



## Daniel Jeremy Silver Collection Digitization Project

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### **MS-4850: Daniel Jeremy Silver Papers, 1972-1993.**

Series III: The Temple Tifereth-Israel, 1946-1993, undated.

Sub-series B: Sermons, 1950-1989, undated.

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Saying No to the Press, 1983.



Saying No To The Press  
Daniel Jeremy Silver  
November 27, 1983

In medieval Europe power was organized by estates. An estate defined a corporation, a body, which represented a powerful class in the society. Originally, there were two estates: the landed nobility and the senior clergy. Later, a third estate came into being which represented the interests of the guilds and the emerging financial and merchant classes. These estates met to inform the ruler of their interests and to adjust with members of the other estates, interests which were in conflict. Meeting of the estates was held in France until the Revolution when representation by popular vote replaced corporate representation.

During the 19th century the term, the fourth estate, became a popular label for the press. Government by corporation had long since ceased, but the fourth estate suggested one important truth about the press, that it represented a powerful element in a country's political life, and one which had its own corporate interests.

The press's political clout makes it inevitable that it will be caught up in the arguments of political life; praised by some, damned by those whose interests it seems to oppose. Those who feel badly used will make the case that the press has political power and is not politically accountable. Editors do not have to stand for election. Those who own the presses or the television outlets are responsible only to their shareholders, and the profit motive may not necessarily coincide with the responsibility of the press to the nation.

The fact that the press is not subject to political pressure has been in many ways a great plus since it has made for a certain independence both from the passions of the popular will and the strategies of those in authority. But the media are always under suspicion that they favor the interests of their owners and the privileged classes. It's a concern; but the real price of private ownership has been the trivialization of the media's news gathering and news dispensing function. Those who own these outlets require a mass audience to maximize the return on their investment, so their minds seek the sensational rather than the



quality, it may never reclaim its journalistic franchise.

CHARLES KAISER with NANCY STADTMAN

## A Second Look at the Off-the-Record War

Though unchastened by criticism of press curbs during the Grenada invasion, the Pentagon last week pledged to form a commission to review the restrictions and to suggest rules for coverage of future military actions. The panel—to include both military and journalists—will be headed by retired Maj. Gen. Winant (Si) Sidle, 67, who spent two difficult years as chief American military spokesman in Vietnam. Sidle, now a director of public relations for the Martin Marietta Corp., had the unenviable task of conveying to a skeptical press Gen. William C. Westmoreland's promises of an early victory. He was not a fount of information, but, says former CBS Saigon bureau chief Ed Fouhy, "He escaped with his integrity, which is saying a lot for that time and place." It remains to be seen whether Sidle's new boss—President Reagan—will give him more latitude than Westmoreland did.



substantial and highlight so-called human interest over hard news. The result is what I call least common denominator news; a two-paragraph item which reduces a complicated political event to the point where it is simply an unrelated fact or an image which captures the eye but does not help us understand the issues involved. Private ownership encourages the press to deal in headlines and picture opportunities. It's behind the urgency to simplify, and the cost is a serious neglect of the media's critical role in a free society where it must serve as the means through which the public exercises its right to know.

The press lords will reply: 'we present what the public wants.' So do prostitutes. Our constitution does not protect the rights of the media because we need to be entertained. Our laws protect the media's freedom so that it can inform. When the press prostitutes itself for numbers and profit, it forfeits its significance to the society and in time that society will become impatient with its special privileges.

Let's look at the way the media covered Israel's 1982 invasion of the Lebanon. Recently I came across a column which quoted a man named Dan Bavli whose assignment in the Israel Defense Forces is to escort news people. Bavli's an old hand at this work. The interview quoted him to this effect: "What I noticed in this war, which I hadn't noticed in the Yom Kippur War, was a total lack of intellectual curiosity on the part of the reporters. They chased after blood, guts, and destruction."

This emphasis on blood, guts and destruction has become increasingly evident to all of us in this age of television cameras and instantaneous satellite transmission. Blood, guts and destruction is a reality in any war, but not the only fact we need to know about a particular conflict. War is a complex political reality and each conflict needs to be understood in its particular and special context. We need understanding, but what we are increasingly getting is a steady diet of corpses and wounded children. Very little in the media helps us distinguish Afghanistan from San Salvador from Lebanon.



These last weeks, as various elements in the PLO have been bombarding each other near Tripoli, the press has printed a daily picture of a mother carrying an injured child or a little boy carrying an injured child. These are effective pictures, but these images do not tell what is at issue between the parties and how this struggle fits into the complex political and military reality which is Lebanon. It's not only that we are not being helped to understand what's happening, but that this kind of coverage encourages us to turn the page. All events are reduced to soap opera and there is no reason to try to distinguish causes and issues.

Of course, there are people in the media who are serious about their news gathering responsibilities to the society, and who spend their lives trying to research events and present them accurately and in context. The best people in the media agree with James Madison when he wrote in the Federalist Papers: "A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy or perhaps both. People who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with the power the knowledge gives."

Unfortunately, they are a minority, particularly when one moves away from the few national newspapers and a few senior television people in the networks. Let's turn again to the summer of 1982. As the Israeli forces moved north a host of reporters and cameramen descended on the Lebanon. Few knew anything about the complexities of Lebanese politics or the ideologies of the various factions involved. Many of them hardly knew Beirut from Damascus until they were given their airline ticket. Almost none of them could speak Arabic, and so they were limited to English-speaking news sources. Many were quite insular so if they could find a European or an American they assumed here was an honest source. When a bus load of reporters came to Sidon they met three doctors, two from Norway and one from Canada who had been working in the hospital there. Here was a wonderful chance for an interview. Those doctors spoke their language and were like them. The doctors told a shocking story. Israeli forces had strafed and bombed the hospital. The Israelis had refused the doctors' request to allow their patients to be evacuated.



They had been eye witnesses to the torturing of prisoners of war by the Israel Defense Forces. Because it was a good story given them by fellow Westerners, many of these reporters sent this interpretation out unchecked. A few entered Sidon and discovered that the hospital had had anti-aircraft guns on its roof, an ammunition dump in its basement, and the local PLO Headquarters on the first floor, and tempered the doctors' story with such phrases as "it was alleged." None reported that a group of reporters had been deliberately misled. The press is extremely protective of its own.

After the fighting ended a Norwegian paper decided to investigate this sensational story and sent one of its reporters, Frederick Sejander, to the Lebanon and Israel. He visited the hospital site and re-interviewed the doctors. He found that they were convinced ideologues who quite openly told him that they defined the truth as whatever served their purposes. Sejander discovered and reported that this whole story had been a deliberate attempt at misinformation and propaganda. His finding was printed in Norway, but as far as I know no paper which printed the original interview printed this review.

One of the reasons the press lacks credibility in many eyes is that it does not openly face up to its failures. The media is remarkably thin-skinned about criticism. If they are forced to print a retraction generally it will be buried at the bottom of page twelve even if the original story appeared on page one. I've rarely seen a report which reviewed how the media had been misled or mishandled a particular set of events. When the New Republic printed a long expose of the Lebanese coverage, the result was a number of defensive statements, but few mea culpas. Mistakes were buried, not admitted. No one expects a responsible press to report with consistent accuracy all that happens in our complex world, and so the attempt to portray itself infallible only heightens our suspicions. As a result, suspicion of the media is deeply engrained in the society. Again and again I hear people say, 'I don't believe anything I read in the newspapers.' In such an atmosphere of pervasive suspicion, the media cannot possibly perform the ser-



vice which they must perform. Even if they provide us the information we need, we don't trust that information.

A Marxian analysis of the media would insist that the press serves not the public but its masters, that since those who own the presses and the stations are capitalists, the press is, essentially, a propaganda agency serving business interests. To the media's credit, a number of studies have shown that business leaders look upon the press as anti-business. Advertisers do have an influence, but, to a surprising degree, the media has been able to act with a degree of freedom which is frankly surprising. I must add that you will search in vain for criticism of the government in the press in any Marxist country.

A free press is a rare achievement. In only one country in three is there anything approaching a free press. Governments want calm, not criticism, and so are rarely willing to restrain their power and allow a free press to operate. Unfortunately, in recent years a serious attempt has begun among the Third World countries to suppress criticism by controlling the media. In most of these countries the local press already operates under tight restraints. What these governments now want is to control outside reporters. Largely under the auspices of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, UNESCO, these countries have sought to create what they call a New World Order of Information and Communication. They propose to license reporters. They propose to charge the reporting profession with the responsibility of reporting the positive and constructive elements in the society. A reporter who fails to do so would have his license revoked. These developing societies, most of them fairly authoritarian in structure, don't want to be criticized. They don't want their planning failures publicized. They don't want opposition voices to be heard. Criticism breeds political dissent and they want to continue to govern. Presumably, if no one investigates or publicizes the countries' problems, they don't exist. Certainly, out of sight is out of mind. These countries have already passed a rule through the United Nations Commission on the Peaceful Use of Outer Space which prohibits any



country from using satellites to send its television programs into a country whose government does not want its citizens to receive them.

I think we agree that the greatest amount of freedom that can be accorded to the press within the limits of national security must be given and that a free society must make every possible effort to protect the ability of the press to investigate and to report what they have discovered. This brings us to the immediate issue: the question of Grenada.

The Grenada invasion represents the first episode in recent history when our government did not allow a pool of reporters to accompany an invasion force. Beyond this, for three days after the invasion reporters were barred from Grenada. Casper Weinberger, the Secretary of Defense, explained this decision as responsive to the military's concern for the safety of the reporters. His explanation was immediately and properly laughed out of court. The military then developed a set of practical explanations. Success, they argued, depended upon absolute secrecy. If a group of reporters had suddenly disappeared from Washington, questions would have been asked and security might have been compromised. Then there was the issue of numbers. Grenada is a tiny island. Today when military action occurs, a horde of reporters descends within hours from world-hopping jets. In a small area they present both logistic and security problems. I'm told that on the second day of the invasion there was one reporter in Barbados trying desperately to get into Grenada for every five U.S. military personnel on the island.

I'm not much impressed by these arguments. Practical issues can always be resolved practically. What is particularly worrisome is that the White House abdicated this basic responsibility to the military. This White House seems to want to govern but not to administer, and rather than exert that ultimate and constitutionally-mandated control over the military which a society like ours requires, it abdicated the media decision to the military. The military are trained to order and to authority. Reporters represent disturbance. It's easier without them underfoot. One of the legacies of Vietnam is a lingering suspicion between the



military and the media. The media believes the military lies. The military believes the media seeks to undo national policy.

The military's decision was a foolish one. Excluding the media only confirms reporters in their suspicions and encourages them to suggest all kinds of ugly motives. The Israelis made a similar unfortunate decision to exclude reporters during the first days of their Peace in Galilee invasion. This decision accomplished little except that the reporters rerouted themselves to Beirut, and for the first few days all the information that was coming out emanated from PLO or other Arab sources. Those in Israel could report only that Israel was preventing them from getting to the front for some unknown, and therefore suspect, reasons, and that the material they were receiving was highly censored and, therefore, suspect.

Censorship does not become a free society. Yet, I would suggest that the press should ask itself a difficult question, a question they've not as yet posed: why it is that in the last 18 months three of the countries who are fiercest in their support of the freedom of the press - Israel in the Lebanon, the United States in Grenada, the British in the Falkland Islands - felt it necessary to impose severe restrictions upon the media. If it asked this question the press, I am sure, would defend itself by saying that all three governments are headed by conservative, right-wing types who are extraordinarily, even paranoically, security-conscious; and, unfortunately, not as sensitive as they ought to be to the interests of the free press. Those who make this argument in the United States point to a number of instances in which the Reagan Administration has limited public access to information under the Freedom of Information Act by requiring researchers to pay the cost of the search and duplication, and by sending out a directive which no longer requires the bureaus to take the right of the public to take into account when making their decision as to whether something is classified or not. The only question is national security. This administration has foolishly insisted that the showing of certain foreign films be preceded by an announcement indicating that they are political propaganda and, again, foolishly has refused visas to



people whose politics they disapprove of: the widow of Chile's Allende; Ian Paisley, the radical Protestant leader from Ireland, and a number of his Irish Republican Army opponents.

Perhaps the most unfortunate move in this area by this administration has been a plan to require all retired senior government officials who write on their years in office or on politics to submit their writings to some form of pre-publication censorship. The argument is that their text may rest on classified information garnered while in office. The problem is that the government may in this way censor books on this basis even though much of this information may already be in the public domain. These actions are foolish, unnecessary and ineffective; but they do not prove that this administration has launched a concerted campaign to limit press freedoms. Many of those who have written about the attitude of the Reagan Administration towards security and secrecy, including some who were most passionate in their attack on the Grenada decision, have reported that this administration has been somewhat better in this area than the two administrations which preceded it. In a strong editorial, which appeared in Time Magazine, its senior editor included this sentence: "This administration has been far more intelligent and helpful in its dealings with the press than was customary during the Nixon age of paranoia and the Carter era of petty meanness." I'm not defending these governments or their actions, but suggesting that for the press to put down the concerns of these three governments by labeling these governments right wing or overly conscious about security concerns is to avoid looking at their own culpability.

A number of concerns seem to have converged at this time and led to these decisions. Some are practical. When David Brinkley appeared before a Senate committee, along with a number of other senior media people, to protest the Grenada decision, he reminded the senators that reporters and cameramen had accompanied American forces in all previous military actions, including D-Day, that reporters have been willing to sign documents that free the government from responsibility



for their safety and that they have abided the rules of operational secrecy. What he did not do was analyze the differences in media operation which has developed between World War II and today.

The second World War was global. Grenada is a small island. The Falklands are a small chain of islands. Lebanon is a small country. During the second World War a sprinkling of correspondents followed each army across the globe. Today within hours a horde of correspondents concentrate on a small area. There are serious logistical and control problems. Even more basic, I believe, is the unspoken question of the reporters' sympathy. During the second World War there was general agreement among the reporters who accompanied the troops with the purpose of the allies. Today reporters often disapprove of a governmental decision. Many European reporters work for papers owned by parties which make no bones of the fact that their reports reflect party ideology. In the United States there is not only a counter culture press but a growing suspicion of all institutions, including the government. Then, too, words have increasingly given way to pictures. Instead of a detailed report of an operation, many people are there only to get a human interest photo or to report back on somebody from the paper's home town.

The government tends to feel the media looks at every war with a Vietnam bias. I don't think that's the problem. As I see it, the problem is that the media have become self-conscious of their political power, that they're the fourth estate, and that people in the media have come down with a bad case of hubris, the feeling they know best. Reporting unconsciously slips over into sermonizing. Some reporters have become preachers. Preachers, as I well know, have the luxury of criticizing the actions of others without being responsible for the consequences of a program. We don't have to administer. We don't have to stand for election. I believe that since Watergate and Vietnam the press has developed a certain self-righteousness and a perceptible hubris.

The media has become self-conscious about its power, and it is powerful. Senior press people have easier access to the leaders of our government than many



of their own subordinates. Almost any media person has easier access to our representatives than many of us have. There isn't an agency of the government which doesn't have elaborate quarters for the press. The senior reporters and network anchor people are among the best paid and most powerful individuals in our country. The press plays a crucial role in determining what political agenda; how we view the major political figures; and what we think about the various agencies and programs. The issues they chose to splash across page one become our issues. The issues they chose not to investigate remain non-issues.

The press is powerful, necessarily so. That's not the problem. The problem is that the press has increasingly become self-conscious about its power. I sense that many in the media want to change the course of events rather than simply report events. The line between reporting and editorializing has become blurred. The press is conscious of the fact that it's part of the action. In the late 60's and early 70's some in the press began to justify what was called advocacy reporting. It was argued that since there is no such thing as total impartiality, why not simply be open and candid about your views and put in the adjectives which encourage others to agree with your position and omit the arguments which did not fit.

A man named Michael Ladeen, who teaches at the Georgetown School for International and Strategic Studies, reported recently a conversation that he had with a senior television journalist during the war in Lebanon. Television journalist: 'How can Begin and Sharon continue to bomb Beirut after all the pictures that we put on television?' Ladeen: 'Well, you know, Jerusalem must consider other issues besides that of public relations.' Television journalist: 'But we've seen to it that these pictures are sent all over the world.'

Consciously or unconsciously, this journalist was trying to make history work his way. He was a reporter and a protagonist. There are many such. Power breeds the temptation to exploit one's power.

The lack of responsibility to administering a decision, making it work, and



the availability to make public judgements breeds what my mother used to call hot angels. It's easy to know what should be done if you don't have to take the contrariness of any political situation into consideration. I find the fourth estate's growing interest in playing a major role in its own devising in our political life a dangerous development. The press is to be a media through which we make up our minds - a source of information, not another policy-making agency.

I don't know quite how we can get our hand on this problem, but I do know a good dose of humility by the media would help. On Yom Kippur before the leader goes out to conduct services he is required by our tradition to recite a prayer which begins, 'I am inadequate to the task which I must undertake.' I commend that text to all reporters. Humility is a becoming virtue and one I increasingly find missing in the press. One example. After Grenada the Defense Department announced that it would convene a commission, including representatives of the media, to discuss how a future confrontation between the military and the media might be avoided. Newsweek handled the story this way.

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Instead of saying, 'there's a problem, here's an honest attempt to resolve it;' every adjective is loaded and every line drips self-righteousness. Whoever wrote and edited this piece suffered from the hubris I've been describing.

Since they are, in fact, the fourth estate, it would be wise for the media to come together as a corporation and appoint its own national commission whose task it would be, year in and year out, to review the media's handling of the news and to publish critical and detailed analyses of its findings. At present every significant segment of the body politic is critically reviewed except the media. From time to time a journalism school magazine may analyze the coverage at a particular event, but these studies are not widely publicized and there is no ongoing body charged with this duty. Doctors in a hospital are held routinely to peer review. Most professions have some kind of professional board of review. The press does not. A few newspapers have an ombudsmen who presumedly reviews editorial matters, but his comments rarely reach the public. More's the pity because the public needs to have confidence in a free press. It does not today. Everyone seems to have a horror story of press inaccuracy or presumed bias. A free press which is not trusted cannot play the crucial political role which the fourth estate must play if our political life is to remain healthy.



What I noticed in this war, which I hadn't noticed  
in the Y.K. War, was a total lack of intellectual  
continuity on the part of the reporters. They lived  
after blood, guts, and destruction.

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to a farce or a tragedy, in which both -  
a people who never to be their own sovereigns  
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knowledge gives.

For more intelligent and help full in its dealing  
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Frederick

Sagunden



In medieval Europe power was exercised by nobles. These nobles  
 controlled representation of people living in their area and  
 provided to them the help of their interests in the negotiations  
 with the king. The king was powerful enough to offer them rewards  
 in return. At first there were two classes: the nobles  
and the peasants. Peasants were very poor and slaves, and  
 3rd class was the king himself who managed the people. In  
 France there were three main classes and the king would  
 reward the nobles enough with power  
 and money. The king himself was the English monarch  
 and nobles, king and peasants were the three classes in  
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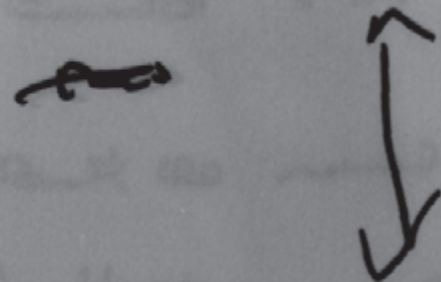
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There is one with - & never see see -  
much later - if the case has been described  
for the first time under the case has been described

Several sources:

TV journalist : How can you see the case has been described to  
be present after anybody has seen  
been on TV

Jordan -

Several cases as you see see  
several cases as you see see  
several cases as you see see



TV present - But looked to future - No one  
has seen the end of the world

we, as a race, shall have to be covered under ~~some~~ <sup>some</sup> ~~other~~ <sup>other</sup> ~~species~~ <sup>species</sup> -  
- just behind the computer man of freedom - also God  
people know what is right

W. Churchill: In Time to see much better  
never was continents

But what - humanity: and - help us and  
of U.S. - and not need a tyranny

Freedom = is united and peaceful - freedom  
united and peaceful and united and peaceful  
united and peaceful and united and peaceful