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Social and religious tolerance as related to national defense,
1940.

Social and Religious Tolerance as Related to National Defense*

By RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER, D.D.
The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

The outlook for America is inextricably bound up with the fateful military decisions now in the making in the old world. The American people have now realized this fact, though somewhat belatedly. It took the frightening and shocking events of the last few months abroad to startle our people into a final realization of the interlocking destiny of the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, and into a final surrender of those comfortable and beguiling notions of political and economic isolationism. From now on we will not expect our foreign policy to be spun in an international vacuum. The fiction of national security through strict neutrality has been shattered forever. The nations which relied upon it have been destroyed. Our defense program must now envision an embattled America in a world of powerful neighbors whose way of life and whose political and economic creeds are potential enemies of America.

Suddenly we have discovered that our national existence is not quite secure. Neither our wealth nor our military establishment, nor the intervening oceans now seem to be adequate defense. Suddenly we have discovered that we are not quite secure even from attack from within. We have become apprehensive of the menace of subversive forces within the nation, which we chose to ignore heretofore, but which we now realize might in a critical hour for our nation undermine our strength and our strongholds, just as they have done in so many countries abroad. The old world has moved in upon us, unbidden and unwelcome. But it is here!

If the Allies lose, we now realize, Europe will be turned over to the moral anarchy of the streamlined barbarism of the twentieth century, and the rest of the world will not long escape the effects of it.

If the Nazis win, the outlook for America and the American way of life is grave indeed. We need not fear any imminent invasion, but our American world will become closely encircled by a hostile world, and the pressure upon it will increase as the years go by. It is in the very nature of dictatorships to be aggressive and missionary. The last few years have given ample proof of it. In a world in which there will no longer be a British or a French empire, the United States will find itself alone, pledged to defend with inadequate resources the whole Western Hemisphere in the face of four power-

* An address delivered before the Forty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Memphis, Tennessee, December 12, 1940.

ful imperial dictatorships, grown strong and arrogant with the greatest spoils of all time. We shall have to arm ourselves to the teeth and increasingly pour our reserves of wealth into a defense program. We shall have to gear up our national economy to a war-time footing and keep it there. Conceivably, our industrial organization will come steadily under added forms of central planning and control, and a system ultimately approximating the emergency forms adopted recently by England will come to pass in our country. There will come about an attenuation of the democratic processes and a lessening of the latitude of liberalism. An intensified nationalism, more suspicious and less tolerant, will emerge. The American way of life will undergo slow, unconscious, but quite definite changes.

But our greatest danger will come from within. A Nazi victory abroad, which will lay the world at their feet, will hearten and inspire their agents, friends, and admirers here. Nothing succeeds like success. Fascists and Nazi sympathizers, adventurers and would-be Hitlers, will spring up like mushrooms all over our country. They will attempt to do here what the Nazis will have succeeded so brilliantly and so swiftly in doing abroad. They will, of course, receive guidance and support from what will then be the greatest empire on earth—the victorious Third Reich. The Americas will be over-run by Nazi agents, and the United States, the richest country in the world, will become their special stamping ground. There will not be lacking powerful industrialists here who will be willing to play the role of American Fritz Thyssens to would-be-American Hitlers.

What role the Nazis have prescribed for the United States in their political *Welt-anschauung* is not clear at the moment, but certainly when they make known their program there will not be wanting within our borders a powerful Fifth Column prepared to help them realize it. The members of this Fifth Column will not be recruited exclusively or even principally from the ranks of aliens, but, as in England, Holland, Belgium, France, Denmark, and Norway, from the blue-bloods who always escape finger-printing and surveillance, from people prominent in the public eye, lay and cleric, from the circles of high government officials and the military, from reactionaries who hate progressive social legislation and organized labor so bitterly that they will not hesitate to sacrifice all our free institutions in a desperate gambler's throw to save their special privileges. Some of these highly placed personages have already been decorated by the Nazis. Not all who belong to the Fifth Column are necessarily paid spies, agents, and traitors. In that Column are also the far more dangerous gentry who have superseding loyalties and who have no use for American free institutions when they thwart their special interests or prejudices.

The outlook for the United States in case of a Nazi military triumph is thus a very serious one indeed. We should, therefore, build up our national defenses to a point consistent with the definite commitments and responsibili-

ties which we intend to assume in connection with our foreign policy. Also, they should be built up reasonably to a degree where they would be a strong deterrent to any would-be aggressor.

We should not forget, however, that a strong military defense for our nation, in itself, is not sufficient. A greater defense for a nation is the loyalty of its citizens and their essential spiritual unity. There are two ways in which these can be conserved. The forces hostile to our form of government and to our free institutions must be continuously exposed and their power broken. No democracy is immune, or can hope to remain immune, as long as it is a democracy, from anti-democratic propaganda either native or foreign. Forces opposed to democracy will use the very technique and machinery of democracy, as well as its abundant tolerance, to destroy it. In the face of this, democracy must not remain naive or complacent. It must aggressively and relentlessly expose and harass every form of propaganda which is hostile to our basic conception of life and government. The agents of foreign dictatorships and their native born kinsmen must be kept under constant surveillance. Those who wish to destroy free America should not be permitted the glamour of putting their followers in uniform or of parading our public thoroughfares.

But, no hysteria! No witch hunting! No mass stampede away from the Bill of Rights and the constitutional guarantees of a free people. We should not in our great concern, zeal, and impatience permit ourselves to resort to extra-legal and unconstitutional methods to obtain even worthy and desirable objectives. To destroy liberty in an effort to preserve it is the height of folly. The detection, arrest, and punishment of spies, saboteurs, and plotters against our domestic peace and security should be left to our legally constituted authorities who are charged with the enforcement of our laws and the defense of our free institutions.

It should be borne in mind that education still remains the strongest bulwark of a free people. The American people should be educated in the techniques of modern propaganda which have been so skillfully elaborated in our day. They should be made aware of the methods which are employed and the true character of the organizations and governments which employ them. They should be informed as to how racial and religious antagonism are aroused and exploited, in order to divide a people, disrupt its unity, confuse its counsels, and undermine its national resistance to an aggressor. Systematic courses in the detection of and the prophylaxis against false propaganda should be introduced into the curriculum of every high school and college.

Why is the tide of race prejudice rising in our country and in the world at the present time? What has happened? The answer is not far to seek. The tide is rising because there are powerful agencies which are intent upon making it rise. The most powerful agency in the world today is the Nazi

regime in Germany. It has fed race hatred throughout the world ever since it came into power. Nazism is a political creed which is out to conquer the world. It is not content to stay confined within the limits of the land of its origin. It regards itself as a crusading movement for a new order which is to supplant the present order of society. It seeks to destroy the present culture of the Western World. The Nazis have not been reticent about defining the nature of their crusade. The order of things which has prevailed in the Western World ever since the American and French Revolutions is decadent. It must be destroyed. They are out to destroy it. Racial inequality is one of the chief characteristics of the new social order which they hope to establish on the ruins of the old whose foundations were liberty, fraternity, equality, and the inalienable rights of men.

In the hands of the Nazis, racism has also become a major technique of imperial expansionism. By means of it they hope to create a mood of crisis, tension, and conflict within those countries which they have marked out for conquest. This will undermine their powers of resistance. By disrupting the internal spiritual unity of a nation, they prepare it for easier subjugation. Anti-Semitism has thus become part of the program of Total War.

Reactionaries are everywhere eager to associate the Jew with all the political and economic measures which they dislike, whether it be the New Deal, labor legislation, social security, the CIO, Socialism, or Communism. The equation: Jew-Communism, or Communism-Jew, served the purposes of the Nazis in Germany most admirably. By means of it they destroyed the German Republic. Since the Stalin-Hitler Pact, they have abandoned it, for it is no longer good policy to attack Communism. Hitler has accordingly ceased to denounce Jewish Bolshevism. He finds it now expedient to denounce democratic plutocracy. Germany is now engaged in a war to save Europe not from Bolshevistic Russia, but from plutocratic England. The new Nazi party line, which no longer equates Jews with Communism, has, however, not yet reached the United States. Here the Jew-Communist equation is still serviceable for propaganda purposes and it is still the battle-cry of Nazi agents, and of their lay and clerical friends in the United States.

Why did the Nazis in the earlier stages identify Communism with the Jew? To be sure there were Jews among the Communists in Germany and in Russia. Some of them were in prominent positions. They were not nearly as numerous as the Nazi propagandists would have one believe, and one must not forget that there were Jews in large numbers and in prominent positions in all the anti-Bolshevist parties in Germany and in Russia. Why then did the Nazis identify all Jews with Communism, and all Communism with the Jew? For the same reason that sixty years prior to their time, Bismarck had identified all the liberal movements of *his* day with the Jews. For the same reason that the Dominicans attempted to discredit Humanism and the New Learning in pre-Reformation Germany by branding them as

Jewish, and by inaugurating bitter attacks upon the Jews and their literature.

The guiding principle is the same: to inodiate a cause, or a movement, by tagging on to it an unattractive label. It is very serviceable in any struggle to capitalize upon an existing historic prejudice and to pin it on your opponent. By branding your opponent's program as Jewish, you give it an unpopular and suspect origin. It looms up as something alien. You are saved the trouble of refuting your opponent's position logically. You score an initial victory of great moment. Bismarck, after he had turned reactionary, stimulated a powerful anti-Semitic movement in Germany which produced a voluminous anti-Semitic literature. The same tactics were employed by the Nazis to discredit the liberal and radical movements in post-war Germany.

In post-war Germany there were millions of men who were out of work, whose conditions were intolerable, and who were turning to Socialism and Communism. In the last free elections in Germany there were over seven million votes cast for the Communist ticket. The problem which confronted all the frightened privileged industrial, military, and Junker classes of Germany was how to check this stampede toward radicalism and how to divert the resentment of the masses away from that capitalism and militarism which had led the German people into the disastrous war and all its appalling consequences. The problem, too, was how to assuage the sense of national hurt and humiliation induced by the defeat in the war. Where could they find a visible scapegoat upon whose back all the sins, failures, and miseries of the German nation could be put, a scapegoat of actual people rather than abstract causes to atone for all the sins of the people? Such a scapegoat was not difficult to find. A small, defenseless minority of Jews, against whom there already existed a none-too-latent historic prejudice, was fortunately available. From there on it was simple.

Minorities have been used for such purposes throughout the ages. The great Church Father Tertullian recalls the experiences of the Christian minority in ancient Rome: "If the Tiber rose to the walls of the city, if the inundation of the Nile failed to give the fields enough water, if the heavens did not send rain, if an earthquake occurred, if famine threatened, if pestilence raged, the cry resounded, 'Throw the Christians to the lions'!"

Unless these classic tactics are firmly grasped, Americans will not appreciate what is behind the growing anti-Semitic movement in the United States. Anti-Semitism today is a powerful, perhaps the most powerful, weapon in the hands of economic reaction. It is being increasingly used by all the unscrupulous lackies and henchmen of reaction. It has become the accepted technique. Anti-Semitism is being used in the United States to confound our national life, to disrupt its unity, and to weaken it. This will prepare the way for a Fascist regime in the United States.

The times call for frank and honest self-criticism on the part of all, Jews

and non-Jews alike, and particularly on the part of the majority group; for after all, the real solution of anti-Semitism lies in the hands of the majority and not of the minority. It would be very helpful if every group, Jewish, Christian, Catholic, Protestant, would begin to beat its own breast instead of beating the breast of its neighbor, and would begin to confess "mea culpa."

There was a race problem in the United States long before the Nazis intensified the Jewish race problem. There was a Negro problem, and there is a Negro problem in this country, American-made, not imported. To this day millions of citizens of the United States live and are tolerated only as members of an inferior race. They are segregated in many parts of this country, segregated as to schools, churches, residential districts, hospitals, travel, and places of amusements. Millions of these fellow citizens are economically handicapped because of race. They find it hard to get employment at skilled trades. By and large they are restricted to the lower strata of industrial life, to jobs which the white man does not want. In many instances they are denied their right to equal wages for equal work. In some parts of the country, and not merely in the South, they are denied the right to join labor unions. They are curbed in the exercises of their franchise as regards voting and holding office. They are denied equal opportunities in education. There are few recreational facilities available for their young people. Many of them are herded into miserable slums, and these slums are not restricted to the South. Since 1915, over one million Negroes migrated to the North, and their living conditions are, up to at least fifty per cent, below the minimum standard of decent dwelling places. They are subjected sporadically to mob violence, to lynching; and a Federal law intended to curb mob violence was filibustered in the Senate of the United States as recently as two years ago for forty-seven days. As a result, this race which, given opportunities, has evidenced remarkable gifts in many fields, is disproportionately subjected to poverty, ignorance, disease, and vice.

Here is a native American race problem, the kind of problem which the Nazis have only recently begun to create in Germany, and this problem is allowed to exist within the framework of democracy. Here is a test of our sincerity. We all recognize that this problem is a hard, indurate, and time-encrusted one. But it is not an insoluble one. With the right kind of attitudes on the part of the white man, a solution might be approximated, given patience, courage, and vision on both sides. What this race problem in the United States calls for above all else is a resolute will to be fair and just, and a determination to attempt to solve it not in the gross but in the detail, not in the abstract but in the concrete. Here again the hoped-for solution is to be found not so much in laws as in individuals, where most moral responsibility must in the last analysis be placed.

What we need most in order to stem the rising tide of race prejudice which is disfiguring our common life is to discipline ourselves to treat men as

individuals. It is not an easy thing to do, but we are not concerned here with easy problems and easy solutions. The distinctive characteristic of the democratic way of life is the regard for the individual. Before the rise of democracy in Western Europe, individuals were treated legally, socially, and also to an extent economically, in relation to the group to which they belonged—nobleman, cleric, military, peasant. Their privileges were defined on the basis of the group to which they belonged, and not on the basis of personal rights, merit, or ability. It was a hierarchic, a feudal arrangement of duties and responsibilities. Social life was stratified. It was from a long experience with that kind of social organization that we have carried over that prejudice which is still ours, of judging men on the basis of the group to which they belong. The new note which democracy introduced into the world is superbly stated in our Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." These rights were conceived as unalienable because they did not originate with any class. They belonged to the Creator who bestowed them on all men alike. Therefore no class or group or state has the authority to deprive men of them. This is the very genius of democracy, to treat man on the basis of his inherent humanity and his inalienable rights within the rights of the group.

"One's-self I sing, a simple separate person,
Yet utter the word Democratic, the word *En-Masse*."

We have long assumed that education in democracy will somehow take care of itself as an unconscious by-product of our day-by-day living. This is no longer true. Democracy is under fire today and on the defensive. Both its theoretic soundness and its practical value have been denied. Many people have rejected it as antiquated, inefficient, and distinctly harmful. Anti-liberalism and anti-democracy have today a passionate and heroic zeal behind them. Totalitarianism has millions of enthusiastic devotees in all parts of the world. Quite deliberately and specifically we must begin to educate our people anew, and especially our youth, in the principles, practices, and advantages of democracy.

In the school, the home, the church, through the written and the spoken word, an educational crusade, in defense of democracy, must be launched. And the time is very short. In this connection, we ought to bear in mind that the source of all political democracy in the Western World is fundamentally religion, and that the basic charter of man's dignity and freedom is God. Friends of democracy have forgotten the religious origin of the democratic dogma in the modern world. They have forgotten that political freedom came to the Western World as a result of the struggle for religious freedom and not vice versa. Religion kindled the torch of political freedom in the world, and irreligion is extinguishing it. The reason why the

democratic movements are perishing in the Western World today is because of an increasing pessimism due to a loss of confidence in the reality of God in the life of man. Man has become frightfully small in our day, reduced in stature, stripped, and spiritually cowered, because his kinship with God, which crowned him with glory and honor and made him "a little lower than the angels," has been contemptuously rejected by a world which has tried to build its life upon foundations of pseudo-scientific materialism. No society can long remain Godless and free. If our crusade to redeem democracy is to succeed, it must draw its inspiration from the inexhaustible fires of religious faith, from the classic religious dogmas that God created man in His image, and that man was endowed by his Creator with inalienable rights of which no state, no bureaucracy, no majority, and no class has the right to deprive him.

The loyalty and unity of our citizens can be enhanced still more if they are made to feel that the American way of life is the best way of life, because in it they find security and happiness. Democracy cannot long survive widespread and prolonged economic suffering. All dictatorships have risen to power upon the economic miseries of their people. A generation of young men and women denied the opportunity to work and to build careers, consigned to demoralizing idleness and frustration, is dangerous explosive material. Even the brutalities and indecencies of dictatorship become less repugnant and the ways of freedom appear less appealing in the presence of democracy's tragic failure to care for its people and so safeguard them against frequent and disastrous periods of unemployment and suffering.

Sound American patriotism must quickly translate itself into an intelligent and ardent program for social justice, for a fairer distribution of the social goods, for a larger measure of protection of our people against the hazards of unemployment, sickness, and old age. Sound patriotism will look upon the disease-and-crime-breeding slums of our land, the blasted areas, the underprivileged children, the jobless and hopeless youth, the unemployed man, the underpaid worker, the unsheltered age, as the real Trojan horse which traps a free people into destruction. People who feel that they have a stake in their country, that the institutions of their land are being used to the utmost to help them to a more secure and abundant life, and who can see in them the promises of even greater happiness and well-being for their children, will not be inveigled by the propaganda for a totalitarian millennium, and will not be led into revolutionary adventures.

In our effort to defend our way of life here, we will be strongly helped by some important factors which are uniquely our own. Ours is a long-established democracy. We have gone through severe crises before, including a Civil War, without sacrificing our democratic apparatus. No long-established democracy has collapsed, even in Europe. We prefer to govern ourselves.

The idea of being ruled by a Fuehrer, a Duce, or a Commissar is hateful to our very souls.

We have a wholesome capacity for self-criticism. We are ready to acknowledge our mistakes and to take the blame. We can and do reverse ourselves. We are not hostile to experimentation.

We have vast natural resources. Ours is not a country, but a continent. This is not a starved or crowded land, and our people are not doomed by circumstance to a low standard of living. Poverty is one of the bitterest enemies of democracy. There need be no poverty in our country.

We are a young nation. We are not handicapped by Old World animosities. We have no threatening neighbors on our frontiers. More than any other people on earth, we can, if so we will, pursue our chosen way of life with confidence and with high hopes.

What is this American way of life? What are the classic elements which give uniqueness and distinction to it?

First, the importance of the individual. Every man is possessed of certain inalienable rights. The state cannot veto them. No majority can abrogate them. All men, regardless of race and religion, are equal before the law. Any attempt to subjugate the individual to the state, or to discriminate against him in law because of race or creed, is a frontal and deadly attack upon the American ideal.

Second, government by consent and not by constraint; government from within and not from without. Dictatorship is government imposed from without. Democracy is government self-imposed from within. The American genius strives to achieve the best possible way of life for the largest possible number of citizens through their own voluntary enterprises, through free experimentation, and step by step through the evolutionary processes of trial and error. The American genius rejects all proffers of ready-made millenniums at the spear-point of revolution and dictatorship. It prefers the slower and less glamorous way of government. But it also avoids all the horrors of government by purges and liquidations, by terrorism and expropriation, by espionage and slavery.

Third, the grace of tolerance. We are a composite people. Many races had a hand in the discovery, exploration, colonization, and development of this great country. Ours is a nation made up from its very inception entirely of immigrants. Our American life is a fine mosaic in which many separate race and religious identities are grouped into one noble pattern. Despite occasional lapses, there has prevailed a wholesome attitude of good will, tolerance, and coöperation among our people. The genius of America has manifested itself in steadily dissolving the hard concretion of groups and reducing them to their individual human components. Europe is concerned with the rights of minorities. America is concerned with the rights of men.

Those people, therefore, in our midst who would break up American life into hostile racial or religious groups, and who would persuade others to judge American citizens not on the basis of individual worth, character of achievement, but on the basis of the race to which they belong, or the religion to which they subscribe, are the deadliest foes of the spirit as well as the peace of the American people.

This true vision of American life should be kept undimmed in these darkening days. It is our sole hope for the future. It is our one chance to keep our dear country free from the ravages of the hates, bitterness, and conflicts which have disfigured the Old World. For the last twenty years the desperate peoples of Europe have tried a way of life which is the very opposite of the American way of life—the suppression of the individual, government by ukase and dictatorship, and race and religious intolerance—and it has led them, as inevitably it must, to the blood-soaked battlefields of war.

Let us not follow in their tragic footsteps.



Forty-Fifth Annual Meeting
of the
Southern Association
of
Colleges and Secondary
Schools

to be held in

THE PEABODY HOTEL

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

MONDAY TO FRIDAY

December 9-13, 1940

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE OF THE ASSOCIATION

December 9, 10, 11

MEETING OF THE COMMISSIONS

December 9, 10, 11

MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

December 12, 13

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1940

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PROGRAM OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

All meetings will be held in the Peabody Hotel

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1940

- 9:00 A. M. Meeting of Central Reviewing Committee for Public Schools of the Commission on Secondary Schools

MONDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1940

- 9:00 A. M. Meeting of Central Reviewing Committees of the Commission on Secondary Schools (See Commission's Program)

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1940

- 9:00 A. M. Meeting of Commission on Institutions of Higher Education. Open Session (See Commission's Program)
- 9:30 A. M. Meeting of Commission on Secondary Schools. Open Session (See Commission's Program)
Meeting of Commission on Curricular Problems and Research. Open Session (See Commission's Program)
- 2:00 P. M. Meeting of Commission on Secondary Schools. Open Session (See Commission's Program)
Meeting of Commission on Curricular Problems and Research. Open Session (See Commission's Program)
Conference on National Youth Administration—Mr. Aubrey Williams, Administrator of National Youth Administration, Washington, D. C.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1940

- 9:00 A. M. Meeting of Commission on Institutions of Higher Education. Open Session (See Commission's Program)
- 9:30 A. M. Meeting of Commission on Secondary Schools. Open Session (See Commission's Program)
Meeting of Commission on Curricular Problems and Research with Commission on Secondary Schools.
- 2:00 P. M. Joint meeting of Commission on Institutions of Higher Education and Commission on Curricular Problems and Research. Open Session (See Commission's Program)
Meeting of Commission on Secondary Schools. Open Session (See Commission's Program)

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1940
MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

Convention Hall, Peabody Hotel

9:00 A. M.

1. Music — Southwestern Singers, Southwestern University, Mr. Burnest C. Tuthill, Director
2. Invocation—Dr. R. J. Bateman, Pastor of the First Baptist Church
3. Address of Welcome—Honorable Walter Chandler, Mayor of Memphis
4. Response to Address of Welcome—Principal James C. Harwood, John Marshall High School, Richmond, Virginia
5. "Sam Hathorn, A Memorial"—H. B. Heidelberg, Superintendent of Schools, Clarksdale, Mississippi
"J. W. Brister, A Memorial"—Superintendent Ernest C. Ball, Memphis City Schools, Tennessee
"J. H. Dillard, A Memorial"—Headmaster S. J. McCallie, The McCallie School, Chattanooga, Tennessee
"William Preston Few, A Memorial"—President J. R. McCain, Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Georgia
6. Music—Central High School Chorus, Memphis, Mr. Ernest F. Hawks, Director
7. Address—"The Defense of Democracy"—President Emeritus Frank L. McVey, University of Kentucky, Lexington
8. Announcements and Committee Appointments
9. Address—"Significance of Junior College Terminal Education"—W. C. Eells, Executive Secretary, American Association of Junior Colleges

2:00 P. M.

1. Music—Whitehaven High School Chorus, Whitehaven, Tennessee, Mr. Edward Tuggle, Director
2. Invocation—President Spright Dowell, Mercer University, Macon, Georgia
3. Address—"Racial and Religious Tolerance as Related to National Defense"—Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio
4. Report of the Southern Association's fraternal delegate to the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools—Professor W. R. Smithey, University of Virginia, Charlottesville
5. Announcements
6. Music—String Ensemble, Shelby County Teachers, Memphis, Mr. Paul Eaheart, Director
7. Address—"American Youth and National Defense"—President Homer P. Rainey, University of Texas, Austin

6:00 P. M.

ANNUAL BANQUET

Convention Hall, Peabody Hotel

Toastmaster: Superintendent Henry H. Hill, Lexington City Schools, Kentucky; Vice-President, Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools

1. Invocation—President W. D. O'Leary, Spring Hill College, Spring Hill, Alabama
2. Music—Booker T. Washington Singers, Memphis, Mrs. Mary Corpal, Director
3. President's Address
4. "The General College"—President Malcolm S. MacLean, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia
5. "The Arts College"—Chancellor O. C. Carmichael, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1940

Convention Hall, Peabody Hotel

9:00 A. M.

1. Music—State Teachers College Singers, Memphis, Mrs. Elizabeth Greenblatt, Director
2. Invocation—Dr. John L. Horton, Pastor, First Methodist Church, Memphis
3. Announcements
4. Fraternal Delegate from the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Dean Karl G. Miller, University of Pennsylvania; Secretary of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools
5. Fraternal Delegate from the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Dr. Irving Maurer, President of the North Central Association; President of Beloit College
6. Report of Commission on Institutions of Higher Education—President Rufus C. Harris, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, Chairman
7. Report of the Joint Committees on Uniformity and Reciprocity in Teacher Training and Requirements of The Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and The Southern University Conference—Dr. R. E. Jagers, Director of Study
8. Report of Commission on Secondary Schools—Dr. Gladstone Yeuell, Professor of Secondary Education, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Chairman
9. Report of Commission on Curricular Problems and Research—Dean K. J. Hoke, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, Chairman
10. Report of Secretary-Treasurer—President Shelton Phelps, Winthrop College, Rock Hill, South Carolina
11. Business Session:
 - a. Report of Committees
 - b. Unfinished Business
 - c. New Business
 - d. Resolutions
 - e. Election of Officers
12. Adjournment

PROGRAM OF COMMISSION ON INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1940

Georgian Room, Peabody Hotel

9:00 A. M.

Meeting of the Commission
Organization of Committees

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1940

Georgian Room, Peabody Hotel

9:00 A. M.

Meeting of the Commission
Report of the Council

2:00 P. M.

Joint Meeting with Commission on Curricular Problems and Research

PROGRAM OF COMMISSION ON
SECONDARY SCHOOLS

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1940

9:00 A. M.

Meeting of Central Reviewing Committee for Public Schools, Room 214, Peabody Hotel

MONDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1940

9:00 A. M.

Meeting of Central Reviewing Committee for Public Schools, Room 214, Peabody Hotel

Meeting of Central Reviewing Committee for Private Schools, Room 213, Peabody Hotel

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1940

Ballroom, Peabody Hotel

9:30 A. M.

Music—Tech High School Chorus, Mr. Wilson Mount, Director

Devotional—Dr. H. T. Wood, Pastor of the Linden Avenue Christian Church

Report of Committee on College Freshman Achievement—Paul L. Palmer, University of Chattanooga

Report of Committee to Study High School and College Guidance and Personnel Relations—Superintendent J. M. Smyth, Canton High School, Canton, Mississippi

Address: "Youth Looks at Education and National Defense"—Dean L. A. Pechstein, University of Cincinnati

Appointment of Committees

2:00 P. M.

Report of Central Reviewing Committee—R. R. Vance, State High School Supervisor, State Department of Education, Nashville, Tennessee

Report of Committee on Standards—E. R. Jobe, State High School Superintendent, State Department of Education, Jackson, Mississippi

Nominations to Fill Vacancies on State Committees. (These will be announced by each state chairman)

Report of Committee on Use of the Evaluative Criteria—M. E. Ligon, University of Kentucky, Lexington

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1940

Ballroom, Peabody Hotel

9:30 A. M.

Some Approaches of the Southern Association Study to Instructional and Administrative Problems:

1. In Secondary Schools
Dr. Druzilla Kent, Home Economics Education, University of Tennessee, Knoxville; and principals and teachers of secondary schools participating in the Southern Association Study
2. In Teacher-Training Institutions
Dr. J. C. Matthews, Director of Teacher Training, North Texas State Teachers College, Denton; and representatives of colleges and universities co-operating with the Southern Association Study in conducting conferences during the summer of 1940

2:00 P. M.

1. Report on SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION QUARTERLY—Holland Holton, Professor of Education, Duke University, Editor
2. Introduction of Fraternal Delegates
3. Report of Library Committee—J. Henry Highsmith, North Carolina State Department of Education, Raleigh
4. Report of Routine Committees:
Appeals
Audit
Budget
Resolutions
Nominations
5. Adjournment

PROGRAM OF COMMISSION ON CURRICULAR PROBLEMS AND RESEARCH

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1940

Cadet Room, Peabody Hotel

9:30 A. M.

General Theme: *The Southern Association Study in Colleges and Secondary Schools*

NOTE: This conference is planned for the purpose of acquainting the members of the Commission and other interested persons with the progress of the Study, giving them liberal opportunity to participate in the consideration of its future direction. Members of the staff will be present to assist in the discussion.

1. "The Study in the Selected Schools: Progress of Work"
2. "The Education of the Teacher Through Summer Conferences: Nature of Organization, and Quality of the Work"

2:00 P. M.

1. "Summer Conferences for 1941: Conference for Workers in the Study and State Conferences at Institutions"
2. New Projects Suggested by Members of the Commission
3. Business Session

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1940

Ballroom, Peabody Hotel

9:30 A. M.

Meeting with Commission on Secondary Schools

(For program of this meeting, see program of Commission on Secondary Schools for this morning.)

2:00 P. M.

Joint Meeting with Commission on Institutions of Higher Education

President R. C. Harris, Chairman of Commission on Institutions of Higher Education, Presiding

Theme: *The Southern Association Study in Colleges and Secondary Schools*

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SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES

AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

RADIO PROGRAM

MONDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1940

10:15-10:30 A. M.—WMPS

Address: "Implications of the International Situation for a State College"—President G. D. Humphrey, State College, Mississippi.

1:30-1:45 P. M.—WREC

Address: "Responsibilities of State Departments of Education to the Program of National Defense."—J. Henry Highsmith, State Department of Education, Raleigh, North Carolina.

4:15-4:30 P. M.—WREC

Address: "The Junior Colleges—A Successful Experiment"—President James L. Robb, Tennessee Wesleyan College.

4:30-4:45 P. M.—WMC

Address: "Teaching as a Profession." — Dean Emeritus C. A. Ives, Louisiana State University.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1940

10:15-10:30 A. M.—WMPS

Address: "Education and the Program of National Defense"—Vice Chancellor Alexander Guerry, University of the South.

1:30-1:45 P. M.—WREC

Address: "Vocational Education and National Defense"—Dean R. L. Eyman, Florida State College for Women.

4:30-4:45 P. M.—WMC

Address: "Character Education and National Security"—President L. H. Hubbard, Texas State College for Women.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1940

10:15-10:30 A. M.—WMPS

Address: "Changing Concepts of Teacher Education."—President H. L. Donovan, Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College.

1:30-1:45 P. M.—WREC

Address: "Individual Security and National Defense."—President P. A. Roy, S.J., Loyola University.

4:15-4:30 P. M.—WREC

Address: "The Southern Rural Scene's Challenge to Education." — J. E. Brewton, George Peabody College for Teachers.

4:30-4:45 P. M.—WMC

Address: "The Influence of the Southern Association on Secondary Education." — Superintendent T. Q. Srygley, Port Arthur Schools, Texas.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1940

10:15-10:30 A. M.—WMPS

Address: "Undesirable Duplications in N.Y.A. and Local Educational Services." — Superintendent H. Reid Hunter, Atlanta Public Schools, Georgia.

1:30-1:45 P. M.—WREC

Address: "The College Woman in Our National Crisis." — President Dice R. Anderson, Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia.

4:30-4:35 P. M.—WMC

Address: "The Function of Colleges for Women." —Dean T. H. Napier, Alabama College, Wontevallo.

HOTEL INFORMATION

PEABODY HOTEL—320 Rooms

(Headquarters)

Single rooms at.....\$3.00 per day
Double rooms at.....\$2.00 per day (per person)
80 twin bedrooms at.....\$3.00 per day (per person)

HOTEL CHISCA—150 Rooms

Single rooms with bath at.....\$2.00 and \$2.50 per day
Double rooms with bath at.....\$3.00 and \$3.50 per day
Rooms, twin beds and bath.....\$3.50 and \$4.00 per day
Single rooms without bath at.....\$1.50 per day
Double rooms without bath at.....\$2.00 per day

HOTEL TENNESSEE

50 single rooms at \$2. & \$2.50 per day (per person)
50 double rooms at \$3.50 per day (for two people)

GAYOSO HOTEL—125 Rooms

Single rooms with bath.....\$2.00 to \$2.50 per day
Double rooms with bath.....\$3.00 to \$3.50 per day
Twin beds and bath.....\$3.50 to \$4.00 per day
Single rooms without bath.....\$1.50 per day
Double rooms without bath.....\$2.50 per day

HOTEL CLARIDGE—200 Rooms

Single rooms.....\$2.50 to \$5.00 per day
Double rooms.....\$3.50 to \$6.00 per day
Twin bed rooms.....\$4.50 to \$7.50 per day

HOTEL DEVOY—50 Rooms

Single rooms with connecting baths.....\$1.75 per day
Double rooms with connecting baths.....\$2.50 per day
Single rooms with private
baths.....\$2.00 to \$3.00 per day
Double rooms with private
baths.....\$3.00 to \$3.50 per day
Double rooms with private
bath, twin beds.....\$3.50 to \$4.00 per day

PROGRAM OF THE NINETEENTH ANNUAL
MEETING SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION
OF COLLEGES FOR WOMEN

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1940

Louis XVI Room, Peabody Hotel
Memphis, Tennessee

Morning Session

- 9:30- 9:45 Roll Call
Appointment of Committees
Announcements
- 9:45-10:30 "Women and National Defense."—Dr.
W. C. Jackson, Dean of Administration,
Woman's College of the University of
North Carolina
- 10:30-11:00 "The Influence the Program of Na-
tional Defense May Have on the Wom-
an's College." — Dr. L. T. Lowrey,
President, Blue Mountain College
- 11:00-11:30 "The Woman's College Faces Propo-
ganda." — Dr. Annie D. Denmark,
President, Anderson College
- 11:30-11:45 Discussion
- 11:45-12:00 Business Session
- 12:00 Adjournment
- 12:30- 1:30 Executive Committee Meeting

Afternoon Session

- 2:00- 2:30 Report of Commission on History and
Publicity.—Dr. B. L. Parkinson, Presi-
dent, Mississippi State College for
Women
- 2:30- 2:45 Discussion
- 2:45- 3:15 Report of Commission on Curriculum
Revision.—Dr. E. M. Gwathmey, Presi-
dent, Converse College
- 3:15- 3:30 Discussion
- 3:30 Adjournment

Evening Session

Banquet

- 7:00- 9:00 Address. — Dr. John Keith Benton,
Dean, School of Religion, Vanderbilt
University

PROGRAM OF THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL CON-
FERENCE OF ACADEMIC DEANS OF
THE SOUTHERN STATES

Room 209, Peabody Hotel

Memphis, Tennessee

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1940

Morning Session

9:00

Registration

9:30

"A New Slant on the In-Service Growth of College Teachers." — Ernest V. Hollis, Commission on Teacher Education, American Council on Education, Washington, D. C.

"The Project of the Greenville County Council for Community Development and Furman University."—Dean Robert Norman Daniel, Furman University

"Liberal Education in American Democracy."—Theodore M. Greene, Professor of Philosophy, Princeton University; Chairman of the Committee on Educational Trends in the Humanities, of the American Council of Learned Societies

Discussion, led by Dean David C. Wilson, Hampden-Sydney College

1:00—LUNCHEON

Afternoon Session

2:30

"The Function of Religion and Morality in the College Educational Program and Ways and Means of Realizing It on a College Campus."—A Panel Discussion.—Dean A. Theodore Johnson, Southwestern (Memphis), Chairman; President R. C. Grier, Erskine College; Dean C. Andrew Smith, Spring Hill College; Dean William C. Jones, Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College; Miss Julie Allie Johnson, Student of West Tennessee State Teachers College; Mr. Troy Beatty, Vice-President and Trust Officer of The First National Bank of Memphis.

Question Box: Dean E. N. Jones, Baylor University
Election of Officers

OFFICERS 1940

Dean Alfred H. Nolle, Southwest Texas State Teachers College, *Chairman*

Dean George M. Baker, University of the South, *Vice Chairman*

Dean C. Clement French, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, *Secretary-Treasurer*

PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION
OF JUNIOR COLLEGES

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1940

Peabody Hotel
Memphis, Tennessee

2:00 P. M.

Addresses and Forum Discussions.—Speakers and
Leaders: Dr. Ernest V. Hollis, American Coun-
cil on Education; Dr. Doak S. Campbell, George
Peabody College for Teachers:

“Improving the Pre-service Education of Junior
College Teachers”

“What Constitutes Good Junior College Teach-
ing”

6:15 P. M.

Dinner

Address and Forum Discussion: “Terminal Educa-
tion in the Junior College.”—Dr. Walter C. Eells,
Secretary, American Association of Junior Col-
leges

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EIGHTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF SUMMER
SCHOOL DIRECTORS OF THE
SOUTHERN STATES

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1940

Peabody Hotel
6:15 P. M.

Dinner

Forum Discussion