

## **The Political Manipulation of War Images**

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“I think that the decision to use force is probably the most important decision that our nation’s leaders can make. Of course, it has to be a civilian decision” Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Army Gen. Henry H. Shelton told a crowd at Harvard on January 19, 2000. “Regardless of what type of threat America’s forces are responding to, sustaining these forces abroad requires the support of the American people.” He goes on to characterize this as, “not only the nature of American democracy, but it is at the very heart and soul of our very system.”<sup>1</sup> The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff recognized that the ability of the military to perform at its optimal level is dependent upon the support given to it by the public. The populace dictates who the Commander in Chief will be as well as provides recruits for the next generations. Without its support, the strength of the military is compromised. However, the public should not offer their support casually, simply because they are asked. It is the responsibility of US citizens to cautiously evaluate the benefits and costs of a military conflict before pledging support.

In his speech, Army Gen. Shelton went on to suggest that before any use of force, “each situation needs to be subjected to the ‘Dover Test’... We have to ask the question, ‘Is the American public prepared for the sight of our most precious resources coming home in flag-draped caskets into Dover Air Force Base?’”<sup>2</sup> However, the “Dover Test” has been deliberately avoided since 1991 when a Department of Defense policy banned

the admittance of the media onto Air Force bases for return ceremonies as well as the release of government photos documenting the returns.<sup>3</sup>

A recent lawsuit filed under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) against the Department of Defense and the United States Air Force is actively seeking the release of photographs and other media of flag-draped coffins arriving at Dover Air Force Base. The images being sought include all photos from the beginning of the Afghanistan and Iraq conflicts to the present date as well as any video footage that may have been taken. Not only does this case work to uphold FOIA principles, but it also brings up a deeper issue. The process people use to determine their support for a conflict is being undermined. It also exposes the policy as politically-calculated, characterized by repeated divergences when doing so proved advantageous for the Administration in office at various instances.

A look at previous conflicts and the role photographs have played in each will demonstrate the power images have to affect the public's perception and support for the U.S. military in conflicts. It will also help to analyze the current policy of prohibiting the release of photographs showing flag-draped coffins, which has been used as a political tool by whichever administration is in office.

### **The Media's Role and the Influence of Photography**

The undisputed role of the media as liaison, witness, and interpreter of information and events is vital in the process people use to establish support or opposition to a conflict in which the government engages. The media's ability to shape the message they relay to the public affects the thought process of individuals. Merely reporting an

event brings significance to an issue and encourages the formation of opinions by readers or viewers. The methods used to report a story also have a significant effect on how complete the public's mental image of the issue really is. The amount of time the media spends reporting the issue, a story's rank in the order of a broadcast or its position in a print layout, and the use of photographs and video images to enhance reports all have the power to add significance to an issue and elicit opinions.

“Wars fought somewhere else really only become ‘our wars’ because the media creates what is in fact an illusion of participation in them.”<sup>4</sup> The mental images of war conjured by the public as a result of media reporting are in fact illusions. Civilians who remain at home during conflicts rely on objective yet complete reports to create their interpretation of the situation, which will be used in determining their support or opposition to the conflict. Wars are thought of as intense, unimaginable experiences that are hard to describe to those who have not directly witnessed them. This indescribable characteristic stems from the mixture of fierce emotions that saturate the scene and all who witness it. Photographs are the closest method reporters have to providing a complete image of war. Although photos manage to capture only the surface layer of these emotions, they are considerably more poignant than written or spoken language.

“We see the list in the morning paper at breakfast, but dismiss its recollection with the coffee. There is a confused mass of names, but they are all strangers; we forget the horrible significance that dwells amid the jumble of type,” reported the New York Times on October 20, 1862 in an article critiquing Matthew Brady's photographs of the aftermath of the Battle of Antietam.<sup>5</sup> Brady made his new photographic evidence public in his New York City Broadway gallery in October of 1862.<sup>6</sup> However, the morning

routine described in the quote has not changed. It could apply even to the current conflict in Iraq, spanning the generations.

The Civil War witnessed the media's shift in reporting news with just illustrations and engravings to actual photographs, which captured the attention and emotions of civilians as never before.<sup>7</sup> The New York Times article continued, "Mr. Brady has done something to bring home the terrible reality and earnestness of war. If he has not brought bodies and laid them in our dooryards and along the streets, he has done something very like it...Crowds of people are constantly going up the stairs; follow them and you will find them bending over photographs...These pictures have a terrible distinctness. By the aid of the magnifying glass, the very features of the slain may be distinguished."<sup>8</sup>



Photo: Library of Congress 1862<sup>9</sup>

The clear, often raw, quality that photos and images possess gives them the characteristic of trustworthiness and dependability. The public instinctively puts more confidence in images than words. Shortly after the Civil War began, northern journals published accounts of escaped POWs from Confederate prisons. The stories angered the



northerners but did not mobilize them into action. However, “in the spring of 1864, a handful of photographs of starving Union prisoners provided proof that was merciless, shocking, and utterly irrefutable. It would not have taken much to convince this audience, but photography was so new and the images of human beings so unlike any ever seen before that the last vestiges of indifference were swept away. Public opinion was galvanized, Congress itself was stirred.”<sup>10</sup>

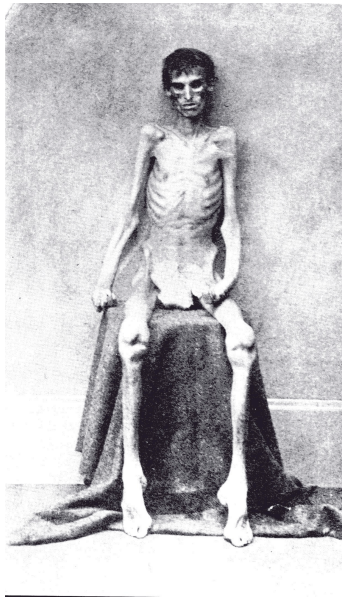


Photo: Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 1864<sup>11</sup>

When trust in the media is compromised the importance of photographic evidence is heightened. A more contemporary example of the fallibility of the media and the potential for photographic evidence was the experience of Dennis Hitchcock during the Vietnam era. His eyewitness accounts validated his distrust in the media, and gave him the evidence to disprove media reports. “By the summer of 1968 I was working for a major airline at the San Francisco Airport. United Airlines had the MAC [Military Airlift Command] contract to bring back the coffins from Vietnam. Over the course of the summer I counted the coffins and tried to match them to the news reports about

casualties. The numbers never did line up. There are always more coffins than were being reported in the news media.”<sup>12</sup> The public, however, does not have the capacity to witness events such as this independently. Photos, such as the following, accompanying media reports often make those reports much more credible to news consumers.



A U.S. military honor guard takes part in the repatriation of seven sets of remains believed to be of Americans killed during the Vietnam War, Tuesday, Aug. 25, 1998, at Hanoi's Noibai Airport. (AP Photo/ERIC HERTER)

The current Department of Defense policy prohibiting the release of military photographs of flag-draped coffins as well as the admittance of journalists onto the base to witness their return hinders the ability of citizens to form complete opinions as to their support for the conflict. Photographs are an important tool, part of the vocabulary journalists use to present a complete and truthful picture. When the vocabulary of the interpreter is limited, the message is significantly altered, which is very likely the intent of the current Department of Defense (DoD) policy.

## **The Department of Defense Policy**

The current Department of Defense policy banning the admittance of the media at the arrival ceremonies of returning US military casualties was instituted in February 1991, on the eve of Operation Desert Storm, the U.S. military's name for the campaign to reverse Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990. In the directive issued by the office of the Secretary of Defense Crisis Coordination Center, "Media coverage of the arrival of the remains at the port of entry or at interim stops will not be permitted." The Pentagon offered this reason for the directive: "Arrival ceremonies at the port of entry may create hardships for family members and friends who may feel obligated to travel great distances to attend them." The directive continued with no reference to the family's privacy. "This policy in no way detracts from the service member's valor and sacrifice but, instead, permits the ceremony to occur at a location where the service member's family and friends may more easily attend."<sup>13</sup>

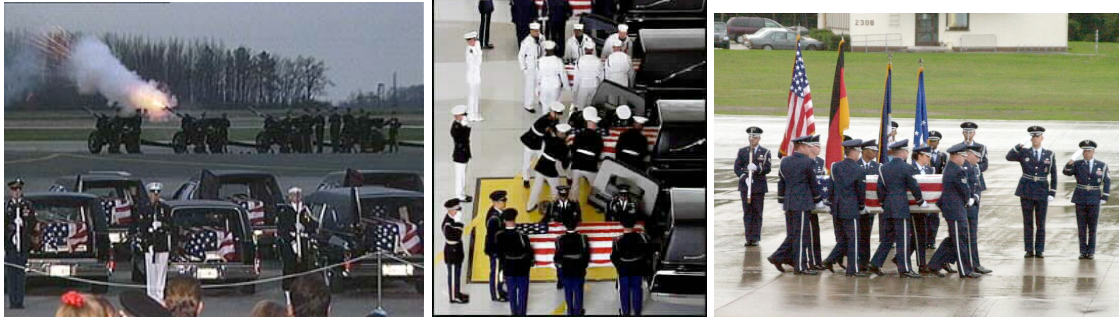
A survey conducted by the Annenberg Public Policy Center in October 2004 found that U.S. military families, the very people the Defense Department claims to protect, do not agree with the Pentagon's policy of banning these images. "The military sample also overwhelmingly disagreed with the Pentagon policy of barring publication of photographs of flag-draped coffins being returned to Dover Air Force Base in Delaware. Fifty-one percent of the sample said allowing photographs would increase respect for the sacrifices made by the military, and only 8 percent said it would reduce respect." The survey polled 655 adults who had either served in the military between February and October 2004 or were family members of soldiers.<sup>14</sup>

The timing of the directive is also cause for suspicion of the legitimacy of its claims to protect the families of the fallen. It was issued after military action in Panama came to an end, and just before the Gulf War began. The U.S. overthrow of General Noriega of Panama resulted in 23 deaths of US servicemen due to hostile action.<sup>15</sup> President Bush held a press conference December 21, 1989, “in an almost giddy mood,” to report on the success of the operation and to play down any problems experienced.<sup>16</sup> Coincidentally, at the same moment the President was speaking at the White House, the remains of the servicemen killed in Panama were arriving at Dover AFB. “Television networks carried both events live, splitting the television screen, or in one case, showing the coffins on full screen as Mr. Bush’s voice was heard. It was a powerful juxtaposition, and one that clashed with the Administration’s effort to put the best face on a conflict that has so far been witnessed by a relatively small number of reporters.”<sup>17</sup> To say the least, the juxtaposition of the Dover images with the White House news conference was a political image-maker’s nightmare, and may well have been the catalyst for the soon-to-be-announced DoD policy on coverage of returning casualties. Although the Gulf War, just one year away, was not foreseen at the time of the Panama episode, in the run-up to the Gulf War the Administration may have been trying to preempt publicity problems.



Photo: CBS network broadcast Dec. 21, 1989.<sup>18</sup>

The policy banning media coverage of the return of casualty remains was enforced for the duration of Operation Desert Storm. However, afterwards throughout the 1990s, the government made several exceptions to the policy. All those exceptions have the similar characteristic of resulting from an attack against the United States instead of a military action initiated by the U.S. Among the notable exceptions; photographs taken and published in 1996 of President Clinton attending the arrival and transfer ceremony of the bodies of Commerce Secretary Ron Brown and 32 other Americans killed in a plane crash in Croatia<sup>19</sup>, photographs taken and published in 1998 of the arrival ceremony for remains of Americans killed in the US embassy bombings in Tanzania and Kenya<sup>20</sup>, and photographs taken and shown in 2000 of caskets of military personnel returning home after the bombing of the U.S.S. Cole off the coast of Yemen.<sup>21</sup>



Photos: (left) CNN “Crash victims’ families mourn at somber Dover ceremony” 1996, (center) Arlington National Cemetery “Photographic coverage of the terror bombings in two US embassies in Africa” 1998, (right) Department of Defense 2000.<sup>22</sup>

Releasing these pictures held the prospect of political advantage for the Administration. They showed the President expressing compassion and emotional sentiment. The political circumstances suggest that the DoD policy on release of photographs is politically calculated and that its primary objective is not to protect the families and friends of fallen servicemen and women, but to serve the interests of the government rather than the people of the United States.

Other important exceptions to the ban on the release of images of flag-draped coffins include instances throughout the conflict in Afghanistan in 2001. The media was given access to the arrival ceremony of the first U.S. casualty in Afghanistan in November 2001, just two months after the terrorist attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>.<sup>23</sup> Popular support had been galvanized by the terrorist attacks, and the populace strongly supported the Administration and its decision to enter Afghanistan as part of the War on Terror, a campaign declared by President George W. Bush in an address to the nation on September 20, 2001.<sup>24</sup> The image of the first casualty from the War on Terror and other images of flag-draped caskets from Afghanistan that were later released<sup>25</sup> could easily

symbolize to the public the difficulty and the necessity for this war, enhancing public support.



Photo: Arlington National Cemetery website “Johnny Michael Spann” 2001

Despite the exceptions made to the DoD policy, Congress restated, expanded and upheld the policy banning these images on the eve of the U.S. initiated military campaign in Iraq in 2003,<sup>26</sup> and again upheld the policy in the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2005<sup>27</sup> as casualties mounted in Iraq on the eve of the November 2004 presidential election. During the election year, Democrats accused the Administration of using the photographs for political purposes. Democratic Senator Frank Lautenberg of New Jersey proposed an amendment to the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2005 that would permit the media to attend the arrival ceremonies of fallen heroes. In his defense of the amendment Lautenberg said,

I believe the current Pentagon directive is an attempt to manipulate public opinion or make this war pass something that is called the ‘Dover test,’ as the Pentagon itself has coined it. The Dover test dictates that the Pentagon

should suppress images of coffins returning from overseas in order to prevent the American people from seeing the real sacrifices that are being made. The current policy has nothing to do with the privacy of the deceased or their families, as the administration claims. Rather, this policy has everything to do with keeping the country from facing the realities of war, shielding Americans from the high price our young service people are paying.<sup>28</sup>

Shielding Americans from this high price protected the high public approval rates the President was receiving. Senator Lautenberg added, “Our soldiers are fighting for democracy, fighting for a free press in Iraq. Yet our government is censoring the press here. It is not right and is out of line with American values.”<sup>29</sup>

Despite this effort to amend the policy, the Republican controlled Congress passed the Ronald W. Reagan National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2005 containing language in support of the current policy. The Sense of the Congress found in the act states: “The Senate amendment contained a provision (sec. 366) that would state the sense of the Congress that the Department of Defense policy regarding no media coverage of the transfer of the remains of deceased members of the Armed Forces appropriately protects the privacy of the families and friends of the deceased.”<sup>30</sup>

The apparently political nature of the current policy on photographs of flag-draped coffins evolved from a long history of government intervention on the relationship between photography and war in the United States.



## **The Role of Images in Previous Conflicts**

In the United States, photography first documented a military conflict in the Civil War. Since then, images have had the power to influence, mobilize and direct the public in regards to their support for a conflict or an administration. Policies regarding the publication of war casualty images have ranged from restricting them to shield the public from the costs of war to explicit exposure in efforts to harden the morale of the public to solidify support for a conflict. Examining various conflicts since the Civil War reveals examples of the consistent manipulation of war images by administrations to advance their own agendas.

The Civil War ushered in a new element to military journalism, photography. While pictures were not printed in the media with regularity until 1885,<sup>31</sup> Brady's photographs of Civil War battlefields opened the door for unprecedented potential in war time reporting. However, Brady was not part of the news media, and he displayed his pictures in his own gallery. "These pictures and others of the Civil War signal a shift in communications that would be meaningful for the future."<sup>32</sup> Never before had civilians outside the immediate area of a battle witnessed such events. As a result of the novelty of photographic technology and the media's inability to print photographs effectively, the government had no policy regarding the publication of war images during the Civil War. The idea that support for the conflict would decline if images of casualties were shown was not a concern. These circumstances allowed Civil War photographers, not the government, to determine the role pictures had in affecting popular opinion.

Alexander Gardner, the photographer who captured the aftermath of the Battle of Gettysburg, wrote, "Such a picture conveys a useful moral: It shows the blank horror and

reality of war, in opposition to the pageantry. Here are the dreadful details! Let them aid in preventing such another calamity falling upon the nation.”<sup>33</sup> According to Gardner, this is the role pictures should play in the media. They should, without interpretation or alteration, bear witness to the atrocities of war in the hopes of preventing future similar situations.



Photo: Alexander Gardner “A Harvest of Death” The New York Public Library 1863<sup>34</sup>

Photographic technology improved in the decades following the Civil War, and by the beginning of the First World War photographs had become a standard element of journalism. By this time, the government had realized the potential images had to affect public opinion and a policy imposing strict censorship was adopted by the Wilson administration. “Censorship in the Great War was so stringent that for a time civilian photographers were not permitted at the front on pain of death, a rather effective regulation.”<sup>35</sup> In an effort to sustain the ‘total’ war mentality of the time, the administration thought it necessary to refrain from reporting the bad news. “Even if the pictures passed the censors, publications back home were chiefly interested in optimistic

reports and not particularly hospitable to photographs... To judge by those in print, no American died in battle and few were wounded, but the enemy took a beating.”<sup>36</sup> Not only did the enemy take a beating, but they were also portrayed as evil and out to destroy civilization.<sup>37</sup>

The censorship imposed during the Great War continued into World War II. Both the government and reporters themselves encouraged censorship. The mentality of the photographer during the Civil War to expose the truth in hopes of preventing future conflicts had apparently been replaced with the idea that the media was merely an extension of the armed forces.<sup>38</sup> “World War II was the high-water mark of wartime cooperation between the military and the media.”<sup>39</sup> This unity was so strong that, “General Eisenhower could refer to the 500-strong press corps attached to his command as ‘almost without exception...my friends.’”<sup>40</sup>

The disclaimer of ‘almost without exception’ referred to some reporters in combat zones who did wish to portray the fighting as it happened through the use of pictures. This prompted World War I level censorship in combat zones. “The military might argue openly that this was essential to prevent relatives and friends being offended by the sight in the media of their loved ones in anguish, but the legacy of historical iconography – the element of public morale – also survives in this process. Hence only enemy dead were shown in cinema newsreels, and even then in not too much detail.”<sup>41</sup>

The intent of this World War II policy to protect the families of fallen soldiers is the same argument the Pentagon is using to defend its current policy of withholding images of returning flag-draped caskets. However, the context is different. The World War II policy was focused on images of battlefield casualties whereas the current DoD

directive specifically cites anonymous flag-draped caskets as potentially offensive to families.

George Strock, a *Life* magazine combat zone reporter in World War II who was pushing for the publication of casualty images, had been doing a feature on a specific soldier, Bill, who lost his life in combat in the Pacific theater. *Life* wanted to publish a picture of Bill along with two other dead American soldiers on the beach in front of their landing craft. Government censors denied *Life*'s request, prompting this letter from the editors: "We think that occasional pictures of Americans who fall in action should be printed. The job of men like Strock is to bring the war back to us, so that we who are thousands of miles removed from the danger and smell of death may know what is at stake. Maybe some of our politicians would think twice about their selfish interests if they could see him lying on the white sand...Why should the home front be coddled, wrapped in cotton wool, protected from the shock of the fight? If Bill had the guts to take it, we ought to have the guts to look at it, face-to-face."<sup>42</sup>



Photo: George Strock, *Life* magazine © 1943, 1971 Time Warner Inc.<sup>43</sup>

Some politicians were influenced to think twice, although not about their selfish interests. The policy regarding media and the censorship of photographs was altered after the first two years of the war. Instead of avoiding images of casualties, “President Roosevelt actually encouraged media coverage of stark conditions on the battlefield to take the sting away from Americans’ privations at home.”<sup>44</sup>

The policy on censorship changed midway through the war, but the ultimate goal of maintaining popular support was never altered. Images such as the one published on the cover of *Life*, showing the greatest sacrifice a soldier can make, advanced the government’s aim to harden the morale of the civilian public.

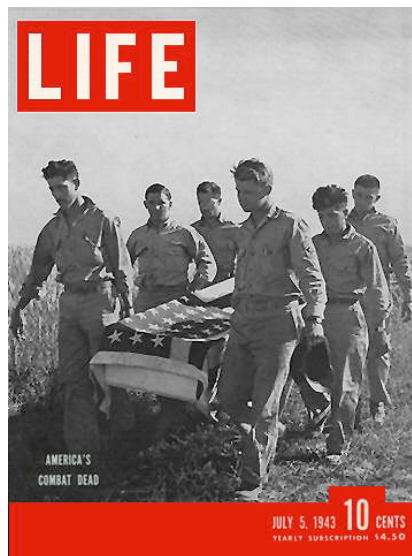


Photo: Hart Preston, *Life* magazine, July 5, 1943<sup>45</sup>

The Korean conflict, in the 1950’s, was the first of a new generation of military conflicts, in that perceived legitimacy for the operation was not as solid as past wars. To many Americans, containing communist expansion was not as vital as defending the country from attacks such as Pearl Harbor. With this backdrop, reporters in the field wrote pieces without the familiar patriotic zest of the previous wars’ reporting. The resulting restrictions the military imposed worked not only to censor news coverage of

military operations but was extended to issues of civilian morale as well. Every word and image was reviewed before it was released for publication.<sup>46</sup>

These efforts did not, however, protect President Truman from the damaging effects of mounting casualties.

Public support was high-77 percent approved-when President Truman sent US troops into combat in response to North Korea's invasion of the South...China's massive counteroffensive in late November, and the huge casualties suffered by the UN forces in short order, changed that view and altered public support. One-quarter of the population changed its mind, from agreeing that the United States had done the right thing in Korea to agreeing that it had been a mistake...The initial shock of mass casualties and the prospect of a war extending beyond expectations were the prime movers of public opinion.<sup>47</sup>

Despite this lack of confidence in President Truman's decisions, the US public supported operations to escalate the war and even bomb China.<sup>48</sup> This suggests that the public was critical of decisions made by President Truman rather than averse to casualties. The effect of mounting casualties and the reporting of them led to declining support for the initial decision to intervene, and decreasing confidence in the President, not support of the U.S. military. The Korea case suggests that declining support for the President drives certain policies on censorship, perhaps another antecedent to the current policy of withholding images of flag-draped caskets.

Vietnam was an undisputed milestone in military reporting. Reporters faced heavy restrictions in previous wars such as primitive technology, mobility limitations,

and strict censorship imposed by the military and by the reporters themselves. The technology, most notably television, and the mobility of reporters during Vietnam, were far superior to those of any previous time. Reporters also enjoyed more freedom due to the Vietnam conflict's status as a conflict and not a war. "The more limited the conflict is in its objectives, the less likely the government can impose strict social controls, including curbs on the news media."<sup>49</sup> In this way the military limited its ability to censor journalists. A government cannot easily impose restrictions and censorship without blaming the infringements of First Amendment rights on a war.

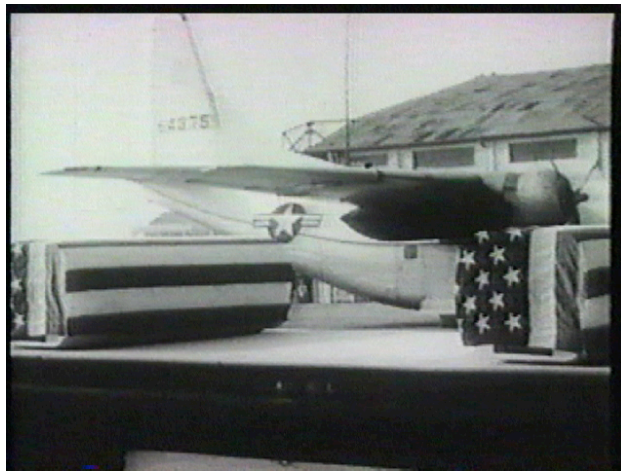


Photo: CNN "Vietnam: Fighting Blind" 1997<sup>50</sup>

During the Vietnam conflict the media was seen as having immense influence on the public, caused by the popularization of television, an especially high point in TV news credibility following network coverage of the civil rights movement and a series of acclaimed TV news documentaries in the 1960's, and the unprecedented freedom of the press corps. "Thomas Reston of the *New York Times* wrote: 'Maybe the historians will agree that the reporters and the cameras were decisive in the end. They brought the war to the people...and forced the withdrawal of American power from Vietnam.' Then again, maybe not."<sup>51</sup> This idea, that the US was forced to withdraw as a result of

declining public support fuelled by the continuous coverage of death and suffering on the television, became known as the ‘Vietnam Syndrome.’<sup>52</sup> The conflict in Vietnam sparked the debate on the impact images of casualties have on the civilian population.

The role that images and the media play in military reporting has diverged sharply from the original intent of Alexander Gardner’s photographs depicting the aftermath of the battle of Gettysburg, which was to show the horror of war so as to avoid it in the future. During the Civil War photographic technology was relatively new and had not been used by the news media. Its potential for influencing the population’s opinions was not realized by the government until pictures became more prevalent in publications. By World War I photography had been established as a definitive element to journalism and was consequently censored for the duration of the war. Since that time every major military conflict has been accompanied by a policy designed to manipulate the potential power of casualty images for political gain. The policies have been manifested in various ways ranging from the total restriction of casualty images to explicit publication in efforts to strengthen the resolve of the American people. The most recent policy of 1991 has periodically banned the release of flag-draped coffins returning from international conflicts in an effort by the past three administrations to maintain political advantage.

### **Recent FOIA Efforts**

The irrefutable evidence and the emotional response that images have the power to elicit are what can affect the public’s understanding, perception and even support for a military conflict. This is the cause for the various policies throughout recent history concerning the release of images of flag-draped caskets returning to the U.S. from



overseas. The validity of the rationales for these policies, privacy of the families and protection from hardships, has been undermined by the publication of photographs in the 1990's and 2001. Furthermore, the images of flag-draped caskets returning from abroad are solemn and respectful reminders to the nation of the price for freedom. Seeing these images allows the nation to collectively grieve and honor those who made the ultimate sacrifice. For these reasons a series of Freedom of Information Act requests have been filed calling for the release of images of unidentified flag-draped caskets returning home since September 11, 2001. Like the policies banning the images, the process to get the photographs released appears also to have been influenced by political tactics from the government.

FOIA, which seeks to override political manipulation of public records, became bogged down in the court system after requests for the release of these images were ignored past the legal time limit. In April 2004, 361 photographs of returning casualties from Iraq and Afghanistan were released in response to a FOIA request filed by Russ Kick in November 2003. Shortly after, the Defense Department called the release a mistake and refused to release further images.<sup>53</sup> This prompted several subsequent FOIA requests to be filed, claiming these documents as public records.



Photos: Recent images released in November 2004 by the DoD in response to several FOIA requests.<sup>54</sup>

After several months of inadequate, strictly administrative responses (the government neither released any further images nor refused to release them), a lawsuit was filed against the Department of Defense and the Department of the Air Force on October 4, 2004.<sup>55</sup> A response by the U.S. Air Force was not given until the end of November 2004 when 288 photographs, from the same images previously released to Russ Kick in April 2004, were re-issued. Since then, the Air Force has indicated it is continuing to search for additional images, and the Pentagon has said it is broadening its search. It is interesting to note that the change in behavior and responsiveness in the Air Force occurred after the Presidential election in November had already been determined. At the time of this writing, however, no further images have been released, and the government and its challengers remain at odds in court.

The FOIA requests sought the release of documents believed to be part of the public record. The images of returning flag-draped caskets are solemn reminders that aid the public in trying to grasp the incomprehensible human cost of war. They serve as a tribute honoring those who fought to uphold the ideals of their nation, and they allow the nation to grieve along with the families of the fallen. However, shamefully, they are

banned from the public's view, certainly for political manipulation. Some of the very people the policy is meant to protect have spoken out against it. Families have expressed that hiding death and destruction only serves to hide the truth and does not alleviate the pain of coping with losses.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, a soldier who served in Iraq wrote that the least the nation could do for a soldier that made the ultimate sacrifice is to "not hide his body away like something shameful."<sup>57</sup> The manipulation of the sacrifice of the nation's fallen defenders, by its own government, is a great dishonor and is more disrespectful than showing their sacrifice to the world could ever be.

## Endnotes

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- <sup>18</sup> CNN archive.
- <sup>19</sup> *Crash victims' families mourn at somber Dover ceremony*. CNN (Online Edition). Apr. 6, 1996. <<http://www.cnn.com/US/9604/06/crash.dover>>.
- <sup>20</sup> *Photographic Coverage of the Terror Bombings of Two US Embassies in Africa August 1998*. Arlington National Cemetery. <<http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/africa02.htm>>.
- <sup>21</sup> Milbank, Diana. *Curtains Ordered for Media Coverage of Returning Coffins*. The Washington Post, Oct. 21, 2003. A23.
- <sup>22</sup> Photos: (left) Arrival ceremony for Commerce Secretary Ron Brown and 32 other Americans after a plane crash in Croatia in 1996. (center) Arrival ceremony for the victims of the Tanzania and Kenya US embassy bombings in 1998. (right) Arrival ceremony for victims of the terrorist attack on the USS Cole in 2000.
- <sup>23</sup> Pictures and Narratives are available online at <<http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/jmspann.htm>>.
- <sup>24</sup> Presidential address to a joint session of Congress and the American people. Sept. 20, 2001. <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>>.
- <sup>25</sup> A list of exceptions to the DoD policy during the 1991-2004 time period is available at <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB136/doverchron.pdf>
- <sup>26</sup> Vantran, K. L. *Dover's New Mortuary Center Aims to Ease Family's Grief*. American Forces Information Service News Article. Oct. 29, 2003. <<http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Oct2003>>.

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<sup>27</sup> *Ronald W. Reagan National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2005*. H.R. 4200, as approved in conference and adopted by the House and Senate on Oct. 9, 2004. Sec. 1082 Sense of the Congress Concerning Media Coverage of the Return to the United States of the Remains of Deceased Members of the Armed Forces from Overseas.

<sup>28</sup> *National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2005*. Congressional Record: June 18, 2004 (Senate) page S7030-S7043.

<sup>29</sup> *National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2005*. Congressional Record: June 18, 2004 (Senate) page S7030-S7043.

<sup>30</sup> *Ronald W. Reagan National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2005*. H.R. 4200, as approved in conference and adopted by the House and Senate on Oct. 9, 2004. Sec. 1082 Sense of the Congress Concerning Media Coverage of the Return to the United States of the Remains of Deceased Members of the Armed Forces from Overseas.

<sup>31</sup> Freund, Gisele. *Photography & Society*. David R. Godine, Publisher, Inc., Boston: 1980. p. 107.

<sup>32</sup> Goldberg, p. 26.

<sup>33</sup> Qtd. in Goldberg, p. 28.

<sup>34</sup> Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division. Negative by Timothy O'Sullivan, original print by Alexander Gardner, *A Harvest of Death*, Gettysburg, PA July 1863.

<sup>35</sup> Goldberg, p.195.

<sup>36</sup> Goldberg, p. 195-196.

<sup>37</sup> Wombell, Paul. *Face to Face with Themselves: Photography and the First World War*.

Photography/Politics: Two. Patricia Holland, Jo Spence, and Simon Watney, ed. Comedia Publishing Group, London: 1986. p. 76-77.

<sup>38</sup> Freund, p. 171-172.

<sup>39</sup> Strobel, Warren P. *Late-Breaking Foreign Policy: The News Media's Influence on Peace Operations*. United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington D.C.: 1997. p. 25.

<sup>40</sup> Taylor, p. 106.

<sup>41</sup> Taylor, p. 106.

<sup>42</sup> Goldberg, p.196-198.

<sup>43</sup> George Strock, *Three American Soldiers Ambushed on Buna Beach, 1943*. This was the image intended to accompany the article on the soldier named Bill.

<sup>44</sup> Strobel, p. 26.

<sup>45</sup> *Life Magazine* <<http://www.life.com/Life/search/covers>>

<sup>46</sup> Taylor, p. 106-107.

<sup>47</sup> Strobel, p. 27.

<sup>48</sup> Larson, p. 181-182.

<sup>49</sup> Strobel, p. 29.

<sup>50</sup> CNN archive

<sup>51</sup> Taylor, p. 108.

<sup>52</sup> Taylor, p. 109.

<sup>53</sup> Bill Carter, *Pentagon Ban on Pictures Of Dead Troops Is Broken*, New York Times, Apr 23, 2004 at A14. Monte Morin, *Photos of Coffins Draw U.S. Crackdown*, Los Angeles Times, Apr 23, 2004 at A1. Helen Kennedy, *Last Homecoming First Look at Tragic Photos That Show Somber Realities of War*, Daily News (New York), Apr 23, 2004

<sup>54</sup> Images released by the Department of Defense in response to FOIA request of Ralph Begleiter, found at <<http://www.udel.edu/global/FOIA/foiagallery/>>. According to the Department of defense, they were all taken on March 24, 2004.

<sup>55</sup> Complaint for Injunctive and Declaratory Relief. United States District Court for the District of Columbia. Plaintiff, Ralph Begleiter. Defendants, Department of Defense and Department of the Air Force. Oct. 4, 2004.

<sup>56</sup> Zweifel, Dave. *Photo Ban Hides Reality of Iraq War*. Capital Times (Madison, WI). May 3, 2004. A8.

<sup>57</sup> Arkin, William M. *Censorship Dishonors the Dead – and the Truth*. L.A. Times. May 2, 2004. opinion M3.