

*THE NEW YORK TIMES*, THE HOLOCAUST,  
AND A CONFLICT OF JEWISH IDENTITY, 1939–1945

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I. All the News Unfit for Print: How *The New York Times* Quietly Obscured the Holocaust.

November 26, 1940. To the average American, sitting at the breakfast table and reading the morning edition of *The New York Times*, it was a typical day in the news—if any day could be considered typical with the storm clouds of World War II looming to the East. Although it was just over a year until the United States would officially join the worldwide conflict, the country was already brimming with patriotism, eager to hear the latest news of the war. On the front page, the Greeks were making progress against Italian forces in Southern Albania, the British city of Bristol had just fallen victim to a German bombing run, and the first wave of Army recruits was off to training camps throughout the nation.<sup>1</sup> Inside the newspaper, the upcoming Army-Navy football game had sold out Municipal Stadium in Philadelphia, while the Broadway play, “The Corn is Green,” starring Ethel Barrymore, was starting its run at the National Theater.<sup>2</sup> Only a particularly committed reader would have noticed on page eight, tucked away below the fold, the headline “Walls Will Enclose Warsaw

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Jews Today; 500,000 Begin 'New Life' in Nazi-Built Ghetto.”<sup>3</sup> The following article, written not by a *New York Times* reporter but by the Associated Press, revealed that Warsaw’s Jews had been “required to take up residence in the ghetto” by the Nazis, “with as many as seven persons living in one room in some buildings.”<sup>4</sup> This 10-sentence piece was easy to miss among the dozen other stories that appeared on page eight that day.

The placement of the Warsaw ghetto story was not an isolated incident. Instead, it is representative of the way in which *The New York Times* regularly treated stories about Jewish suffering during the Holocaust as second-tier news, choosing to place them not on the front page, but rather to allow them to be buried on the inside pages of the newspaper among the flood of other war-time articles. Many historians, with a few notable exceptions, are content to excuse the *Times* and other American media by insisting that information about Hitler’s Final Solution was not available during World War II, that it was unreliable, or that newspapers simply were not able to see the trend of Jewish persecution until it was too late.<sup>5</sup> Yet *The New York Times* alone published 1,186 articles that dealt with the Holocaust between September 1939 and May 1945.<sup>6</sup> The real issue is not that there was a lack of information, or even that the information was suspected to be inaccurate and therefore was not published, but that only 26 of these stories appeared on the front page of the *Times*, and all but six obscured the fact that the primary victims were Jews.<sup>7</sup>

The main reason that *The New York Times* failed to adequately draw attention to the Holocaust is directly related to the newspaper’s origins and lineage. At its core, the *Times* was created, published, and owned by a family of German Jewish descent whose members wanted to both cultivate and preserve the perception that the newspaper was unbiased and to assimilate into American society. In doing so, they often avoided publishing stories that were too favorable to Jews so that the *Times* would never be seen as a “Jewish newspaper.” As a result, between 1939 and 1945, *The New York Times* consistently downplayed Jewish suffering during the Holocaust in an effort to distance itself from its Jewish heri-

tage and to maintain an image of impartiality in the eyes of the American public.

In examining how the *Times* obscured news of the Holocaust, it is important to understand the crucial role that the front page played (and continues to play) in the dissemination of information for a newspaper. It is the goal of a newspaper to publish headlines that catch a reader's attention. As a result, it has always been the practice of newspaper editors to pay special attention to what appears on each edition's front page, a practice to which the *Times*' staff during the late 1930s and 1940s was well accustomed. Max Frankel, a former executive editor at the *Times*, said the paper "took great pride in ranking the importance of events each morning."<sup>8</sup> Aside from helping sell newspapers, the front page was used to show the reader which news stories *The New York Times* deemed important. Between 1937 and 1945, the *Times* published more than 23,000 stories on its front pages, averaging between 12 and 15 per day.<sup>9</sup> In the six years between the Nazi invasion of Poland and the opening of the Nuremberg Trials, in only six instances did the *Times*' front page mention Jews as Hitler's central target for total annihilation.<sup>10</sup> Although there are several other ways in which the *Times* underplayed the Holocaust which will be discussed later, the failure to emphasize Jewish suffering on the front page set the tone for the newspaper's Holocaust coverage throughout the war. As Frankel concludes, "the ordinary reader of [the *Times*] pages could hardly be blamed for failing to comprehend the enormity of the Nazis' crime."<sup>11</sup>

One of the primary arguments used to justify the *Times*' lack of front page Holocaust stories is that information concerning the murder and mistreatment of European Jews was not available and/or was mistrusted by the newspaper's staff. Laurel Leff, leading historian of *The New York Times*' reporting during the Holocaust, writes, "World War I's fake atrocity stories bred skepticism about death factories and mass gassings, especially among hard-bitten editors who had been young journalists during the war two decades earlier."<sup>12</sup> Coupled with the extensive use of atrocity stories as propaganda in the media during the recently terminated

Spanish Civil War, this abundance of false horror stories led *Time* magazine to dub news of civilian killings from German-occupied Poland in 1939 the “atrocious story of the week.”<sup>13</sup> Yet during World War II, *The New York Times* published multiple stories about the Holocaust that stated that the information they contained was unconfirmed. This implies that in the hundreds of other articles that it published inside its pages, journalists and editors did not significantly doubt the validity of their facts, most of which proved to be accurate and were confirmed later by the State Department, the United Nations, the President, or other reporters. In fact, the *Times*’ most prominent non-front-page Holocaust story of 1943, an account of the slaughter of 50,000 Kiev Jews on page three, was published with the disclaimer, “On the basis of what we saw it is impossible for this correspondent to judge the truth or falsity of the story told to us.”<sup>14</sup> Although the true gravity of the Holocaust would not sink in for many Americans until the end of World War II, it is clear that the *Times* did not lack information about the Holocaust. Furthermore, whether or not this information was in doubt, the newspaper was willing to publish Holocaust stories, so long as they were not placed conspicuously.

In 1942, as some of the first reports claiming the deaths of millions of Jews were reaching the American press, *The New York Times* placed Holocaust stories on its inside pages just as other newspapers featured them, all the while reaffirming the credibility of its sources. On June 27, the *Times* ran a United Press article in a page five column detailing the separate shootings of five Polish natives who had struck back after being physically attacked by Germans in Poland. Attached directly below the story appeared the following three sentences:

According to an announcement of the Polish Government in London, 700,000 Jews were slain by the Nazis in Poland. The report was broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation and was recorded by the Columbia Broadcasting System in New York yesterday.

“To accomplish this, probably the greatest mass slaughter in history, every death-dealing method was employed—machine-gun bullets, hand grenades, gas chambers, concentration camps, whipping, torture instruments and starvation,” the Polish announcement said.<sup>15</sup>

Three days later, on June 30, the *Times* ran a similar story, again by the United Press, which reported that “the Germans have massacred more than 1,000,000 Jews since the war began in carrying out Adolph Hitler’s proclaimed policy of exterminating the people,’ spokesmen for the World Jewish Congress charged today.”<sup>16</sup> The article, which quoted a report that “about one-sixth of the pre-war Jewish population in Europe...had been wiped out in less than three years” and that “Jews, deported en masse to Central Poland from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and the Netherlands, were being shot by firing squads at the rate of 1,000 daily,” appeared on page seven.<sup>17</sup> In attempting to explain why a story revealing the death of one million Jews was so obscured by the *Times*, historian Walter Lacquer writes that because the editors were not certain of the information in the story, “they opted for a compromise: to publish, but not in a conspicuous place.”<sup>18</sup> Yet in other instances, *The New York Times* published stories on the front page that it openly acknowledged could not be confirmed.<sup>19</sup>

The *Times* demonstrated remarkable reluctance to feature some of the first reliable Holocaust reports in 1942 even as other newspapers and organizations vigorously affirmed their validity. The information contained in the two *Times* articles actually originated from a report that a Polish Jewish Socialist organization called the Bund had sent to the Polish government in exile in London.<sup>20</sup> In contrast to the *Times*’ two short inside stories, which were not reported or written by *Times* reporters but rather by the United Press, the *Herald Tribune* published a much longer story about the Bund report which it ran on its front page on June 30.<sup>21</sup> The *Times* had little reason to doubt its sources, which included CBS, the BBC, the World Jewish Congress, and the Polish Government in London. It even ran a third story about the Bund report two days later on July 2, in which it quoted Polish National Council representative Szmul Zygielbojm in saying that the sources for the Bund report were “absolutely reliable, although the story seemed too terrible and the atrocities too inhumane to be true.”<sup>22</sup> In the article, which was placed on page six, Zygielbojm made a plea for immediate action on the part of the Allies, which he called “the only way to save millions of Jews from certain destruction.”<sup>23</sup> Zyg-

ielbojm committed suicide the following year, having written in a suicide note, "Perhaps by my death I shall contribute to destroying the indifference of those who are able and should act in order to save now, maybe at the last moment, this handful of Polish Jews who are still alive from certain annihilation."<sup>24</sup> The *Times* ran a story about his death on page seven.

Still others argue that the flood of military and political news during World War II made the Holocaust difficult to separate from the deaths of millions of Allied and American soldiers throughout the war in the minds of the *Times*' editors. It is true that *The New York Times* devoted at least several of its 12 to 15 front page articles per day to war news, going so far as to cut advertisements to make room for more wartime stories (a fact that the newspaper proudly announced on several occasions).<sup>25</sup> But there were countless instances in which *The New York Times* relegated Holocaust stories to the inside pages while the front page contained news that was seemingly trivial. On September 12, 1939, the *Times* ran a story on a "special report" from the German News Bureau in Poland revealing that "a solution of the Jewish problem' in Poland is on the German-Polish agenda." The story, which appeared on page five, warned that the "implications...were it carried out on the German model, are ominous," and observed that it was hard to see how the "removal" of Jews would alter the situation "without their extermination."<sup>26</sup> Meanwhile, a story about a retired steel manufacturer's decision to continue living in Switzerland in protest of federal tax policies appeared on the front page.<sup>27</sup> In fact, war news was so slow during this period that in October, one article carried the headline "38 Reporters Search for a War/ Correspondents with British in West Do Not Expect a Nazi Offensive this Fall/ RAIN STEADY IN WIDE AREA."<sup>28</sup> Similarly, On March 5, 1944, as the war was dragging into its sixth year in Europe, *Times* correspondent Ralph Parker reported from Ukraine, "With horrifying precision, the German anti-Semitic policy had been applied to this region of cherry orchards and fields of sunflowers."<sup>29</sup> Under the headline "Many Jews Killed in Cherkassy Area/ Tour of Ukraine Reveals How Nazis Followed Plan to Exterminate Them," the article ran on page six. Meanwhile, on page one, the *Times* ran an

article about how the Monte Carlo casino was finally beginning to feel the economic pressures of the war. In an ironically solemn tone, it reported: "The last session of roulette was desolating. People played only 10 and 20 franc notes. In the baccarat game, last hope of the desperate, only 3,000 francs were risked and the game closed for lack of the banker....Nobody wanted to buy any whisky."<sup>30</sup> Needless to say, Jewish suffering was clearly not shunted aside to make way for more pressing news.

The handful of Holocaust stories that did make the front page of *The New York Times* between 1939 and 1945 were no more effective than the inside stories at informing readers of Jewish suffering because they de-emphasized the role of Jews as the primary victims of the Nazis' crimes. "I have just seen the most terrible place on the face of the earth," wrote *Times* Moscow correspondent William Lawrence on August 30, 1944, "the German concentration camp at Maidanek, which was a veritable River Rouge for the production of death, in which it was estimated by Soviet and Polish authorities that as many as 1,500,000 persons from nearly every country in Europe were killed in the last three years." The article later states that the dead were "Jews, Poles, Russians, and in fact representative of a total of twenty-two nationalities."<sup>31</sup> While it was certainly true that Maidanek (sometimes spelled Majdanek) claimed the lives of many non-Jews, including Poles and Belorussians, approximately 76 percent of those who died there were Jewish, a fact which both the article and its headline obscured.<sup>32</sup> Other front page stories bearing headlines like, "Refugee Ship Off Palestine Sunk by Blast; Casualties Feared Among 1,771 Homeless" (November 26, 1940); "580,000 Refugees Admitted to United States in Decade" (December 11, 1943); "Roosevelt Board is Negotiating to Save Refugees from Nazis" (January 30, 1944); and "President Predicts Murder Orgy by Nazis to Wipe Out Minorities" (June 13, 1944) all primarily concerned Jews, yet did not clearly identify them as such. In shying away from use of the word "Jew" on the front page, the *Times* made a conscious decision to downplay Jewish suffering, which likely would have severely impaired readers' understanding of the single most fundamental aspect the genocide: Hitler's desire to exterminate the Jews.

Perhaps the clearest illustration of *The New York Times*' reluctance to explicitly portray Jewish victimhood is the American press' response to a conference held in late November of 1942 by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, chairman of the World Jewish Congress, which confirmed the death of 2,000,000 Jews and announced that Hitler had ordered the murder of all Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe.<sup>33</sup> Almost all American newspapers, both local and national, ran the story in some form, with headlines such as: "2 Million Jews Slain by Nazis, Dr. Wise Avers" (*Chicago Tribune*, page 4), "2 Million Jews Slain, Rabbi Wise Asserts" (*Washington Post*, page 6), "Wise Says Hitler Has Ordered 4,000,000 Jews Slain in 1942" (*New York Herald Tribune*, page 1), "Jewish Extermination Drive Laid to Hitler by Dr. Wise" (*Baltimore Sun*, page 3), "Wise to Reveal Nazis' Program to Kill Jews" (*New York Journal American*, page 3) and "Two Million Jews Slain, Wise Says" (*Los Angeles Examiner*, page 1). In contrast, the headline to the corresponding *New York Times* article read "Wise Gets Confirmations/Checks with State Department on Nazis' 'Extermination Campaign.'"<sup>34</sup> The article, which appeared on page 10, was the only story in more than 18 American newspapers whose headline did not reference Jews and did not contain the 2 million figure cited in the Wise announcement.<sup>35</sup>

Aside from *The New York Times*' failure to focus attention on Jewish suffering on the front page, the other major area in which the newspaper significantly underplayed the Holocaust was in its special sections, including the editorials and review sections. Out of the nearly 17,000 editorials that the *Times* published during the six years of World War II, only 16, less than one in 1,000, focused on Jews in the Holocaust. Only once, on December 2, 1942, was the Nazi persecution of Jews the subject of a lead editorial. Titled "The First to Suffer," the nine-paragraph piece seems to deliberately draw attention away from Jewish victimhood. "The Jew was the first number on a list which has since included people of other faiths and of many races—Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Netherlanders, Belgians, French—and which, should Hitler win, should take in our own mongrel nation." The editorial goes on to assert, "The horror of the persecution of the Jews, viewed in this perspective, covers all free humanity. What the Jew has suffered is a prediction



of the suffering that would be reserved for all who dare to stand against Hitlerism.”<sup>36</sup> Still other editorials concerning the Holocaust did not even mention Jewish involvement whatsoever. Six months after the Warsaw ghetto uprising, the *Times* published an editorial titled, “Supermen at Warsaw,” extolling the “men who resolved that if they had to die they would die free, with arms in their hands.” Nowhere did the October 28, 1943 piece mention that the Warsaw ghetto and its “defenders” were almost all Jewish.<sup>37</sup> Such a conspicuous absence of information did not go unnoticed. In a December 31 editorial, the *Jewish Times* of Philadelphia criticized *The New York Times* for portraying “the news in a way as if no Jews were involved in the tragic fray.”<sup>38</sup>

Arguably the most pronounced lack of attention to the Holocaust in the *Times*, however, took place in the newspaper’s review sections, which were published at the end of each week and each year to summarize notable events in the news. On September 3, 1944, *The New York Times*’ review section ran a full page titled, “Outstanding Events and Major Trends of the Second World War” without mentioning Jews.<sup>39</sup> The mass murders at concentration camps in Auschwitz and Maidanek never appeared in the paper’s “Highlights of the Week In Review,” even after their respective liberations at the end of the war.<sup>40</sup> Jews were neither included in “Fifty Memorable Dates in the History of 1944,” nor were they referenced in “A Chronology of the War in Europe: 100 Outstanding Dates,” both of which also made no reference to concentration camps such as Dachau, Auschwitz, Maidanek, Bergen-Belsen and others, even when the camps were liberated.<sup>41</sup> Following Hitler’s suicide, a *Times* review story remembered the “civilian toll” that his murder agenda had caused. Despite the fact that historians have estimated that nearly 6 million Jews were killed by Hitler’s Nazi regime, the *Times* chose to remain silent about Jewish victimhood.<sup>42</sup>

Despite the overwhelming evidence, it is not fair or accurate to say that during the course of World War II there were no instances in which *The New York Times* took steps to expose Jewish suffering to its readers. Some shining exceptions include: a short

but passionate essay in 1942 by novelist Sholem Asch in the *Times Magazine* which pleaded for Jewish aid, and a front-page article on *Kristallnacht* in 1938. Also noteworthy is a striking half-page article by *Times* correspondent Anne O'Hare McCormick about a rally at Madison Square Garden to "Save Doomed Jews," which warned:

If the Christian community does not support to the utmost the belated proposal worked out to rescue the Jews remaining in Europe from the fate prepared for them, we have accepted the Hitlerian thesis and forever compromised the principles for which we are pouring out blood and wealth.<sup>43</sup>

Yet stories like Ms. McCormick's, the first three paragraphs of which appeared on page one of the *Times* on March 3, 1943, under the smallest of 11 headlines, were anomalies in a paper otherwise devoid of accessible information about the Jewish Holocaust.

None of the reasons offered so far seem to explain the extent to which *The New York Times* so severely and uniformly downplayed Jewish suffering during the Holocaust. As previously demonstrated, a lack of information cannot account for the more than 1,000 articles about the Holocaust which contained news of the Nazi murder of Jews in explicit detail, but never received any prominent position. Furthermore, the *Times* professed the accuracy of its facts in Holocaust stories on inside pages, and was simultaneously willing to publish and feature unconfirmed reports. The theory that these stories were overshadowed by war news does not explain why, when genocide stories did appear on the front page, the *Times* went out of its way to de-emphasize the roles of Jewish victims, hesitated to follow up in the editorial section, and almost never mentioned the word "Jew" in connection with World War II in its review sections. To truly understand why *The New York Times* would have minimized the Holocaust during World War II, we must look to the newspaper's connection to Judaism, starting with its roots.

II. “Not a Jewish Newspaper”: Ochs, Sulzberger, and Jewish Identity at *The New York Times*

Adolph Simon Ochs was born March 12, 1858, on the eve of the U.S. Civil War. His parents, Julius and Bertha Levy Ochs, were Jewish immigrants from Germany who had arrived in Knoxville, Tennessee prior to the war. Ochs began his career in the industry at age 11 as a paper boy for the *Knoxville Chronicle* in an effort to support his family. Susan E. Tifft and Alex S. Jones, authors of *The Trust*, the definitive source on the history of *The New York Times*' family ownership, write, “As the oldest son of a nearly impoverished Jew with a distinct German accent, Adolph... learned to value compromise, work harder than anyone else, and seek harmony whenever possible.”<sup>44</sup> By age 14 he had dropped out of school, and by 17 he had risen through the ranks of both the *Chronicle* and the *Tribune*, earning the nickname “Muley” Ochs, a pun on his work ethic and the Americanized pronunciation of his last name. His role model was Horace Greeley, the owner of the influential *New York Tribune*, who had struggled up from rural poverty in New Hampshire. After moving briefly to Kentucky to work as a typesetter at *The Courier-Journal*, Ochs returned to Tennessee and, at the age of 19, borrowed \$250 to purchase a controlling interest in the *Chattanooga Daily*, becoming publisher.<sup>45</sup>

Although Adolph's father Julius was “deeply pious and a student of the religious writings of the Hebrew faith,” none of his three sons grew up in a particularly religious household, largely because in Knoxville, the Ochs family was more focused on earning a living than on Judaism.<sup>46</sup> However, Adolph's religious views shifted when, in 1883, he married Iphigenia “Effie” Miriam Wise, daughter of the Cincinnati Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, founder of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the leading proponent of Reform Judaism in the United States.<sup>47</sup> Through his wife, Ochs learned and came to embrace the beliefs of Reform Judaism. He gave credit to his Jewish home life and the Jewish religion for his high moral standards and strong work ethic.<sup>48</sup> In addition, this brand of Reform Judaism, which was widely embraced among German Jewish immigrants in the late 19th-century, compounded

with Ochs' pre-existing desire to assimilate into American culture. Sociologist Ewa Morawska writes, "Reform Judaism's philosophical and practical purpose was to modernize Jewish religion by eliminating the characteristics that set apart its practitioners from mainstream (Christian) society."<sup>49</sup> As a Classical Reform Jew, Ochs sought to reconcile ancient traditions with the values and social norms of contemporary America. Key to this effort was the assertion that Judaism did not represent a culture; it was merely a set of religious beliefs. Ochs would later state, "I know nothing else, no other definition of a Jew except religion."<sup>50</sup> This definition of what it meant to be Jewish became a fundamental part of Ochs' ideology, which would later steer the course of development of *The New York Times*.

Adolph Ochs, like the more than 200,000 German-Jewish immigrants who came to the United States between 1820 and 1880, worked hard to minimize the public attention that he, as a Jew and a foreigner, drew.<sup>51</sup> A 1944 book about the history and changing nature of the American newspaper business described Ochs as "naturally a very timid man, kindly, well-meaning, but above all else anxious not to get into many personal controversies and not to offend many readers."<sup>52</sup> For Ochs, political visibility was a luxury that could not be afforded by Jews seeking to fit into the American lifestyle. Like many other assimilationist German Jews, he saw turn-of-the-century Eastern European Jewish immigrants, with their Orthodox customs, thick accents, full beards, and long, black frock coats, as an immediate target for stereotype and ostracization by the American public. Paula E. Hyman, professor of modern Jewish studies at Yale University, writes, "The new immigrants were so numerous and visible in their Yiddish-speaking ghettos, so conspicuous in their radical politics, that they threatened to displace the prosperous, respectable German Jewish banker or merchant as the representative Jew in the popular imagination."<sup>53</sup> The same ethnic group that would later bear the brunt of the suffering during the Holocaust created a new reason for American Jews of German descent to be self-conscious of their religion by undermining their efforts to fit unobtrusively into American culture. "We should live quietly, happily, unostentatiously," Ochs

once advised the Jews of Chattanooga's Mizpah congregation. "Don't be too smart. Don't know too much."<sup>54</sup> Ironically, however, he would come increasingly close to violating his own wisdom as he strove to gain a footing in the industry. By 1895 Ochs had set his eyes on acquiring a newspaper in New York, and in 1896 he negotiated a deal to purchase the bankrupt *New-York Times*.<sup>55</sup>

The moment that the paths of Adolph Ochs and the *Times* crossed was the beginning of an era in which the newspaper would be shaped and guided by the beliefs and goals of its publisher: to assimilate in the face of a nation's harsh anti-Semitism, to adhere to the principles of Reform Judaism, and above all, to remain unbiased and publish a "clean, dignified, trustworthy and impartial" newspaper, as Ochs announced in the *Times* on August 18, 1896.<sup>56</sup> For Adolph Ochs, the fear of racial and religious judgment by the American public and the objective of journalistic neutrality gave rise to a strong reluctance to feature Jewish issues in his publication; he was "determined not to have the *Times* ever appear to be a 'Jewish newspaper.'"<sup>57</sup> During the Dreyfus affair of the late 1890s, in which the Jewish French army captain Alfred Dreyfus was wrongly court-martialed and imprisoned on Devil's Island, where he was subjected to inhumane treatment, Adolph Ochs refused to let his paper take the lead in reporting the story. "I thought it would be unwise for *The New York Times* to begin the campaign, as it would be at once attributed to a Jewish interest," he later explained.<sup>58</sup> Tiff and Jones write, "When other papers took up Dreyfus' plight, the *Times* followed suit, carefully avoiding the use of words such as *Jew*, *Jewish*, or *anti-Semitism* in headlines."<sup>59</sup> Gareth Garrett, a younger member of the *Times*' editorial council, wrote in his diary in 1915, "Mr. Ochs is a non-Jewish Jew. He will have nothing to do with any Jewish movement."<sup>60</sup>

With the death of Adolph Ochs in 1935, the job of *New York Times* publisher carried over to his son-in-law, Arthur Hays Sulzberger; along with it came Ochs' attitude toward the role of Judaism and Jewish-ness in the *Times*, which Sulzberger not only perpetuated, but also intensified throughout his term as publisher until 1961. Although Sulzberger was not raised in a particularly Jew-

ish family environment, he found himself nonetheless occasionally forced to confront his identity when faced with anti-Semitism during his early life. After graduating from the Horace Mann School, Sulzberger attended Columbia University, where he was refused entrance into multiple fraternities because of his Jewish lineage, evident from his last name. Though bitterly hurt, he declined an invitation to Zeta Beta Tau, Columbia's Jewish fraternity because to him Judaism was "a religion, and a religion only, and...should not be a common denominator of social intercourse or political activity."<sup>61</sup> This conviction strengthened when, in 1917, Sulzberger married Iphigene Ochs, Adolph's daughter, thus inheriting not only the spot of heir to the *Times* publisher position, but also a direct tie to Reform Judaism.

As publisher of the *Times*, Sulzberger was even more adamant than Ochs that the newspaper not seem to be biased in favor of Jews. According to Leff, "If other publishers worried about appearing neutral with respect to Republicans or Democrats, business or labor, the Dodgers or the Giants, Sulzberger worried about the Jews."<sup>62</sup> Max Frankel, a former executive editor at *The New York Times* who wrote and edited at the newspaper from 1952 until his retirement in 1996, said in an interview, "Jews were kept from some conspicuous jobs in Washington and abroad as a gesture to the publisher's fear of having too many Jews in prominent positions."<sup>63</sup> Yet Jews held key news jobs at the *Times*, such as Sunday editor Lester Markel, Washington bureau chief Arthur Krock, and cable editor Ted Bernstein, who was responsible for editing foreign correspondence during World War II. "There were always a lot of Jews, but they were for the most part on the inside," Mr. Frankel explained in a later interview.<sup>64</sup> Of Bernstein, Frankel said, "He literally made up page one after the meetings; he was the one who designed it...In another era he would have become top man. It was precisely because of this fear of moving a Jew up to the number one spot that he was kept [as] number two."<sup>65</sup>

Sulzberger was especially conscious of how small details could affect the newspaper's image. Adolph Ochs had already imposed strict rules in 1912, at the insistence of the Anti-Defamation

League, that governed the use of the word *Jew*, deeming it inappropriate to use the word in the context of phrases like “Jew boy,” “Jew store,” and “to Jew down.”<sup>66</sup> As publisher, Sulzberger strengthened these rules. In a memo to his editors, he wrote, “Thus, when the American Jewish Congress meets our headline does not say ‘Jews Meet’ but emphasizes the fact that it is the Congress. When the Zionists meet it is not Jews, but Zionists.”<sup>67</sup>

Even before the anti-Semitic press made much of the fact that *Times* spelled backwards was *Semit(e)*, [Sulzberger] was vigilant about correcting any suggestion that he or the paper might represent Jewish interests. When *Time* [magazine] referred to the paper as the ‘Jewish owned *New York Times*,’ Arthur complained to the proprietor, Henry Luce, alleging that the phrase implied that the *Times* was biased.<sup>68</sup>

From examining the history of *The New York Times*, it becomes evident that the newspaper was particularly sensitive about its relationship to Judaism. Ochs and Sulzberger’s shared desires to assimilate; beliefs that Judaism was a religion, not an ethnicity; and principles of journalistic impartiality resulted in a tendency to minimize the appearance of and deny the *Times*’ connection with Judaism. This attitude was primarily responsible for *The New York Times*’ failure to emphasize the Holocaust during World War II.

Yet there is still one missing connection. Although Sulzberger held the highest position at *The New York Times* during World War II, as publisher he was not directly responsible for the decisions about writing, editing and placing stories made on a daily basis in the newsroom. How did his distinct feelings about Judaism carry over to the *Times* itself? As Max Frankel puts it, “Arthur Hays Sulzberger created the atmosphere in which those decisions were made and made no secret of his desire to avoid having the *Times* judged or criticized for being a ‘Jewish’ newspaper.”<sup>69</sup> Neil MacNeil, the night managing editor at the *Times*, along with Ted Bernstein, was one of three men who made up the “bullpen,” which was exclusively responsible for deciding which stories to place on the front page during World War II.<sup>70</sup> In 1940, he wrote:

There is a tendency, even on the best newspapers, for the economic, political, and social views of the owners to seep down through the entire organization. Reporters viewing the event and editors passing

judgment on it are inclined, be it ever so slightly, to see it from the publisher's angle...Few will bite the hand that feeds them. Almost without knowing it the news favors the owner's viewpoint. The story in which the publisher is interested becomes a 'good story,' and vice versa.<sup>71</sup>

Similarly, Turner Catledge, who worked at the *Times* from 1929 to 1968 and held the position of managing editor for 12 years immediately after World War II, wrote in his autobiography,

Sulzberger made his likes and dislikes known via memoranda which we called the 'blue notes' because they were written on blue paper. Hundreds of these blue notes rained down on me over the years, on great matters and small. Since James (referring to Edwin L. James, the managing editor during World War II) passed on the publisher's instructions, as well as his own, a code had been worked out to denote Sulzberger's requests. If James said in a memo, 'It is desired that...', the bullpen editors understood the particular instruction came from Sulzberger, and was not to be ignored.<sup>72</sup>

The influence of the publisher on the content of *The New York Times* is undeniable; Sulzberger and Ochs' very presence at the *New York Times* created what *Times* reporter and author Gay Talese has called "a sensitivity to Semitism...within the institution."<sup>73</sup>

Although no written record of a policy to minimize Jewish issues at the *Times* has been discovered, another explanation is that such a rule would not have even needed to be in writing. Leff argues, "Such a memo might not have been included in the *Times*' less-than-comprehensive files, or the policy may have been communicated verbally...but the more likely explanation is that no record exists because there was no need for an explicit policy."<sup>74</sup> Leff's conclusion is supported by Frankel's statement, "[Sulzberger] had very good friends in charge of both the news and the editorial departments, and so they would have known his mindset."<sup>75</sup> Sulzberger's friendship with Charles Merz, whom Sulzberger convinced Ochs to hire and named editorial director in 1938, was well known at the *Times*. "Sulzberger and his editorial page editor vacationed together, did jigsaw and crossword puzzles, and played backgammon, Chinese checkers, gin, and canasta."<sup>76</sup> Sulzberger and Merz's propinquity led to an almost telepathic relationship between the two. "They thought alike, they talked



alike,” said Daniel Schwarz, who started at the *Times* in 1929 and eventually became its Sunday editor. “Sulzberger wouldn’t have to say to Merz what he should do and not do. They could have talked about it while playing cards. They would have traded feelings about it. But nothing had to be told.”<sup>77</sup> On this subject, Max Frankel said, “There was a spoken attitude... ‘where possible we do not want to feature Jewish suffering except in the context of larger, more widespread suffering.’ I think that was close to a policy.”<sup>78</sup>

Sulzberger’s personal beliefs clearly penetrated the *Times* on multiple levels, and it is impossible to fully understand the newspaper’s treatment of the Holocaust without viewing it in light of the conflict between the Jewish and American identities of its publishers, Adolph Ochs and Arthur Hays Sulzberger. Nevertheless, it is important to understand how both men’s views were ultimately the product of the predominant American anti-Semitism of the era. In 1939, an Elmo Roper poll found that 53 percent of Americans felt Jews were “different” and therefore “deserved...social and economic restrictions.”<sup>79</sup> In June of 1944, a poll asked Americans which groups represented the greatest threat to the United States. While 6 percent responded “Germans” and 9 percent “Japanese,” 24 percent said that the greatest threat to America was posed by the Jews.<sup>80</sup> It is therefore unsurprising that a successful man like Sulzberger would have wanted to minimize his “Jewish-ness” in order to be perceived as more American, and that this desire extended to the *Times*. “When you’re running a big enterprise and you want to be a significant newspaper in Wall Street and with influence in Washington and so on, the idea that you might be called, as you probably were called by anti-Semites, just a ‘Jewish newspaper,’ that was a reputation to be lived down,” said Frankel.<sup>81</sup>

While he ultimately succeeded in preserving the *Times*’ image of impartiality, in the process Sulzberger failed to alert Americans to the greatest genocide in human history. By 1940, the *New York Times* was one of the of the largest newspapers in the world in terms of circulation and influence.<sup>82</sup> “What Harvard is

to U.S. education, what the House of Morgan has been to U.S. finance, *The New York Times* is to U.S. journalism,” announced *Time* magazine on April 12, 1943.<sup>83</sup> A 1944 book comparing American newspapers said of the *Times*,

In the years that have elapsed since the death of Adolph S. Ochs in 1935, the *New York Times* has more than ever established itself as the foremost daily of the world. As an institution it outshines the *London Times*...In America no other journal approaches it in the volume of news and coverage of the world...it has literally made itself indispensable to anyone who desires to be thoroughly informed as to what is happening on this globe.<sup>84</sup>

The American public looked to *The New York Times* to inform it of “All the news that’s fit to print.”<sup>85</sup> Because the newspaper never emphasized the Holocaust, all but the most careful readers were barely aware of its existence. In 1943, a Gallup poll asked Americans whether they believed that 2,000,000 Jews had been killed since the start of World War II. Despite the fact that the Allied governments had publicly confirmed this number at the end of 1942, 28 percent said it was a rumor, 24 percent had no opinion, and only 47 percent thought it was true.<sup>86</sup>

The *Times*’ underplaying of the Holocaust affected not only its readers’ understanding of the genocide, it also influenced that of other American and foreign media. David Wyman, author of *The Abandonment of the Jews*, writes, “Other newspapers recognized the *Times*’ guidance in foreign news policy. A perception that the Jewish-owned *Times* did not think the massive killings of Jews was worth emphasizing could have influenced other newspapers.”<sup>87</sup> Deborah Lipstadt adds, “various dailies subscribe(d) to *The New York Times* foreign wire service and reprint(ed) important stories from the paper. Only rarely were stories concerning the Jews treated in a way that would have prompted other papers to think them significant or worthy of reprinting.”<sup>88</sup> A 1944 survey of Washington correspondents found that more than five in six believed the *Times* to be the nation’s most “reliable, comprehensive, and fair paper.”<sup>89</sup>

Given the improbability of finding direct evidence to prove that the lack of emphasis on the Holocaust by *The New York Times*

resulted in a corresponding lack of effort to stop the suffering of Jews in Europe, it is unreasonable to conclude that the *Times* prolonged the Holocaust. However, like the millions of other bystanders in the American public, the State Department, the White House, and abroad, it made little attempt to reach out to help Europe's Jews. Unlike most other bystanders, however, the *Times* had a responsibility to make others aware of the genocide. "If the systematic campaign to annihilate European Jewry was a critical story, it should have been on the front page regardless of whether Jews could have been rescued as a result," writes Leff.<sup>90</sup> Instead, the way *The New York Times* relegated stories of Jews' suffering to the inside pages and diluted Jewish victimhood in its reporting during World War II provided no opportunity for its readers to take note. The only reasonable conclusion is that of *The Trust*: "Had the *Times* highlighted Nazi atrocities against Jews, or simply not buried certain stories, the nation might have awakened to the horror far sooner than it did."<sup>91</sup>

There is, however, one benefit that arose from the tragedy of *The New York Times*; the failure to draw attention to the Holocaust catalyzed several positive changes for the newspaper. After the departure of Arthur Hays Sulzberger, Jewish correspondents at the *Times* began to receive equal treatment in assignments in Washington and abroad.<sup>92</sup> Several Jews, including Max Frankel, ascended to prominent jobs, including managing editor. Led by Arthur Hays Sulzberger's son and grandson, the *Times* abandoned its sensitivity to its Jewish roots and supported Jewish issues, including Israel, in stories and editorials.<sup>93</sup> Finally, the determination to avoid its past mistakes has driven the *Times* to take the lead on genocide stories in Darfur, Rwanda, Bosnia, Uganda, and Kosovo. As Nobel Peace Prize winner Elie Wiesel has stated, "There may be times when we are powerless to prevent injustice, but there must never be a time when we fail to protest."<sup>94</sup> The *New York Times* seems to have taken this wisdom to heart.

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Sedgwick, "Greeks Closing In; Fall of Second Vital Fascist Center in Albania Near," New York Times (November 26, 1940); Percival Knauth, "Wide Bristol Ruin Pictured in Berlin," NYT (November 26, 1940); "1,937 Trainees Go to Camp in Nation; 17% Rejected Here," NYT (November 26, 1940)

<sup>2</sup> Allison Danzig, "Service Rivalry, Bowl and Title Races Keep Football Flame Alive; Army-Navy Clash Still a Big Show," New York Times (November 26, 1940); "The Corn is Green Will Open Tonight," NYT (November 26, 1940)

<sup>3</sup> Associated Press, "Walls Will Enclose Warsaw Jews Today," New York Times (November 26, 1940)

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> See Peter Novick, The Holocaust in American Life (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999); William D. Rubinstein, The Myth of Rescue: Why the Democracies Could Not Have Saved More Jews from the Nazis (New York: Routledge, 1997)

<sup>6</sup> Laurel Leff, Buried by The Times: The Holocaust and America's Most Important Newspaper reprint ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) p. 2

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp. 2–3

<sup>8</sup> Max Frankel, "150th Anniversary: 1851–2001: Turning Away from the Holocaust," The New York Times (November 14, 2001) late, final edition, <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/11/14/news/150th-anniversary-1851-2001-turning-away-from-the-holocaust.html?pagewanted=all>

<sup>9</sup> Leff, p. 6

<sup>10</sup> Max Frankel, "Turning Away From the Holocaust: The New York Times," in Why Didn't the Press Shout?: American and International Journalism During the Holocaust, ed. Robert Moses Shapiro (New York: Yeshiva University Press, 2003) p. 80

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. p. 80

<sup>12</sup> Leff, p. 6

<sup>13</sup> Deborah E. Lipstadt, Beyond Belief: The American Press And The Coming of The Holocaust, 1933–1945, paperback ed. (1986; repr., New York: Free Press, 1993) p. 137

<sup>14</sup> Leff, p. 172

<sup>15</sup> United Press, "(title unknown)," New York Times (June 27, 1942)

<sup>16</sup> United Press, "1,000,000 Jews Slain by Nazis, Report Says," New York Times (June 30, 1942)

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Leff, p. 4

<sup>19</sup> See Leff, p. 4, footnote 4

<sup>20</sup> Leff, p. 138

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140

<sup>22</sup> New York Times (July 2, 1942)

The Bund Report went on to list the numbers of thousands of Jews killed at certain locations in Poland. Upon receiving the report in London, the Polish government in-exile passed the information on to the BBC, which broadcast the information on radio on June 2, 1942. Historian Martin Gilbert writes that “The details given in the Bund Report were precise, and, as we now know, accurate.”

<sup>23</sup> London Bureau, “Allies Are Urged to Execute Nazis,” New York Times (July 2, 1942)

<sup>24</sup> Leff, p. 174

<sup>25</sup> Owing to a recent one and a half inch decrease in the width of the printed newspaper and changes in its layout, New York Times now carries fewer stories on its front page than it did during World War II. See Katharine Q. Seelye, “Times to Reduce Page Size and Close a Plant in 2008,” New York Times (July 18, 2006), <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/07/18/business/media/18web.html>. For information on the Times’ wartime advertising cuts, see Leff, p. 9

<sup>26</sup> Berlin Bureau, “Nazis Hint ‘Purge’ of Jews in Poland,” New York Times (September 13, 1939)

<sup>27</sup> “Expatriated U.S. Tax Foe Won’t Return During War,” New York Times (September 13, 1939)

<sup>28</sup> Harold Denny, “38 Reporters in Search for a War,” New York Times (October 22, 1939)

<sup>29</sup> Ralph Parker, “Many Jews Killed in Cherkassy Area,” New York Times (March 5, 1944)

<sup>30</sup> AP, “Monte Carlo Ends 3-Year Spree When Germans Install Rationing,” New York Times (March 5, 1944)

<sup>31</sup> “Nazi Mass Killings Laid Bare in Camp; Victims Put at 1,500,000 in Huge Factory of Gas Chambers and Crematories” New York Times (August 30, 1944)

<sup>32</sup> Reszka P. Pawel, “Majdanek Victims Enumerated. Changes in the history textbooks?” Aushwitz-Birkenau Memorial Museum, last modified December 23, 2005, [http://en.auschwitz.org/rn/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=44&Itemid=8](http://en.auschwitz.org/rn/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=44&Itemid=8)

Interestingly, the 1.5 million death figure that the Times article cites is significantly skewed; contemporary estimates put the actual death toll at around 360,000, while a disputed

2005 study by the Majdanek Museum claims the real number to be 59,000 Jews and 19,000 others. At the time, the Soviets overestimated the Majdanek death toll at 1.5 million with 400,000 Jewish victims. It is likely that this is the source of Times correspondent William Lawrence's misinformation.

<sup>33</sup> Lipstadt, p. 180

<sup>34</sup> Associated Press, "Wise Gets Confirmations/ Checks with State Department on Nazis' 'Extermination Campaign,'" New York Times (November 25, 1942)

<sup>35</sup> For more information, see Lipstadt, p. 180

The only other newspaper which did not use the 2 million figure in the headline for the Wise story was the New York Herald Tribune, which included the European Jews targeted by Hitler in the 4 million referred to by the headline.

<sup>36</sup> "The First to Suffer," New York Times (December 2, 1942)

<sup>37</sup> Editorial, "Supermen at Warsaw," New York Times (October 28, 1943)

<sup>38</sup> Leff, p. 221

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 292

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 292

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 293, 312

<sup>42</sup> Martin Gilbert, The Holocaust: The Jewish Tragedy (New York: William Collins and Sons, 1985) p. 18

<sup>43</sup> Sholem Asch, "(Title unclear)," New York Times Magazine (February 7, 1943); Otto D. Tolischus, "Bands Rove Cities/Thousands Arrested for 'Protection' as Gangs Avenge Paris Death," New York Times (November 11, 1938); Anne O'Hare McCormick, "Save Doomed Jews/ Huge Rally Pleads," New York Times (March 3, 1943)

<sup>44</sup> Susan E. Tift and Alex S. Jones, The Trust: The Private and Powerful Family Behind The New York Times (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1999) p. 10

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 13

<sup>46</sup> New York Times, "Adolph S. Ochs Dead at 77; Publisher of Times Since 1896," The New York Times Learning Network, last modified April 9, 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/bday/0312.html>

<sup>47</sup> <http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/bday/0312.html>

Neither Iphigenia Wise nor her father Isaac has any direct relation to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of the World Jewish Congress.

<sup>48</sup> Stephen J. Whitfield, “The American Jew as a Journalist,” Brandeis University Online (accessed March 4, 2012) <http://www.policyarchive.org/handle/10207/bitstreams/10113.pdf>, p. 169

<sup>49</sup> Ewa Morawska, “Assimilation in the United States: Nineteenth Century,” in Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia (Jewish Women’s Archive, 2005) last modified March 11, 2012, <http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/assimilation-in-united-states-nineteenth-century>

<sup>50</sup> Whitfield, p. 170

<sup>51</sup> Morawska

<sup>52</sup> Oswald Garrison Villard, The Disappearing Daily (1944; repr., New Hampshire: Ayer Company Publishers, 1969) p. 84, Google Books

<sup>53</sup> Paula E. Hyman, “Eastern European Immigrants in the United States,” in Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia (Jewish Women’s Archive, 2005) (accessed March 13, 2012) <http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/eastern-european-immigrants-in-united-states>

<sup>54</sup> Tift and Jones, p. 25

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28–30

<sup>56</sup> New York Times, “Adolph S. Ochs Dead at 77”

<sup>57</sup> Tift and Jones, p. 95

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 215–216

<sup>62</sup> Leff, p. 21

<sup>63</sup> Max Frankel, e-mail interview by author, December 20, 2011

<sup>64</sup> Max Frankel, telephone interview by author, December 22, 2011

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> Tift and Jones, p. 94

Whitfield comes to a similar conclusion about Bernstein’s religion preventing him from becoming managing editor.

<sup>67</sup> Leff, p. 30

<sup>68</sup> Tift and Jones, p. 217

<sup>69</sup> Max Frankel, e-mail interview by author, December 20, 2011

<sup>70</sup> The “bullpen” was the nickname for the corner of the Times’ newsroom that contained the desks where the night managing editors sat.

<sup>71</sup> Harrison Salisbury, Without Fear or Favor (New York: Ballantine Books, 1980) p. 367

<sup>72</sup> Turner Catledge, My Life and The Times (New York: Harper and Row, 1971) p. 189

<sup>73</sup> Gay Talese, The Kingdom and the Power: Behind the Scenes at the New York Times; The Institution That Influences the World 1969 reprint (New York: Random House 2007) p. 114

<sup>74</sup> Leff, p. 190

<sup>75</sup> Max Frankel, telephone interview by author, December 22, 2011

<sup>76</sup> Leff, p. 31

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 32

<sup>78</sup> Max Frankel, telephone interview by author, December 22, 2011

<sup>79</sup> "The Journalism of the Holocaust," Marvin Kalb lecture at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, <http://www.ushmm.org/lectures/kalb.htm>

<sup>80</sup> Charles H. Stember, Jews in the Mind of America (New York: Basic Books, 1996) p. 127

<sup>81</sup> Max Frankel, telephone interview by author, December 22, 2011

<sup>82</sup> In May 1946 the circulation of the Sunday New York Times reached 1 million copies, surpassing that of the Los Angeles Times, New York Daily News, and the Chicago Tribune. Furthermore, that year for the first time, the Times' advertising took the lead over the Herald Tribune. See Tiff and Jones, pp. 236, 316. In 1944, the Times bought the radio station WXQR and began broadcasting an hourly newscast in 1946. 1948 marked the start of the publication of the New York Times international edition. See New York Times Company, "New York Times Timeline 1941–1970," The New York Times Company Online, last modified 2012, [http://www.nytc.com/company/milestones/timeline\\_1941.html](http://www.nytc.com/company/milestones/timeline_1941.html)

<sup>83</sup> "The Press: Jimmy James' Boys," Time Magazine (April 12, 1943), <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,802675,00.html>

<sup>84</sup> Oswald Garrison Villard, The Disappearing Daily (1944), from Google Books

<sup>85</sup> The slogan "All the news that's fit to print" was coined by Adolph Ochs in 1896 after a public contest failed to produce a better one. The slogan first appeared on the front page of the newspaper on February 10, 1897, and has remained



there ever since. See New York Times Company, “New York Times Timeline 1881–1910,” The New York Times Company Online, last modified 2012, [http://www.nytc.com/company/milestones/timeline\\_1881.html](http://www.nytc.com/company/milestones/timeline_1881.html)

<sup>86</sup> Kalb lecture

<sup>87</sup> David S. Wyman, The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941–1945 new ed., 1984, reprint (New York: New Press, 2007) p. 323

<sup>88</sup> Lipstadt, 220

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171

<sup>90</sup> Leff, p. 16

<sup>91</sup> Tift and Jones, p. 218

<sup>92</sup> Max Frankel, telephone interview by author, December 22, 2011

<sup>93</sup> Frankel, p. 85

<sup>94</sup> Elie Wiesel, “Hope, Despair, and Memory,” Nobel Lecture, Nobel Peace Prize, Oslo City Hall, Norway, December 10, 1986, [http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/peace/laureates/1986/](http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1986/)

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“Bertrand Russell, after his first disastrous experiment in organizing a school, observed that the first task of education is to destroy the tyranny of the local and immediate over the child’s imagination.”

Kieran Egan

“Social Studies and the Erosion of Education” (excerpts)  
Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, British Columbia  
*Children’s Minds, Talking Rabbits & Clockwork Oranges*  
Teachers College Press, 1999, pp. 131-146

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“Cicero remarked that the purpose of education is to free the student from the tyranny of the present.”

Neil Postman

*Amusing Ourselves to Death*  
New York: Penguin, 1985, p. 146