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THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS' VIEW TOWARD  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

THESIS

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Knowledge of the attitude of the people in a region or section of a country toward relations with other countries is important for their government. V. O. Key, Jr., stated that "Governments must concern themselves with the opinions of their citizens. . . ."1

Consequently, much has been written by political scientists and others about public opinion and the attitudes of people on a macro-political level. Literature is now available on Southern regional attitudes.<sup>2</sup> But little has been written on the attitudes or opinions of the people in the region immediately surrounding and including the Dallas, Texas, metropolitan area on subjects relating to international relations.

The purpose of this study is to determine, if possible, North Central Texas views or attitudes toward international relations. These attitudes will be compared to studies on

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1V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy (New York, 1961), p. 3.

2For example, Alfred O. Hero, Jr., The Southerner and World Affairs (Baton Rouge, 1965), and Key, op. cit., and Charles O. Lerche, Jr., The Uncertain South: Its Changing Patterns of Politics in Foreign Policy (Chicago, 1964).

Southern attitudes to determine any similarities or dissimilarities. Literature on Southwestern attitudes is sparse; therefore, all data will be compared with that compiled by political scientists on Southern attitudes.

The Dallas Morning News was chosen for the study for several reasons. First, a basic hypothesis is that a leading newspaper in an area both leads and reflects local public opinion. Second, The Dallas Morning News is, perhaps, the best known area newspaper and has the largest daily circulation. Editorials were examined on the assumption that a newspaper's attitudes are reflected in its editorials and that editorials, while not widely read, are read by influential citizens in the community who, in turn, influence and reflect opinion.

Public attitude, view, or opinion, for purposes of this study, will be considered synonymous. Our intention is to determine specific public attitudes or opinions in the North Central Texas area toward international relations topics, not to determine what "public opinion" is. Much consideration has been given a definition of public opinion which will suffice for this discussion. "'Public opinion' . . . may simply be taken to mean those opinions held by private persons which governments find it prudent to heed."<sup>3</sup> This definition is accepted by other political scientists, lacking

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

a more technical or elaborate explanation of public opinion.

Before considering an analysis of the News, three concepts must first be established: the relationship of public opinion and the press, the relationship of the press and foreign policy, and finally, concepts of regional attitudes on foreign policy. The relationship of the press to public opinion is apparently direct. Theories by writers vary and are incomplete, but some general conclusions can be reached regarding this relationship. The press, of which newspapers are a major portion, functions as an intermediary between government and the public. As such it is in a position not only to interpret and report news, but also to reflect opinions of government, the public, and itself, as well as to lead and/or influence the policies of government and the opinions of the public. From the information available today, it is apparent that the press has the potential of exerting great influence, by reflecting the general attitude and moral inclination of society. The press is economically dependent upon, and influenced by, its readers and advertisers, who influence its published content. At the same time the press is in a position to lead and influence the public. Editorials in newspapers may not be read by the majority of people who read newspapers, but they are considered to be read by a large percentage of the influential

people in its reading area. These people presumably are able to influence the opinions of others. The publisher, of course, also exerts influence on editorial writings.

The hypothesis restated, is that through examination of newspaper editorials, a general reflection of public attitude may be obtained. Admittedly, such an examination will not be as detailed or inclusive as other major studies,<sup>4</sup> but the assumption should be valid, nonetheless.

Support for this hypothesis is derived from several sources. Bernard Cohen says bluntly:

. . . the press is public opinion, and thus represents it manifestly or directly. . . . An editorial . . . spoke of public opinion as expressing itself directly on election day, and letting the press speak for it between elections and on specific issues. Since the press speaks for the public, and is even recognized as an expression of public opinion in its own right, then, "Where the people are sovereign, the press is king."<sup>5</sup>

Douglas Cater believes that, "The reporter is the recorder of government but he is also a participant. He operates in a system in which power is divided. He as much as anyone, and more than a great many, helps to shape the course of government."<sup>6</sup> Cater concludes that the press has enough influence to be labelled the "Fourth Branch of Government."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., for example.

<sup>5</sup>Bernard C. Cohen, The Press and Foreign Policy (New Jersey, 1963), pp. 32-33.

<sup>6</sup>Douglas Cater, The Fourth Branch of Government (Boston, 1959), p. 7.

Key also believes the press leads in formation of public opinion in certain instances:

The media may be especially influential in the formation of opinion, at least in the short run, about substantive issues and events which are remote from the experience of people and to the appraisal of which they can bring no applicable general convictions.<sup>7</sup>

Regarding quality newspapers such as The New York Times, Key feels that they have a special role in the communication process:

These [quality] newspapers serve a special function in communication among the major political actors and the lesser activists. These people talk to each other through these papers; thus they provide, in a sense, an arena for the continuing discussion of politics among those principally concerned.<sup>8</sup>

It may not be exactly correct to say that "the press is king," but with few exceptions, most authorities agree that the press influences public opinion. The press also reflects public opinion:

. . . the press provides policy makers with the ingredient that has long been assumed to be its chief contribution: a measure of public opinion. . . . The policy maker reaches for the newspaper as an important source of public opinion, as the instrument of "feedback." In fact, many officials treat the press and public opinion as synonymous.<sup>9</sup>

Editorial coverage apparently reaches only a small part of the newspaper reading public, but this public consists of

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<sup>7</sup>Key, op. cit., p. 401.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 405.

<sup>9</sup>Cohen, op. cit., p. 233.



influential members of the community (business men, educators, etc.), and the information is dissiminated to those less influential. According to James Reston, Executive Editor of The New York Times,

The editorial pages of American newspapers still reach a very limited percentage of the newspaper reading public. . . . Public criticism of government policy can, of course influence policy, but it tends to do so not through persuading a mass audience, but by reaching a much smaller audience in the Congress and the intellectual and communications communities of the nation.<sup>10</sup>

Editorials not only influence public opinion on a limited scale, but they also tend to reflect the basic ideology of the newspaper itself, and perhaps the local environment it represents. John B. Oakes, Editorial Page Editor of The New York Times, believes that the "editorial page . . . is the 'soul' of a newspaper, a reflection of its inner character and philosophy."<sup>11</sup> If it is true that the editorial page reflects the ideology of a newspaper, it is true also that a newspaper, being dependent upon advertising and operated by men who are a part of the culture for which the newspaper publishes, reflects the ideology of the people with whom the owners and managers associate in the community. Walter Lippmann early saw that the newspaper editor must

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<sup>10</sup>James B. Reston, The Artillery of the Press: Its Influence on American Foreign Policy (New York, 1960), p. 69.

<sup>11</sup>Gay Talese, The Kingdom and the Power (New York, 1969), p. 79.

consider the advertisers and business interests that support the newspaper. The editor, Lippmann says, must try to hold together an effective group of readers upon which his advertisers depend for their economic survival.<sup>12</sup>

From the results of recent studies, it is felt that while few people read matters relating to foreign affairs, those that do tend to be the better educated, the business men, the professional people, and other influential people in the community. Because the newspapers believe that a continually high percentage of foreign affairs news reportage is not read by the mass public and because publishers and editors feel local and national news is more familiar to the public, coverage in most newspapers tends to be low.

Cohen expresses quite well the problem of foreign affairs coverage:

The most fundamental circumstance affecting the publication of foreign policy news is that it is, in the minds of all the people who put out newspapers, only one category of newspaper content out of many, and that it has to compete with all kinds of news and features for the limited space available. The editors and publishers argue that there are readers to be satisfied as well as an ill-defined "public interest" to be served, and so most editors and publishers divide up their space on the basis of their intuitive understanding of what their readers like--or what will sell papers.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion (New York, 1922), p. 333.

<sup>13</sup>Cohen, op. cit., p. 114.

Various studies have been made to determine the percent of foreign news coverage to total news. Estimates range from 3 to 5 per cent in a study conducted in 1956<sup>14</sup> to cover 8 per cent in a 1952-1953 study.<sup>15</sup> Study of editorial space in six newspapers in 1958 and 1959 indicates that 12.5 per cent of the space was devoted to foreign items, but substantive items accounted for only 7.7 per cent of total editorial space.<sup>16</sup> The New York Times had the greatest percentage of total news space devoted to foreign news: 10 per cent.<sup>17</sup> This generally low coverage of foreign news tends to support Cohen's hypothesis of a vicious circle in foreign affairs coverage.

The theory that only the influential tend to read foreign affairs items is supported by many, including Alfred O. Hero, Jr. The basic assumption in gathering data for his study of the Southerner and World Affairs is that a more positive analysis of opinion can be made by interviewing the "power elite" and interested observers, including subscribers to national foreign affairs magazines. Three-fourths of his sample comes from the upper and upper middle-class and does not include the rank and file.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 116.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 116.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 117.

<sup>18</sup>Hero, op. cit., p. 20.

Results of Key's study tend to confirm Cohen and Hero's conclusions. Key indicates that the higher the level of education and occupation of an individual, the greater his interest will be and the more liberal he will be toward international relations topics.<sup>19</sup>

In considering the relationship between public and foreign policy, many feel that the press occupies a position of potential power as an intermediary between government and the public. Key concluded that the press is not only a mirror by which its readers could see the world, but also that it functions as advocate and counselor.<sup>20</sup> Cohen explains that the "mirror" is refractive rather than reflective, with the press influencing both the public and the policy maker. For example, congressmen, the administration, and state department officials read closely regional as well as prestige papers such as The New York Times, and that informal interplay of views is maintained between newsmen and government officials.<sup>21</sup>

Because the press is put into such an important position as an intermediary, Reston argues that the rising power of the United States in world affairs requires

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<sup>19</sup>Key, op. cit., pp. 333, 337.

<sup>20</sup>Key, op. cit., p. 390.

<sup>21</sup>Cohen, op. cit., pp. 133-146.

. . . a relentless barrage of facts and criticism, as noisy but also as accurate as artillery fire. This means a less provincial, even a less nationalistic, press, because our job in this age, as I see it, is not to serve as cheerleaders for our side in the present world struggle but to help the largest possible number of people see the realities of the changing and convulsive world in which American policy must operate.<sup>22</sup>

Reston would like to see a more responsible press in foreign affairs coverage in an effort to explain causes and reflect public opinion accurately.

There has been an increasing amount of study devoted to public opinion, its relation to foreign policy, and the role of the press in leading and reflecting public opinion. There has not been a great deal of study, however, devoted to the third concept of regional or area attitudes toward international relations. Key devotes a chapter of his book, Public Opinion and American Democracy<sup>23</sup> to regional political attitudes, international as well as domestic. Only two major regional studies have been made on foreign policy attitudes, the previously cited works by Hero and Lerche, both on the South,<sup>24</sup> There has been nothing substantial written to date on Southwestern or Midwestern foreign policy attitudes. This study hopes to determine the attitude of The Dallas Morning News toward international relations, which in turn will be a partial reflection of the attitudes of the

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<sup>22</sup>Reston, op. cit., pp. vii-viii.

<sup>23</sup>Key, op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>24</sup>Hero, op. cit., and Lerche, op. cit.

readership of the News toward international relations. One of the objectives of the study will be to compare data compiled by these writers to that from the News to see if the Dallas area can be included in Southern attitudes. Hero and Lerche believe that Dallas is on the fringe of the South and that statistics applicable to the South may not always apply, but no in-depth analysis of the Dallas area is made.<sup>25</sup>

Key's analysis of foreign affairs attitudes is limited. Key agrees with Lerche's and Hero's conclusion that World War II minimized regional differences. "The impact of World War II in large degree erased regional differences in mass opinion on broad foreign policy problems."<sup>26</sup> In one survey in 1956 Key notes that 56 per cent of the people in the South were highly favorable toward American involvement in world affairs, compared with 58 per cent in the Far West, 59 per cent in the Northeast, and 53 per cent in the Midwest.<sup>27</sup> Isolationism, he feels, was not as strong after the war as before. Also, isolationism was not as strong in the metropolitan areas after the war. In the same survey, 61 per cent of the people in metropolitan areas, compared with 51 per cent in rural areas, rated high in internationalism.<sup>28</sup> Key's analysis is limited to the question of isolationism versus internationalism.

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<sup>25</sup>Hero, op. cit., p. 12, and Lerche, op. cit., p. 83.

<sup>26</sup>Key, op. cit., p. 106.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 107.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 114.

Lerche's study encompasses fourteen southern states--the eleven former Confederate States, including Texas, plus West Virginia, Kentucky, and Oklahoma. His study is designed as a macro-political study of the South, and he analyzes the voting record of all 126 congressmen from the above states on the assumption that a congressman's view is determined ". . . more by the state of mind he senses among his constituents than by any other single factor."<sup>29</sup>

The results of Lerche and Hero tend to complement each other. Lerche notes that President Wilson, a Southerner, received great support from the South and possibly influenced the Southern position on foreign affairs. Much of Wilson's fight for international causes became the South's fight.<sup>30</sup>

Lerche does not use the terms "isolationist-internationalist," because nobody is, he says, pure isolationist or internationalist. Rather, he uses a "unilateralist-multilateralist" continuum in discussing the economic, pragmatic internationalism, characteristic of the South.<sup>31</sup>

For example, the South has consistently been committed to free trade and low tariffs. In fact this was, for a long time, the only real difference between the two major political parties.<sup>32</sup> Also, the South has been sympathetic

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<sup>29</sup>Lerche, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., pp. 43-45.      <sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., pp. 36-37.

toward strong national defense. "Southerners in Congress have consistently been defenders of the armed forces and advocates of a greater place for them in American society."<sup>33</sup> A third characteristic of traditional Southern attitudes, according to Lerche, is a friendly disposition toward Western Europe in general, and Great Britain in particular. This attitude is characterized by Southern advocacy of U. S. entrance into the League of Nations and extensive United States aid to Great Britain prior to World War II. The South also argued for American entry into the war.<sup>34</sup>

After World War II, however, Southern attitudes on foreign policy have shifted. Previously in favor of the Marshall Plan, the South gradually turned its back on foreign aid, partly because the area of emphasis has shifted from Europe where economic and military strength was regained, to the underdeveloped nations, where results have been less spectacular.<sup>35</sup> In the area of international cooperation, the South has shown hostility on a number of issues. These include wheat for Pakistan, 1953; the Peace Corps Act, 1961; and the Alliance for Progress, 1961. In each instance the Southern congressmen as a whole cast negative votes.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., pp. 59-71.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., pp. 298-300.



Lerche believes that the South is positive or negative on issues of international relations as fits its self-interest; thus it is sometimes multilateralist and sometimes unilateralist.

The Texas area, for the purposes of analysis, must be split into at least two divisions. East Texas is different in attitude from West Texas, for instance. Lerche classifies the Dallas area as closely akin to East Texas in attitude. Dallas is what Lerche calls an "ideological district." That is, Dallas is a district where ideology on foreign affairs crosses party lines, and the people in Dallas tend to be more militant than others in the articulate, organized demands to their congressmen on foreign policy matters.<sup>37</sup>

Hero's study of Southern foreign policy attitudes agrees in most respects with Lerche's conclusions; however, Hero interviewed primarily the "power elite" and interested observers in local southern communities under the assumption that such influential and educated members of the communities would give a more reflective and more educated view of opinion than the uninterested and uninvolved.<sup>38</sup>

Hero notes that Southern support for freer trade should not be considered part of any general liberal ideology.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 138.

<sup>38</sup>Hero, op. cit., p. 20.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 143.

Even the support for freer trade has declined in the South. During the late 1950's there was an increase in protectionism by a minority, most of lower educational levels, and by 1961, the average favorable to freer trade in the South was less than in the non-South.<sup>40</sup> Regarding foreign aid, Hero feels that the South was never solidly in favor of the Truman Doctrine or the Marshall Plan. Southern newspapers supported the Marshall Plan and aid to Japan primarily because they were reassured that such aid would prevent the spread of communism. They were not interested in promoting social change.<sup>41</sup> There is a tendency for the South to be hostile toward communism,<sup>42</sup> intolerant of neutral nations,<sup>43</sup> pessimistic about achieving arms control,<sup>44</sup> and to place emphasis upon regional alliances, particularly N.A.T.O. and the Monroe Doctrine.<sup>45</sup>

Part of the basis for Southern attitudes on international relations topics Hero and Lerche attribute to Southern tradition and economic necessities. Until recently, for example, the South bought raw materials and farm equipment from overseas; thus it would naturally advocate lower tariffs.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., pp. 147-149.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., pp. 197-201.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 192.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., pp. 104-105.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 119.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., pp. 139-140.

Dallas, Hero feels, is a heterogeneous city with few of the genteel traditions of the deep South. Universities and retail manufacturers have influence, yet oil and gas independents still exert great power. They tend to agree with the ultraconservatives and neo-isolationists on world affairs, including trade and foreign aid. Hero speculates that, despite the rapid economic growth of Dallas, the city may have attracted a large number of people from the Northeast with similar conservative ideology, and that

. . . the cities population may include a large proportion of men with rural and small town backgrounds who had had economically and culturally deprived, religiously fundamentalist childhoods; and a working and lower middle class of similar origins--a combination likely to result in ultra-conservatism and one form of unilateralism or neo-isolationism or another. . . .<sup>47</sup>

If we consider the studies of Hero and Lerche valid, we may then proceed to analyze the News' editorials and compare the results. The method will be to analyze the News' editorials from the end of World War II through 1969, for data on international relations. An inclusive approach has been used in gathering data. Any subject relating to United States affairs with other countries, both substantive and non-substantive, has been included. Such topics as communism, foreign aid, international trade, the United Nations, Viet Nam, Korea, Cuba, etc., as well as national security have been examined from a historical and analytical

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid., pp. 169-170.

standpoint utilizing some of the methods of Key, Lerche, and Hero. These authors accumulated detailed data from interviews and voting records and utilized data processing techniques to achieve numbers and percentages on attitudes about various subjects.

Data for this study has been sorted and examined in several forms, providing an analysis of specific attitudes on international relations topics as well as analyses of the frequency of foreign affairs editorials, the per cent of space devoted to major subjects, changing attitudes of the News on major subjects, and other applicable considerations. In short, the attempt was to obtain as much information in varied forms about the News as is possible without the aid of the computer.

To obtain a random sample, all international relations editorials in every thirteenth month beginning in September, 1950, through March, 1968 have been analyzed. All international relations editorials in the year 1969, the concluding year of the study, are examined. In addition, editorials outside of the random sample are employed to give adequate coverage to specific topics. Finally, a comparison of one selected month with a similar month in The New York Times is made for content analysis.

It is hypothesized that this analysis will provide insight into the attitudes of the people of the North Central Texas area toward international relations.

## CHAPTER II

### TOPICAL ANALYSIS

One method of determining views or attitudes is through interpretation of the printed or spoken word for feeling, emotion, or direction of view according to subject. This chapter studies the data gathered on international relations topics, including communism, United States military posture, foreign aid, international trade, the United Nations and other specific topics such as Vietnam. Through examination of such topics, a general knowledge of The News' international views can be obtained.

The subject of communism, including Russia, China, and Eastern Europe has been of considerable interest to The News in the years 1950 through 1969. A number of such editorials, mainly on United States-Russian relations and Russian communism, have been written during those years. Probably the most apparent attitude noticeable to the reader of The News' editorials has been a basic fear of communism and distrust of communist countries.

Regarding Russia, The News' editorials have been wide ranging, covering various subjects, substantive and non-substantive. A view on communism might be summed up as

follows: "We can neither compromise with nor laugh off the 'malignant force' of communism."<sup>1</sup> As late as 1965 The News is quoted as saying:

Communism's appeal cannot be minimized; it is the most formidable challenge and conspiracy in history . . . History and the odds are against Marx. They are with us, but only if we persevere in our faith, in our belief in a Higher Power and in the supremacy of God over man.<sup>2</sup>

The News has previously stated that dictatorship is the pattern of communism, of "all socialist government," where the politician has absolute power.<sup>3</sup> This power of Russian dictatorship has been seen as a threat to the United States, and early in 1955 after the Khrushchev-Bulganin government came to power, The News warned that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization should be apprehensive and that the West ". . . cannot afford to hesitate in the rearmament of Europe."<sup>4</sup>

Distrust has been shown in The News editorials. Regarding a statement on peaceful coexistence made by Bulganin in 1955, The News said, "No pledge has been kept. Why should we expect any pledge to be kept."<sup>5</sup> And in 1960

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<sup>1</sup>The Dallas Morning News, January 1, 1954, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., December 26, 1965, Sec. C, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., December 18, 1953, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., February 9, 1955, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., February 14, 1955, Sec. 3, p. 2.

The News said, "Khrushchev's assurances of friendship to Austria are worthless."<sup>6</sup> Also, regarding a fear of World War III, The News maintained that, "Talk with the Reds settles nothing permanently, because they give their word only to break it."<sup>7</sup>

The cold war has been characterized by The News as a sort of paradox with both sides fighting for democracy as they understand it to be.<sup>8</sup> However, ". . . even if Russia and China would collapse overnight, the cold war would continue, because we live in a world in which the struggle for power is ingrained and habitual." The News added that "Eternal vigilance is the price of our continued liberty."<sup>9</sup>

We of the free world must be firm. We must be determined but calm. We must be prepared for the consequences--so terrible in their potential destruction of civilization--without ourselves precipitating a crisis by ill-advised, ill-timed action.

Communism confronts us with a burdensome task, one that will tax our statesmanship and wisdom in Washington and throughout the land. These are times that call for reason, courage, patriotism and prayer.<sup>10</sup>

This last quote was made in relation to the 1961 Berlin crisis, but seems to be relevant to The News' position on communism today.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., July 10, 1960, Sec. 4, p. 2.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., February 16, 1955, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., October 28, 1963, Sec. 4, p. 4.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., June 20, 1959, Sec. 4, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., August 18, 1961, Sec. 4, p. 2.

During the 1963 crisis over Berlin, The News felt that the Soviets were not really pursuing peace and that they were ahead of us in high yield weapons.<sup>11</sup> In most East-West relations there was a distrust of Russian diplomatic purposes and a fear that the U.S.S.R. might be getting ahead of the United States in the arms race. During the U-2 incident, The News warned that ". . . we need to increase, not curtail, our surveillance of the enemy who has threatened to bury us."<sup>12</sup> The News has also favored discussions on nuclear disarmament, but added that ". . . caution should be our watchword."<sup>13</sup>

Since the early 1960's a slight change can be detected in The News' response to Russian communism. The News appears to be in a more conciliatory mood than in past years toward Soviet Russia, feeling that that country and the United States are growing closer together economically, and stating that the paper is ". . . glad to see the U.S.S.R. developing a nose for profits."<sup>14</sup> The emphasis in 1969 was on "building bridges." For instance, an American engineer stated that a bridge could be built across the Bering Strait for about one billion dollars. It brought out this comment:

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., October 16, 1963, Sec. 4, p. 6.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., September 11, 1962, Sec. 4, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., January 8, 1954, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., October 16, 1969, Sec. E, p. 2.



A fairly good influx from the East of fugitives and spies could be expected.

Adlai Stevenson once wanted to make the Chinese Gobi Dessert bloom like the rose--with American money. The public reaction was to ask why.

That's how we feel about the Bering Freeway.<sup>15</sup>

The News, while rejecting the proposed bridge, does not concentrate on the 'malignant force' of communism it had earlier. Regarding trade with the Soviet Union, The News says that President Nixon's insistence on more cooperation from the communists as a condition for more trade is sound, and

There may be future occasions in which we have something that the Soviets want. But before we begin handing it over by stage, we'd do well to make sure they hand us a tangible concession that we want in return.

The trouble with past attempts at "bridge-building" is that all of the constructive work is being done from this side.<sup>16</sup>

It is reasonable to assume that this relatively positive approach toward Russia is due mainly to a general lessening of United States-U.S.S.R. tensions. Also, The News seemed to generally support major United States foreign policy actions from 1950 through 1969, reaffirming the "bi-partisan" concept of foreign policy. The exception might be President Kennedy. The News did not support many of Kennedy's foreign policy proposals, possibly in part because of his liberal

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., May 31, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., June 2, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

leaning. In the 1962 Cuban crisis The News said, "Kennedy is about the only American citizen unwilling to face the realities of the situation in Cuba today." The News added that Kennedy denied that Cuba represented a serious threat to the collective security of the American Republics and that the Cuban threat called for a military blockade.<sup>17</sup> Because the Russians "understand nothing but force," the President should ". . . return to the firmer policies of the late John Foster Dulles: tell the Soviets we will retaliate if they make one more move."<sup>18</sup> Continuing the criticism after the President mobilized 150,000 reservists, The News reminded the reader that the President had the power to call up 1,000,000 reservists by declaring a national emergency. "Why then is it necessary to ask Congress for authority to call 150,000 more." The News reaches the conclusion that Kennedy's request was based on politics and says "American foreign policy has been based on politics and propaganda too long." Further, the call-up of 150,000 reservists was defensive and a poor substitute for the "bold, direct action the Cuban threat demands."<sup>19</sup> During most of Kennedy's term of office, The News felt that "we cannot cooperate with the Russians."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., September 7, 1962, Sec. 4, p. 4.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., September 26, 1962, Sec. 4, p. 4.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., September 26, 1962, Sec. 4, p. 4.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., October 30, 1963, Sec. 4, p. 2.

The News generally tended to support Presidents Eisenhower, Johnson, and Nixon's policies toward Russian Communism through support of N.A.T.O., other international defense treaties, and diplomacy from military strength. In addition, Eastern Europe was generally treated by The News as belonging in the Soviet sphere of influence. For example, in ruling out military interference in the 1956 Hungarian revolt, The News supported Eisenhower's statements.

The President's Thursday open comment on the situation in Hungary is a forthright statement for the record. To be sure, it does not commit this country to physical aid for the game, possibly doomed, Hungarians who have risen in their age-old yearning for freedom. . . .

The President's quick and emphatic statement on the crisis merits the full support of this country.<sup>21</sup>

When Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia visited the United States in 1963, The News continued its policy of no support for Eastern European governments.

What Tito has ever done to deserve such a welcome in America--the citadel of freedom and democracy--is hard to imagine. . . .

He is a dedicated communist, publicly; in U.N.--never opposed the Soviets on a major issue; did not support the Hungarian revolt in 1956.<sup>22</sup>

Recently, however, The News' editorials have tended to support increased dialogue and trade with those governments, feeling that Soviet influence might be weakening. On the

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., November 26, 1956, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., October 7, 1963, Sec. 4, p. 2.

1968 Czechoslovakia invasion by Russia, The News reflected, "Russia's 'hundred Vietnams' may be beginning in reverse. . . ." <sup>23</sup> The News also criticized the United States for no longer encouraging "Russia's captive nations" to revolt. <sup>24</sup>

While there were fewer editorials written on Communist China than on Russia, The News considered the threat of Communist China no less formidable to world peace. In 1954, Dulles' refusal of recognition of Red China was welcomed by The News. "Our recognition of Russia under F.D.R. was our and his greatest mistake and we should not have the same difficulties with Red China." <sup>25</sup> Also, The News stated that the United States should not negotiate with the Chinese. "In a conference with the Communists . . . the non-Red is defeated before he starts. He carries into the conference good faith. . . ." But a Communist country's pledge is worthless. <sup>26</sup> More recently The News has expressed that even though we may be in China's "sphere of influence" in Vietnam, "Freedom [the Asian feels] has no specific geography." <sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., August 21, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., September 25, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., January 28, 1954, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., February 6, 1955, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., May 25, 1969, Sec. A, p. 34.

Concerning the United States' policy of trade and travel restrictions to Red China,<sup>28</sup> The News cautioned against removal of such restrictions.

If the Nixon changes were made in the faith that gratitude for increased American trade would prompt Mao to allow more Americans to see his paradise, that faith is likely to be dimmed. Gratitude is not a Red Chinese custom.<sup>29</sup>

The editorials summarized above give the reader a general picture of The News' attitude toward communism. From these editorials some general conclusions can be reached. However, it is emphasized that these conclusions apply only to the views on communism. First, The News continued to see communism as a threat to world peace and United States' security, even though its attitude shifted to a less antagonistic, more concilliatory position in recent years. This change may be due largely to a general lessening of United States-Soviet tension, with the exception of Czechoslovakia, in recent years. Second, this threat of communism produced a basic distrust of communist intentions in negotiation, treaties, etc., and a corresponding ideological, dogmatic response, that would hinder United States diplomacy in the international arena. Third, with the exception of the Kennedy administration, The News generally supported presidential administrations for the last twenty years, and,

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., February 1, 1955, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., August 2, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

likewise, United States foreign policy during that period. And, lastly, many readers of The News' editorials might feel that such complex issues as Communism have, in many cases, been over-simplified, irrational in judgement, and occasionally deficient in subject knowledge.

If The News' fear of communism and the inherent struggle for power is carried to its next logical progression, it might be expected that the newspaper would favor a strong United States military posture for protection. Such was the case; however, the determination of causation (whether fear of communism caused support for a strong military posture, or vice versa) has not been considered, except that Hero determined that the South had a strong military tradition throughout its history.<sup>30</sup>

The News agreed with Eisenhower's nuclear disarmament proposals for open inspection throughout the 1950's:<sup>31</sup>

". . . a disarmament plan, enforceable, would be a blessing to man." The News warned, however, that the United States must have a strong commitment from Russia.<sup>32</sup> Until we receive that commitment from Russia, though ". . . we must arm ourselves with the latest instruments of destruction."

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<sup>30</sup>Alfred O. Hero, Jr., The Southerner and World Affairs (Baton Rouge, 1965), pp. 78-90.

<sup>31</sup>The Dallas Morning News, December 9, 1953, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., December 11, 1953, Sec. 3, p. 2.

Disarmament was taken seriously, and it was felt that the United States must come to some sort of world-wide agreement for the abolition of war. "There is no other way out."<sup>33</sup>

Regarding the nuclear arms race in 1960, The News stated that "The world is tense, but backing will not help, and western leaders will have to walk carefully, keep their eyes open and their trigger fingers ready."<sup>34</sup> In 1969, The News' basic position had not changed. The News felt that we must "resharpen that edge over the Soviet Union" so that any negotiations could be conducted from a position of strength.<sup>35</sup> The News supported the recent Strategic Arms Limitation Talks with the Soviet Union, as they did previous disarmament negotiation, but with a note of skepticism: "Anything else [except agreements about development of Anti-ballistic missile systems] that came out of the talks would probably be more than either side expects, but it's worth hoping for."<sup>36</sup>

The News cautioned that "those who clamor for further defense reductions should consider the consequences of not being prepared. . . . If cuts must be made, however, the military managers should not be penny wise and pound

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., February 11, 1965, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., July 11, 1960, Sec. 4, p. 2.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., January 26, 1969, Sec. A, p. 26.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., November 20, 1969, Sec. D, p. 4.

foolish. . . ."37 The News supported Nixon's basic defense programs, and gave the President little criticism. Agreeing with Nixon, the newspaper said, "It is time to study our overall strategy, to take into account the changes that have taken place, the lessons we have learned from experience. The Nixon team seems well equipped by temperament and talent to make such a study."38

The News later agreed with Nixon, after the study, that the United States should build the Antiballistic Missile system (ABM). The reason was that

"The rulers of the Soviet Union . . . are guided by two purposes: . . . [first] to protect the regime in every way, and . . . [second] probing weakness on the outside."

Critics of the ABM claimed you could negotiate with the Russians. This was contrary to the evidence. "If there is one clear lesson of the past three decades, it is this: with the weak, the Russians do not negotiate, they dictate. Ask the Czechs."39 Summing up its argument for the ABM in numerous editorials, The News felt that, "Refusing to build a missile-defense system isn't de-escalation; it's the equivalent of disarmament. It will give the Russians a nuclear advantage--something they've never had." The ABM was a

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37 Ibid., October 12, 1969, Sec. A, p. 38.

38 Ibid., May 6, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

39 Ibid., July 13, 1969, Sec. A, p. 24.



". . . life or death shield for our ICBM's."<sup>40</sup> Further, "The United States is now the leader of the free world and as such must undertake military obligations to help its weaker allies."<sup>41</sup> Finally, it was stated that the Russians were already well ahead in developing an ABM system.<sup>42</sup>

The argument for military strength also included a passive acceptance of chemical and biological warfare. "It is a horrible, hush-hush subject, but gas and germ armories exist almost everywhere. Nobody is pledged not to research and develop such weapons. But nobody should be caught with them in sight either."<sup>43</sup>

The News continuously supported United States treaty commitments around the world, particularly the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. "Western Democracies must give NATO their fullest support." Otherwise, defeat was likely.<sup>44</sup> While it was in favor of strong United States commitments to its treaties, The News agreed with the Nixon policy of Asian self-help and more European support in that area's collective security arrangements.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., June 19, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., August 29, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., April 29, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., July 24, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., August 2, 1961, Sec. 4, p. 2.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., August 6, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

The need for NATO is as urgent as ever. . . . But if NATO is to be kept afloat, the Europeans are going to have to show the American people that they are willing to start providing a larger share of the crew and capital required to keep it going. The days of the free ride at American expense are just about over.<sup>46</sup>

From 1963 to 1964 support was also given the proposed Multilateral Force based on a feeling that it might help prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.<sup>47</sup>

With regard to United States military posture and alliances, The Dallas Morning News' view was consistent within the scope of the study. The newspaper was strongly in favor of maintaining a large military, stockpile of nuclear weapons, and a sufficient ABM system for self-defense. The threat of communism, or the struggle for power, was given as the reason for such support, and this support did not alter significantly with changing administrations. The News generally supported the military policies of Eisenhower, Johnson, and Nixon, but warned the Kennedy administration that United States military strength must be kept high, and caution must be exercised with Russia. The News recognized the danger of nuclear weapons and warfare, but felt that the only immediate solution for security was maintenance of a large military.

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., June 7, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., November 27, 1964, Sec. 4, p. 2.

Foreign aid was another popular area of concern for The News, and over the last twenty years a number of editorials were written on the subject. In general The News was not in favor of extensive foreign aid; however, certain exceptions appeared from time to time. The Marshall Plan was a notable exception. The Plan was supported by The News, but only because it would strengthen Europe (and Japan) militarily, providing a buffer against communist expansion, and greater security to the United States.<sup>48</sup> As the Marshall Plan continued, resistance to increased foreign aid was apparent. The News was glad to see Eisenhower "tighten" the foreign aid budget and felt that the United States should emphasize private investment of American capital for economic development, which could bankrupt every American taxpayer.<sup>49</sup> In 1952, it recommended that private United States capital be channeled through the World Bank, for example.<sup>50</sup> Only by 1957, The News felt that foreign aid should be ". . . continued to a definitely diminishing schedule. . . ." <sup>51</sup> In 1958 The News explained:

We need . . . a complete reevaluation of our foreign aid program. The original Marshall Plan of four years has stretched to eleven years. Looking back

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., September 28, 1950, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., December 19, 1953, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., November 5, 1952, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., April 10, 1957, Sec. 3, p. 2.

we see the fallacy of the plan . . . we are in it up to our necks.

Before Congress appropriates any more money, a definite plan should be devised to end the plan and money should be given countries only after they know of the plan.<sup>52</sup>

Again in 1959 The News said the foreign aid programs ". . . is the most disastrous foreign policy venture we have ever attempted. . . . The time has come for us at least to ease off slowly on the foreign aid business."<sup>53</sup> And in that same year The News claimed that the Soviet program was more efficient than our own, and our program was destined to be part of our Achilles heel.<sup>54</sup> One of the main objections to our later foreign aid was that so much of the money was wasted. Kennedy's aid to Latin America was criticized because The News felt that sufficient controls on the use of the money were not established and the money would not be utilized properly.<sup>55</sup> The News also felt during the Kennedy administration that Congress should have more control over the use of foreign aid money and that no long-range foreign aid bills should be passed.<sup>56</sup>

In attempting to degrade the foreign aid program, or at least present examples of poor use of foreign aid to under-

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., May 16, 1958, Sec. 4, p. 5.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., June 14, 1959, Sec. 1, p. 22.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., June 28, 1959, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., August 8, 1961, Sec. 4, p. 2.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., August 16, 18, 1961, Sec. 4, p. 2.

developed countries, The News occasionally wrote editorials on such failures. For example, in 1962 Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia was reported to have bought a converted seaplane tender with three million dollars of American money for use as his personal yacht.<sup>57</sup>

The News was also against selling wheat to Russia in 1963 because, "The American taxpayer has spent \$100 billion dollars since 1947 on foreign aid. Objective of that program has been to combat the spread of communism."<sup>58</sup> For this same reason aid to Yugoslavia was consistently opposed on grounds that the United States was still worried about a military attack from the soviet bloc.<sup>59</sup>

During the Johnson administration, The News' opposition to the levels and methods of foreign aid decreased, and tended to follow presidential policy.

He [Johnson] is less concerned with the tender feelings of the neutralists and more concerned with neutralist actions that are in the best interest of the United States.

So he is requiring aid recipients to do more to help themselves, instead of relying on unending United States aid.<sup>60</sup>

With corresponding cuts by Congress during the Johnson administration, The News appeared to soften its attack on foreign aid, and to favor a constant low level of foreign

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid., September 8, 1962, Sec. 4, p. 2.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., October 4, 1963, Sec. 4, p. 2.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., October 9, 1963, Sec. 4, p. 4.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., December 29, 1965, Sec. D, p. 2.

aid, particularly aid that was spent in United States cities. Congress, The News felt, should not cut aid drastically below the current level without regard to need and ability to aid; although, "Every safeguard should be taken to see that each dollar spent buys \$1.00 worth of benefit to the giver and the recipient."<sup>61</sup>

The News, in brief, tended to support foreign aid wherever immediate results could be demonstrated and where it was felt that our national security required it. The News supported aid to Western Europe and Japan where the concept of aid was relatively uninvolved, but it had difficulty rationalizing aid to underdeveloped countries where results were long-range and the concept somewhat more involved. Perhaps there might be a slight change of attitude by The News, however, if the last quotation is taken seriously. If a slight change in attitude has taken place, it could be significant regarding future policy.

Texas is in the awkward position of needing desperately to sell more cotton to United States mills and also to Japan. . . . We need, too, markets in other nations. . . ."

For Texans, then, it is reassuring to have the United States delegate to the Geneva Conference of the Cotton Textiles Committee say, "It is not our desire to choke off trade."

We must provide domestic mills with protection that will enable them to survive and grow, without choking off other nations or our own exports of raw cotton.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid., November 4, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., October 12, 1969, Sec. A, p. 38.

This view in 1969 was basically consistent with those expressed in the preceeding twenty years. The News, along with much of the South<sup>63</sup> generally wanted lower tariffs and expanded trade due to the necessity of obtaining foreign markets for raw materials and other goods and food commodities. Writing on declining United States exports in 1952, The News explained that "Our economy needs these exports . . . we have to balance them with imports . . . we can hope to sell abroad no more than we buy from abroad."<sup>64</sup>

Remarking that California fig growers got a tariff on figs from Turkey in 1954, the question arose as to whether Turkey was more important than fig growers in California.<sup>65</sup> With regard to Latin America The News tended to favor further economic development through international trade and investment. The News generally supported, for example, the Latin American Free Trade Association, but emphasized, "Trade and private investment are the soundest means to develop Latin America. Our government doesn't have enough money to do it alone."<sup>66</sup>

In advocating renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Act in 1958, The News emphasized that Dallas received some sixteen

<sup>63</sup>Hero, op. cit., pp. 139-182.

<sup>64</sup>The Dallas Morning News, op. cit., November 30, 1952, Sec. 3, p. 1.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., January 14, 1954, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., October 10, 1962, Sec. 4, p. 2.

million dollars directly from foreign trade through 673 firms and 50,000 people. The same editorial also stated, however, that oil import quotas should be imposed, arguing that there was nothing inconsistent with this viewpoint, and that the same was done with sugar.<sup>67</sup>

The News did not show opposition to importation of most goods from various countries because of the recognition that Texas needed to sell its raw cotton, and other products abroad. For example, it did not object to the import of Volkswagen automobiles to the United States because it was estimated that, by 1966, two million dollars was added to the economy of the Southwest by unloading these imports at the Port of Houston. "It is but one more proof, if any is needed, of the value that Texas can gather from expanding its business horizons to include not only the nation, but the world."<sup>68</sup> Of course automobiles were not made in large quantities in Texas. But oil was important to Texas. Therefore, it is not surprising that, due to the large number of oil interests in Texas, The Dallas Morning News supported oil import quotas.

Recently, emphasis has been placed on trade with Japan. "Japan is our number one market for cotton, soybeans and other farm, as well as manufactured goods." The News felt

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<sup>67</sup>Ibid., May 24, 1958, Sec. 4, p. 2.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., January 19, 1966, Sec. D, p. 2.



that if the Japanese could sell more, they could buy more; but the Japanese were protectionist over importation of automobiles, and of Texas grapefruit, for instance. Feeling somewhat less antagonistic toward the Japanese than in the early 1950's, The News added, "Amicable commercial relations between two of the globe's greatest powers need to be strengthened through real reciprocity."<sup>69</sup>

Urging the United States to buy more from other countries, The News said that Australia, for example, would like to buy more from the United States, but it must also sell more to the United States. "International trade is a two-way street. . ."<sup>70</sup> While it was necessary for the United States to buy more from other countries, The News criticized American business for being too concerned with the domestic market and not trying to sell more overseas. Americans had the salesmanship and technology to offset foreign lower prices and strong competition from other countries like Japan, but they were losing foreign markets that admire American products.<sup>71</sup>

It may be observed that, while The News was not entirely in favor of foreign aid, it was not directly opposed to aid that must be spent by recipients in United States cities,

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<sup>69</sup>Ibid., May 26, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2, and October 21, 1969, Sec. D, p. 4.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., September 2, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., November 3, 1969, Sec. D, p. 4.

particularly the Dallas area, thus helping the United States balance of payments. To summarize, then, The Dallas Morning News encouraged international trade, and lower tariffs with one important exception; oil. It would be reasonable to assume that a major reason for this position was economic self-interest. The News editorials on trade appeared to be directed toward this purpose of self-interest.

If it was consistent toward international trade, The News was somewhat more inconsistent in its opinions toward the United Nations. Its opinions tended to vary according to the situation.

The News, as might be supposed, supported the Uniting for Peace Resolution of 1950, and subsequent military action in Korea. There was a feeling of great need for a U.N. military policy and that the Charter of the U.N. had to be "stretched" in order to give greater strength to the General Assembly as a result of veto power of the Soviet Union.<sup>72</sup> The News stated as essential the United States proposal of earmarking national troops for U.N. use to prevent more crises like Korea.<sup>73</sup> The News felt the General Assembly should not be the dominant body, however. Retreating from the statement above, The News proposed ten days later, on September 29, 1950, that the Charter be changed, removing the

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<sup>72</sup>Ibid., September 19, 1950, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., September 22, 1950, Sec. 3, p. 2.

single-nation veto in the Security Council, but that it should be done with caution and without revolutionary change.<sup>74</sup> The question might be asked why the United States committed troops to Korea. The News supported President Truman's statement that, "We went into Korea because we know that Communist aggression had to be met firmly if freedom was to be preserved in the world." But the editorial also supported General MacArthur's position that ". . . the first line of freedom's defense is not the Elbe, not the Rhine, but is in Korea on the Yalu."<sup>75</sup> Thus, emphasis was placed on the threat of communism and the defense of freedom, of western nations, through a strong military defense, which included the U.N.

Through the early fifties The News felt that only chaos would result from United States withdrawal from the U.N. However, the early sixties brought concern for the possible admission of Red China to the U.N., and The News stated that ". . . the move to withdraw from the U.N. will win more adherents in this country."<sup>76</sup> This negative attitude was evident in many issues facing that body. "What kind of a sucker would consider buying 100 million dollars worth of

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<sup>74</sup>Ibid., September 29, 1950, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., November 3, 1952, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., October 21, 1963, Sec. 4, p. 4.

unamortized bonds? You guessed it: Uncle Sam."<sup>77</sup> The belief was that Russia and the other communist and Afro-Asian countries should pay their assessments rather than sell bonds to finance U.N. operations in 1962. Fearful that the newly emerging "mini-states" of Africa and Asia would dissolve the Western majority in the General Assembly, The News was generally critical of the one-state, one-vote in the General Assembly.<sup>78</sup> And, in the Congo, The News suggested that the United States should go to the aid of secessionist Premier Tshombe.<sup>79</sup>

Tshombe was the free world's hope.

But the United Nations, financed largely by American money, proceeded to shoot down this only focus [Katanga] of stable anticommunism."

Under Tshombe, the Congo might have taken a different turn, but . . . Tshombe had to go. The United States never championed the man nearest it in ideology.<sup>80</sup>

Thus The News has had a somewhat unfavorable impression of the U.N., probably due in part to declining United States influence in that organization and the rising power of the Afro-Asian nations, the continuous "threat" of admission of Red China, and a fear that the U.N. was not functioning in the interests of the United States.

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<sup>77</sup>Ibid., September 4, 1962, Sec 4, p. 4.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., November 15, 1964, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., November 26, 1964, Sec. 4, p. 2, and September 8, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., July 1, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

The U.N. was not as frequent a topic of discussion for The News as Russia and communism, but it has been a topic of concern. Likewise, even less was written on the general subject of international law. However, it is significant that The News recognized the importance of legal relations between states. Speaking of the importance of offshore oil reserves, The News considered it imperative that an agreement be reached on property rights. Quoting the United States National Petroleum Council, The News stated:

'The matter is extremely vital, and involves basic principles and long-range implications concerning the well-being of this nation and all its people.'

Proposals for international machinery to regulate activities and royalties from wealth produced in the oceans are before the United Nations. United States representatives should push for prompt action which will protect our national interests while promoting international development in an orderly way.<sup>81</sup>

Such a decision would benefit Texas' offshore drilling operations, but what is important was the desire to rely upon international organization to resolve the controversy, rather than individual action by the United States.

The News, however, showed a tendency toward reliance upon military force as a solution to the Pueblo Incident. Editorials explained that ". . . the failure of our country to react to that outrage has obviously encouraged the communist government of North Korea to believe that it can

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<sup>81</sup>Ibid., September 3, 1969, Sec. D, p. 4.

continue to kill Americans and shoot up unarmed American craft with impunity."<sup>82</sup> One solution The News saw was to seize the two fishing boats built for the North Koreans by the Netherlands.<sup>83</sup> The News stated that there were good reasons for United States restraint; ". . . yet today, as a result, there is no freedom of the seas or of the skies for American vessels and aircraft in the Sea of Japan."<sup>84</sup>

A distinct theory of international law did not appear in The News editorials, but the occasional reference to international law is, in itself, important. If a theory had to be defined, it would probably be determined more by self-interest and strength than any other factor.

There are some topics occasionally mentioned in editorials on international relations that are worth mentioning. The News was in favor of devaluation of the French franc,<sup>85</sup> and of German revaluation of the mark<sup>86</sup> in 1969. There was concern for stemming the gold flow from the United States',<sup>87</sup> support for the British pound,<sup>88</sup> and, finally, concern for

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., April 17, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., January 29, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., May 8, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., August 12, 1969, Sec. D, p. 4.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., October 1, 1967, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., September 3, 1962, Sec. 2, p. 6, and March 23, 1968, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., November 28, 1964, Sec. 4, p. 2.

the future world food supply. To solve the food problem, The News placed emphasis upon "Peace, stability, freedom. We must first cultivate these crops in all parts of our world before dreams of the hungry can be answered."<sup>89</sup> In seeking help from other western nations, The News said:

President Johnson has the opportunity to be the first President to have real insight into the agricultural and humanitarian needs of the world and plan to meet these needs.

It must be done, and it could be the greatest single accomplishment of his administration.<sup>90</sup>

A brief analysis of attitudes toward various regions of the world adds to the knowledge of The Dallas Morning News' view on international relations. More editorials were written recently on Vietnam than any other single subject, and from the beginning of this study in 1950, The News showed concern for the situation in Southeast Asia. "We have voted civilian and military aid to Indo-China, but have barely begun to deliver. Unless this help arrives soon, Indo-China and the rest of Southeast Asia may go the way of China."<sup>91</sup> The News felt at that time that Vietnam was as important as Korea,<sup>92</sup> and that victory in Indo-China was essential to "keeping the Kremlin tentacles from reaching around the

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., January 23, 1966, Sec. C, p. 2.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., January 25, 1966, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., September 3, 1950, Sec. 5, p. 2.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., September 5, 1950, Sec. 3, p. 2.

whole of Asia."<sup>93</sup> The News is expressing here the same fear of communism and emphasis on a military solution expressed above. Consequently, The News supported the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, as it did NATO. "Common sense suggests that the best place to oppose communism is where it is striking now, not when, with augmented force, it can hit at us."<sup>94</sup> The News thus supported the continuance of the Truman Doctrine of "containment." This view was not basically changed since 1950. In 1963 The News blamed our difficulties in Vietnam on three causes: first, the American "capitulation in Laos, which encouraged the enemy; second, the nuclear test-ban agreement; and third, the United States had, perhaps correctly, fought a defensive war against the North."<sup>95</sup> Later, in 1965, supporting United States deployment of ground forces to Vietnam, editorials read, "No, nobody wants to die for dear old Ding Dong [Vietnam] but we now know that defending the freedom of dear old Ding Dong is defending the freedom of dear old Dallas."<sup>96</sup> This view emphasized, once more the containment policy in practice, for the security of the United States. The various lulls in the war were approved of as were the decisions to resume bombing of the North, etc.

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<sup>93</sup>Ibid., October 7, 1951, Sec. 5, p. 1.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., February 3, 1955, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., October 6, 1963, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., December 10, 1965, Sec. D, p. 4.



Coupled with an emphasis on a strong military, The News basically followed the policy decisions in Southeast Asia of Presidents Eisenhower, Johnson, and Nixon. Kennedy, as it may be noted above, was criticized from time to time for allowing the situation to become worse.

Throughout 1969 The News followed the basic position of the Nixon administration in troop withdrawal, but cautioned that the United States should not accept peace at any price, a one-sided de-escalation. Nor should the United States have stopped the bombing of North Vietnam.<sup>97</sup> It was admitted that 1969 would begin a period of transition, that the United States had achieved its immediate purpose: to prevent a military take-over of the Government of South Vietnam, and that "America must now be willing to step into the background. . . ." <sup>98</sup> Considering United States withdrawal, as a peace initiative, however, The News late in 1969 reminded its readers that

Whether we want or can achieve a military victory is less important in this context than the fact that Hanoi needs to be convinced anew that no cheap automatic victory is coming to her. The quickest way to deliver the message is to remind Hanoi that we've still got plenty of fight left in us.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>97</sup>Ibid., February 26, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., January 29, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., October 3, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

Upon shifting emphasis to the Middle East, and examining the Suez Crisis of 1956, it was found that The News placed emphasis on pacific settlement of the dispute in the U.N. if possible, and did not blame any nation in particular except Russia, which The News said wanted Middle Eastern oil and was agitating the situation. "It remains to be seen whether our diplomacy is as good or better than that of Russia in the way we handle the delicate, difficult situation."<sup>100</sup> The News also suggested that the United States not join the Baghdad Pact because that area was in Britain's sphere of influence.

The Arab-Israeli conflict also brought a more guarded response from The News than did Vietnam and communism. Late in 1969 The News suggested that a peace agreement should be signed whereby the Israelis would withdraw from territory occupied during the 1967 war. The United States was being reasonable, but the Russians and Arabs were not, and, consequently, no progress was being made.<sup>101</sup>

Perhaps, due to increasing trade with the Japanese, and security of the Pacific, increasing attention was recently being given to Japan. The attitude changed from one of distrust in the early fifties<sup>102</sup> to one of respect by 1969.

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<sup>100</sup>Ibid., September 1, 1956, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid., December 26, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., November 23, 1952, Sec. 3, p. 1.

In that year The News wrote several editorials on Japan, mostly complimentary, with the exception of a few trade disagreements mentioned above. Editorials spoke of good relations between Japanese-American sister cities, Japan leading in Asian security, and the return of Okinawa for example. All were favorable toward Japan.

The same favorable attitude existed toward Europe, particularly Great Britain. More editorials written about Europe concerned Great Britain than any other European country. Great Britain was considered by The News to be the United States' closest ally. Accordingly, many of the editorials were of a humorous, non-substantive, and social nature. For instance a British architect in 1969 designed a prefabricated collapsible church. The News suggested that such a church might be popular in a country like the United States which has a rapidly expanding population.<sup>103</sup> In general The News supported the British Conservative Party<sup>104</sup> and had few critical things to say of Britain.

France and De Gaulle were not treated so kindly as was Great Britain, however. Criticism was repeatedly voiced over his withdrawal from NATO and refusal to permit entry of Great Britain into the Common Market.<sup>105</sup> The News hoped

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<sup>103</sup>Ibid., March 2, 1969, Sec. A, p. 36.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid., March 30, 1968, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid., November 17, 1964, Sec. 4, p. 2, and December 24, 1965, Sec. D, p. 2.

that after De Gaulle left power, France would ". . . return to the community of nations. . . ."106

Latin America was one of the areas of concern for The News, possibly because of the close proximity of Texas to Latin America. Since 1950 good relations with Latin America and Mexico in particular were urged.<sup>107</sup> Trade was advocated, and friendship stressed. Approximately in 1960, The News became concerned about the spread of Cuban communism in Latin America, and it was proposed that the Monroe Doctrine be kept in force.<sup>108</sup> The News did not particularly like the military governments in Latin America, but seemed to prefer those to communist governments.<sup>109</sup> Above all, however, Latin American governments had to be stable and strong, and their economies had to make rapid development. A strong Latin America, The News considered, was vital to the Western Hemisphere in its effort to prevent the spread of communism.<sup>110</sup> The best way to achieve a strong Latin America was through trade and private capital investment.

No clear policy on Africa could be determined from the sparse information available, except the emphasis was placed

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<sup>106</sup>Ibid., June 24, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid., September 4, 20, 1950, Sec. 3, p. 2.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid., July 14, 1960, Sec. 4, p. 2.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid., August 21, 1961, Sec. 4, p. 2.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid., September 20, 1962, Sec. 4, p. 4.

on private investment. The exception, however, was Rhodesia, and the Union of South Africa where The News' view differed from United States policy. The News felt that if nations were friendly to the United States and useful to its economic and security interests, the United States should not make enemies of them. Thus sanctions should not be employed against those governments because they were the two most stable governments in Africa.<sup>111</sup>

To complete the discussion of topics, a few remarks about isolationism are in order. The News felt that "World War II taught Americans the dangers of isolationism. The need to know more about the rest of the world . . . is obvious."<sup>112</sup> The News stated in 1969 that "Isolationist sentiment is growing in the United States . . . however . . . practically speaking, the United States cannot 'go it alone' even if it wants to."<sup>113</sup> The people who are the real neo-isolationists are the ones like Senator J. William Fulbright who would limit the President's power to make foreign commitments without Congressional approval.<sup>114</sup> The News stated that such Congressional power would weaken our security. Any proposal that would weaken our military

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<sup>111</sup>Ibid., December 5, 1969, Sec. D, p. 4.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., March 1, 1969, Sec. D, p. 4.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid., March 3, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid., June 6, 1969, Sec. D, p. 2.

posture, had, in the last twenty years, been a bad proposal, and the United States should maintain a strong military posture.

The purpose of this chapter has been to give the reader an overall view of News' editorials according to subjects related to international relations. The information presented in this chapter represents almost every major subject of substance covered by The News during the last twenty years within the given random sample, including every editorial written in 1969. The next chapter concentrates on a statistical analysis of the frequency and content of editorials within the study sample. General conclusions have been formulated in the last chapter in an effort to coordinate all data reviewed.

## CHAPTER III

### CONTENT ANALYSIS

Editorials of The Dallas Morning News within the study sample were organized in various ways according to subject matter and year to provide a statistical evaluation of international relations topics. Such analysis provides additional insight into The News' attitude on international relations.

During the year 1969, for example, the study showed that 14.6 per cent of all editorial space in the sample was devoted to international relations topics, both substantive and non-substantive. Approximately 2021 column inches were utilized for editorials on international relations in 1969 out of a total of 13,870 editorial column inches. This left an average of 5.5 column inches per day devoted to international relations out of a total editorial space per day of thirty-eight column inches. Or, when the number of editorials were counted, the average number of international relations editorials per day was 0.55. These and other News results presented in this chapter are noted in a statistical chart in Appendix I. The criterion for measurement of daily editorial space was the two left-hand columns of the editorial page. These two columns under the "masthead" of The News, containing approximately thirty-eight column inches of editorial coverage daily, comprise the study

sample, and all data was based on this daily figure. Editorial "specials" or additional editorial coverage were not considered in the sample.

Comparison of the results of this study to other similar studies is limited because comparable data is sparse. No studies were found which examined newspaper editorial space on foreign affairs exclusively. One study, by Edward W. Barrett and Penn T. Kimball, mentioned in Chapter I and cited by Cohen, considered both editorial coverage and news on foreign affairs items together. "Editorial comment and stories out of Washington dealing with international and Latin affairs were included. . . ." <sup>1</sup> The study refers to "editorial matter" sampled, and, as a result, is confusing, because the "editorial matter" includes not only editorial coverage but also foreign news items. Although the results of this study cannot be compared directly to the study of The News, they can be used as an indication of previous studies in the field.

The Barrett study concentrates on Latin America; and all foreign affairs news items and editorials from six newspapers on October 8, 1958, and April 8, 1959, days specifically chosen to avoid unusual events in Latin America, were examined. The six newspapers, thought to represent a cross-

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<sup>1</sup>Edward W. Barrett and Penn T. Kimball, "The Role of the Press and Communications," The United States and Latin America (Columbia University, 1959), p. 99.



section of the United States from an earlier study were: The Kansas City Times and Star, the Portland Oregonian and Oregon Journal, and The Louisville Times and Courier-Journal.

Foreign affairs items of every nature comprised 12.5 per cent of the total editorial space.<sup>2</sup> This 12.5 per cent figure is only partially comparable to The News' 14.6 per cent of editorial space in 1969, and several qualifications to this comparison must be stated. First, News figures are based on editorials, whereas Barrett's study represents editorials plus news items. Second, the Latin American study covered two days intentionally chosen to avoid international crises, thus it is conceivable that results could be lower than average had the entire two years been studied. Third, it is not clear what subjects were included in the Barrett sample. It is possible that matters relating to the maintenance of a strong national military for security were not included in the study, whereas they were included in The News study. Finally, results from The News' foreign affairs editorials for 1969 represent the lowest percentage of coverage in the study sample. (Refer to Figure 1, page 55.)

It is recalled that the study sample represented the entire year of 1969, plus every thirteenth month beginning with September, 1950, through April, 1969. The average editorial coverage of international relations throughout the

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 98-100.

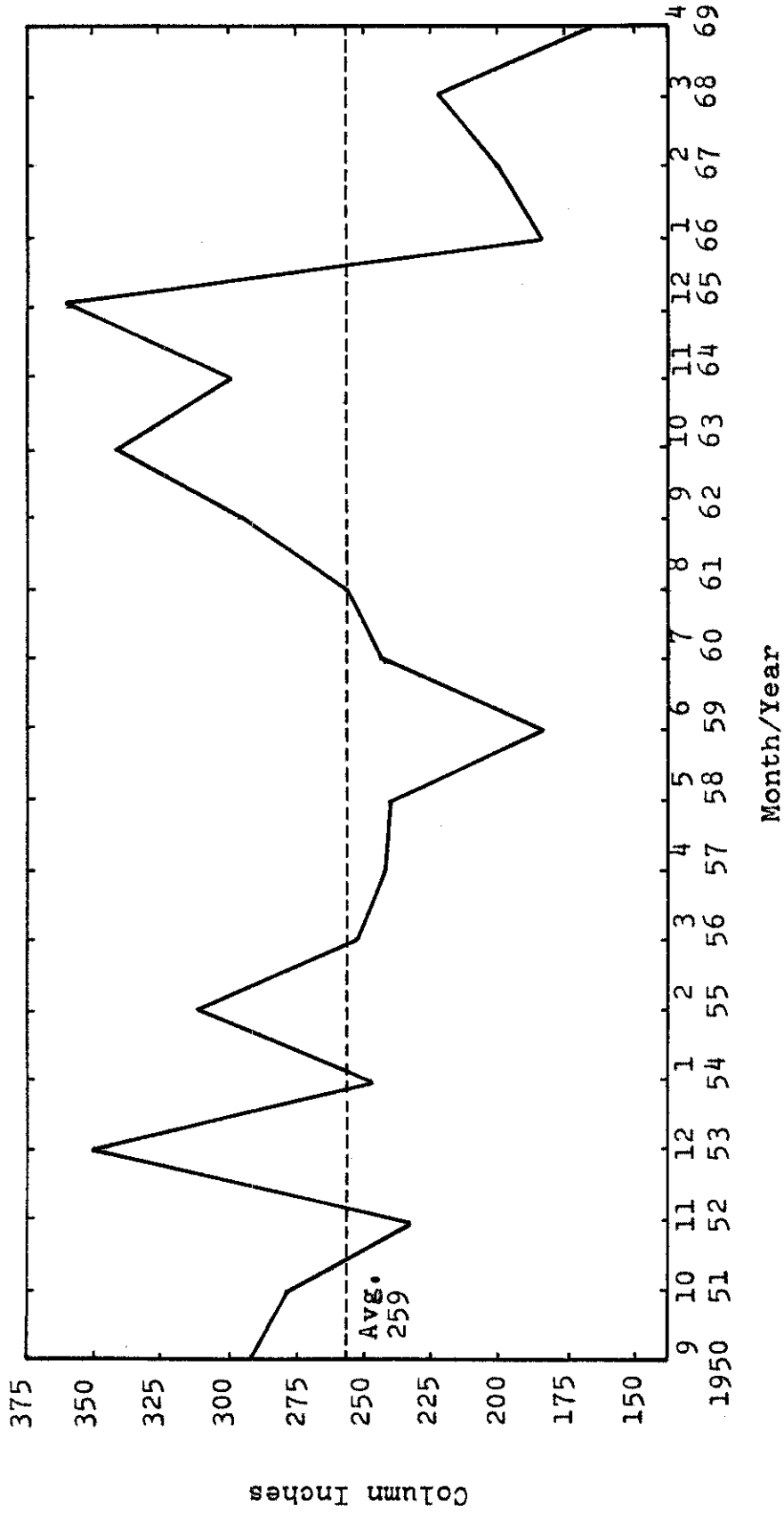


Fig. 1--Random Sample of International Relations Editorials in Column Inches, 1950-1969.

entire period was 22.8 per cent of total editorial space, or 1.01 editorials per day, averaging 8.05 column inches per day. In September, 1950, a total of 288 column inches were devoted to international relations for an average of 25.2 per cent of total editorial space. In May, 1958, and June, 1959, corresponding years of Barrett's study, The News study sample reflected 19.9 and 16.0 per cent of international relations editorial coverage respectively. The variance of percentages within The News study sample has been examined below; in addition, the variance between the results of the two studies also warrants closer scrutiny.

The Barrett study indicates that an average of 1.1 per cent of editorial space was devoted to Latin America. Coverage in 1969, however, dropped to 0.5 per cent of total editorial space. The average of the twenty year study sample was 2.1 per cent. The low percentage of coverage by The News on Latin America in 1969 was possibly due to lack of significant crises during the year affecting the United States. Differences between the two studies in the years 1958 and 1959 were only in part attributable to the changing political conditions in Cuba in which Fidel Castro came to power. The majority of News editorials on Latin America during those two years were devoted to countries other than Cuba.

Assuming the 4.1 per cent average for 1958 and 1959 and the 0.5 per cent for 1969 are unusual, the 2.1 per cent

twenty-year average, if considered reasonably accurate, would indicate that The News devoted almost twice as much space to Latin America as did the other six representative newspapers. One reason for the variance may be due to The News' closer proximity to Latin America and its greater Latin American population than the other areas. Probably the primary reason for the variance, however, is the comparison of editorials and news space and the incompatibility of the two.

Although a comparison between this study of The News and other studies of newspaper emphasis on foreign affairs cannot be effectively made because editorials do not relate to foreign news items, mention of such studies indicates the uniqueness of The News study. For example, Cohen cites another study made in 1960 which includes The New York Times and four other newspapers. The percent of foreign news to total news space ranges from 2.6 for the Madison Capital Times to 10.0 for The New York Times. Results were cumulative for one week and the average number of column inches of foreign news per day was sixty-three and 583 respectively for the two newspapers. A survey of fifty-one newspapers, conducted by the American Institute of Public Opinion estimated the daily average of column inches of international news of both foreign and domestic origin at 106.<sup>3</sup> Another

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<sup>3</sup>Bernard C. Cohen, The Press and Foreign Policy (New Jersey, 1963), pp. 116-117.

study in 1961 concluded that seven United States daily newspapers, excluding The Times, averaged sixty-two column inches per day of foreign news coverage. The Times averaged 219 inches daily.<sup>4</sup>

In a survey of three newspapers--The New York Times, the Denver Post, and the Evansville Courier (Evansville, Indiana)--Alan R. Thoeny found that 26.2 per cent of all items sampled, including editorials, were devoted to international political news during periods of non-crisis. During the crisis periods, the total volume of political news rose to between 52.0 and 56.0 per cent. Thoeny's sampling distinguished between international political and non-political news, excluding the latter.<sup>5</sup>

It is apparent that these results vary considerably. One possible explanation for these variances is that different criteria for measurement must have been used, different years were involved in sampling, and the sampling techniques were not the same. The basic conclusion drawn from these studies taken together is that emphasis on foreign affairs news coverage by newspapers tends to be low, with the possible exception of The New York Times, which carried twice

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<sup>4</sup>James W. Markham, "Foreign News in the United States and South American Press," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXV (Summer, 1961), 249-262.

<sup>5</sup>Alan R. Thoeny, "Press Treatment of International Politics: The Importance of Press Norms," United States Air Force Academy (unpublished, 1969), p. 3.

as much reportage of foreign news than the average daily newspaper in the United States. The relationship of editorials to foreign news reportage cannot be demonstrated adequately except that the amount of editorial space devoted to foreign affairs may tend to be higher than the space devoted to foreign news items. If results of The News study are compared to the above results, such a conclusion might be reasonable.

Results of The News study were based upon an inclusive definition of international relations and foreign affairs. Any matter concerning relations with other countries or comments regarding social, economic, or political conditions in other countries were incorporated. No distinction was made between substantive and non-substantive matter, and both were included. Matters relating to national defense were included, providing the editorials mentioned the necessity of maintaining a strong military posture for defense against foreign threats like "communism." Editorials on elements of defense like the National Guard were not included. Where microfilm was used, measurement of editorials was based upon a determined ratio which provided figures equivalent to the printed page.

In the following discussion of data on The News, consideration has first been given to editorial space devoted to the various international relations subjects during the last twenty years. Communism, for instance, was a subject of

continuing interest to The News, and considerable editorial space was devoted to it. Editorials concerning communism were divided into three categories: those that emphasized primarily Russia, those that emphasized primarily Red China, and those relating to Eastern Europe. It was found that in 1969, twenty-two editorials were written on Russia, six on China, and six on Eastern Europe. Editorials that concerned the Russo-China border dispute were included in the Russian category. The number of column inches for the three categories were 204, forty-three, and fifty-seven respectively. A total of 15.0 per cent of all international relations editorial space in 1969 was devoted to the three categories of communism. The average amount of space devoted to communism in the survey by month from 1950 through 1969 was 15.9 per cent of international relations editorial space, slightly higher. The periods of greatest concentration on communism were during the years 1953-1955 and 1963-1965. In February, 1955, for example, 25.2 per cent of all editorial space on international relations was devoted to communism, two-thirds of that figure concerning Russia. A total of seventy-nine column inches out of 313 was devoted to communism. The editorials at that time expressed a distrust of Soviet policy, particularly regarding nuclear disarmament, and a change of leaders in the Kremlin and uncertainty of Soviet policy may have been the cause for emphasis at that time. Editorials during the 1963-1965 period warned against

trusting the Russians and expressed opposition to United States sale of wheat to Russia in 1963 and discussed personalities in the Soviet government. Editorial space during this period was as high as 24.0 per cent in October, 1963. Increases during this latter period could be partially attributable to opposition to Kennedy foreign policy; however, that does not explain the large figures in 1965. After 1965, coverage dropped steadily to the 15.0 per cent figure in 1969. One important consideration in this analysis of communism is The News' emphasis on the Soviet Union. Over twice as much coverage was given to Russia as Red China and Eastern Europe combined. However, no explanation for this variation is readily available.

In the area of military defense, a total of twenty-one editorials comprising 165 column inches were devoted to the Antiballistic Missile System, NATO and European collective security, the nuclear arms race, and other subjects relating to our military security in the world. The total percentage of international relations editorial space utilized for this topic was 13.1 per cent in 1969, and an average of 3.6 per cent from 1950 through 1969. One major reason for this discrepancy was that in 1969, The News devoted ten editorials in 138 column inches, over half of its defense coverage, to advocacy of the ABM system. Overall, emphasis on military defense was slight. One possible explanation is that The News has historically advocated a strong military. United



States defense posture since 1950 has been strong, and The News has not been in opposition.

Foreign aid, from 1950 through 1963 was a topic of increasing concern to The News. The average from 1950 through 1969 was small--6.9 per cent--and even less in 1969--1.1 per cent. However, from 1961 through 1963, an average of 23.5 per cent of all international relations editorial space was devoted to foreign aid. This high percentage was due primarily to The News' opposition to foreign aid during the Kennedy administration. The News, as was stated in the previous chapter, did not favor Kennedy foreign aid programs, and there was apparently a direct relationship between The News' opposition to foreign aid and increased editorial comment on foreign aid. Prior to 1961 a gradual increase in editorial comment can be detected. This follows The News' early acceptance of the Marshall Plan and subsequent gradual opposition to foreign aid. After 1963, considerably less editorial space was devoted to foreign aid, and in 1969 only three editorials with a total of twenty-three column inches concerned foreign aid. The intent of these editorials was to maintain foreign aid at the current level of spending. The News felt that a certain level of foreign aid spending needed to be maintained to aid countries who were favorable to the United States and willing to help themselves.

The News continuously favored strengthening international trade and lowering tariffs. Following the pattern of low editorial comment when favorable toward a topic, The News wrote only six editorials and fifty-one column inches on international trade in 1969, for a total of 2.5 per cent of international relations editorial space. Fifteen of the fifty-one column inches were on trade with Japan. The average international relations editorial space relating to international trade from 1950 through 1969 was 2.0 per cent. There was no noticeable increase or decrease for each year in the study sample. Likewise, as was stated in the previous chapter, The News' policy toward trade has remained constant.

The area of international finance was not of particular concern in The News. Only 0.9 per cent of all international relations editorial space in 1969 concerned international monetary policies. Among topics of discussion were French devaluation of the franc and German revaluation of the mark.

Topics relating to the United Nations were discussed in slightly greater percentage than those relating to international trade and finance. In 1969, a total of 4.3 per cent of international relations editorial space was devoted to such topics as the Congo, admission of Red China, and international aid through United Nations agencies. The News was opposed to UN and United States policy in the Congo and admission of Red China to the U.N. The News was not opposed,

however, to minor United States support of economic development and aid through U.N. agencies. Korea and the Uniting for Peace Plan were included in the 1950-1969 U.N. sample accounting for 4.8 per cent of total international relations editorial space, or almost one-third of the 13.8 per cent devoted to U.N. topics during that period. From 1950 through 1953, considerable space was devoted to the Korean conflict. For example in November, 1952, 48.5 per cent of all international relations editorial space concerned U.N. topics. The Korean conflict accounted for over half of that figure, or 27.7 per cent of total international relations editorial space. After the Korean conflict, however, the coverage of U.N. related topics decreased to the level of 4.8 per cent for 1969. The News, as stated in the previous chapter, never was strongly opposed to the U.N.; however, articles in latter years of the study indicated a trend which questioned the usefulness of the U.N. in relations with other countries.

The Pueblo incident was included under the category of international law, which included, among other editorials, international law in space and the 1963 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. In 1969, 4.7 per cent of international relations editorial space concerned international law topics. The majority of these editorials, however, were on the Pueblo incident, which The News felt should have been reacted to more strongly by the United States government. From 1950

through 1969, only 2.2 per cent of all international relations editorial space was devoted to international law topics.

Vietnam and Southeast Asia were the largest single areas of concern in international relations in 1969. The total number of editorials on these topics was forty-three, and the total international relations editorial space was 509 column inches, or 25.2 per cent of international relations editorial space. Considering the period from 1950-1969, the average dropped to 10.5 per cent; however, in March, 1968, 100 column inches, or 45.0 per cent of international relations editorial space was devoted to Vietnam. December, 1965, was another month of concentration on Vietnam, when 29.9 per cent of international relations editorial space included that subject. The period of highest concentration was from 1965 through 1969, roughly the period of greatest American involvement in Vietnam. The News generally supported United States policy in Vietnam; however, the high percentage of coverage--higher than that in the Korean conflict--is significant. The reason may be due to increased public dissention against the Vietnam conflict and The News' efforts to justify American involvement in the war. The statistics also indicate that The News had a continuing interest in Southeast Asia as early as 1950, consistently providing a low percentage of coverage until 1965, when coverage became higher. No substantial increase was noted,

however, during the Kennedy administration, supporting the conclusion that The News did not object strongly to Kennedy's Vietnam policy.

Greater emphasis was placed on Western Europe and Great Britain than on any other regional area. In 1969 a total of 12.3 per cent of all international relations editorial space was devoted to Western Europe and Great Britain. Almost half of that, or 5.8 per cent of all international relations editorial space, or 117 column inches and sixteen editorials, concerned Great Britain. In the sampling from 1950 through 1969, the figures are only slightly different. During that period, 16.9 per cent of all international relations editorial space included Western Europe and Great Britain, but only 5.0 per cent of total international relations editorial space represented Great Britain, whereas 5.5 per cent represented editorials on France. Much of editorial space on France concerned De Gaulle and the French political situation. Less emphasis, however, was placed on British politics, and a large percentage of editorials on Great Britain in 1969 were non-substantive, or related to British social or economic conditions. One reason for the high interest in Britain and a low corresponding emphasis on British politics, may be due to a possible public affinity or fraternity with the people of Britain. Large numbers of people in the North Central Texas area are of British descent, and Great Britain is considered one of the United States' best allies.

The Middle East, by contrast, received little editorial coverage. A total of 5.1 per cent of all international relations editorial space in 1969 included the Middle East. Almost all this editorial space, ninety-five column inches and ten editorials, concerned the Arab-Israeli conflict. For the period from 1950 through 1969, a total of 5.0 per cent of all international relations editorial space was devoted to the Middle East, the same ratio as in 1969. However, less than one-third of Middle East editorial space in the 1950-1969 period included the Arab-Israeli conflict. The News was a supporter of Israel, yet the newspaper did not devote a large amount of space to the conflict from 1950-1969.

A small portion of space was given to the Far East in 1969; 2.3 per cent of international relations editorial space. Increased attention was given Japan in 1969, however. Five editorials with a total of forty-four column inches were written on Japan, almost the entire Far East coverage for 1969. For the period from 1950 through 1969, approximately one-fourth of Far Eastern editorial space concerned Japan. The largest percentage during that time, however, was devoted to India. The two countries together received almost ninety per cent of the total space devoted to Far Eastern relations. One reason for increased emphasis on Japan is that The News favored increased trade with Japan, considered important to the economy of Texas. India is the largest

non-communist state in Asia, and The News showed concern for that country's problems in economic development.

Editorial space devoted to Latin America was limited. In 1969 a total of 3.2 per cent of international relations editorial space was devoted to that area of the world. The statistics show, however, that during the period from 1950 through 1969, an average of 11.0 per cent of international relations editorial space concerned Latin America. One reason for this discrepancy is the large amount of editorial space given to Cuba and Castro from 1959-1962. The News, opposed to Castro, wrote several editorials proposing use of direct United States action to destroy the Cuban communist government. In September, 1962, in response to Cuban threats to United States security, The News wrote seven editorials of 115 column inches, or 39.7 per cent of international relations editorial space, on Cuba. After 1962 the number of editorials written dropped to a constant low level.

Africa was the geographical area of least concern to The News. In 1969 only 0.8 per cent of international relations editorial space was given to Africa. The editorials that were written concerned racial and political problems of Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa exclusively. In the sample from 1950 through 1969, 1.2 per cent of all international relations editorial space concerned Africa. Coverage was consistently low, with no sharp rise or fall in percentages.

Under the general heading of United States foreign policy, The News devoted an estimated 10.5 per cent of its international relations editorial space in 1969 to various subjects including United States foreign policy pronouncements on Asia and Europe, the President's trip abroad, and isolationism. Editorial space devoted to the same subjects from 1950-1969, however, comprised only 5.6 per cent of the total. The most striking figure of this category is the 2.2 per cent of total international relations editorial space in 1969 concerning isolationism. This subject was apparently of concern to The News because five editorials of 45 column inches were written opposing neo-isolationism in the United States.

It is recalled that every editorial during each thirteenth month from 1950 through 1969 was examined. The amount of editorial space devoted to topics on international relations varied from month to month. If these variances are examined with the realization that the amount of international relations editorial space during a month would be higher or lower depending on the number and intensity of crises during that month, some conclusions may be drawn regarding variations in volume of coverage. Referring to Appendix I and Figure 1, it is noted that beginning in September, 1950, 288 column inches, or 25.2 per cent of all editorial space was devoted to international relations topics. The per cent of coverage dropped until 1953 when the average rose to 30.2 per cent.



A substantial portion of this last figure included editorials on Communism and Korea. From that high in 1953, the per cent of international relations editorial coverage steadily dropped to a low of 16.0 per cent in 1959. The only two areas of emphasis in this year were on Red China's communism and foreign aid. The News was more opposed to foreign aid in 1959 than in the early 1950's. Also, twenty per cent of all editorial space was devoted to Red China in 1959.

From 1959 there was a steady rise in the per cent of editorial space devoted to international relations through 1965 when the figures reached the highest point in the survey--30.6 per cent. The Kennedy administration, from 1961 through 1963, did not develop a foreign policy favorable to The News, and the newspaper opposed much of the Kennedy foreign aid program. There was also emphasis on communism and the Cuban situation during that time. In 1965 following United States troop commitments to Vietnam, The News wrote numerous editorials supporting United States involvement in the conflict. After 1965 the per cent of international relations editorial space began to drop sharply, even though the level of Vietnam coverage remained high. Part of the reason was a lower level of coverage on foreign aid, communism, and defense. To what extent support of Johnson administration policy in these latter areas influenced the amount of editorial coverage is undetermined. Such a

relationship between support of policy and editorial coverage apparently exists, however. By April, 1969, the average had decreased to 14.5 per cent, almost the same as the 14.6 per cent figure given for the year of 1969.

The average for the period from 1950 through 1969 was 22.8 per cent. The discrepancy between the 14.5 per cent and the 22.8 per cent figure may be due in part to decreased hostilities in Vietnam, a corresponding decrease in editorial coverage, and a lower level of international crises. This decrease may possibly represent a change in policy by The News, but, practically speaking, the discrepancy between the two averages cannot adequately be explained.

One further series of comparisons may be useful in understanding the nature of The Dallas Morning News' view toward international relations. A study of The New York Times' editorials was made for the months of January, 1966, February, 1967, and March 1968, corresponding months in The News survey. Comparable editorial space was included; however, the number of words per column inch in The Times was found to be greater than that in The News. The Times averaged seventy words per column inch, or 37.4 per cent more than The News' fifty-one words per column inch. This difference was not included in the following figures.

In The News sample of 1966-1968, sixty-six editorials were written in 606 column inches for an average of 0.7 editorials in 6.8 column inches per day. The average

international relations editorial space was 17.7 per cent of total editorial space. The Times, during the same period, wrote 143 editorials in 1154 column inches for an average of 1.57 editorials in 12.6 column inches per day, or an average of 34.7 per cent of total editorial space devoted to international relations. The figures for The Times are almost twice as high as those of The News. With a few exceptions, this ratio is relevant to most of the individual topics considered above.

Under the general heading of communism, sixty-five column inches of editorial space in The Times concerned Russia, whereas forty-nine column inches was attributed to The News. The figures for Red China were 1.2 per cent and 5.6 per cent, or fourteen and thirty-four column inches respectively. The Times had 4.8 per cent or fifty-five column inches of its international relations editorial space devoted to Eastern Europe, whereas the comparable period for The News showed no editorials on Eastern Europe. The greater coverage by The Times on Eastern Europe may reflect a closer affinity of the people of New York for the peoples of Eastern Europe. Substantial numbers of people in the New York area are from Eastern European countries.

In the area of military defense, negligible results were received from The News; however, The Times showed twenty-six column inches, or 2.2 per cent of total international relations editorial space coverage. The News had nineteen

column inches concerning foreign aid, whereas The Times showed forty-four column inches during the same period. The Times was not opposed to foreign aid to the extent that The News was. Regarding international trade and finance, The News devoted sixty-three column inches to those subjects, as opposed to eighty-seven column inches for The Times. Twenty-four column inches were written on the U.N. by The News, but forty-one column inches were written by The Times. International law is similar to the above with thirty-seven inches and fifty-three column inches written respectively.

Vietnam is a different situation. The News and The Times wrote 250 and 339 column inches respectively on the subject, but The News devoted 41.2 per cent of its total international relations editorial space to Vietnam, whereas The Times devoted only 29.4 per cent of such space to Vietnam. In the category of Western Europe, thirty-seven column inches were written by The News, compared to 184 column inches in The Times. The Times placed Western Europe second only to Vietnam as the most important area of concern. The Times also wrote more column inches on the Middle East and Far East than did The News.

Regarding Latin America, The Times wrote eighty-four column inches compared to thirty-nine for The News. The coverage on Africa was considerably higher in The Times than in The News. Only thirty-nine column inches were written on Africa by The News, but eighty-four column inches were written by The Times. Minimal coverage was given by both

newspapers to United States foreign policy during the three-year period, but more editorials were written by The Times on Canada than The News. Coverage in The Times was nineteen column inches, and News coverage was minimal. The emphasis on Canada by The Times may be due to the close proximity of New York to Canada.

The significance of this comparison was to demonstrate the lower coverage of international relations topics by The News as compared to The Times, using the same criterion of measurement. The Times appears to represent a greater balance in percentages of topics discussed while devoting more editorial space to international relations topics. For example, News coverage of Vietnam was high, and its coverage of Africa was low. The Times' Vietnam coverage was high, but not as high as The News' coverage, and its coverage of Africa was 6.5 per cent as opposed to 2.3 per cent for The News.

In conclusion, the statistical results presented in this chapter complement and support conclusions reached in the previous chapter. The News supported a strong military posture and international trade and did not write extensively regarding them. Fearful of communist expansion in the world, and increasingly opposed to foreign aid, the newspaper wrote extensively on communism, the necessity of United States support in the Vietnam conflict, and the misguided Kennedy foreign aid policy. Overall emphasis on international relations is not high, compared to The Times, but it is

probably higher than many other newspapers in the United States, and in two areas, Vietnam and communism, the percentage of emphasis was greater than The Times, demonstrating a particular area of interest for The News.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSIONS

Editorial data presented in the two previous chapters has indicated trends of attitudes in international relations by The Dallas Morning News. This chapter examines the validity of the accumulated data, establishing general conclusions and relating them to other studies on Southern foreign policy attitudes.

Results of this study were generally confirmed in an interview with Dick West, Editorial Director of The Dallas Morning News, on June 16, 1970. West indicated that the two columns on the left-hand side of the editorial page under the "masthead," included in the study, were the only columns which accurately reflected the policy of The News. In deciding basic policy questions, West, who is responsible for the editorial page, would confer with Joseph M. Dealey, President, whose influence is great. (One study found publisher attitude to correspond seventy-three per cent with newspaper content.)<sup>1</sup> West said, however, that the president

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis Donohew, "Newspaper Gatekeepers and Forces in the News Channel," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXI (Spring, 1967) 61-68.

usually does not interfere directly. When there is a difference of agreement, West frequently has influence over the president.

Once a policy decision is made, West sees The News' role as primarily leader of public opinion. The News does not emphasize its role as reflector of public opinion. West did agree, however, that groups within the community, and Southern ideology influenced his views and the views of the paper. West was raised in Texas and every member of the editorial staff comes from Texas, Arkansas, or Louisiana. West's daily associations appear to be with the business and political community of Dallas and Texas, and, although he disagrees with individual businessmen, including Stanley Marcus, on some issues, he tries to influence and learn from this group. West indicated that The News was influenced by many things, but it was not dictated by any group. The News considers itself an independent democratic newspaper, meaning conservative democratic, feeling that the majority of people in the North Central Texas area are conservative Democratic in party affiliation. The philosophy of conservatism preceeds the party label, and a conservative Republican candidate may be supported by The News instead of a liberal Democratic candidate. For this reason, The News did not support the Kennedy Administration, and this partially accounts for the large number of editorials and editorial space opposed to Kennedy foreign aid measures.



The News' view on international relations is based primarily on the principle of national self-interest, according to West. Regardless of the situation, the United States should consider its own interests first in international relations. This principle appears evident in News editorials.

Regarding communism, West conceived the world as divided into two major alignments: free western and communist. The United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic are still the respective leaders of each under a "superpower" concept. West agreed that the threat of "monolithic communism" may be splitting up, but the communist "conspiracy to dominate" was still present. This conspiracy was motivated by self-interest, but whether communist ideology or nationalism was the primary ingredient, West did not know. He thought perhaps it was a little of both. The effect on the free world, however, was the same. News editorials emphasized Russia and the threat of communist ideology and agreed with West's concept of Russia as leader of the communist nations, but little mention was made in the editorials of a possible rising nationalism influencing communist ideology. The policy for the United States to pursue in the present situation, according to West, is the Truman policy of containment. His emphasis on defense and Vietnam was related to containment and a fear of communism.

The greatest threat to the free world today, West felt, however, was the Middle East and Russian intervention in that area.

West confirmed the results of the study on foreign aid. The Marshall Plan was supposed to end in 1952, he stated, and News opposition to foreign aid began to appear in the latter years of the Eisenhower administration, discounting a peculiar connection to the Kennedy administration.

In the area of international trade, West made one observation that was not immediately noticeable in examination of the editorials. The observation does not contradict the study, but adds meaning to the results. The study noted that The News supported import duties on foreign oil and relaxation of import duties of other nations on United States goods. West indicated that The News was moving away from its traditional free trade position toward a more restrictive trade policy. This trend should continue in the future because the United States cannot compete with low cost labor markets in the rest of the world, particularly in Asia and the Middle East. It is not profitable for American oil producers to drill for oil in the United States due to high labor costs. It is cheaper to drill in the Middle East and import it to the United States.

The News' attitude toward the U.N. has become increasingly unfavorable, West said, for two reasons: first, the U.N. had been ineffective in solving world problems, and second, the

increasing membership in the General Assembly was eroding United States influence in the U.N. While in 1950, The News was favorable toward the U.N.; in 1969 The News' attitude was slightly unfavorable. In 1950, West said, the U.N. might have received a grade of eighty out of 100, and in 1969, fifty-five out of 100 if favorability had to be charted. A weighted voting system in the General Assembly, according to population, might help the situation, he felt.

No reason could be given for News emphasis on Great Britain. West did not feel that it was due to the large population of British descent in the North Central Texas region. Perhaps it was because Britain was a good ally of the United States and closely represented American interests, he said.

West was not aware of a decrease in editorial space devoted to international relations in 1969, nor of the increases or decreases in preceeding years. He said, though, that The News had been criticized for inclusion of too many editorials on international relations and that polls taken by The News indicated that the people of Dallas wanted more attention given to local news. To many, West said, The Dallas Morning News is "The New York Times of the South." West questioned whether The News devoted too much editorial space to international relations. He volunteered that in 1947, an editor from The New York Tribune told him that he should devote more space to Dallas than to international

affairs, because he knew more about Dallas than writers from other cities. Likewise, he could never compete with men like Walter Lippmann and James Reston in the field of foreign affairs. All of his time, West continued, was consumed with state and local politics, and he did not have time to be knowledgeable in the field of foreign affairs. "What do we know about it," he explained. For this reason, The News carries syndicated columnists and The New York Times News Service with articles by Reston and C. L. Sulzberger on foreign affairs. The criticism from others for including too much editorial space on international relations, plus the feeling of a lack of knowledge on the subject and increase in use of syndicated columnists in recent years may account for the per cent decrease in total international relations editorial space.

The majority of statements made in the interview supported conclusions reached in the study sample. The interview was conducted after the previous chapters were written, providing an independent analysis of News attitude; and because responses to questions were direct and apparently honest, the interview was considered to be adequately relevant for inclusion in this study.

The interview also lends validity to the hypothesis that study of a newspaper's editorial policy provides an indication of opinion in a given area. Whether a newspaper sees its role as primarily leader or reflector of public opinion is

not crucial. West associates primarily with the influential leaders of the community, and he influences and is influenced by them. His associations and basic Southern philosophy are reflected in editorial policy of The News which sees its role as leader of public opinion. Using Hero's analysis that the influential leaders in a community lead and direct local public opinion,<sup>2</sup> it may be assumed that The News is an indicator of public opinion in the North Central Texas area. Regarding attitude on specific issues, such as communism, foreign aid, defense, and trade, The News probably provides a reliable indicator of attitude. In light of the interview, The News may, in fact, place more emphasis on international relations topics than other local newspapers, thus incurring some public criticism.

As stated earlier there is a lack of data with which to compare the results of this study. Hero and Lerche are the only substantial studies found which analyze foreign policy public opinion in the South, a region that might include the limits of The News study. A brief comparison showed that, with few exceptions, the view of The Dallas Morning News towards international relations generally fits the description of Hero and Lerche on Southern foreign policy attitude.

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<sup>2</sup>Alfred O. Hero, Jr., The Southerner and World Affairs (Baton Rouge, 1965), pp. 20-21.

The Southerner, according to Hero, has historically had a strong military tradition.

. . . the more cautious, conservative Southern view of international relations, the wider prevalence in the South of the feeling the peoples of different religions, languages, and cultures are rather unlikely to get along, the greater incidence in the South of the idea that self-interest almost alone governs international relations, and the generally less optimistic tone of Southern assumptions about life and society have encouraged a belief that wars are more or less probable in the future. . . . Southerners at any given time have been more prone to predict war. . . . Southerners more than others have believed that diplomacy may fail to avoid armed conflict, that strong military power makes attack on America less probable, and that armed might is the only real guarantee of our national security.<sup>3</sup>

Hero notes that the difference between attitudes of the South and those of the rest of the country toward a strong military have not been as great since World War II, but the difference is still significant. The News' position, and thus the North Central Texas attitude, toward a strong military was shown in the study. Emphasis on the Korean War, Vietnam and Indochina, maintenance of collective security agreements such as NATO, and advocacy of the ABM system, all indicate adherence to a strong military posture. In addition, The News' fear of communism and emphasis on Russia supports the area attitude that a serious threat to our national security exists.

The traditional support of The News for freer trade is supported by results from Hero's study of the South. With

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 81.

the exception of a few pockets of Southern protectionism, the South generally supported low tariffs and increased imports. Hero says, however, that a slight change in Southern attitudes toward international trade could be detected in 1961-1962. Results from surveys in those years indicated that a majority of Southerners favored either increased duties or increased trade barriers.<sup>4</sup> The News, and presumably the North Central Texas attitude, has been in favor of low tariffs. The exception, to which The News has alluded recently, has been oil imports. This, combined with some reservations on increased Japanese imports, supports Hero's conclusion that Southern support of lower tariffs and reduced trade barriers does not represent an actual majority of Southern opinion. Hero also discovered that ". . . Southerners were slightly more inclined than other regional inhabitants to approve of some increase in Japanese imports and less inclined to favor a decrease,"<sup>5</sup> agreeing with News results which supported, with reservations, increased trade with Japan.

Foreign aid opposition increased in the South as well as in News editorials during the latter fifties. Surveys studied by Hero indicate that approximately 50 per cent of all Southerners agreed there should be some form of foreign aid, with a substantial percentage believing that foreign assistance programs should be severely limited. The majority,

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 149.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

he noted, overestimated the amount of the national budget allotted to foreign aid.<sup>6</sup> Hero found, however, little opposition to "business-like" loans by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and investments by private enterprise as a means of stimulating economic development in underdeveloped countries.<sup>7</sup> The News supported this approach to foreign aid. Neither the South nor The News was opposed to ceasing foreign aid, only reducing it to a low level. Lerche's study of voting records of Southern Congressional districts confirms the general opposition to foreign aid proposals. For example, the Dallas Fifth Congressional District, from 1953-1962, voted "yea" on foreign aid authorizations only once, in 1953. In other years, negative votes, or no votes were recorded.<sup>8</sup>

Compared with foreign aid, the U.N. as a symbol has received less opposition in the South, Hero concludes. Large numbers of Southerners were indifferent to the U.N., but 77.0 per cent of Southerners and 86.0 per cent of Northerners in 1960 felt the U.N. was a good idea, a slight increase over 1952. Southern opposition to the U.N. grew since 1953, however. For example, Southern opposition was strong over

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 206.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 209-210.

<sup>8</sup>Charles O. Lerche, Jr., The Uncertain South: Its Changing Patterns of Politics in Foreign Policy (Chicago, 1964), p. 297.



U.N. operations in the Congo, and approximately one-third of all Southerners would withdraw from, or not "go along" with the U.N. if Communist China was admitted to membership. Only 10 per cent of Southerners, compared with 24.0 per cent of Northeasterners and 17.0 per cent of Midwesterners, were in favor of membership for Communist China. Hero concludes from this that the U.N. has little active support in the South.<sup>9</sup> The News also held the same basic position. As stated earlier, it supported U.N. operations in Korea, but not in the Congo, and advocated United States withdrawal if Red China should become a member. News opposition increased due to "ineffectiveness" and diminishing United States voting strength in the General Assembly.

General Southern attitude, according to Hero, has become increasingly conservative since World War II, with the Southerner opposing trends toward "socialism" in the United States. Southerners have been less tolerant as a group toward media opposition to government, and they recognize a growing foreign communist threat.<sup>10</sup> The News, as previously stated, considers itself ideologically conservative. Lerche has labelled the Dallas Congressional District an "ideological district" because its position on various international relations has remained firm and vocal and has changed little

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<sup>9</sup>Hero, op. cit., pp. 236-243.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 370-371.

over time. Lerche concludes that the party label means little in Dallas because of its basically conservative approach to politics, including foreign affairs.<sup>11</sup>

Opposition to isolationism is one final similarity found between The News and the Hero and Lerche studies. Hero and Lerche note trends in the South toward isolationism.<sup>12</sup> The News, however, has written editorials against "isolationism" and does not consider itself isolationist. But according to Hero and Lerche's inclusive definition, News opposition to foreign aid and the U.N. would place the newspaper close to a position of isolationism.

Dallas, by both authors' definition, is included on the border of the South; consequently, that region does not coincide with a general description of the South. Dallas is more highly urbanized and has a higher per capita income than most districts in the South.<sup>13</sup> As such Dallas might be expected to place emphasis on big business. One important Dallas interest is oil, and restriction of oil imports is one exception to the general Southern position as indicated by The News. Another exception is the high percentage of interest or concern about the fear of communist aggression and the resulting threat to national security. This fear appears to be out of proportion to other Southern studies; however, this

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<sup>11</sup>Lerche, op. cit., p. 138.

<sup>12</sup>Hero, op. cit., pp. 55-57, and Lerche, op. cit., pp. 247-274.

<sup>13</sup>Lerche, op. cit., pp. 292-294.

fear may be due to Lerche's concept of Dallas as an ideologically oriented district, conservative above party label. Heavy coverage supporting the Vietnam and Korean conflicts and increased opposition to Kennedy foreign aid measures, particularly the sale of wheat to Russia, appears to lend support to the "ideological" concept.

The amount of editorial coverage on an event or subject in The News is seen as related to two things: first, the concern over an event or subject, and second, the degree of opposition to an event. If The News is concerned over an event, or feels that the public needs to be made aware of an event, increased space will be devoted to that event. An example would be The News' concern over Vietnam and communism. Proportionally heavy coverage was given to those two subjects, more so than The New York Times. Also, opposition to an event will cause increased coverage. For example, opposition to foreign aid increased under the Kennedy administration. On the other hand, little opposition was given to international trade and coverage was low. The hypothesis might be made that this formula for determining editorial coverage may reflect a general outlook on international relations, a narrow view of international relations emphasizing areas of more immediate interest or those areas to which The News, and, consequently, the public is oriented ideologically. Little coverage was given to Latin America,

Africa, and China--areas which are assuming increased importance in international relations.

Another consideration derived from this study is that a relatively low level of attention is given international relations problems in the North Central Texas area. Hero notes that only approximately one-third of Southern people read editorials.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the international relations information they receive, or want to receive, according to West, is low. News editorial comparisons with The Times supports this hypothesis. As was noted earlier, The Times devoted almost twice as much editorial space to international relations topics as did The News. Almost every topic presented was given more coverage by The Times. In addition, The Times presented a balanced coverage, including more topics than The News, with percentages of coverage more evenly divided.

If The News' coverage is low compared to The New York Times, and The Dallas Morning News has been called "The New York Times of the South" and criticized for containing too much editorial space on international relations compared with other area papers, then concern for, and interest in, international relations topics in the North Central Texas area must be limited. The News must be cited for a degree of interest and responsibility in international relations through

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<sup>14</sup>Hero, op. cit., p. 47.

inclusion of The New York Times News Service and syndicated columnists of varying opinions on foreign affairs.

If a value judgment may be made, however, study of News editorials revealed a general lack of knowledge about subject matter covered, and editorials were often dogmatic in nature. Assuming a relatively low level of interest, compared with The Times, such a conclusion might be supposed. The News' pedantic fear of communism and concern for the safety of the United States could be considered as an example. Although such a measurement was not made in this study, a qualitative comparison between The Times and The News' international relations editorials might prove beneficial.

The conclusion reached in this study is that The News represents, in large measure, an ideologically conservative, basically Southern attitude of the people in the North Central Texas area toward international relations. Study of additional area papers and other input media, such as radio and television, and magazines, would provide further insight into area attitudes. This study provides the beginning.

APPENDIX I

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS EDITORIAL SPACE IN  
THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS IN COLUMN INCHES BY TOPIC

Month	Communism	Defense	Foreign Aid	Inter-national Trade
September, 1950	52	-	14	-
October, 1951	10	18	-	-
November, 1952	23	-	8	11
December, 1953	57	39	10	6
January, 1954	59	-	-	12
February, 1955	79	19	3	21
March, 1956	26	-	8	-
April, 1957	20	39	8	-
May, 1958	37	9	20	8
June, 1959	46	-	34	-
July, 1960	21	8	8	7
August, 1961	36	19	53	-
September, 1962	41	-	67	5
October, 1963	82	-	89	-
November, 1964	55	26	-	23
December, 1965	76	-	18	-
January, 1966	19	-	3	3
February, 1967	64	-	7	-
March, 1968	-	-	9	10
April, 1969	25	11	-	-
TOTAL:	828	188	359	106
Total: Year 1969	304	265	23	51
<u>The New York Times</u>				
January, 1966	24	7	19	-
February, 1967	59	19	20	7
March, 1968	51	-	5	-
TOTAL:	134	26	44	7

Month	Inter- national Finance	U.N. (Korea & Congo)	Inter- national Law	Vietnam (S.E. Asia)
September, 1950	-	122	-	15
October, 1951	-	102	-	5
November, 1952	-	112	-	-
December, 1953	-	54	-	15
January, 1954	-	61	-	-
February, 1955	-	24	6	31
March, 1956	-	33	-	23
April, 1957	-	16	-	7
May, 1958	-	14	6	-
June, 1959	5	13	-	7
July, 1960	-	22	5	-
August, 1961	-	15	5	-
September, 1962	6	17	-	-
October, 1963	-	27	32	27
November, 1964	12	40	-	5
December, 1965	-	15	-	108
January, 1966	-	24	-	67
February, 1967	-	-	10	83
March, 1968	49	7	27	100
April, 1969	-	-	24	49
TOTAL:	72	718	115	542
Total: Year 1969	19	88	94	509
<u>The New York Times</u>				
January, 1966	-	8	-	124
February, 1967	-	11	25	93
March, 1968	87	22	28	122
TOTAL:	87	41	53	339

Month	W. Europe (Britain)	Middle East	Far East (Japan & India)	Latin America
September, 1950	39	-	-	16
October, 1951	65	34	-	20
November, 1952	33	9	4	18
December, 1953	62	14	22	10
January, 1954	42	-	-	-
February, 1955	69	13	35	9
March, 1956	75	28	7	7
April, 1957	17	96	3	11
May, 1958	63	15	-	60
June, 1959	35	-	-	35
July, 1960	48	-	15	87
August, 1961	14	13	32	59
September, 1962	27	-	-	127
October, 1963	39	22	4	13
November, 1964	74	6	12	36
December, 1965	101	-	32	11
January, 1966	8	-	-	39
February, 1967	18	8	11	-
March, 1968	19	-	-	-
April, 1969	26	-	-	16
TOTAL:	874	258	177	574
Total: Year 1969	249	104	47	65
<u>The New York Times</u>				
January, 1966	53	7	13	30
February, 1967	48	-	24	31
March, 1968	83	9	-	23
TOTAL:	184	16	37	84



Month	Africa	U. S. Foreign Policy	Miscel- laneous	Total
September, 1950	4	13	13	288
October, 1951	-	24	-	278
November, 1952	13	-	-	231
December, 1953	5	54	8	356
January, 1954	-	72	-	246
February, 1955	-	4	-	313
March, 1956	8	39	-	254
April, 1957	-	20	-	237
May, 1958	3	-	-	235
June, 1959	-	7	-	182
July, 1960	6	12	-	239
August, 1961	-	13	-	259
September, 1962	-	-	-	290
October, 1963	6	-	-	341
November, 1964	5	6	-	300
December, 1965	-	-	-	361
January, 1966	13	8	-	184
February, 1967	-	-	-	201
March, 1968	-	-	-	221
April, 1969	-	14	-	165
TOTAL:	63	286	21	5,181
Total: Year 1969	17	167	19	2,021
<u>The New York Times</u>				
January, 1966	26	-	5	316
February, 1967	18	-	6	361
March, 1968	31	8	8	477
TOTAL:	75	8	19	1,154

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