider and more variable, whereas the dominant functions of the final texts were purposefully delimited. In the course of transition from journalistic function to ideological the original 16%

(87 cases) of 'analysis of processes' and 0% of 'controlling, limiting of processes' has become 0.3% of 'analysis of processes' and 23% (130 cases) of 'controlling, limiting of processes'. In fact, the introduction of the ideological function into the structure and functions of the text is a prevalent feature in a large number of corrections. In the original versions the ideological function constituted 10% (53 cases), rising to as much as 26% to 33% (186 cases) after correction.

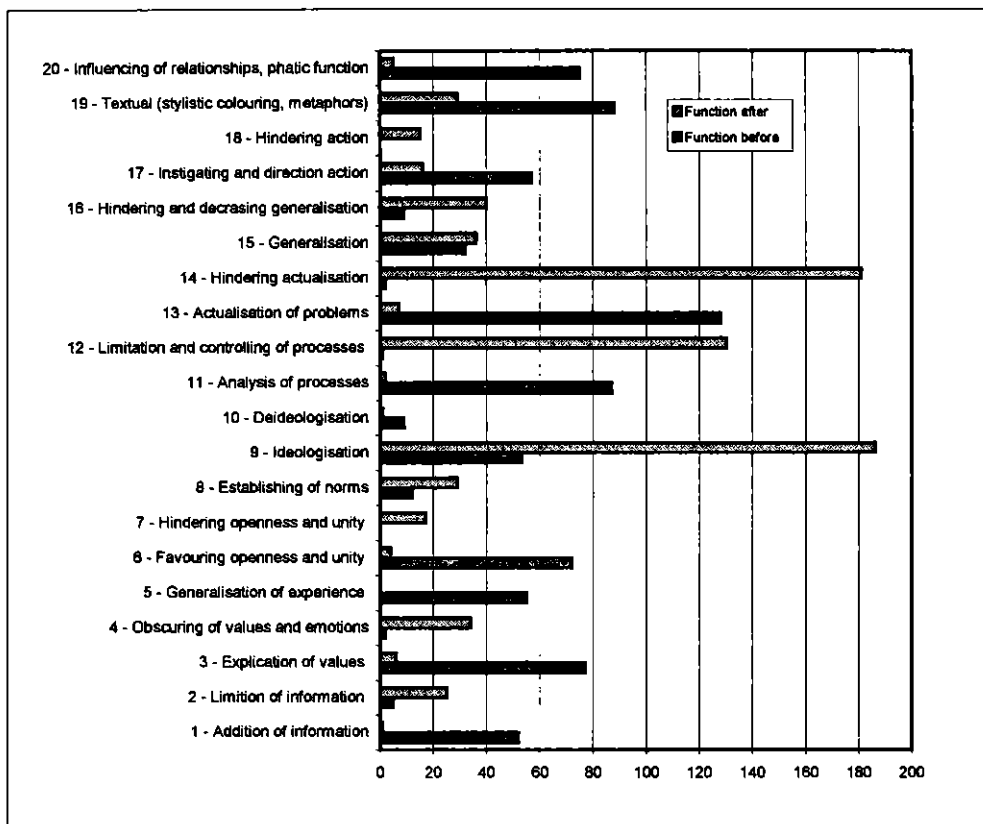
One of the central functions of journalism is to focus public awareness on social problems. The materials contain numerous examples where this function, initially fairly well represented, has been eliminated through deliberate and consistent mental intervention into the social texture of the community. In uncorrected texts, the raising and actualisation of problems occurred in 23% of cases; in corrected versions the situation was reversed, and the raising of problems fell to 1% and avoidance of actualization rose from 0.4% to 33%.

An important function of journalistic text is the creation of an open field, thus helping to create an open social field through approach to topics and the angle of approach. The fourth change observed is that the original functions favouring openness (13%) and those favouring hindering activity (0%), have, after being changed, in the first case decreased to 1% and in the second case increased to 3%.

Another function of journalism is to map the variety of possibilities for social activity and to present suitable forms of activity. The text samples that were investigated make it possible to claim that this function has been in conflict with ideological control that has removed most possibilities of free social behaviour from texts. 'Directing or favouring of social activity' decreased from 57(10%) to 16(3%) and appeared in the function of 'preventing de-actualisation of social behaviour' in 15(3%) cases.

Some of the established functions are realised only in their specific context. This way 'generalisation' may in some cases be connected with intensification of political colouring, but in other cases it may be used to avoid and obscure the presentation of a political phenomenon. The most ambivalent was the content of the functions of 'generalisation of the meaning' (6%) and 'decreasing of generalisation' (2%) in substitutable parts and in substituted parts (generalisation 7%, and decrease of generalisation 7%); the changes mainly went to altering the prescribed world model (Figure 18).

This analysis explicates the confrontation between textual functions created by professional editing and the limited, normative functions constructed by ideological control (Figure 18). Textual intervention has systematically eliminated the original *journalistic functions* of the public text: openness, activity, understanding of reality, understanding of processes, and memory.



Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

Figure 18. Comparison of the journalistic textual functions (before) to/with transformed textual functions (after).

Most interventions concerned such *new functions* as ideologisation (growth from 53 to 186), favouring adaptation to norms (from 12 to 29), avoiding actualisation and de-actualisation (from 3 to 181), controlling, limiting of processes (from 1 to 130). Analysis shows that person-centred functions have been turned to more formal and politicised ones.

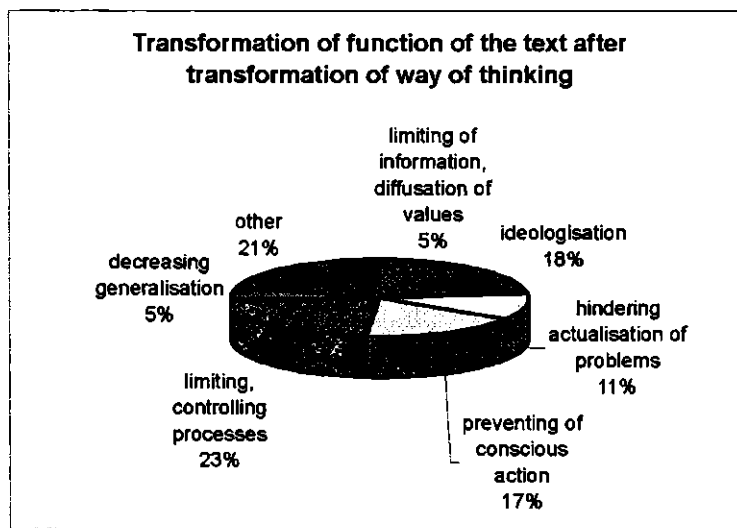
Changing the functions of the text through the changing of identity and way of thought of the changing of modality

Concerning the changes on the textual level, it is obvious that the texts have generally become less personal. The emerging rule is that the more politically prominent the topics and persons concerned, the less the individual, characteristic features and emotions of the speaker are retained. This observation points to a typical tendency; namely, that the principles of preliminary processing of texts of a totalitarian society are fundamentally different from the principles of democratic text

production (Bell 1991). Bell has claimed that in the democratic tradition texts are designed as personified and close. A similar tendency is to present politically significant events and meanings as close to the recipient. In the texts analysed, this strategy is represented by personification of society and the display of mythologized political history (e.g., the 1917 Russian Revolution, the 1940 communist coup in Estonia) as if contemporary.

The relation between the way of thought and identity of the actor and the functions of the text can be observed in situations where the transformation of the actor's way of thinking has brought about transformation of the functions of the text. The functions most concomitant with the transformation of the way of thinking are 'limitation and controlling of processes', 'ideologisation', 'hindering consciousness and deactualisation', 'avoiding problems', 'obscuring of values', 'decreasing generalisation'. Thus, the functions, after *visuring* through 'transformation of the way of thought', were distributed as follows: 23% controlling and limiting processes, 18% ideologisation, 17% hindering consciousness and de-actualisation, 11% avoiding problems, 5% diffusing knowledge values and 21% other (Figure 19).

The analysis revealed that determination of changes of functions is connected with defining of changes of various details and elements that form the basis of functional change. Thus, determination of the actor's way of thinking (preferred mode of cognition of reality and mode of expression) may yield a wider picture of the transformation of more general functions accompanying this change (Figure 19).



Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

Figure 19. Transformation of functions of the text after transformation of way of thinking.

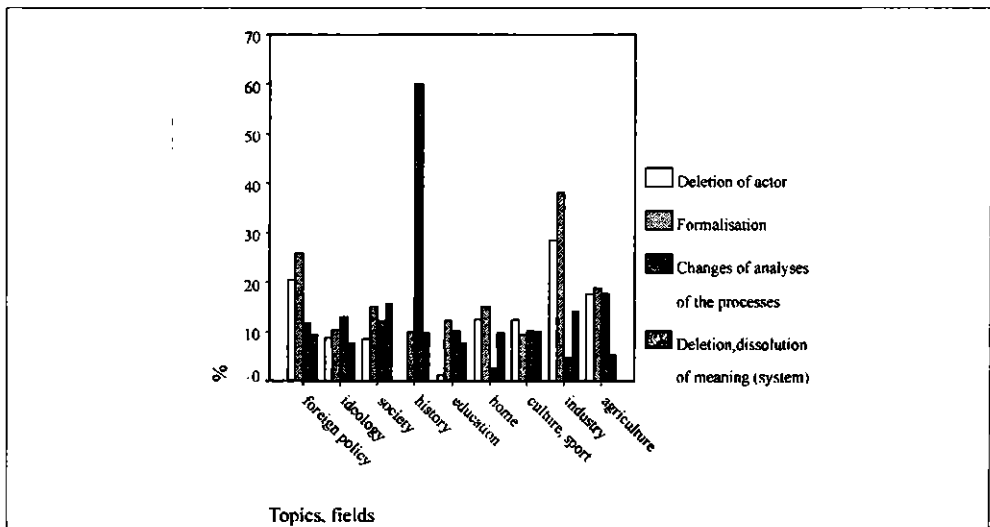
Change of modality is the other distinct change that leads to the transformation of the functions of the text. The weakening or strengthening of modality is connected

with the function of 'adaptation to norms'. Change of modality occurs in 20 cases (modality is weakened in 17 cases and strengthened in 3 cases), and does not occur in 9 cases. The transformation of modality also forms the basis for 2/5 of 'ideologisation' and 1/3 of 'controlling and limitation of processes' of functions (Figure 13).

The analysis also shows that the frequent and typical changes of modality lead to the change of various functions or were themselves caused by functional changes. Close connections existed between 'transformation modality' and function of 'favouring adaptation to the norms'. We can conclude that the changes in functions were purposefully directed towards the 'establishing and adaptation of norms'.

Formalisation, institutionalisation and substituting the performer with an impersonal form

My analysis reveals that formalisation was closely connected with political socialisation and was one of the most widespread methods. The most common transformation of the text is *formalisation* (126 cases or 22.7% of all substantial transformations N=556), including *replacing the performer with the impersonal form* (99 cases or 18%) and *institutionalisation* (60 or 11%).



Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

Figure 20. Textual changes done by ideological control (*visuur*). 'Deletion of actor', 'Formalisation', 'Changes of analyses of the processes', 'Deletion, dissolution of meaning (system)' across different topics.

In changes made to functions, the actor is most often eliminated when the topics concern industry, agriculture, and foreign policy. Textual formalisation is particularly apparent in the handling of topics of industry and foreign policy. In the case of topics

of history the analysis of processes is frequently hindered or changed. Obscuring and dispersion of meanings and meaning systems is prevalent in topics of industry and social issues (Figure 20). The changes did not concern the textual level only, but more widely the world-model that the text represented.

After institutionalisation, a significant change in the text is the transformation of the character of the performer in the text. Weakening the performer's quality by replacing it with an impersonal form occurred in 99 cases or 18% of the substantial transformation (comp. Figures 21 and 22). Was the ideological aim to create a weak person? Why? Was it a part of the process of 'formalisation-ideologisation', to transform certain human ideas into those of the 'epoch'?

We can analyse the process of formalisation on various levels: performers, content, and form. In several cases, *formalisation has also transformed genres*, including the texts as a whole. The transformation of genre can be noticed in longer propaganda broadcasts such as *Teooria ja tänapäev (Theory and Today)*, a generically conversational broadcast that was turned into a radio lecture. Typical formalisation as formal change is the *limitation of dialogue*: dialogue is replaced by monologue. This formal transformation has substantial influence on reception, because it lacks the 'contextual' nuance needed for decoding of the content's message. In a closed society, the formal elements of the text have meaning as elements of the content because of their high-level signification and their serving as a code to their context. The transformation of the genre 'dialogue' into 'monologue' includes the message to avoid the actualisation of dialogic elements in these circumstances and in topics making an institutional statement: texts presented as the representation of the Party on the everyday textual level are not meant to be argued about nor discussed in conversation.

The implicit contact between the author and the recipient relayed through the text is an important basis of journalistic text. That contact is attained by means of subjective and personal charisma - presence of the person, his/her mental world, including remembering, comparison of different situations, analysis of his/her own experience. The ability to gain and manage this type of influential contact was considered to be a criterion of professionalism for the journalist. In textual intervention personal memories are often deleted, thereby indirectly lessening the implicit contact of the author with the audience.

Transforming of formal elements is, in the situation of tense *semiosis*, substantially influential; transformation significantly influences the code of the text and thus the interpretation of the whole sign and meaning.

Table 22. Summary of the main functional changes. Systematic modifications of original journalistic functions of public text. (N=556).

Original function	New function	Change of function	No. of cases, before	No. of cases, after	% of cases N=556 before	% of cases N=556 after
Understanding the reality (experience)		limitation and definition of reality	55	0	10%	0
	Ideologisation		53	186	9.5%	33%
Understanding processes, (experience)		Avoidance of analysis of social processes	87	2	18%	.4%
	Selection and control of reality/processes	Control (selection, limitation and definition) of processes	1	130	.2%	23%
Performer/actor exists	Impersonal form, formalisation	Substitution of actor with impersonal form; Creating anonymity	99	0	18%	0
Remembering; Person's memory		Elimination of valuation of person's memory, remembering of experience and its practical use for comparisons; removal of actualisation of experience	123	0	22%	0
	Forgetting, avoidance of actualisation	Hampering of use of memory for content; De-actualisation.	2	177	.2%	32%
Activity	Passivity; controlled activity	Direction of activity, passivisation	57	18	10%	3%
Openness, relations		Diminishing of openness	72	4	13%	1%
	Closeness	Restriction of communicative space and communication	75	5	13%	1%

Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

The direction of the functional transformation (Table 22) brought about by textual transformation can be observed in the column 'New function'. The dominant functional transformations are 'Ideologisation' and 'Controlling of reality presentation and processes'. Dominant factors in diminishing and deletion as negative functional transformation are 'de-actualisation', decrease of the participation and the activity of the text, increase of passivity, and the replacement of open with closed communication.

8.2. Functions of textual transformations

The for intervention to strengthen the obtained textual functions include: ideologisation, political socialisation, reinforcement of the Soviet world model, institutionalised representation of power, dispersion and obscuring of doubts, and the proving of mythologies (Ch. 6). The main functions of intervention brought in the course of transformation of the text are as follows: (1) Strengthening the ideological approach, including the world model and mythologies in force (Figure 15), weakening of the actor's identity, identification and personality; (2) diminishing the ambivalence and negativity of the text's general approach or tone; increasing positivity; (3) minimising of communicative space and activity, increasing formality and official structures. These functions of textual intervention are inherently in contrast to the role and functions of professional journalism, since the purpose of these is not the exchange of actual experience, but the opposite – the avoidance of such representation and enhancement of normativity at different levels. In sum, this establishes and emphasizes the 'normative structure of public text' (Figure 18, column of function before changes). Hence, the most frequent process of limitation is the limiting of the *journalistic representation of human cognitive, socially participating values and functions*.¹

Formalisation, where an increase of ideology joins politicising in the strengthening of myths, is connected to the function of controlling the conceptual system and world model; it reduces textual concepts to enforce the Soviet world model. In direct correlation with this is the weakening of performer quality and identity, which are replaced with impersonal form, the limiting of real experience, actual unifying connections and activity, replacing the agent with an anonymous nomination of action.

In the second kind of intervention, positivisation is in a reciprocal relationship with the decrease or deletion from the texts of ambivalence, neutrality, and negativity.

In the third case - minimisation of communicative space - formalisation, anonymity, and institutionalisation are in correlation with the decrease of communication and making the text less personal.

8.2.1. Ideologisation through enforcement of normative model

The analysis demonstrated that 'ideologisation' is one of the central aims of the transforming process. The 10% proportion of the ideological function before transformation rose to 33% in the changed text. (Table 22). Construction or reversal of myths (112 cases) assures that the ideological aspect of public text is its normative role, expressed mainly through historical events, foreign affairs, ideological and

industrial topics (Figure 16). The specifically controlled normative model as a form of public text consistently served to influence the context and to 'order reality'.

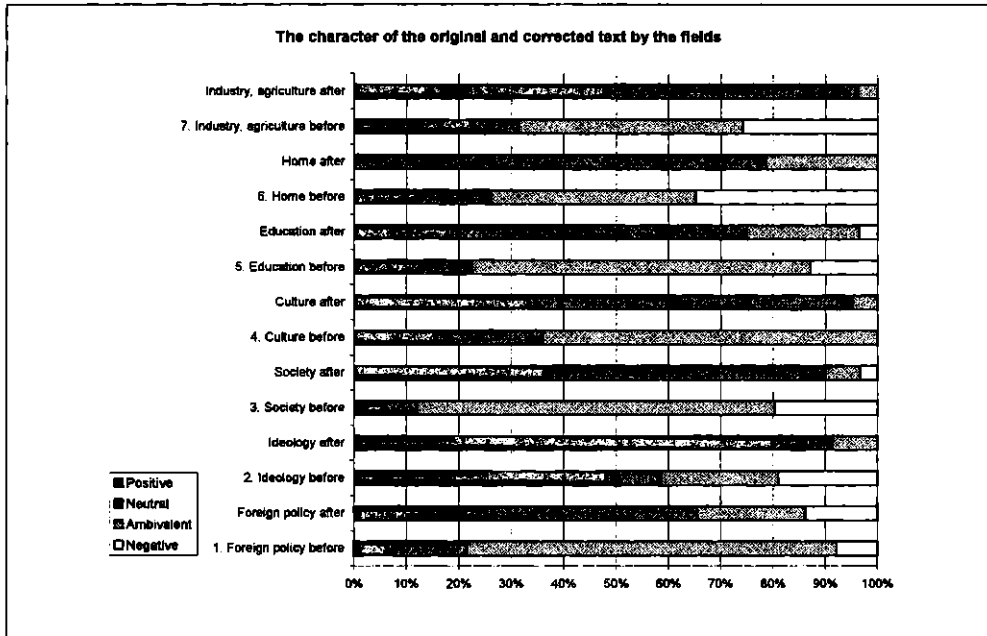
From a broader perspective, ideologisation means the politicisation of the daily environment and its sign system, whereby the ideologised reality is presented as natural and self-evident. Ideologisation had the very special function of immunisation and building protective barriers against alien 'counter-meanings'.

8.2.2. Positivisation

The most general tendency in changing the texts is the transforming of the substance and general attitude of the texts in a more positive direction. A typical tendency of transformation was to increase the positivity of the whole text (Ch. 6). Increased positivity may be ascribed also to another process, namely the decreasing or elimination of ambiguity, which can be seen as a concomitant phenomenon to the addition of positivity *per se*. (On textual practices of avoiding ambivalence, see Ch. 6.3-6.8; general positivisation is compared with the positivisation of myths in Ch. 6.2.)

In my sample, original positivity was retained through final *visuring* in 75% of cases; changes to neutrality occurred in 17% of cases; to ambivalence in 4%; and to negativity in 4% of instances. The patterns of percentages for originally ambivalent and originally neutral text are remarkably alike. Of the originally neutral texts, 38% were changed to positive, 53% remained neutral, and 9% became ambivalent. Of the originally ambivalent texts, 35% were changed to positive, 54% to neutral, and 9% remained ambivalent. Of the originally negative texts, 42% were made positive, 44% neutral, 11% ambivalent, and 3% remained negative.

Figure 21 shows the functional changes of the texts as the positivisation of different topics. Positivisation was most noticeable in topics of foreign policy, ideology, social matters, culture, and home/education (Figure 21).² The most frequent change involved decreasing negativity (from 100% to 13%) and ambivalence (to 34%), whereas neutrality and positivity increased to 250% and 180%, respectively. The impact of these topics in the social and political context of the time is shown by the fact that these contain the greatest number of corrections. The analysis by fields reveals that most of the changes occur in foreign policy, society, ideology and culture, education fields; agriculture is added, as a field combining actual reality and work myths.³ The social function of increasing positivity was to boost social optimism and inculcate the desired kinds of social activity.



Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

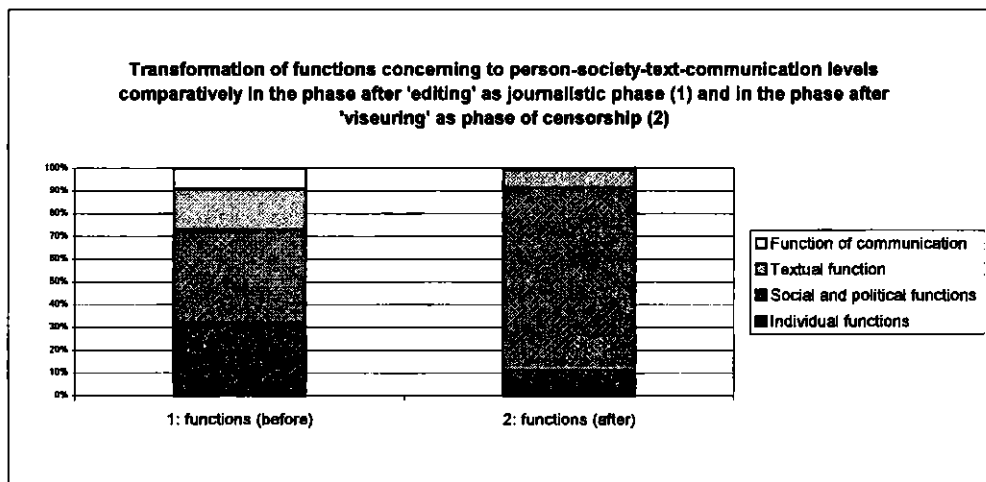
Figure 21. Transformations of the character of the text produced by ideological control (*visearing*). Growth of positivity reflected as change of function across different topics.

8.2.3. Changes of functional interrelationships between the levels of person, society, text, and communication

This section considers various changes of functional interrelationships between the levels of person, society, text and communication. The main indicators of textual intervention are strengthening and expanding of social and political functions paired with weakening and limitation of functions of the person, communication and text. The function of textual transformation can be regarded as a pattern of interrelationships between the individual, communal, textual and communication levels. The data on specific textual corrections that have lead to functional change make it possible to claim that the change has also affected the levels of *person, community, text and communication*.

My analysis has revealed that in the journalistic preliminary text stage before the *viseurs's* control, in the substitutable part of the text appeared to dominate the social (326), individual (261), textual (145) and communicative levels of functions (73). After the controlling of the text the functional meaning, general disposition of the substituted or eliminated parts of the text has turned considerably more social (in up to 603 determined cases). The occurrence of the social-considered function has increased 85%, the function considering the individual has decreased 67% (from 261 to 86).

Of the changed parts of the text, 145 cases carried originally function-considered textuality and 73 cases with communicative aim. Function related to the text had decreased 59% (from 145 to 60), different textually, mentally fresh, styled, nuances or aspects were eliminated; communicational function had decreased 93% (from 73 cases to 5), i.e. fair communication has been eliminated. (See also Figure 22.)



Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

Figure 22. Transformation of functions concerning to the levels of *person–society–text* and *communication*.

Figure 22 compares the changing of texts, with the functional composition 'before' (left column) and 'after' (right column). The functional composition before change reflects the original text after professional journalistic editing; the composition after editing reflects the impact of ideological control (*viseuring*).

In the *viseured* texts, human and personal functions, those of an aesthetic or nature, and implicit communicational functions present have considerably eliminated from the texts. Elimination or transformation of unsuitable parts of the text has considerably increased socio-political functions (institutionalisation, etc.) in the journalistic texts, making them more formal (cf. formalisation). Enforcement of the social-political functions, for example, by weakening the person's quality and replacing it with an impersonal form, has been achieved by the decrease, redirection, refocusing, and so on of the textual functions related to personal identity. The same aim is achieved by the opposite process: personification of the community.

The new functions of Soviet media texts fulfilled their propagandist function by creating implicit roles for the author and the recipient through the simultaneous reorganization of their structural relationships.

Strategic principles

The techniques of textual intervention into functionality can be generalised by dividing them across levels, and by analysing which strategic principles have dominated on which levels. This division is based on the original functional levels, listed together with the most frequent strategies of change.

Table 23 lists the strategies of textual intervention made according to specific principles.

Table 23. Strategies of textual intervention across levels of changes of social-personal-textual-communication functions used by ideological control (*viseur*).

Type of intervention	Strategies of intervention at social level	Strategies of intervention at person level	Strategies of intervention at text level	Strategies of intervention at communication level
Approaches involving elimination	Elimination of: ambiguity, criticism, objectivity, openness, actualisation of social problems, undesirable generalisations and ideology suppression of problems and social activity	Elimination of: personal identity features, personal experience, focalisation, discussion, integrity of personality, person's activity, creativity, spontaneity, consistency, receptive communicative attitude, generalisation of everyday practice, emotions, evaluation, memories	Elimination of: Ambiguity, aesthetic function, metaphors, intensity, symbols, connotations.	Elimination of: spontaneous reactions, phatic function, emotions, connotations, closeness and trust, connections of author with audience
Approaches involving addition	Ideologisation Generalisation Positivation Institutionalisation Formalisation Disorientation Deactualisation Marginalisation Passivisation Addition of social myth Personification	Passivisation Normativity Marginalisation Disorientation	Stereotypisation Extension of meaning Biasing of modality	
Approaches involving reversal and reconstruction	Reversal of meaning systems through: change or redirection of processes, concealing and reversal of mechanisms of classification, refocusing reversal of cause – effect relations and logic of thought	Reversal of: presentation of persons, context of references. (All elements that were eliminated at person level could also be reversed)	Reversal of: modality main meaning of narrative, connotation Construction of new logic. Reconstruction of genre. Closing of open text .	Reconstruction of dialogue as monologue.

Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

It should be pointed out that cases of elimination or 'negative addition', whereby the added feature actually served to downgrade the phenomenon in question, were most numerous in my data. Various elimination strategies were used particularly often at the person level.

6.2.4. Post-textual effects

Post-textual changes can be described through the conceptual apparatus of propaganda, social influence, and practical psychology. Encoding and classification of editorial changes made in radio broadcasts make it possible to define and generalise the main post-textual effects ensuing from textual intervention. The results of the analysis of post-textual effects are presented in Table 24.

It is obvious that considerations concerning post-textual changes, as envisioned effects over a long period, influenced changes made to the texts. Vigilance was obligatory for censors, and they received explicit instructions. The attained post-textual changes can be classified into three groups based on whether *elimination*, *addition* or *reversal* was involved. The common aim of all three approaches was to influence thinking, to reconstruct the logic of cause-effect relations, and to shape a certain desired model of automatic interpretation.

The weakening of analytical processes was one of the central post-textual functions. Cases of weakening can be subgrouped as follows: *redirection* (79 cases) or *change* (53 cases) *of the character of relations or processes*, *concealment of the basis of classification* (33 cases), *impoverishment of presentation* (22 cases). Thus, it appears that one of the central post-functions of the Soviet public media text was to transform the way in which processes were analysed.

We can classify the changing of processes and methods on three levels (Ch 2.4; and Gerbner 1956, 1969): (1) the existential level involving actual phenomena; (2) the level of processes and connections; (3) the level of achieving the desired long-term effects.

My analysis has revealed that among the new post-functions of the changed texts the dominant functions were the change of argumentation to normative format (44 cases), the presentation of ideas as absolute norms (27), refocusing of text (55), avoidance of reference to processes and phenomena (52), reorganisation of the meaning system (35), and consistent introduction of faulty logic (45). The post-functions also involved the construction of new ideas, e.g., the creation of new conceptual frames (15), establishment of new cause-effect relations (41), elimination of essential character of the text (27), elimination of problems implicitly referred to in texts (37), and the establishing of social myths (31).

One of the objectives in planning post-textual effects is the transformation of the public mind. The ideology on the background of such planning holds that text structures can be transferred into recipient structures (Fowler). In a positive context, this ideology largely originates from the reinforcement of cultural, educational, and other such values through, say, fiction. Any text presented in a human voice possesses a particular quality of live sincerity, which can produce a convincing impression on the recipient, who assumes that such a text must be 'true'. When such text is changed,

the outcome actualises discourses that may be quite different from the original framework.

Table 24. Introduction of post-textual effects harmonized with the political structure of the society.

Type of level	Element affected by change	Post-textual effects of change	No. of cases	% of cases (N=556)
Existential	Focus	Refocusing of text	55	10%
	Structural system	Concealment of classificatory basis	33	6%
	Meaning system	Reorganisation of meaning system	35	8.3%
	Norms	Removal of development of arguments, presentation of ideas as absolute norms	27	5%
Processes	Direction	Reversal of direction of processes	79	14%
	Message	Change of main message	53	9.5%
	Reference	Avoidance of reference to certain processes-phenomena	52	9.4%
	Tacit norms	Change of argumentation to normative format	44	8%
Long-term effects	Logic	Consistent introduction of erroneous logic	45	8%
	Framework of causality	Introduction of preferred causality relationships	41	7.4%
	Paradigms of reality	Impoverishment/restriction of presentation	22	4%
	Normal, unmythologised text	Establishing of social myths	31	5.6%

Source: Transcripts of broadcasts of Estonian Radio in late 1970s and early 1980s, Archives of Estonian Radio.

Such legitimised public texts may surround a person totally, emanating from all the public channels and throughout one's entire life, and supporting the controlled semantic dimensions of public text. Censorship creates a virtual textual world by imposing structures on the public text and repeating those structures in multiple versions, as focalised by different persons and at different times. In this way, the transference of such text has a total and long-lasting influence, and it includes all the forms and sources of the public text. *The long-term effect of the public texts in a closed society* lies in their complexity and in the lack of alternatives over a long time.

What are the functions of the public meaning?

Comparing processes of *media effect and typology* (Golding 1981; McQuail 2000: 425-426), which distinguish different concepts of news and its effects, I can argue that many essential differences between those process as compared to long-term effects. The changes or alterations in the text are intentional and have been done systematically and structurally. I can map the long-term effects indicating 'policy' of the medium concerned. In the construction of normative media, there existed more intentionally planned effects for long-term influence than shown in Golding's 'typology of media effects'. 'Effects can be located on two dimensions: that of time span and that of intentionality' (McQuail 2000: 426). By the corrections of imagined

effects of text, we can argue the higher level of 'planned effects' included the selection of presentation framework, agenda setting, distribution of knowledge, socialisation, social control, defining reality and construction of meaning, event outcomes, and even collective reactions. Unplanned effects (including concealed internal confrontations) were individual reactions, both in the short-term and long-term field or reaction. The same situation obtained in institutional transformation. Most strict was the planned effect of cultural transformation: transforming the individual's identity in that of the Soviet people. At the same time, this was an area of strong individual resistance, which made necessary the development of identity-projects (Castells 1997: 6-8). Strong meanings, concerning media-effects in totalitarian practice, were put into social mythology and heroes to stimulate emotional identification, which was especially manipulative; these meanings were meant to have recurrent effects and long-time influences. (See Table 24. A comparative typology of media effects.)

My data indicate that *Schramm's communication model* (Ch. 2.4) only partially works in the observed practices. Firstly, according to Schramm communication involves the dichotomy of informing and understanding. My data include numerous cases where the function of informing has been partially or fully replaced by orientation to creation of a directed social worldview. Such changes comprise formalisation of texts, thereby detracting from focus on the individual. Second, Schramm defines communication as a process of mutual teaching and learning which happens between the individual and the society. The 'teaching' that actually takes place through censored texts employs definitions and attitude that are so rigorous that they can serve only to perpetuate the existing social order and not society as a developing community. Third, for Schramm, the public text typically aims to downplay possible social problems and replace them with more relaxing issues. In Soviet practice, more or less the opposite occurred: the aim of such texts was to create harmless low-level social problems and keep them in the public eye in order to avoid focusing on really urgent problems. Thus real social interest was neutralised, and simultaneously, the inherent need of citizens to solve problems was satisfied. Yet, this practice had also another side to it. While the public was trained to deal with small issues, it inevitably lost the methodological expertise to face challenges of real importance. Thus a constant danger existed that these skills may be abused for raising unwanted questions. Lastly, for Schramm the public text should serve as instructions in ways the individual can achieve social acceptance in different social domains. Since in the Soviet public text many social domains simply did not exist, the latter function could be performed only partially.

Notes to Chapter VIII

¹ It includes limitation of individual functions and identity, of spatial or temporal objectivity, of textual functions, of ambiguity and criticism, of communicative functions; controlling, limiting and analysis of social processes, social reality and everyday practice (Figure 18, Figure 20).

It is especially notable in certain fields, for example foreign policy etc. My analysis has revealed that in the case of the *foreign policy* thematic, incorrect parts of the text with textual function are problematic (decreased from original 31 cases to 0), analysing processes (from 24 to 0), informing (11 to 1), ideologisation (9 to 32), discussing problems (8 to 0), generalising the personal experience (7 to 0).

² The character of the original and the changed text across topics (adjacent columns depict the same topic before and after change).

³ **Foreign policy.** Among the fields, the greatest changes occurred in the *foreign policy* themes – decrease of ambivalence (from 36 cases to 6), elimination of negativity in the ideology and community themes (respectively from 11 to 0 and from 13 to 2). The difference consists of the ambivalence of the ideology and community texts, of which there were 13 in the original version of the ideology texts and 45 in the community texts. It can be explained with the developed textual forms of the ideological canons, while talking about the community was based on the real practice of the speakers.

Ideology. Thus, of the changeable parts of the text in the *ideology* texts there are originally 11 negative, 13 ambivalent, 6 neutral and 28 positive cases; after changing the text the general picture includes 0 negative, 4 ambivalent, 5 neutral and 37 positive attitudes. The number of the cases is 58, where in the changed versions this has been reduced to 46. The difference shows the real number of the textual parts eliminated.

Community. The original 13 negative, 45 ambivalent, 4 neutral and 4 positive cases of the *community* texts (all in all 66 cases) have been turned after change into 2 negative, 4 ambivalent, 32 neutral and 22 positive (all in all 60 cases).

In the case of *educational, domestic, cultural* and *agricultural* topics, the dominant type of change is from ambivalent to neutral (e.g. for education the originally 20 ambivalent and 2 neutral cases yielded 6 ambivalent and 16 neutral cases).

CHAPTER IX

Final discussions

9.1. Textual transformation in the journalistic process

This study has aimed to clarify the processes involved in producing the public text. Although the public text is normally presented as an element of the democratic public sphere, the question raises the issue of planned intervention in the text production process in different stages and in different forms. Even though the public text has been often presented as strictly public in nature, there is a problem here in the secrecy of its production process. This secrecy has often been concealed from the public and thus difficult to study. The question is about the relations between the individual and society, where public texts have an especially important role.

An impressive practical example of textual intervention is the journalistic process of Soviet public text production, an area where several different forms of control have simultaneously operated, both direct – as censorship – and indirect – as *visouring*, editing, discussion, technical arrangement, etc. I have focused on the transformation of texts in the last stage of textual preparation in Soviet journalistic practice at the beginning of the 1980s. In the present study, I have asked questions regarding the strategies for influencing public texts – as to how these texts are produced and how the content of these texts is transformed by different agencies of control. I have raised these questions at the theoretical as well as practical levels. My analysis included the theoretical-conceptual setting of the problem, analysis of historical context, and empirical material.

I considered this theme relevant to study now because the present changes in the Estonian society and media are giving us a clearer perspective from which to define and analyse texts from the (historical) epoch that has just passed. The changed context enables us to see the texts from the past more clearly as against the background of their social context.

It was necessary to construct a theoretical framework for detailed discussion of the phenomena, so as to see these phenomena not only in ideological context but also

in a wider one, which integrates aspects of text production into the culture- and meaning-producing frame. Looking at the process of textual production both in its particular historical context and in the more philosophical context of public-text norms opens an opportunity for comparative intercultural and intertextual approaches. By opening space for different views on the public text, media research can be useful in finding indicators of changing times and regimes. During such transitions, the functions, meanings and roles of public texts may be repeatedly redefined.

9.2. Reflections on the previous chapters

In the Introduction I set up the field and paradigm for my study: to contextualise and theorise the journalistic practice of content production in the form of the public text. My starting point was that traditional theories of Soviet journalism have not been able to understand both overt and covert, meaningful details of totalitarian journalistic practice. The prevailing methods have hindered the development of types of critical approaches to the Soviet model of journalistic texts. Their analysis has often only demonstrated examples corresponding to concepts defined beforehand.

Above all, I pointed out the lack of methodical tools for analysing the dynamic relationships between the *macrolevel* characteristics of societal systems (e.g., totalitarian regimes) and *microlevel transformational processes* carried out inside the textual structures submitted to totalitarian control. Hence, the present study faced the challenge of deriving a methodology that would enable the disclosure of processes of ideological textual transformation that took place inside the media under those circumstances. The study presents an application of the socio-semiotic methodology in order to discover relationships between the *structural transformation* of the content and *transformation of the intended functionality* of the texts. This approach opens a perspective from which to understand the nature of the *institutional* and *structural control* over the media texts, which is directed towards the preservation of the normative functions of the texts.

In Chapter II, I designed and explained the communication-theoretical field and the concepts necessary for the study. My approach to *public text* is as a *discursive practice*, a part of social processes. It is a collective text that is commonly understandable in its *context*. It is a shared text through the meaning visible collectively. The public text may influence both *individual* and *collective identity*, as well as definitions and interpretations of phenomena and processes. My presupposition was that the public text is connected with different types of normativeness.

In order to make the field more visible, I designed systematic terms for the context of the field, the latter being the conditions, participants, objects, processes and effects to be dealt with. After that, the *external* and *internal fields of symbolic conflict* and frontiers for public texts, and the *transforming* and *projecting of meaning-systems* were discussed. As levels of political 'acceptance' of the textual spheres, I defined the divisions as '*the sphere of consensus*', '*the sphere of legitimate controversy*' and '*the sphere of deviance*' (divisions originating from Hallin 1986), which seemed to be of universal application. The system presented prepared my approach to the phenomenon of the transformed public text. My presupposition was that, if a certain text was not suitable for publication, then the elements of that text were turned towards more acceptable spheres.

Regarding the concealed aspects of journalistic texts, I consider such things as the unclear identity of the author, the possibility of ghost-writers, and *anonymity*, although an author's name may appear. In reality, that question is as significant as the textual one, but in this overview that problem was not focused upon. The institutional process includes different censorial agencies and transformational levels for modifying the text. This institutional process for *ideological textual transformation* after the work of the author I have called *textual intervention*.

Chapter III presented a historical analysis of the functioning of Soviet communication as a new type of repressive organ. I have understood '*myth*' and '*mythology*' as a mode of *mental construction in society*, which holds in place the meaning system, and rationalises and motivates the social behaviour of members of the collective. In introducing the Soviet communication field, I systemised Soviet mythology as the Soviet normative model for regulating the flow of text. The prevailing ideological paradigm was typically based on eight myths: (1) the *creator Lenin and the Party* and Marx-Engels as their predecessors; (2) the *victory of the Great Soviet Socialist Revolution (Russian Revolution)* and of a *new era*; (3) the *historical progression of socialism and communist world revolution*, and the *communist future*; this mythological system was finally shaped after WW II; (4) the myth of the *Great Patriotic War*, and the invincibility of the Soviet Union who had numerous 'enemies over there'; (5) the myth of the *Soviet republics as a unified family*; (6) the myth of *labour* and constant *improvement of the Soviet economy*; (7) the myth of the *working class as a leading power*'; (8) the myth of the *free and happy Soviet people* and the new type of human being.

I focused on the production and control (transformation) of the texts of the last, decaying stage of Soviet communication using, the example of Estonian Radio in the 1980s. *Soviet political discourse* dominated the *mainstream* channels and programmes, and *journalistic discourse* was primarily presented in *off-stream* venues. In sum, an extremely sensitive and self-conscious relationship was forged between the media channels, programmes, content, and the audience. Editors were decidedly aware of

the existing confrontations. In the 1980s, journalistic discourse became stronger and more active, as a younger generation of journalists emerged and an urgent need for new definition was developing in society.

Editing is the main shift in the journalistic process, mediating between the social structure, real interaction, and text-producing levels. Editing connected these levels, acting in both directions. The role of the editor was to take charge of the situation – the actual content of mass media depended largely on the work of editors, as dictated by their choices and interpretations. As a mediator between these two spheres, the editor carried out a significant transformation.* The structure of social relations and the structure of public texts were placed in correlation. In substance, editing is a normative function, which consists of different activities. The most important ones are the selecting, naming and interpretation of phenomena, describing the phenomena, and modifying a certain world model through their contextualisation. One of the central issues of society, culture, and journalism, is that of the interpretation of phenomena. Interpretation is also the focus in editing.

In Soviet practice in the 1970s–1980s, the editor was responsible for the whole process of making the broadcast, from finding the material and theme up to censoring the final broadcast and presentation. The activity of editing can be viewed as a social phenomenon against the background of complex, politicised societal relations. In the 1980s, the former technical function of the editor had developed into the role of official decision-maker; the editor had become a part of the institution. The process of editing and control of Soviet journalistic text (at the stages of pre-text, text and post-text) were planning, performing, filtering (editing), selection of presentation frame, pre-censoring, performing, listening and post-censoring. Practical editing in closed Soviet journalism implicitly meant playing several different, even contradictory roles in the journalistic process. The close relations between editing and censorship suggests a reason for considering these terms in certain cases as synonyms, though in the media process, the editor preparing the text and the supervising *visieur* were on different levels. *Visieuring* in journalism was based on the fear of censorship. But identification and synonymy gave an integrating effect that helped to soothe the sharp opposition of functions in practice and avoid possible problems, thus blurring the boundaries between the two roles and making them ambivalent. These different roles could be renamed or concealed in everyday routine. In *visieuring* as censorial editing, a *double censorship* is carried out, using a text as material for presenting the prepared text; the original text has been destroyed and thus eliminated from becoming a public text. My hope is that one of the more vital results of my analysis was in the revealing of textual interventions and covert methods of censorship (Chs. 5, 6, 8).

* According to interviews, the problem of the editor's identity is crucial for the editor himself, although it is seldom directly discussed. Identity is linked to origin, activities and professionalism. Especially important are choices, principles and a clear insight into one's situation.

The analysis of specifics of Soviet journalism reveals an interesting controversy in the journalism of the 1980s. The bending of texts towards political discourse happened in a situation where current practices focussed attention on the reception of meanings, which was formulated officially as 'what the listener wants'. In their work, professional journalists took guidance from the actual *reception* of texts. Ideology officials used the same claim to bolster their demands, although their audience, whose interests were defended, consisted mainly of party officials. It was in view of adequate reception that serious journalists and editors were ready for their daily struggle with forms of institutional and structural censorship. The party's political text *production* was interested in correspondence of texts to the norms of *model texts*, but actual obedience to those norms would have turned the audiences away from such texts. And this was something that the practical controllers of journalism did not want. Therefore, certain textual concessions were inevitable. The late Soviet practices typically represented an intermediate form between a *production-* and *reception-*centred text process. It was formally determined by the rules of production, while the content was enriched by journalistic ambiguity and through testing the 'boundaries' of the semiotic field. The texts, particularly off-stream texts, frequently included the domain of actual reception, i.e., the attitudes and comprehensions of the audience.

Let us return to a premise presented at the start of the book, namely, that, theoretically, different types of public texts may exist: *democratic* texts and *totalitarian* texts. The type is determined primarily by the *practice of text production*. My claim is that texts of the late Soviet period were clearly totalitarian as to the mechanisms of text production, while at the same time ambivalent with respect to various content-related elements. Content represented a permanent problem, and particularly careful ideological processing of texts was applied even at preliminary stages of production.

Chapter IV was a general description of my analytic method and material, and was meant to serve as an introduction to the study of ideological textual transformations. I explicated typical *values* evident in the source texts: *power, positivity, extent, social dynamics*, etc., the presentation of which would enable seeing and understanding the character of transformed texts in their context.

I presented the method for studying typical ideological textual transformation as *the coding of the fact* and *interpretation of transformation*. I determined the transformations made in the texts in relation to the context. I studied the transformation in *themes* and fields, *objects* and *agents*, the relations between phenomena, *narrative, textual functions* and *effects* – in terms of their elimination and weakening, addition and strengthening, and also reversal. My aim was to describe closely the types of transformations made in the Soviet texts and the reasons they were made. Traditionally, the problem has been that, in observations of singular changes, the logic and hierarchy of the Soviet texts has been left unexplained, or vice versa.

Thus, I have tried to code the transformations in a way that brings out the actual *idea of transformations* and give a survey of the amount of transformations and the correlation of their types.

The social-semiotic method used for that activity seemed to work well for the general analysis carried out here. For future analyses, however, my coding system might be further refined to bring out more the linguistic development (transformation of functional grammar) in order to describe the syntactic transformational system and levels of public texts.

Chapter V presented conclusions involving qualitative investigation, determining that the most controlled and most frequently changed domains in Soviet public texts were those of foreign policy, ideology, social issues, culture and education. The most-changed linguistic levels were lexical, semantic, narrative, and modal, involving the reconstruction of syntax and of features of the speaker or presenter. The linguistic strategies of textual intervention varied greatly and were often also combined.

The most frequent method for changing the agent was to change the frame of thinking of the speaker. This change is in turn linked with changing the imagined identity of the speaker.

In many cases, changes were made at a seemingly insignificant level, by alteration of the modality of the text. A change in modality may be enough to transform the textual meaning and the 'drift' or direction of a text. Thus, the field of foreign policy displayed the greatest number of lexical and semantic changes, and in the fields of culture and ideology, modality was changed most. Changes of narrative were most typical in the field of history (20%), to which field no changes were made to modality. Textual transfer was used for redirection, refocusing and re-contextualisation of texts. This was one of the central methods for elimination of unsuitable context.

The *strategies of textual intervention* were presented as consisting of three main types: (1) deletion strategies (four types: deletion, interruption, restriction, obfuscation), (2) addition, (3) and reversal-construction strategies (six types: renaming, replacement, reconstruction, refocusing, reversal, construction of new text). Eleven strategies result from the main three types, and *methods* for each of them were discussed.

A so-called *economy of censoring transformation* exists when the new version tries to cope with the existing material by making minimal changes. The problem has been transferred to a lower level and the possibility of interpretation has been eliminated from the text. *Lightly modifying censoring methods* dominate here, which, by interfering at important moments, reshapes the focus, the relevant system of concepts, and the main idea of generalisation power. We can define the work of *viseurs* as a soft form of censorship.

Chapter VI dealt with the structure and function of the text (society as language, as text) as an important shift between 'reality' and 'mythology', which concerns the channels connecting these important (social) levels, reference to both as joined together, as self-evident, a way of 'taking it for granted'. This is a 'natural' transference: one represents the other, 'ideology disguised as reference to real processes' and at the same time the (selected) reality disposed in the text so as to harmonize with ideology. Now that the analysis has been carried out, we are convinced that in reality it was not 'self-evident', but that such a textual role was manufactured special pre-processing of the text.

Our analysis showed that the normative functional model for the text existed as Soviet mythology, composed, in turn, of a hierarchy of myths. Tuchman (1991) has considered *event* as the basis for journalistic texts. In my study of Soviet textual practice, I suggested that the basis for the such texts was a *functional model text*, regulated in practice by *social myths* as the normative foundations of the textual structure.

It was observed that different methods were used for censoring past-oriented myths as compared with myths concerning the future. Thus, numerous historical facts, discussions, experiential aspects, subjective arguments, and even modalities were eliminated, and frequently the imagined identity of the speaker was changed. In the case of future-oriented myths, naive fantasies and overly emphatic ideological elements have been deleted. This proves that different topics were approached in a fairly differentiated manner, according to the context and the established political discourse. More freedom was allowed among myths at a hierarchically lower level, which presented everyday life. The strictest stylistic demands were made upon texts based on the mythology of existence. In these texts, there were also numerous formal corrections having no direct influence on the content. Editing was carried out according to the hierarchical position of fields and myths, either more thoroughly or by leaving the impression of 'naturalness' in the text. Texts connected with myths often contained representation of several myths, and the mythical world was constructed in texts through a combination of mutually supportive elements.

The most frequently censored aspect was the individual's own experience in relating to reality, and particularly to society in a wider sense. There were numerous cases of censorship of the mention of social problems and deletion of evidence of social awareness. All references to behaviour and evaluations connected with goals and forms of active social participation were censored.

Another area of major changes comprised transformation in the type of 'persons' speaking. The tightness of censorship was connected with the placement of texts in the public domain, where mainstream identities were controlled more strictly than were off-stream ones. Typically the text, and thereby the thinking of people, was in the final version represented as more social and formal than it was originally. This was

achieved by removing 'unimportant' text. The logic of people's speech was changed by altering the cause-effect relationships in their texts. By changing emotions and connotations, as well as by concealing the guidance that had happened in the initial stage of text, the recipient got the impression that people voluntarily and naturally presented 'proper' text (because that is what they think). The finely tuned transformation of agents had enormous ideological importance as a producer of desirable *collective identity* and *loyalty* (more on this below).

My hypothesis, that the broadcasts in which '*specialists*' (as mid-level agents) operate are against mythological images of the society and processes and provide concepts needed for analysis, turned out to be false. Usually, specialists were simply used as material. The supposition that their professionalism guaranteed them a certain 'untouchability and independence' also proved to be untrue. The 'problem' with the specialist was that he/she talks with too much enthusiasm and comprehensiveness. The enthusiastic tone was needed for the text material, its focus having been transformed to serve as a reference to ideology. The typical 'mistake' of the specialists was that they presented open perspectives and different conceptions of phenomena. Devotion to work, having a great mythical value, is not so positive in practice, if it downplays myths and proves to be real devotion (and has hence been eliminated from the worker's text).

Defining and determining future processes was not left to 'run-of-the-mill' specialists, but was focalised either by a *party leader* or by an ordinary worker as 'a representative of the ruling class'. Characteristically, the introduction of themes that were new, controversial, or otherwise 'suspicious' were made by the more loyal, more legitimate representative (deputies, veterans, etc.). The focaliser in Soviet media texts was very special, because the one who played that role was to appear 'common' but at the same time 'right', i.e., a chosen, supervised person.

Control was also exerted in small insignificant interventions whose meaning mainly consisted in the transformation of the general textual structural type. A typical method was to turn the speaking agent into a *formal and socially authoritative representation*, or by elimination of the agent by the substitution of impersonal, third-person pronouns. This resulted in their thinking being presented as more *social* and *formal* than it was in the original text.**

Chapter VIII surveyed the functional changes concurrent with the textual changes (1– textual level). By this method, it explained both the normative functions of the public text (2 – level of the social structure) and functions of textual intervention as indicator of strategies for control and submitting the processes and

** In journalistic practice, the name of the author whose text has been used as material is added to the text but the names of the editor and the censor are missing. Even more, the presentation of the author's name is seemingly correct. It meant to avoid problems with the public and legitimise institutional double functions under the function of 'professional help' the controlling institutions have been presented as natural and helpful.

their interpretations to the Soviet community (3 – socio-functional level). The purpose of the functional transformation was to ensure and sustain its goal of harmonising the functions of society with functions of text.

Here I have concentrated on the first level - textual functions - but it is also related to the social structure as well as to general community functions. The main changes of function were to educate society in the Soviet ideological world model. Hence, the most typical function on the structural levels of the public text was limiting of the *journalistic references to human cognitive, socially participating values and functions*. This included the limitation of references to individual functions and identity, of spatial or temporal objectivity, of textual functions, of ambiguity and criticism, of communicative functions. Also controlled and limited were the analysis of social processes, social reality, and everyday practice. These controls are especially notable in certain fields, for example, foreign policy. The most frequent social functions of censorship and transformation were the deletion of criticism, deletion and replacements of objects (time, place, actors), socialisation, formalisation, institutionalisation of the text, ideologisation, restructuring texts and subjects (to reduce them to Soviet mythology), and to forward ideological presentations and social processes. Making the presenter-narrator formal, anonymous, and institutionalisation resulted in a decrease of communication and made the text less personal.

In a community, different meanings exist in spheres of the common-identity field, and these meanings are expressed in texts of the 'sphere of consensus', 'sphere of legitimate controversy', and 'sphere of deviance'. The main attitudes of such texts are based on the determination of identity by the categories 'we-they', which are treated structurally at the level of texts and/or elements thereof: concepts, parts of the content, relations, and text contextualisation. The text influences the communication of meanings and thereby exists as a framework for other meanings. Frameworks are interpreted as contextual principles that create the *space of possibilities*, which legitimise the possible actualisation of the new 'projects', i.e., the textual acts.

On the socio-functional level the most general transformation was positivisation, this being in reciprocal relationship with the decrease or deletion from the texts of ambivalence, neutrality and negativity. Growth of positivity and reduction of ambivalence is connected to ideology. Most changes involved increasing the positivity of texts, which occurred most frequently in the fields of ideology (from 28 to 37) and society (from 4 to 22). In the field of society-texts, 'ambiguity' still dominated the preliminary versions (44 cases), which number was reduced to 4 cases by means of editorial replacements.

How does such 'positivisation' affect society? It be a sign of the belief that a positive view of society in the public text influences people's attitudes and evaluations in a positive direction. Or perhaps, mythological logic suggested that the positivity of

the public text implies the power to change society; i.e., instead of channeling society in a more positive direction, positivism simply made the public text more effective. The huge number of censors, editors, and institutions worked with this aim in mind.

Attempts to eliminate the individual from the text meant to strengthen institutionalisation, ideologisation, positivity, and so-called social structures and functions. To that end, the subjective use of language, overt humanism, and communication were reduced in public texts. In fact, the very notion of 'person' was used mostly as material for creating the normative structure of the public text. Censorship created a *new text* from the material of the author's text. This required the enthusiasm and devotion of specialists together with the concept of ideology. Many public texts were created by this method and, in turn, influenced and normalised everyday life.

The Soviet media text had certain normative functions, and these new functions exerted a planned influence - as a propaganda function of the media - through the re-construction of a text's deep-structure, surface-level structure, and implied identities in the form of 'authors' and 'voices'. Even in texts meant to serve a short-term function, changes were made to suit ideology and context. Texts were a means of influencing particular or more general situations. The long-term function and effect of public texts in a closed society lies in their complexity, omnipresence, and the lack of alternatives, which combined to form a total environment of meanings.

9.3. Discussion regarding the conclusion

Four main contradictions obtained in the Soviet journalistic practice of the 1980s.

(1) When presenting phenomena in texts, the 'right' definition and determination of their ideological character and presentation in the determined discourses and contexts was requested. Journalistic professionalism, however, challenged the limits of control and tended towards the widening of meanings. Thus the journalistic texts of the late Soviet period could be understood as the textual battlefield or frontier between different discourses.

(2) Demanded in the presentation and interpretation of phenomena was the realisation of the ideologically sound, normative pattern of representation. Elements of reality were to be presented as representations of this model. A systemic correlation between them and the model frame of reference had to be preserved. For that reason, strict discursive control was exercised by editors over the main definitions related to world-view. On the other hand, interpretations of reality in the journalistic texts could implicitly be in opposition to the established model, in so far as they represented a live presentation of everyday experiences and took their point of departure from the plurality of human interpretations.

(3) The public texts were used to regulate everyday action. On the lower levels of the normative model, dynamism and dialogue were allowed. Solutions of practical problems could be discussed without ideological implications. On the other hand, the 'solutions' obtained were transformed into affirmations of the ideological model in texts, by special interpretative strategies that transformed them into established patterns of 'good performance'. By controlling the interpretation of activities, the public text became a means of controlling the thinking and behaviour of audiences. Alternative interpretations were considered non-existent or illegitimate.

(4) Representing an ideologically transformed reality, corresponding to the strict system of values and ideological evaluations, the normative model of the Soviet journalistic text was systematically applied to the socialisation of individuals in the spirit of Soviet mythologies and collectivist values.

The present dissertation raised the question about the relation of creation and control in the journalistic process. Does the control stage really end creation? What does the control actually do? Does a normative model of texts actually exist that is seen as an ideal or that has been established as right? ***

The present study challenges the wide-spread assumption that the curbing of individuality should automatically entails emphasis on collectivity and communality. Analysis of actual public texts shows that, although such texts contained purposefully directed and controlled collectivity, all real communality and values associated with sharing were under rigorous control (cf. Figure 7).

The normative model of Soviet journalism included an emphasis on 'the new'. Paradoxically, it was precisely this 'new' that had to be especially controlled, and often even fabricated as myth. The consequence of this, at the stage of preliminary text production, was a constant battle for retention of the real and the rejection of fabricated, 'new' reality. The confrontation of interpretation of real processes – everyday practice – had become a *frontier for interpretation*. This led to the constant testing of boundaries between the 'sphere of consensus and legitimate controversy' and illegitimate controversy as 'deviance'. It is likely that elements of similarly 'invisible' frontiers are traceable in modern democratic journalism, as reflected in conflicts of various kinds.

Because 'reality' was specially created and controlled by the public text, the knowledge of actual reality (real places and history) was often interrupted. The information awareness of several generations regarding their own environment,

*** The main focus on which I have concentrated when studying texts was the strategies of preparation of texts. This problem and development of the special method, coding and decoding of material is relevant in its time, in the conditions of the changing community and texts the development of a new type of community and its textual practice. In the contemporary context, the same material offers other interesting aspects for study. For example, it is important to observe completeness and richness of nuance of the use of language in the public texts. Just as the censor has controlled the texts to the last detail, in creation of the texts authors have considered every nuance.

history, and current events were controlled by methods that were faulty and incomplete. The interruption of knowledge was extended and directed by the ideological media. Interruptions in journalistic practices include cases where texts are not finished, i.e., insufficiently or incoherently planned and executed. This is a phenomenon of which journalists themselves are quite aware (see, e.g., *Postimees* 20.4.2001). In fact, the problem is endemic, since journalists operate in the hurly-burly of 'journalistic' time, which frequently leaves no space for the normal and consistent development of argumentation. For the same reason, journalists may often find it difficult to return to issues already dealt with, for the purpose of further developing them.

The public text controls and directs the inventory of possible interpretations that can be seen as mental capital. Its most general manifestation is the elimination of added meaning deriving from subjective stylistic levels. Subjectivity is eliminated from the text so as to limit the possibilities of interpretation; it is replaced with those suited to the allowed meaning-system in order to prevent the rise of new meanings. Hence, prohibited interpretations were eliminated.

The social basis in discourse acts to mobilize change in the system over a period of time (cf. Kress and Hodge 1988: 64). Thus, though the text formally remains a presentation of an author, a significant part of the 'capital' is converted to the support of the institution. The content of the text has been used for building up and representing the institution, which in turn bolsters the structural stability of the general system. Thus, journalism had to construct a non-existent myth of domain that could then be journalistically interfered with. The multitude of meanings and interpretations in the public text can be construed as mental capital. By censoring public texts, mental (and also economic) added values were eliminated. An added meaning of the text exists as a resource for mental added value. Censored texts mostly lacked possibilities for added value. The real value of journalistic mental capital merits serious discussion. The questions to be answered first are if such capital exists in modern times, and if there are differences in the amount or structure between this capital in different systems?

The production of special interpretative errors during the preparation of texts, in order to redirect the recipient's decoding process, had an important function in socialising and guiding the recipient. This method was used to reshape topics, interpretations, and presenters. All this culminated in a more general message carrying the idea of production and control of the way of thinking and behavioural patterns considered good for the system. There was *preferred mode of cognition of reality* and *preferred mode of expression*. Thus, the purpose of changing texts was to produce *legitimate collective identity* and *loyalty*. The production of loyalty was, in turn, needed to support the regime, with its world-view and norms.

On the basis of my study, I propose that a certain normative model for public texts existed in the given historical practice, a model text according to which the production of texts was carried out. This model prescribed the allowed meanings as well as the influence and functions of texts. The pre-processing of the public texts meant transformation of the substance of the texts so as to fit the model. That textual model is connected with social mythology established as a mental model.

A normative model text existed in Soviet practice. I suppose that in such normative models, a model text, occurring in different social systems, is typical and in general usage. If it is agreed that Soviet society established certain typical texts through certain normative model texts (mythologies), can we claim that in *different social systems* different types of texts dominate? Can we analyse and compare the different systems for establishing the models in the journalistic process?

Philosophically speaking, the aim of the public text is to exert influence.

What is the focus of the public text? On the basis of my analyses, I must argue that the focus is *not only in* the public text *but as well outside it* – in the *context* of the public text.

APPENDIX 1.

Catalogue of transcripts used of broadcasts of Estonian Radio

No.	Text		Formal corrections	Transformation pertaining to contents	Total
001	<i>Kolm meest studios. Ideaalid. III./</i> Three men in the studio. 29.11.1980. 11.00 (E. Hion) corrections no. 001 - 010	Count	1	9	10
		% within	10.0%	90.0%	100.0%
		% within	.4%	1.8%	1.2%
002	<i>Perekond ja kodu/</i> Home and family. 22.11.1980. 9.00 (M. Sikk, H. Laht) corrections no. 011 - 019	Count	2	10	12
		% within	16.7%	83.3%	100.0%
		% within	.8%	1.8%	1.5%
003	<i>Elutões sündinud sõprus/</i> Friendship born in life truth. 7.11.1980. 14.00 (Th. Allikas) corrections no. 020 - 039	Count		19	19
		% within		100.0%	100.0%
		% within		3.4%	2.3%
004	<i>Pühadeaegne maa/</i> Country during the holidays. 7.5.1980. 8.00 (T. Makk, O. Kool) corrections no. 040 - 056	Count	3	14	17
		% within	17.6%	82.4%	100.0%
		% within	1.1%	2.5%	2.1%
005	<i>Perekond ja kodu/</i> Family and home. 18.10.1980. 9.00 (H. Maranik) corrections no. 057 - 067	Count	2	9	11
		% within	18.2%	81.8%	100.0%
		% within	.8%	1.6%	1.3%
006	<i>Kasüna/</i> Casino. 17.05.1980. 19.30 (S. Nõmmik, V. Astok). corrections no. 068 - 079	Count	4	3	7
		% within	57.1%	42.9%	100.0%
		% within	1.5%	.5%	.9%
007	<i>Kasüna/</i> Casino. 17.05.1980. 20.00 (S. Nõmmik, V. Astok) corrections no. 080 - 080	Count	1		1
		% within	100.0%		100.0%
		% within	.4%		.1%
008	<i>Päevauudised/</i> News 23.08.1980. 20.00 (E. Raudkell) corrections no. 082	Count		1	1
		% within		100.0%	100.0%
		% within		.2%	.1%
009	<i>Ülimisesed/</i> Supermen 17.05.1980 12.00 (V. Brodov) corrections no. 081 - 081	Count		1	1
		% within		100.0%	100.0%
		% within		2.0%	.1%
010	<i>Tälgake meres/</i> A drop in the sea 24.05.1980 12.00 (J. Prokopenko) corrections no. 082 - 085	Count	1	2	3
		% within	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
		% within	0.4%	.4%	.4%
011	<i>Minu kaks käätt/</i> My two hands 29. 12.1980. (H. Tammar) corrections no. 086 - 092	Count		7	7
		% within		100.0%	100.0%
		% within		1.3%	0.9%

012	<i>Tulipunkt/ Focus</i> 28.12.1980. 18.30 (R. Mälik) corrections no. 892 a, b - 100,803,804	Count % within % within	1 10.0% 0.4%	9 90.0% 1.8%	10 100.0% 1.2%
013	<i>Soovid, soovid, soovid/ Wishes, wishes, wishes.</i> 28.12.1980. 12.30 (T. Eri laid) corrections no. 101 - 101	Count % within % within		1 100.0% .2%	1 100.0% .1%
014	<i>Meie elu ja mina // Our life and me</i> 28.11.1980. 18.00 (Ed. Raska) corrections no. 102 - 120	Count % within % within	2 10.5% .8%	17 89.5% 3.1%	19 100.0% 2.3%
015	<i>Juurtest ja tootemulast/ Of roots and soil</i> 11.08.1980. 17.00 (H. Tammar) corrections no. 121 - 129	Count % within % within	3 33.3% 1.1%	6 66.7% 1.1%	9 100.0% 1.1%
016	<i>Setukõrs</i> 16.10.1980. 23.00 (A. Grünberg, R. Kudv) corrections no. 130 - 132	Count % within % within	1 33.3% .4%	2 66.7% .4%	3 100.0% .4%
017	<i>Maastik ja loomine/ Landscape and creation</i> 13.09.1981. 16.30 (A. Hansen, J. Kaplinski) corrections no. 133 - 181	Count % within % within	17 35.4% 6.4%	31 64.6% 5.6%	48 100.0% 5.9%
018	<i>Elust ja inimestest/ Of life and people</i> 06.06.1981. 20.00 (E. Hion, H. Talis) corrections no. 182 - 190	Count % within % within	2 22.2% .8%	7 77.8% 1.3%	9 100.0% 1.1%
019	<i>Mõeldes Leninist/ Thinking about Lenin</i> 05.03.1980. 18.00 (L. Soosaku, E. Hion) corrections no. 191 - 215	Count % within % within	3 12.5% 1.1%	21 87.5% 3.8%	24 100.0% 2.9%
020	<i>Tuult tallamas/</i> 21.04.1981. 14.05 (L. Kusma) corrections no. 216 - 239	Count % within % within	2 8.3% .8%	22 91.7% 4.0%	24 100.0% 2.9%
021	<i>Rahvas ja tema saadik/ People and their deputy</i> 01.04.1981. 14.05 (E. Vaht, H. Raudkivi) corrections no. 240 - 255,256-288	Count % within % within	12 37.5% 4.6%	20 62.5% 3.6%	32 100.0% 2.0%
022	<i>Hetk luulega/ A moment with poetry</i> 30.12.1980. 14.30 (V. Luik) corrections no. 289 - 269	Count % within % within		1 100.0% .2%	1 100.0% .1%
023	<i>Tere hommikust, päikemohed!/ Good morning</i> 03.02.1980. 9.00 (A. Lill) corrections no. 269a,b - 276	Count % within % within	5 50.0% 	5 50.0% 	10 100.0%
024	<i>Ehitaja/ Builder</i> 18.08.1981. 14.05 (A. Kavald) corrections no. 277 - 288	Count % within % within	3 25.0% 1.1%	9 75.0% 1.6%	12 100.0% 1.5%
025	<i>Perekond ja kodu/ Home and family</i> 21.06.1980. 9.00 (E. Pagel, M. Kivilo) corrections no. 289 - 301	Count % within % within	3 23.1% 1.1%	10 76.9% 1.8%	13 100.0% 1.6%
026	<i>Perekond ja kodu/ Home and family</i> 01.03.1980. 9.00 (S. Ploom, S. Markus) corrections no. 302 - 304a,305	Count % within % within	2 50.0% 0.8%	2 50.0% 0.4%	4 100.0% 0.5%
027	<i>Õhtupoolik teetassiga/ An evening with a cup of tea.</i> 22.04.1981. 20.00 (L. Säimaste) corrections no. 306 - 311	Count % within % within	1 18.7% .4%	5 83.3% .9%	6 100.0% .7%

028	<i>Villu ja meie/ Villu and us</i> 04.03.1981. 16.00 (H. Raudkivi) corrections no. 312 - 332	Count % within % within	1 4.8% .4%	20 95.2% 3.6%	21 100.0% 2.6%
029	<i>Meelejahutaja/ Entertainer</i> 31.05.1981. 11.10 (O. Siika, H. Hindpere) corrections no. 333 - 341	Count % within % within	4 44.4% 1.5%	5 55.6% .9%	9 100.0% 1.1%
030	<i>Reporteriminutid/ Minutes</i> 10.02.1980. 8.00 (A. Lill) corrections no. 342 - 377	Count % within % within	6 16.2% 2.3%	31 83.8% 5.6%	37 100.0% 4.5%
031	<i>Kultuurikaja/ Echo of culture</i> 15.07.1985. 12.00 (M. Tarand) corrections no. 378 - 378	Count % within % within	 .	1 100.0% .2%	1 100.0% .1%
032	<i>Kasiino/ Casino</i> 25.07.1981. 19.30 (T. Tootsen) corrections no. 379 - 382	Count % within % within	3 80.0% 1.1%	2 40.0% .4%	5 100.0% .6%
033	<i>Teie küsimustele vastab/</i> 04.08.1980. 19.30 (O. Gerhke) corrections no. 383 - 393	Count % within % within	3 27.3% 1.1%	8 72.7% 1.4%	11 100.0% 1.3%
034	<i>Meelejahutaja/Entertainer</i> 07.06.1981. 12.00 (E. Sprit, H. Hindpere) corrections no. 394 - 399	Count % within % within	1 16.7% .4%	5 83.3% .9%	6 100.0% .7%
035	<i>Ringi ümber traktori / Look at tractor</i> 13.03.1980. 8.00 (E. Pillikese) corrections no. 400 - 401	Count % within % within	 .	3 100.0% .5%	3 100.0% .4%
036	<i>KÕP/ Midnight</i> 11.06.1983. 23.10 (E. Varik) corrections no. 402 - 422	Count % within % within	18 85.7% 6.8%	3 14.3% .5%	21 100.0% 2.6%
037	<i>Tulipunkt/ Focus</i> 21.09.1980. 18.00 (M. Ummelas) corrections no. 423 - 423	Count % within % within	1 100.0% .4%	 .	1 100.0% .1%
038	<i>Tulipunkt/ Focus</i> 28.09.1980. 18.00 (M. Ummelas) corrections no. 424 - 435	Count % within % within	10 83.3% 3.8%	2 16.7% .4%	12 100.0% 1.5%
039	<i>Hoopis teine jume/ Absolutely another taste</i> 01.05.1981. 16.30 (T. Makk) corrections no. 436 - 458	Count % within % within	11 45.8% 4.2%	13 54.2% 2.4%	24 100.0% 2.9%
040	<i>Koigi maade töönimesed/ The working people of all the countries</i> 01.05.1981. 15.00 (L. Siimaste) corrections no. 459 - 486	Count % within % within	13 44.8% 4.9%	16 55.2% 2.9%	29 100.0% 3.6%
041	<i>Pärandus/ Heritage</i> 21.04.1980. 18.00 (E. Hion, H. Talviste) corrections no. 487 - 497	Count % within % within	2 16.7% .8%	10 83.3% 1.8%	12 100.0% 1.5%
042	<i>25 aastat suvepäevni / 25 years</i> 03.07.1981. 18.00 (L. Veelma) corrections no. 498 - 505	Count % within % within	3 42.9% 1.1%	4 57.1% .7%	7 100.0% .9%

043	<i>Üleüldise mälestus/ Youth programme. All-Union memorial watch</i> 26.04.1981. 12.30 (P. Sookruus) corrections no. 506 - 515	Count % within % within	5 33.3% 1.9%	10 66.7% 1.8%	15 100.0% 1.8%
044	<i>Minu kaks kätt/ My two hands</i> 08.02.1981. 18.30 (H. Tammar) corrections no. 516 - 536	Count % within % within	6 30.0% 2.3%	14 70.0% 2.5%	20 100.0% 2.5%
045	<i>Tea ja tunne/ Know (your Soviet country)</i> 24.02.1981. 17.00 (S. Karro) corrections no. 537 - 558	Count % within % within	7 33.3% 2.7%	14 66.7% 2.5%	21 100.0% 2.6%
046	<i>Helipere/ Sound family</i> 01.02.1981. 17.30 (R. Kudu) corrections no. 558a - 566	Count % within % within	2 25.0% 0.8%	6 75.0% 1.1%	8 100.0% 1.0%
047	<i>Tere hommikust, põllumehed! Kalast ja lihast/About fish and meat</i> 12.04.1981. 8.00 (A. Kavald)	Count % within % within	2 66.7% .8%	1 33.3% .2%	3 100.0% .4%
048	<i>Tere hommikust/ Good morning</i> corrections no.	Count % within % within			100.0%
049	<i>Tere hommikust/ Good morning</i> 22.03.1981. 9.00 corrections no. 567a	Count % within % within			100.0%
050	<i>Tere hommikust/ Good morning</i> 29.03.1981. 9.00 corrections no.	Count % within % within			100.0%
051	<i>Teooria ja tänapäev/ Theory and today</i> 10.09.1981. 18.00 (A. Pork, K. Jaanson) corrections no. 571 - 614	Count % within % within	5 10.0% 1.9%	45 90.0% 8.2%	50 100.0% 6.1%
052	<i>Teooria ja tänapäev/ Theory and today</i> 26.11.1981. 18.00 (V. Vare, I. Gräzin) corrections no. 615 - 619	Count % within % within	1 33.3% .4%	2 66.7% .4%	3 100.0% .4%
053	<i>Teooria ja tänapäev/ Theory and today</i> 12.02.1981. 18.30 (L. Vait, A. Park) corrections no. 620 - 635	Count % within % within	12 75.0% 4.5%	4 25.0% .7%	16 100.0% 2.0%
054	<i>Sotsialistliku tootmise efektiivsus/ Effectiveness of socialist production</i> 15.10.1980. 18.30 (O. Gerhke) corrections no. 636 - 657a	Count % within % within	9 39.1% 3.4%	14 60.9% 2.5%	23 100.2.8% 0%
055	<i>Meelelahutaja/ Entertainer</i> 12.07.1981. 12.00 (E. Sprüt, H. Hindpere) corrections no. 657b - 657e	Count % within % within	3 75.0% 1.1%	1 25.0% .2%	4 100.0% .5%
056	<i>Peasüüdlane/ The main culprit</i> 20.05.1981. 11.10 (I. Martjanov, M.A. Aimala) corrections no. 657f - 657g	Count % within % within	2 100.0% 0.8%		2 100.0% .2%
057	<i>Igast ämakaarest, Kambuchea/ Country during the holidays</i> 17.05.1981. 20.30 (K. Krall) corrections no. 657h - 662	Count % within % within	6 35.3% 2.3%	11 64.7% 2.0%	17 100.0% 2.1%

058	<i>Võitlusaastakümned (VIII)</i> / Decades of fight 25.01.1981. 14.00 (L. Siimaste) corrections no. 663 - 676	Count % within % within	1 20.0% .4%	4 80.0% .7%	5 100.0% .6%
059	<i>Võitlusaastakümned (X)</i> / Decades of fight 11.02.1981. 14.00 (L. Siimaste) corrections no. 677 , 677a	Count % within % within	2 100.0% .8%		2 100.0% .2%
060	<i>Tööd ja mõtted</i> / Work and thoughts 17.07.1981. 20.00 (H. Tamm, R. Pork) corrections no. 678 - 705	Count % within % within	14 43.8% 5.3%	18 56.3% 3.3%	32 100.0% 3.9%
061	<i>Naljatada kõikjal!</i> / To laugh everywhere 15.06.1981. 12.00 (P. Aimala) corrections no. 706 - 721	Count % within % within	13 81.3% 4.9%	3 18.8% .5%	18 100.0% 2.0%
062	<i>Katseseade läks käiku!</i> / Experimental apparatus was put into operation 06.03.1980. 18.00 (A. Lill, A. Semjonov) corrections no. 722 - 728	Count % within % within	2 28.6% .8%	5 71.4% .9%	7 100.0% .9%
063	<i>Töö peab jooksmal!</i> / Work must go on 06.03.1980. 14.30 (Th. Allikas) corrections no. 729 - 733	Count % within % within	5 71.4% 1.9%	2 28.6% .4%	7 100.0% .9%
064	<i>Perekond ja kodu!</i> / Home and family 01.03.1980. 9.00 (M. Kivilo) corrections no. 734	Count % within % within		1 100.0% .2%	1 100.0% .1%
065	<i>Perekond ja kodu!</i> / Home and family 14.06.1980. 9.00 (Ü. Pärnits, H. Aasmäe, M. Kivilo) corrections no. 735 - 739	Count % within % within	3 60.0% 1.1%	2 40.0% .4%	5 100.0% .6%
066	<i>Kolm meest stuudios!</i> / Three men in the studio. 28.06.1980. 11.00 (E. Hion) corrections no. 740 - 741	Count % within % within		2 100.0% .4%	2 100.0% .2%
067	<i>Kolm meest stuudios!</i> / Three men in the studio. 22.11.1980. 11.00 (E. Hion) corrections no. 742 - 747	Count % within % within	5 100.0% 1.9%		5 100.0% .6%
068	<i>Kolm meest stuudios!</i> / Three men in the studio. 25.11.1980. 11.00 (E. Hion) corrections no. 748 - 751	Count % within % within	2 50.0% .8%	2 50.0% .4%	4 100.0% .5%
069	<i>Aleksander Hort</i> 26.02.1981 12.00 (P. Aimala) corrections no.	Count % within % within		1 100.0% .2%	1 100.0% .1%
070	<i>Teooria ja tänapäev!</i> / Theory and nowadays 03.09.1980. 18.00 corrections no. 799 - 800	Count % within % within	2 100.0% .8%		2 100.0% .2%
071	<i>Kui kätte jõudis jüripäev...!</i> / When St. George's Day came. 23.03.1981. 12.00 (J. Orgulas) corrections no. 752 - 756	Count % within % within	3 75.0% 1.1%	1 25.0% .2%	4 100.0% .5%
072	<i>Korpusemees – Oskar Ääri</i> / War veteran Oskar Äär 23.02.1980. 14.00 (F. Leet) corrections no. 757 - 759	Count % within % within		2 100.0% .4%	2 100.0% .2%

073	<i>Kristall-80 Kardioloogia</i> Chrystal-80 Cardiology 12.04.1981 18.00 corrections no. 795-798	Count % within % within	2 25.0% .8%	3 75.0% .5%	2 100.0% .8%
074	<i>Mikrofoni ja märkmikuga</i> With ... 24.06.1980. 14.05 (Th. Allike) corrections no. 760-768	Count % within % within	4 50.0% 1.5%	4 50.0% .7%	8 100.0% 1.0%
075	<i>Päevauudised</i> News 22.06.1980. 21.00 (S. Truu) corrections no. 801	Count % within % within		1 100.0% .2%	1 100.0% .1%
076	<i>Päevast päeva</i> From day to day 02.09.1980. 14.05 (A. Lill) corrections no. 769-773	Count % within % within	1 20.0% 0.4%	4 80.0% .7%	5 100.0% .6%
077	<i>ENSV MN Presiidiumis</i> In Presidium of ESSR 30.06 1980. 14.00 corrections no. 785-794	Count % within % within	2 18.2% .8%	9 81.8% 1.6%	11 100.0% 1.3%
078	<i>Perekond ja kodu</i> Home and family 08.08.1980. 9.00 (T. Ots, S. Markus) corrections no. 774-783a	Count % within % within	2 18.2% .8%	9 81.8% 1.6%	11 100.0% 1.3%
079	<i>Kolm meest stuudios</i> Three men in the studio 15.03.1980. 11.00 (E. Hien, H. Allik, G. Naam) cor- rections no. 783b	Count % within % within		1 100.0% .2%	1 100.0% .1%
Total	% within % within	Count % within % within	264 32.4% 100.0%	556 87.6% 100.0%	820 100.0% 100.0%

APPENDIX 2.

Catalogue of Codes

1. Text character	<i>Teksti tunnused</i>
1.1 Number of correction	<i>Paranduse number</i>
1.2. Number of text	<i>Teksti number *</i>
1.3. Editorial offices	<i>Toimetus **</i>
1.3.1. information	<i>info</i>
1.3.2. propaganda	<i>propaganda</i>
1.3.3. youth, children and night prog.	<i>laste- ja noortesaated, KÕP</i>
1.3.4. literature	<i>kirjandus</i>
1.3.5. entertainment	<i>meelelahutus</i>
1.3.6. sport	<i>sport</i>
1.4. Fields and topics	<i>valdkond, teema</i>
1.4.1. foreign policy	<i>välisuundised</i>
1.4.2. domestic policy	<i>sisepoliitika</i>
1.4.3. ideology	<i>ideoloogia</i>
1.4.4. society	<i>ühiskond</i>
1.4.5. history	<i>ajalugu</i>
1.4.6. economy	<i>majandus</i>
1.4.6.1. industry	<i>tööstus</i>
1.4.6.2. construction	<i>ehitus</i>
1.4.6.3. agriculture	<i>põllumajandus</i>
1.4.6.4. environment	<i>keskkond</i>
1.4.7. education	<i>haridus, kasvatust</i>
1.4.7.1. science	<i>teadus</i>
1.4.8. home, family	<i>perekond ja kodu</i>
1.4.9. culture, sport	<i>kultuur, sport</i>
1.5. Character of original text	<i>algse teksti üldiseloome</i>
1.5.1. positive	<i>positiivne</i>
1.5.2. neutral	<i>neutraalne</i>
1.5.3. ambivalent	<i>ambivalentne</i>
1.5.4. negative	<i>negatiivne</i>
1.6. Character of revised text	<i>parandarud teksti üldiseloome</i>
1.6.1. positive	<i>positiivne</i>
1.6.2. neutral	<i>neutraalne</i>
1.6.3. ambivalent	<i>ambivalentne</i>
1.6.4. negative	<i>negatiivne</i>
2. Corrections of form (tools for content revision)	<i>Vormilised parandused (sisuliste paranduste vahendid)</i>
2.1. Editing	<i>redigeerimine</i>

2.2. Insignificant corrections of form in editing	
2.2.1. revision of text cohesion	<i>väheolulised vormimuutused toimetamisel teksti sidususe suurendamine</i>
2.2.2. text densification	<i>teksti tihendamine</i>
2.2.3. removal of trivialities and other commonplaces	<i>triviaalsuste jt kulunud vormide kõrvaldamine</i>
2.3. Important style revision (influencing content)	
2.3.1. Abbreviation and deletion	<i>olulised (sisu mõjutavad) stiilimuutused vähendamine ja kõrvaldamine</i>
2.3.1.1. modality	<i>modaalsus</i>
2.3.1.2. metaphors	<i>kõnekujundid, võrdlused</i>
2.3.1.3. characteristics of genre (dialogues)	<i>zhanritunnused (dialogiilisus jm)</i>
2.3.2. Additions (increasing, strengthening)	<i>lisamine (tugevdamine)</i>
2.3.2.1. modality	<i>modaalsus</i>
2.3.2.2. metaphors	<i>kõnekujundid</i>
2.3.2.3. characteristics of genre	<i>zhanritunnused</i>
3. Revision of content	<i>Sisulised parandused</i>
3.1. Changes concerning the Subject (performer)	<i>Subjekti (esinejat) puudutavad muutused</i>
3.1.1. substitution of Subject	<i>subjekti (esineja)asendamine</i>
3.1.2. change of Subject / replacement of Subject	<i>subjekti (esineja) muutmine</i>
3.1.2.1. change of identity (belonging)	<i>subjekti väljavahetamine</i>
3.1.2.2. changes of characteristics (emotionality, strength, etc.)	<i>identitiseedi muutmine (kuuluvus)</i>
3.1.2.2.1. decrease in characteristics (strength, emotionality, activity)	<i>omaduste muutmine (tugevus, emotsionaalsus jm)</i>
3.1.2.2.2. adding characteristics	<i>omaduste (tugevus, emotsionaalsus, aktiivsus) vähendamine</i>
3.1.2.2.3. reduction of positiveness of broadcaster	<i>omaduste lisamine</i>
3.1.2.2.4. increase of positiveness	<i>isiku positiivsuse vähendamine</i>
3.1.3. change of Subject's world-model	<i>isiku positiivsuse suurendamine</i>
3.1.3.1. changes in the way of thinking	<i>subjekti maailmapildi muutmine</i>
3.1.3.2. changes of evaluation system	<i>mõttemiisi muutmine</i>
3.1.3.3. change of experience	<i>väärtussüsteemi muutmine</i>
3.1.4. changes in relations (roles) between Subjects (performers/broadcasters)	<i>kogemuse muutmine</i>
3.1.4.1. increase of formality	<i>subjektide (esinejate) vaheliste suhete (rollide) muutmine</i>
3.1.4.1.1. deletion of dialogue	<i>formaalsusastme suurendamine</i>
3.1.4.1.2. deletion of reactions, points of view	<i>dialogi kõrvaldamine</i>
	<i>omavaheliste suhtumiste, arvamuste kõrvaldamine</i>
3.1.4.2. decrease in formality (towards more personal)	<i>formaalsusastme vähendamine (muutmine isiklikumaks)</i>
3.1.4.2.1. adding dialogues	<i>dialogiilisuse lisamine</i>

3.1.4.2.2. adding attitudes, viewpoints (strengthening)	<i>subtrumiste, arvamuste lisamine (tugevdamine)</i>
3.1.5. changes of disposition between interviewer and interviewee	<i>toimetaja ja esinejate vaheliste suhete muutmine</i>
3.1.5.1. increase in dependence	<i>sõltuvuse suurendamine</i>
3.1.5.1.1. editor/interviewer manipulating with interviewees	<i>toimetaja manipuleerimine esineja(te)ga</i>
3.1.5.1.2. use of interviewee(s) as 'material'	<i>esineja(te) kasutamine 'materjalina'</i>
3.1.5.1.3. submission of performers	<i>esineja(te) alistamine</i>
3.1.5.1.4. hierarchy	<i>hierarhiseerimine</i>
3.1.5.1.5. deletion of actor's personal opinions	<i>isiku aramusavalduste likvideerimine</i>
3.1.5.1.6. eliminating traces of communication (and interviewing)	<i>suhtlemise (ja küsimise) jälgede peitmine</i>
3.1.5.2. decrease in dependence	<i>sõltuvuse vähendamine</i>
3.1.5.2.1. highlighting the performer by decreasing the importance of editor	<i>esinejate esiletõstmine toimetajat tagaplaanile jättes</i>
3.1.5.2.2. encouraging performers to present their personal opinions	<i>esinejate isiklike aramusavalduste esiletuleku soodustamine</i>
3.2. Corrections concerning topics	<i>Teemasid puudutavad muutused</i>
3.3. Increasing topics	<i>Teemaringi laiendamine</i>
3.3.1. foreign policy	<i>välispoliitika</i>
3.3.2. domestic policy	<i>sisepoliitika</i>
3.3.3. ideology	<i>ideoloogia</i>
3.3.4. society	<i>ühiskond</i>
3.3.5. history	<i>ajalugu</i>
3.3.6. economy	<i>majandus</i>
3.3.6.1. industry	<i>tööstus</i>
3.3.6.2. construction	<i>ehitus</i>
3.3.6.3. agriculture	<i>põllumajandus</i>
3.3.6.4. environment	<i>keskkond</i>
3.3.7. education	<i>haridus</i>
3.3.7.1. science	<i>teadus</i>
3.3.8. home, family	<i>kodu ja perekond</i>
3.3.9. culture, sport	<i>kultuur, sport</i>
3.4. decrease in topics	<i>teemaringi kitsendamine</i>
3.4.1. foreign policy	<i>välispoliitika</i>
3.4.2. domestic policy	<i>sisepoliitika</i>
3.4.3. ideology	<i>ideoloogia</i>
3.4.4. society	<i>ühiskond</i>
3.4.5. history	<i>ajalugu</i>
3.4.6. economy	<i>majandus</i>
3.4.6.1. industry	<i>tööstus</i>
3.4.6.2. construction	<i>ehitus</i>
3.4.6.3. agriculture	<i>põllumajandus</i>

3.4.6.4. environment	<i>keskkond</i>
3.4.7. education	<i>haridus</i>
3.4.7.1. science	<i>teadus</i>
3.4.8. home, family	<i>kodu ja perekond</i>
3.4.9. culture, sport	<i>kultuur, sport</i>
3.5. Changes concerning objects	<i>Objekte puudutavad muutused</i>
3.5.1. deletion or decrease	<i>kõrvaldamine või vähendamine</i>
3.5.1.1. facts, events, institutions	<i>faktid, sündmused, institutsioonid</i>
3.5.1.2. time	<i>aeg</i>
3.5.1.2.1. past	<i>minevik</i>
3.5.1.2.2. present	<i>olevik</i>
3.5.1.2.3. future	<i>rulevik</i>
3.5.1.3. Places	<i>kohad</i>
3.5.1.3.1. Estonia	<i>Eesti</i>
3.5.1.3.2. the Soviet Union	<i>Nõukogude Liit</i>
3.5.1.3.3. foreign countries	<i>välismaa</i>
3.5.1.4. definitions	<i>mõisted</i>
3.5.1.5. persons	<i>isikud</i>
3.5.1.6. occupations	<i>ametid</i>
3.5.1.7. activities	<i>tegevus</i>
3.5.1.8. characters, features	<i>runnused, omadused</i>
3.5.2. adding and increasing	<i>lisamine ja suurendamine</i>
3.5.2.1. facts, events, institutions	<i>faktid, sündmused, institutsioonid</i>
3.5.2.2. time	<i>aeg</i>
3.5.2.2.1. past	<i>minevik</i>
3.5.2.2.2. present	<i>olevik</i>
3.5.2.2.3. future	<i>rulevik</i>
3.5.2.3. places	<i>kohad</i>
3.5.2.3.1. Estonia	<i>Eesti</i>
3.5.2.3.2. the Soviet Union	<i>Nõukogude Liit</i>
3.5.2.3.3. foreign countries	<i>välismaa</i>
3.5.2.4. definitions	<i>mõisted</i>
3.5.2.5. persons	<i>isikud</i>
3.5.2.6. occupations	<i>ametid</i>
3.5.2.7. activities	<i>tegevused</i>
3.5.2.8. characters, features	<i>runnused, omadused</i>
3.5.3. changes of objects (double-coding required 'before' and 'after')	<i>objektide muutmine</i>
3.5.3.1. facts, events, institutions	<i>faktid, sündmused, institutsioonid</i>
3.5.3.2. time	<i>aeg</i>
3.5.3.2.1. past	<i>minevik</i>
3.5.3.2.2. present	<i>olevik</i>
3.5.3.2.3. future	<i>rulevik</i>
3.5.3.3. places	<i>kohad</i>
3.5.3.3.1. Estonia	<i>Eesti</i>
3.5.3.3.2. the Soviet Union	<i>Nõukogude Liit</i>
3.5.3.3.3. foreign countries	<i>välismaa</i>
3.5.3.4. definitions	<i>mõisted</i>
3.5.3.5. persons	<i>isikud</i>

3.5.3.6. occupations	<i>ametia</i>
3.5.3.7. activities	<i>tegevused</i>
3.5.3.8. characters, features	<i>tunnused, omadused</i>
3.6. Changes in the meaning of text; manipulation	<i>Teksti tähenduse muutmine, manipuleerimine</i>
3.6.1. eliminating	<i>kõrvaldamine</i>
3.6.1.1. thesis	<i>väide</i>
3.6.1.2. example	<i>näide</i>
3.6.1.3. argument	<i>argument</i>
3.6.1.4. discussion	<i>arustus</i>
3.6.1.5. generalisation	<i>üldistus</i>
3.6.1.6. comments	<i>kommentaar</i>
3.6.1.7. extent of meaning	<i>tähendusmaht</i>
3.6.1.8. abstraction	<i>abstraktsioon</i>
3.6.1.9. connotations	<i>konnotatsioon</i>
3.6.1.10. attitude	<i>suhtumine</i>
3.6.1.11. connections	<i>seosed</i>
3.6.1.11.1. system, classification	<i>süsteem, liigitus</i>
3.6.1.11.2. connections between symbols and signs	<i>sümbolite & märgiseosed</i>
3.6.1.11.3. basis for balance	<i>tasakaalu alused</i>
3.6.1.11.4. imaginary connections	<i>kujutlusseosed</i>
3.6.1.11.5. imaginary antitheses	<i>kujuteldav antitees</i>
3.6.1.11.6. comparisons	<i>võrdlusvõimalused</i>
3.6.1.11.7. myth	<i>müüt</i>
3.6.1.11.8. ambiguity	<i>mitmetähenduslikkus</i>
3.6.1.11.9. action bound	<i>seotus tegevusega</i>
3.6.1.12. processes	<i>protsessid</i>
3.6.1.12.1. real	<i>reaalsed</i>
3.6.1.12.2. symbolic	<i>sümboolsed</i>
3.6.2. decrease	<i>vähendamine</i>
3.6.2.1. thesis	<i>väide</i>
3.6.2.2. example	<i>näide</i>
3.6.2.3. argument	<i>argument</i>
3.6.2.4. discussion	<i>arustus</i>
3.6.2.5. generalisation	<i>üldistus</i>
3.6.2.6. comments	<i>kommentaar</i>
3.6.2.7. extent of meaning	<i>tähendusmaht</i>
3.6.2.8. abstraction	<i>abstraktsioon</i>
3.6.2.9. connotations	<i>konnotatsioon</i>
3.6.2.10. attitude	<i>suhtumine</i>
3.6.2.11. connections	<i>seosed</i>
3.6.2.11.1. system, characterization	<i>süsteem, liigitus</i>
3.6.2.11.2. connection between symbols and signs	<i>sümbolite & märgiseosed</i>
3.6.2.11.3. basis for balance	<i>tasakaalu alused</i>
3.6.2.11.4. imaginary connections	<i>kujutlusseosed</i>
3.6.2.11.5. imaginary antitheses	<i>kujuteldav antitees</i>
3.6.2.11.6. comparisons	<i>võrdlusvõimalused</i>

3.6.2.11.7. myth	<i>müüt</i>
3.6.2.11.8. ambiguity	<i>mitmetähenduslikkus</i>
3.6.2.11.9. action bound	<i>seotus tegevusega</i>
3.6.2.12. processes	<i>protsessid</i>
3.6.2.12.1. real	<i>reaalsed</i>
3.6.2.12.2. symbolic	<i>sümboolsed</i>
3.6.3. addition and increase	<i>lisamine ja suurendamine</i>
3.6.3.1. thesis	<i>väide</i>
3.6.3.2. example	<i>näide</i>
3.6.3.3. argument	<i>argument</i>
3.6.3.4. discussion	<i>arutus</i>
3.6.3.5. generalisation	<i>üldistus</i>
3.6.3.6. comments	<i>kommentaar</i>
3.6.3.7. extent of meaning	<i>tähendusmaht</i>
3.6.3.8. abstraction	<i>abstraksioon</i>
3.6.3.9. connotation	<i>konnotatsioon</i>
3.6.3.10. expectation	<i>suhtumine</i>
3.6.3.11. connections	<i>seosed</i>
3.6.3.11.1. system, classification	<i>süsteem, liigitus</i>
3.6.3.11.2. connections between symbols and signs	<i>sümbolid & märgiseosed</i>
3.6.3.11.3. basis for balance	<i>tasakaalu alused</i>
3.6.3.11.4. connections of imagination	<i>kujutlusseosed</i>
3.6.3.11.5. imaginary antitheses	<i>kujuteldav antitees</i>
3.6.3.11.6. comparison	<i>võrdlusvõimalused</i>
3.6.3.11.7. myth	<i>müüt</i>
3.6.3.11.8. ambiguity	<i>mitmetähenduslikkus</i>
3.6.3.11.9. action bound	<i>seotus tegevusega</i>
3.6.3.11.10. construction of new connections	<i>uute seoste konstrueerimine</i>
3.6.3.12. processes	<i>protsessid</i>
3.6.3.12.1. real	<i>reaalsed</i>
3.6.3.12.2. symbolic	<i>sümboolsed</i>
3.6.4. reforming and transfer	<i>pööramine, ülekandmine (ka struktuuriline)</i>
3.6.4.1. thesis	<i>väide</i>
3.6.4.2. example	<i>näide</i>
3.6.4.3. argument	<i>argument</i>
3.6.4.4. discussion	<i>arutus</i>
3.6.4.5. generalisation	<i>üldistus</i>
3.6.4.6. comments	<i>kommentaar</i>
3.6.4.7. extent of meaning	<i>tähendusmaht</i>
3.6.4.8. abstraction	<i>abstraksioon</i>
3.6.4.9. connotation	<i>konnotatsioon</i>
3.6.4.10. expectation	<i>suhtumine</i>
3.6.4.11. connections	<i>seosed</i>
3.6.4.11.1. system, classification	<i>süsteem, liigitus</i>
3.6.4.11.2. connections between symbols and signs	<i>sümbolid, märgiseosed</i>

3.6.4.11.3. basis for balance	<i>tasakaalu alused</i>
3.6.4.11.4. connections of imagination	<i>kujutlusseosed</i>
3.6.4.11.5. imaginary antitheses	<i>kujuteldav antitees</i>
3.6.4.11.6. comparison	<i>võrdlusvõimalused</i>
3.6.4.11.7. myth	<i>müüt</i>
3.6.4.11.8. ambiguity	<i>mitmetähenduslikkus</i>
3.6.4.11.9. action bound	<i>seotus tegevusega</i>
3.6.4.11.10. construction of new connections	<i>uute seoste konstrueerimine</i>
3.6.4.12. processes	<i>protsessid</i>
3.6.4.12.1. real	<i>reaalsed</i>
3.6.4.12.2. symbolic	<i>sümboolsed</i>
3.6.5. manipulation of evaluations, attitudes and values (hierarchy)	<i>hinnangute, suhtumiste ja väärtuste (hierarhia) ja käitumise manipuleerimine</i>
3.6.5.1. change or avoidance of attitude	<i>suhtumise vältimine või muutmine</i>
3.6.5.2. elimination of object or argument, preserving evaluation	<i>objekti või argumentide kõrvaldamine, hinnangu jätmine</i>
3.6.5.3. elimination of direct question, only answering it	<i>otsese küsimise kõrvaldamine, ent vastamine (sellele)</i>
3.6.5.4. change of narrative story	<i>narratiivse loo muutmine</i>
3.6.5.5. change of narrative metatext	<i>narratiivse metateksti muutmine</i>
3.6.5.6. simplification of thinking	<i>mõlemise lihtsustamine</i>
3.6.5.7. distortion of analysis	<i>analüüsi moonutamine</i>
3.6.5.8. avoidance of problem, discussion (dispute) and contradictions	<i>probleemi tõstatamise, diskussiooni, vastuolude vältimine</i>
3.6.5.9. elimination of emotion, reaction process	<i>tunde, reaktsiooni protsessilisuse kõrvaldamine</i>
3.6.5.10. avoiding interpretation extension	<i>tõlgenduse laiendamise vältimine</i>
3.7. Spheres of influence	<i>Mõjutuspiirkonnad</i>
3.7.1. reason	<i>mõistus</i>
3.7.2. emotions	<i>emotsioonid</i>
3.7.3. values	<i>väärtused</i>
3.7.4. evaluations, attitudes	<i>hinnangud, suhtumised</i>
3.7.5. behaviour	<i>käitumine</i>
3.8. Changes of social functions (double-coding required 'before' and 'after')	<i>Sotsiaalsete funktsioonide muutus</i>
3.8.1. individual functions	<i>indiviidi funktsioonid</i>
3.8.1.1. regulating attitudes and evaluation systems	<i>hoiakuid, väärtussüsteeme korrastav</i>
3.8.1.2. changing attitudes and evaluation systems	<i>hoiakuid, väärtussüsteeme muutev</i>
3.8.1.3. extending knowledge, informative	<i>teadmisi laiendav, informeeriv</i>
3.8.1.4. restraining, misinformation	<i>teadmisi piirav, desinformeeriv</i>
3.8.1.5. rational, regulating	<i>ratsionaalne, korrastav</i>

3.8.1.6. decreasing and dispersing regulation	<i>korrastust vähendav ja hajutatav</i>
3.8.1.7. experience providing, emotional	<i>elamuslik, emotsionaalne</i>
3.8.1.8. decreasing level of experience provision	<i>elamuslikkust vähendav</i>
3.8.2. functions of society	<i>sootsiumi (ühiskonna) funktsioonid</i>
3.8.2.1. create ideology	<i>ideologiseeriv</i>
3.8.2.2. dissipate ideology	<i>deideologiseeriv</i>
3.8.2.3. favour adapting to norms	<i>normidega kohanemist soodustav</i>
3.8.2.4. prevent adapting to norms	<i>normidega kohanemist takistav</i>
3.8.2.5. reassuring	<i>kindlust loov</i>
3.8.2.6. not reassuring	<i>kindlust vähendav</i>
3.8.2.7. subordinating, materialising	<i>alistav, materjaliks muutev</i>
3.8.2.8. releasing, rising subjectivity in society	<i>vabastav, subjektsust ühiskonnas tõstev</i>
3.8.3. functions of relations	<i>suhete funktsioonid</i>
3.8.3.1. encouraging openness	<i>avatust soodustav</i>
3.8.3.2. preventing openness	<i>avatust takistav</i>
3.8.3.3. encouraging trust	<i>usaldust soodustav</i>
3.8.3.4. preventing trust	<i>usaldust takistav</i>
3.8.3.5. encouraging communication	<i>subtlemit soodustav</i>
3.8.3.6. preventing communication	<i>subtlemit takistav</i>
3.8.4. functions of text and language	<i>tekstilised ja keelefunktsioonid</i>
3.8.4.1. textual	<i>tekstiline</i>
3.8.4.2. hypnotising, subconscious	<i>hüpnoteeriv, alateadvusele mõjuv</i>
3.8.5. common functions	<i>ühised funktsioonid</i>
3.8.5.1. function of action	<i>tegevusfunktsioon</i>
3.8.5.1.1. encouraging behaviour and action	<i>käitumist ja tegevust soodustav</i>
3.8.5.1.2. suppressing behaviour and action	<i>käitumist ja tegevust pidurdav</i>
3.8.5.2. function of rules	<i>reeglitefunktsioon</i>
3.8.5.2.1. organising function	<i>korraldav funktsioon</i>
3.8.5.3. process function	<i>protsessifunktsioon</i>
3.8.5.3.1. releasing processes	<i>protsesse vabastav</i>
3.8.5.3.2. regulating and limiting processes	<i>protsesse kontrolliv ja piirav</i>
3.8.5.3.3. absorbing into processes	<i>protsessidesse haarav</i>
3.8.5.3.4. decreasing generalization	<i>üldistust kahandav</i>
3.8.5.3.5. increasing generalization	<i>üldistust kasvatav</i>
3.8.5.3.6. solitary case	<i>üksikjuhtum</i>
3.9. Post-textual effects	<i>Posttekstilised muutused</i>

- 3.9.1. gaps in text
- 3.9.2. influencing identity (example, identification, suggestion, assuming, persuasion)
- 3.9.3. establishing and expanding new logic system and cause-effect relation
- 3.9.4. avoidance of negative reaction , customise to what is normal, encourage acceptance
- 3.9.5. encourage natural, mitigation
- 3.9.6. avoidance of questioning and problems
- 3.9.7. avoidance of process analysis, establishment of normative interpretation
- 3.9.8. change of character of the process
- 3.9.9. illusion of natural and voluntary
- 3.9.10. concealing basis for categorisation and system mechanisms
- 3.9.11. generalisation
- 3.9.12. moral regulation
- 3.9.13. change of relations
- 3.9.14. stressing what is absolute
- 3.9.15. relativity
- 3.9.16. concealing 'junctions' and 'transitions', false decoding of structure
- 3.9.17. encouraging acceptance
- 3.9.18. false decoding of reaction
- 3.9.19. wrong construction of connections
- 3.9.20. transforming discussions into norms
- 3.9.21. narrowing picture
- 3.9.22. changing thought connections, distracting of misconceptions
- 3.9.23. changing history
- 3.9.24. alteration of inner-outer placement
- 3.9.25. stopping processes
- 3.9.26. formalising
- 3.9.27. orientation faults
- 3.9.28. experientiality
- 3.9.29. rise of interest
- 3.9.30. interest satisfaction
- 3.9.31. creation of attitudes
- 3.9.32. hindrance of activities
- augud rektis, uue struktuuri loomine*
- identiteedi mõjutamine (eeskuju, samastamine, sugestisioon, enesestmõistetavus, veenmine)*
- uue loogika, põhjus-tagajärg seoste kehtestamine ja laiendamine*
- negatiivse reaktsiooni vältimine, 'normaalsusega' harjumine ja omaksvõttu soodustav loomulikkuse, pehmenemise soodustamine*
- küsitavuste ja probleemide vähendamine*
- protsesside analüüsi takistamine, normatiivse interpreteerimise kehtestamine*
- protsessi (seoste) iseloomu muutmine loomulikkuse ja vabatahtlikkuse illusioon*
- liigitusaluste ja süsteemi mehhanismide varjamine*
- üldisuse tekitamine*
- moraali korrastamine*
- inimsuhete muutmine*
- absoluutsus (rõhutamine)*
- relatiivsus*
- 'liitekohtade' ja 'üleminekute' varjamine – struktuuri väär dekodeerimine*
- omaksvõttu soodustav*
- reageeringu väär dekodeerimine*
- seoste väär konstruktsioon*
- arutluste muutmine normideks*
- pildi kitsendamine*
- mõtlemisseoste muutmine, väärloogika harjutamine*
- ajaloo muutmine*
- sisemine-välimine asetuse muutmine*
- protsesside peatamine*
- formaliseerimine*
- orienteerumisvead*
- kogemuslikkus*
- huvi tekitamine*
- huvi rahuldamine*
- hoiakute kujundamine*
- tegevuse pidurdamine*

- 3.9.33. direction and observation of public activeness
- 3.9.34. renaming of environment and ideology creation
- 3.9.35. changes in emphasising
- 3.9.36. changing traditions
- 3.9.37. construction of new 'us'
- 3.9.38. change of time cognisance
- 3.9.39. change of location identity
- 3.9.40. increasing generalisation
- 3.9.41. disperse of focusing
- 3.9.42. nomination avoidance
- 3.9.43. regulating meaning /signification system
- 3.9.44. activation
- 3.9.45. decreasing activation
- 3.9.46. disguised problems
- 3.9.47. disguised attitude
- 3.9.48. right–wrong classification
- 3.9.49. voluntary performance
- 3.9.50. institutionalisation
- 3.9.51. diminishing subjectivity
- 3.9.52. creation of assurance, trust
- 3.9.53. stability
- 3.9.54. brain-washing

avaliku aktiivsuse suunamine ja kontrollimine

keskkonna ümbernimetamine ja ideologiseerimine

rõhuasetuste muutmine

traditsioonide muutmine

uue 'meie' konstrueerimine

ajatunnetuse muutmine

paigaidentiteedi muutmine

üldisuse laiendamine

keskendumise hajutamine

nimetamise vältimine

tähendus/tähistussüsteemi korrastamine

aktiviseerimine

aktiviseerimise vähendamine

varjarud probleemid

varjarud suhtumine

õige-vale jaotamine

vabatahtlikuna esitamine

institutionaliseerimine

subjektsuse nõrgendamine

kindluse, usalduse loomine

stabiilsus

ajupesur

APPENDIX 3.

The original page of visured text for Estonian Radio 1980. (Not allowed for broadcast.)

Eesti Raadio!
Kirjandus

1980

M1 A Heik Luulega 23. 12 1980 kell 14.30

M2 B

TASS C Tõlk _____ p. _____ Rbl. _____

ETA D Autor Viivi Luik p. _____ Rbl. _____

KORR. E _____ p. _____ Rbl. _____

Alusloosid loend. loototeegi number	Alusloosid ptk. kura mla. p-k.
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Päevauudis	01
Lühisaavõtt	02
Kommentaar	03
Intervjuu	04
Vestlus	05
Reportaaž	06
Olümpiade	07
Publ. eeln.	08
Dok. komp.	09
PGK	10
Kuulde lugem.	11
Kuuldepilt	12
Kuuldemäng	13
Viktorin	14
Olümpia	15
Avastus saade	16
Kaasart	17
Ametlik	01
Markisid	02
Parl. korrasolud	03
Morali. eetik	04
Välispoliitika	05
Riigikaitse	06
Juridiline	07
Tööstus, ohutus	08
S. - Siallus	09
... olu	10
Isikune	11
Olümp	12
Põllum., metsaol.	13
Loodus	14
Tead.	15
Kandid	16
Ajaviide	17
Määrused	18
Muud	1
Sots. tead	2
NSVL	3
ENSV	4
Arengutead	5
Kogel. tead	6
Määrused	7

M.T.: Pühapäeval kell 19.56 algas talv. Ja seda aastat on jäänud järele veel üksainuke nädal. On meie kõige pimedam aeg, detsembri lõpp. Aga selleksamal nädalal inimesed ikka vaatavad endasse ja otsivad heledamaid laike elnust ja tulevaat ja püüavad kokku tõmmata nagu mingiks ümmarguseks ringiks aasta paevi, mis on olnud. Vähesalt paljudel on see nii. Kas ka teil, Viivi Luik? Missugune eli teie aasta, teie luuleaasta?

V. Luik: Jah, samahästi võib küsida, missugune eli minu eluaasta. Usun, et oleksin sellel aastal rohkem teinud, kui mind ei oleks takistanud lohakad, laisad ja vääritud inimesed. Sellelgi aastal, olgu ta siis elu-või luuleaasta, on arutult palju tunde tühja jooksnud, elutunde ja minuveid on kulunud kingsepatöökedades, tööde vastuvõtja ees alandlikku nägu tehes, lõpututes üürimkamise saudades seistes, kusagil kellegagi vaieldes, kellelki sõimata saades. Seesugustelt retkedelt olen koju jõudnud kurja südame ja tühjade silmadega. Mis on seal tööst raakidaj

Luuletaja töö on mäng. Põgu ta pealegi mäng - Ajaga, Eluga, Igavikuga - väsinud ja alanenud luuletaja ei taha mängida, ei lihtsat ega keerulist mängu.

EK Fotograafid. Od. 79. 751. 100.000

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 Interview with Editor-in-Chief of Foreign transmissions K. Reinsoo (1996).
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 Interview with Editor of Literature programme M. Tarand (1994).
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University of Turku
Department of Media Research

LÕHMUS, MAARJA: TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC TEXT
IN TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM:

A Socio-Semiotic Study of Practices of Soviet Censorship
in Estonian Radio in the 1980's.

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This study analyses the production of public journalistic text. The focus is on editorial-censorship transformations in texts made during the final stage of textual preparation in journalistic institutions of Soviet Estonia at the beginning of the 1980s. By definition any public text is a democratic phenomenon, but through the different stages of the production process, and as it takes different forms, such a text always has a certain bias. Even though public text is presented as public, its production is actually covert. Any overt, and particularly covert, practices of text production seem to presume the existence of a normative and ideal model. But is this really the case?

The public has not been too eager to answer this question. The deliberate shunning of this complex problem has resulted in a large number of euphemisms used for describing means of text correction, e.g., 'help', 'technical execution', 'adjustment', 'structuring', etc. In fact, the issue concerns the relations between the individual and society. One aim of this dissertation is to explicate the ways in which this problem has been consistently and deliberately overlooked. A particularly impressive, practical example of textual directedness is the journalistic process of Soviet public text production. In the latter, each stage of the process underwent several forms of control, both directly – as censorship – and indirectly – as *visering*, discussion, technical arrangement, etc. The confrontation between professional editing and forms of ideological control are revealed in the present study by means of 'textual archaeology'. Through juxtaposition of different 'layers' of written material, which in this study are texts both before and after correction, it is possible to establish the structure of ideas underlying the processes and strategies of correction.

The study includes a theoretical-conceptual framework of the problem, analysis of historical context, and empirical material. A socio-semiotic method has been

constructed by which to analyse the latter. The data consists of 79 edited-censored radio texts from the 1980s, as well as interviews with journalists and editors.

The Introduction discusses essential problems of research in contemporary communication. Not enough attention has been paid to the study of the real substance of communication nor to communication as process, neither have suitable research methods been sufficiently developed. Normative theories have dominated in the field, axiomatically fixing the reciprocal relations between types of society and the texts circulating in them. Questions studied here are how this correlation is warranted in different systems, and what strategies are used to situate new texts in the various systems.

Chapters 1 and 2 delimit the communication-theoretical field, and defines the concepts necessary for study of communication texts in their context and the strategies of the preliminary processing of meaning. In Chapter 3, I provide an historical analysis of the functioning of Soviet communication as a new type of repressive power. I have focused on the production and control (transformation) of the texts of the last, decaying phase of Soviet communication, using the example of Estonian Radio in the 1980s. Chapter 4 presents the method used in the study of transformation of texts, the codes used for its application, and a survey of the material studied. Chapter 5, which presents a quantitative conclusion of censorship, textual transformation in the process and the typology of textual intervention. Chapter 6 explicates how texts were transformed so as to suit the normative textual model. That textual model is presented as one of Soviet mythology, both constituting and perpetuating eight ideological myths. Comments on different kinds of transformation are given in Chapter 8, which also provides a survey of the functional transformations that arise concurrently with textual changes; the chapter also explicates the functions of textual transformation in the Soviet community. Three central strategies of textual intervention are focused on: decreasing-weakening, increasing-strengthening, and reversal.

My dissertation raises questions, both theoretical and practical, concerning the methods of directing and influencing public texts in society: How are these texts produced? Who produces them? Who directs and controls their production? In sum, How is the 'public' or 'general' text actually born?

The dissertation presents a new theoretical view of general public texts: such texts attempt to eliminate individuality and to strengthen institutionalisation, ideologisation, positivity, and social structures and functions. For that reason, the subjective use of language, and overt humanism and communication were decreased

in public texts. Even 'the person' was used mostly as material for creating the normative structure of the public text. Given the mythological hierarchy in place at the time, the written and unwritten rules of text-control defined a generalised and normative model. The normative model of control in turn gave rise to a *normative model of text*. I argue that, in journalism research, more attention should be paid to problematic material which can be found in abundance at every level of the process. Journalism research should free itself from the bonds of normative theories, if it wants to be transformed from an ideology into a serious social science that observes processes in time as well as compares cognitive practices in different systems.

The investigation of Soviet public text production is a rich field of study. It was through these practices that most public texts of the 1950s-1980s in the Soviet Union and its satellites were produced. The present dissertation attempts to provide insight into materials applicable to the historical analysis of the experience of Soviet textual practices. My survey of the historical transformations of public text can serve as a theoretical framework for the study of other texts from the recent past.

Key words: Journalism, communication, totalitarian, public text, journalistic process, textual intervention, transformation, editing, *visouring*, censorship, society, ideology, Soviet.

