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conflict. Dissidents want to get their views to the West (and thence, via Western radio broadcasts, back home); they also believe they will be treated less harshly by Soviet authorities if they have a Western following. But Osnos contends that excessive reliance on the dissident point of view gives Americans a distorted picture, "as oversimplified in a way as Soviet reports about the United States."

*White Newspapers'
Southern Strategy*

"The Rhetorical Appeals of Whites to Blacks During Reconstruction" by Cal M. Logue, in *Communications Monographs* (Aug. 1977), 5205 Leesburg Pike, Falls Church, Va. 22041.

The Civil War disrupted the white political monopoly in the South—but more in form than in substance, argues Logue, director of the University of Georgia's Communications Division. In a survey of post-bellum newspapers and magazines, he finds that Southern publishers used a "verbal bribe and a rhetorical threat" to intimidate newly enfranchised blacks. Their object: to persuade former slaves (suddenly a majority of the electorate in Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina) to vote for conservative whites or not at all.

During Reconstruction, white Southerners felt threatened not only by Northern carpetbaggers but also by the growing number of blacks elected to Congress and the state legislatures. Newspapers like the *Mobile Daily Advertiser and Register* warned that "impressionable" blacks must be saved from "ravaging" Northerners who would "poison the minds and monopolize the ears" of freedmen. The *New Orleans Picayune* promised that whites would help blacks become "useful, orderly, industrious, well-behaved, and productive"—if blacks would voluntarily forfeit their newly won political rights.

Behind the newspapers' cajolery lay an ill-disguised threat. If blacks failed to conform to white expectations, then "woe to your race," as



From XIX Century magazine, Charleston, 1869.

Post-bellum Southern editors mocked pliant black officials to amuse white readers. The Hon. Fortune Flanders (left) rails against a Northern carpetbagger: "He don't pay a tax eben on de carpet bag he fotch down yeah to fill up wid de pickens ob de sixteen office he hole."

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orator Ben Hill wrote in the *Atlanta Constitution*. "Of course we mean no intimidation," declared an editorialist in the *Mobile Daily Advertiser and Register*. Blacks "are free—free to vote, free to starve." White editors advanced their views through "sensible negroes" who were tolerated as long as they preached black subservience. But even these "loyal" blacks reaped only ridicule (see illustration on facing page) from the press.

Reconstruction, Logue concludes, made it inevitable that whites would have to "talk to" Southern blacks. But "the voice of the press," one editor noted, could help keep blacks from talking back.

A Free Press and the Third World

"Mass News Media and the Third World Challenge" by Leonard Sussman, in *The Washington Papers* (1977), Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, 1800 K St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

Third World governments are increasingly embittered by Western news services—such as Associated Press, United Press International, Reuters, and Agence France-Pressé—that emphasize natural and manmade disasters in underdeveloped nations while ignoring local economic gains. And they view the flow of largely Western information into their countries (in the form of books, movies, newsmagazines, and wire service reports) as "cultural imperialism." Sussman, executive director of New York's Freedom House, warns that "an information revolution of historical proportions lies just ahead" as Third World nations seek drastic revisions in their information exchanges with the West.

The main arena for Third World complaints has been the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Government control of mass media and hostility to visiting Western newsmen has spread rapidly through Africa, Asia, and Latin America (often with UNESCO support). The UNESCO-backed Third World press pool, formed in 1976 and dominated by the Yugoslav news agency, Tanjug, reports 62 "nonaligned" nations now participating. Last March, Libya announced the formation, with UNESCO backing, of a far-flung Arab-African news agency with "anti-imperialist" political goals.

The Third World challenge, writes Sussman, involves a choice between government and nongovernment control of the news—an issue on which there can be no adequate compromise. For their part, ethnocentric Western media managers must begin to portray the complexity and diversity of the Third World (whose leaders they often describe simply as "pro-Moscow," "pro-West," or "pro-Peking"). At the same time, Third World leaders must realize that Western politicians and businessmen are not likely to assist regimes that obstruct access to the news. Moreover, Sussman believes, government news monopolies will not be popular; ordinary Third World citizens want to hear "competing voices," even if their rulers demur.