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SOUTHERN CONFERENCE ON RACE RELATIONS

Durham, N. C., October 20, 1942



Statement of Purpose



A Basis for Inter-racial Cooperation and
Development in the South:

A Statement by Southern Negroes

—*Sub-Committee Report*



A List of Those Who Attended the Conference



Other Comments on Conference Statement



Press Comments



P. B. YOUNG, *Chairman*

LUTHER P. JACKSON, *Secretary-Treasurer*

GORDON B. HANCOCK, *Director*

Statement of Purpose

By

GORDON B. HANCOCK

Director

If as has been said, there are some hours of more than sixty minutes and some minutes of more than sixty seconds, surely we have come upon such a great moment in the history of our race and nation. It is a moment of great possibilities and not a little surcharged with drama. Many things have been spoken for him and against him, to him and about him; but the Southern Negro is today speaking for himself. His laudable attempt should be a source of pride to the Negro and white South, and to the Negro and white North, East, and West. Oft-times the little we do for ourselves proves more meaningful than the great things others do for us, however praiseworthy what others do, may be.

The Inception Of The Conference

The inception of this conference hinges about the tragedy that took place at the close of World War I, when returning Negro soldiers were met not with expressions and evidences of the democracy for which they had fought and for which thousands of their fellow race-men had died. Instead there was a sweeping surge of bitterness and rebuff that in retrospect constitutes one of the ugliest scars on the fair face of our nation. Interracial matters were left adrift and tragic was our experience and distressing was our disillusionment. Today the nations are locked in mortal combat and the situation is desperate and dangerous, with the scales of fortune so delicately poised that we dare not predict what a day may bring forth; but this we know, that the Negro is again taking the field in defense of his nation. Quite significant also is the fact that whereas the pronounced anti-Negro movement followed the last war, it is getting under way even before the issues of war have been decided. In an hour of national peril, efforts are being made to defeat the Negro first and the Axis powers later. Already the dire threat to throw again the Negro question into the politics of the South is becoming more and more dangerous. This is a direct challenge to the Negroes of the South, who have most to gain if this threat is throttled and most to lose if it is fulfilled.

The Purpose Of The Conference

The purpose then of this conference is to try to do something about this developing situation. We are proposing to set forth in certain "Articles of Cooperation" just what the Negro wants and is expecting of the post-war South and nation. Instead of letting the

demagogues guess what we want, we are proposing to make our wants and aspirations a matter of record, so clear that he who runs may read. We are hoping in this way to challenge the constructive cooperation of that element of the white South who express themselves as desirous of a New Deal for the Negroes of the South.

In our Articles of Cooperation we are seeking for a common denominator of constructive actions for Negroes and this group of whites who are doing many of the things we want done, and cannot do ourselves. In other words we are proposing to draft a New Charter of Race Relations in the South. The old charter is paternalistic and traditional; we want a new Charter that is fraternalistic and scientific; for the old charter is not compatible with the manhood and security of the Negro, neither is it compatible with the dignity and self-respect of the South. It ever leaves the South morally on the defensive! The Negro has paid the full price of citizenship in the South and nation, and the Negro wants to enjoy the full exercise of this citizenship, no more and no less.

No Cleavage Desired

The purpose of this conference then is not secessionist. We of the South know full well that any attempt of the Southern Negro to secede from Negroes of other regions will be even more fatal and abortive than the attempt in the 1860's. Our major objective is accession not secession. This conference is not isolationist. Science, religion and education have doomed isolation and isolationism forever. If the Nations separated by the seven seas cannot be isolated how much less can the Negroes of the South. We know that the Negro question of the South is a part of the great question throughout the nation and world. We know that before the question is settled anywhere it must be settled everywhere. But we also know that constitutional ailments may often be helped by local measures. This conference is not seditious. We are not meeting clandestinely in bundist fashion; but rather as citizens of the South and nation and well within our Constitutional rights and prerogatives. We therefore need not cringe and crawl, tremble or truckle or even tip-toe, as we deliberate on a possible way to relieve a pressure that is already becoming critical.

Task Delicate, But Not Impossible

To be sure, our task is a delicate one, but delicate tasks are never impossible, if performed by men who are not themselves delicate in spirit. More often the firm handling of delicate issues proves the wiser course. The matter handled in Fanuel Hall was delicate, but it was firmly handled and the world thereby was blessed. So in this historic meeting today, whatever advance step we may make in race relations will rebound to the advantage of the South and nation no less than to the advancement of the Negro race. Let us bear ever in mind that the soul of the South and nation are at stake no less than the fortunes of the Negro race. The greater tragedy of critical situations lies not in the impairment of circumstances and fortunes, but of spirits. Should our just demands be denied by the white South, we can still appeal to

the conscience of the nation; and failing here, we can appeal to the Supreme Court of History, before the Great White Throne of the Future. Oppressed groups of whatever persuasion have always the assurance that in their struggles for deliverance they have Time and Right and God on their side. As we enter upon our deliberations let us remember that not only is our manhood being weighed in the balance, but our statesmanship also.

The sponsors of this conference may not have fashioned the most well-wrought conference imaginable, but what they did was at a tremendous sacrifice; for none of them had the time and means to give as the cause demanded; but they did the best they could. We have brought to you a conference that is absolutely unfettered and unintimidated. There are no secret commitments, no secret understanding, no dotted lines, no secret financial underwritings. May God help us on this historic occasion to quit ourselves like men.



A Basis for Inter-Racial Cooperation and Development in the South

A Statement by Southern Negroes

*—Issued December 15th, 1942, by a Sub-Committee
of the Southern Conference on Race Relations*

The war has sharpened the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States, and particularly in the South. A result has been increased racial tensions, fears, and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South. These issues are acute and threaten to become even more serious as they increasingly block, through the deeper fears aroused, common sense consideration for even elementary improvements in Negro status, and the welfare of the country as a whole.

With these problems in mind, we, a group of southern Negroes, realizing that the situation calls for both candor and wisdom, and in the belief that we voice the sentiments of many of the Negroes of the Nation as well as the South, take this means of recording our considered views of the issues before us.

- (1) Our Nation is engaged in a world-wide struggle, the success of which, both in arms and ideals, is paramount and demands our first loyalty.

- (2) Our loyalty does not, in our view, preclude consideration now of problems and situations that handicap the working out of internal improvements in race relations essential to our full contribution to the war effort, and of the inevitable problems of post-war reconstruction, especially in the South where we reside.
- (3) The South, with its twenty-five million people, one-third of whom are Negroes, presents a unique situation, not only because of the size of the Negro population but because of the legal and customary patterns of race relations which are invariably and universally associated with racial discriminations. We recognize the strength and age of these patterns.
We are fundamentally opposed to the principle and practice of compulsory segregation in our American society, whether of races or classes or creeds, however, we regard it as both sensible and timely to address ourselves now to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations within the democratic framework.
- (4) We regard it as unfortunate that the simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices continue, with such considerable popular support, to be interpreted as the predatory ambition of irresponsible Negroes to invade the privacy of family life.
- (5) We have the courage and faith to believe, however, that it is possible to evolve in the South a way of life, consistent with the principles for which we as a Nation are fighting throughout the world, that will free us all, white and Negro alike, from want, and from throttling fears.

POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS

1. We regard the ballot as a safeguard of democracy. Any discrimination against citizens in the exercise of the voting privilege, on account of race or poverty, is detrimental to the freedom of these citizens and to the integrity of the State. We therefore record ourselves as urging now:

- a. The abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting.
- b. The abolition of the white primary.
- c. The abolition of all forms of discriminatory practices, evasions of the law, and intimidations of citizens seeking to exercise their right of franchise.

2. Exclusion of Negroes from jury service because of race has been repeatedly declared unconstitutional. This practice we believe can and should be discontinued now.

3. a. Civil rights include personal security against abuses of police power by white officers of the law. These abuses, which include wanton killings, and almost routine beatings of Negroes, whether they be guilty or innocent of an offense, should be stopped now, not only out of regard for the safety of Negroes, but of common respect for the dignity and fundamental purpose of the law.

b. It is the opinion of this group that the employment of Ne-

gro police will enlist the full support of Negro citizens in control of lawless elements of their own group.

4. In the public carriers and terminals, where segregation of the races is currently made mandatory by law as well as by established custom, it is the duty of Negro and white citizens to insist that these provisions be equal in kind and quality and in character of maintenance.

5. Although there has been, over the years, a decline in lynchings, the practice is still current in some areas of the South, and substantially, even if indirectly, defended by resistance to Federal legislation designed to discourage the practice. We ask that the States discourage this fascistic expression by effective enforcement of present or of new laws against this crime by apprehending and punishing parties participating in this lawlessness.

If the States are unable, or unwilling to do this, we urge the support of all American citizens who believe in law and order in securing Federal legislation against lynching.

6. The interests and securities of Negroes are involved directly in many programs of social planning and administration; in the emergency rationing, wage and rent control programs. We urge the use of qualified Negroes on these boards, both as a means of intelligent representation and a realistic aid to the functioning of these bodies.

INDUSTRY AND LABOR

Continuing opposition to the employment of Negroes in certain industries appears to proceed from (1) the outdated notions of an economy of scarcity, inherited from an industrial age when participation in the productive enterprises was a highly competitive privilege; (2) the effects of enemy propaganda designed to immobilize a large number of potentially productive workers in the American war effort; (3) the age-old prejudices from an era when the economic system required a labor surplus which competed bitterly within its own ranks for the privilege of work; (4) the established custom of reserving technical processes to certain racial groups; and (5) craft monopolies which have restricted many technical skills to a few workers.

Our collective judgment regarding industrial opportunities for Negroes may be summarized as follows:

1. The only tenable basis of economic survival and development for Negroes is inclusion in unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled branches of work in the industries or occupations of the region to the extent that they are equally capable. Circumstances will vary so as to make impossible and impracticable any exact numerical balance, but the principles enunciated by the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee are regarded by us as sound and economically essential.
2. There should be the same pay for the same work.
3. Negro workers should seek opportunities for collective bargaining and security through membership in labor organizations. Since there can be no security for white workers if Negroes are unorganized and vice versa, labor unions of white workers should seek the organization of Negro workers, on a fair and equal basis.
4. We deplore the practice of those labor unions which bar

Negroes from membership, or otherwise discriminate against them, since such unions are working against the best interest of the labor movement. We hold that only those labor unions which admit Negroes to membership and participation on a fair and democratic basis should be eligible for the benefits of the National Labor Relations Board, Railway Labor Act, State Labor Relations Acts and other protective labor legislation.

5. It is the duty of local, state and federal agencies to insist upon and enforce provisions for the industrial training of Negroes equal in quality and kind with that of other citizens. We believe, further, that Negroes should have equal opportunity in training programs carried on by industries and by labor organizations.
6. We urge Negro representation on regional organizations concerned with the welfare of workers.
7. We regard the wage-and-job-freezing order of the War Manpower Commission as holding the seeds of a distinct disadvantage to Negroes and other marginal workers. Most of these workers are now employed in the lowest-income job brackets. The "freeze" order can remove the opportunity for economic advancement. There is as yet no assurance that under existing circumstances the War Manpower Commission can deal more equitably by the Negro in the future than it has in the past.
8. We are convinced that the South's economic and cultural development can be accelerated by increasing the purchasing power and skills of Negro workers.

SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

Any realistic estimate of the occupational situation of Negroes supports the view that Negroes will be employed in greatest proportions for a long time in service occupations. We see, however, possibilities of making of these fields scientifically guided areas in which training and organization will play a greater part in bringing about results mutually beneficial to employer and employee. We believe that greater service will be rendered and greater good will be engendered in the service fields if the following principles are observed:

1. More thorough training should be provided workers who plan to enter the service field, but the reward of the job and treatment on the job should be such as to make the workers feel that their training is justified. Opportunity should be given the service worker to advance through the opening up of additional opportunities.
2. A wholesome environment, living accommodations, food, uniforms and rest rooms, all of an approved standard, should be provided service workers.
3. Opportunity should be given the service worker to live, after his stipulated hours of work, as an individual undisturbed in his private life by the whims and caprices of his employers.
4. In view of the strides made by labor in general, while the service worker's lot has remained about the same, service

workers should be organized into unions with recognized affiliations.*

5. Service workers should be included in the provisions for old age insurance, unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, the wage and hour act, and other benefits of Social Security legally provided to workers of other categories

We believe that these provisions will help to insure some intelligent service and wholesome loyalty (which will improve both the quality of labor and personal relations) in service occupations.

EDUCATION

As equal opportunity for all citizens is the very foundation of the democratic faith, and of the Christian ethic which gave birth to the ideal of democratic living, it is imperative that every measure possible be taken to insure an equality of education to Negroes, and, indeed to all underprivileged peoples.

1. Basic to improvement in Negro education is better schools, which involves expenditures by States of considerably more funds for the Negro schools. This group believes that a minimum requirement now is (a) equalization of salaries of white and Negro teachers on the basis of equal preparation and experience; (b) an expanded school building program for Negro schools designed to overcome the present racial disparity in physical facilities; this program to begin as soon as building materials are available; (c) revision of the school program in terms of the social setting, vocational needs and marginal cultural characteristics of the Negro children; and (d) the same length of school term for all children in local communities. Our growing knowledge of the effect of environment upon the intelligence and social adjustment of children, in fact leads us to believe that to insure equality of educational opportunity it is not enough to provide for the under-privileged child, of whatever race, the same opportunities provided for those on superior levels of familial, social, and economic life. We feel it a function of Government to assure equalization far beyond the mere expenditure of equivalent funds for salaries and the like.

2. The education of Negroes in the South has reached the point at which there is increased demand for graduate and professional training. This group believes that this training should be made available equally for white and Negro eligible students in terms defined by the United States Supreme Court in the decision on the case of Gaines versus the University of Missouri.

3. Where it is established that States cannot sustain the added cost of equalization, Federal funds should be made available to overcome the differentials between white and Negro facilities and between southern and national standards.

4. It is the belief of this group that the special problems of Negro education make demands for intelligent and sympathetic representation of these problems on school boards by qualified persons of the Negro race.

*In the present hysteria of many housewives who are losing poorly paid servants to better paying war industries, it seems desirable to emphasize that this proposal bears no relation to the fantastic and probably Axis inspired rumors of so-called "Eleanor Clubs."

5. The education of Negro youth can be measurably aided by the use of Negro enforcement officers of truancy and compulsory education laws.

AGRICLTURE

The South is the most rural section of the Nation, and Negroes, who constitute 33 per cent of its population, are responsible for an important share of the agricultural production on southern farms.

We recognize that the South is economically handicapped and that many of its disabilities are deeply rooted in agricultural maladjustments. To win the war, there is need for increased production of food, fibre and fats. In the present organization of agriculture, Negroes are a large part of the sharecropper and tenant group and a great majority of the rural Negro workers are in this class. Circumstances deny the Negro farmer sufficient opportunity to make his full contribution as a citizen. We suggest the following measures as means of increasing the production of the area, raising the status and spirits of Negro farmers, and of improving the region's contribution to the total war effort.

1. Establishment of sufficient safeguards in the system of tenancy to promote the development of land and home ownership and more security on the land, by:
 - a. Written contracts
 - b. Longer lease terms
 - c. Higher farm wages for day laborers
 - d. Balanced farm programs, including food and feed crops for present tenants and day laborers.
2. Adequate Federal assistance to Negro farmers should be provided on an equitable basis. The war effort can be materially aided if adequate provisions are made now for the interpretation of governmental policies to rural Negroes.
3. The equitable distribution of funds for teaching agriculture in the Negro land grant colleges to provide agricultural research and experimentation for Negro farmers.
4. The appointment of qualified Negroes to governmental planning and policy making bodies concerned with the common farmer, and the membership of Negro farmers in general farmers' organizations and economic cooperatives, to provide appropriate representation and to secure maximum benefits to our common wealth.

MILITARY SERVICE

We recognize and welcome the obligation of every citizen to share in the military defense of the nation and we seek, along with the privilege of offering our lives, the opportunity of other citizens of full participation in all branches of the military service, and of advancement in responsibility and rank according to ability.

Negro soldiers, in line of military duty and in training in the South, encounter particularly acute racial problems in transportation and in recreation and leave areas. They are frequently mistreated by the police. We regard these problems as unnecessary and destructive to morale.

SOCIAL WELFARE AND HEALTH

1. We believe that some of the more acute problems of Negro health, family and personal disorganization are a reflection of deficiencies in economic opportunity, but that social and health services for Negroes will continue to be necessary in considerable amounts even with improvement of their economic status. As a means of reducing the mortality and public contagion resulting from inadequacies of medical attention and health knowledge, this group believes that minimum health measures for Negroes would include the following:

- a. Mandatory provisions that a proportion of the facilities in all public hospitals be available for Negro patients;
- b. That Negro doctors be either included on the staff for services to Negro patients, according to their special qualifications, or permitted as practitioners the same privilege and courtesy as other practitioners in the public hospitals;
- c. That Negro public health nurses and social workers be more extensively used in both public and private organizations.

2. We advocate the extension of slum clearance and erection of low-cost housing as a general as well as special group advantage. The Federal government has set an excellent precedent here with results that offer much promise for the future.

It is a wicked notion that the struggle of the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the Nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government.

The effect of the war has been to make the Negro, in a sense, the symbol and protagonist of every other minority in America and in the world at large. Local issues in the South, while admittedly holding many practical difficulties, must be met wisely and courageously if this Nation is to become a significant political entity in a new international world. The correction of these problems is not only a moral matter, but a practical necessity in winning the war and in winning the peace. Herein rests the chance to reveal our greatest weakness or our greatest strength.

[Signed]

CHAS. S. JOHNSON
Chairman Sub-Editorial
Committee
GORDON B. HANCOCK
F. D. PATTERSON
BENJAMIN E. MAYS
ERNEST DELPIT

RUFUS E. CLEMENT
HORACE MANN BOND
JAMES E. JACKSON
WM. M. COOPER
P. B. YOUNG
Conference Chairman

In Attendance at Southern Race Relations Conference

A complete list of those attending the Southern Conference on Race Relations held at the North Carolina College for Negroes, Durham, October 20th, is as follows:

DR. CHAS. S. JOHNSON, Director, Department of Social Sciences, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

DEAN R. O'HARA LANIER, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.

DR. H. L. McCROREY, President, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C.

DR. L. F. PALMER, Executive Secretary, Virginia State Teachers Association, Newport News, Va.

O. M. PHARR, Principal, Unity High School, South Carolina.

REV. J. A. VALENTINE, D.D., Durham, N. C.

DR. GORDON B. HANCOCK, Department of Sociology, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.

DEAN MOSES S. BELTON, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C.

WILLIAM M. COOPER, Director of Extension Work, Hampton Institute, Va.

ASBURY HOWARD, representing Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CIO), Bessemer, Ala.

DR. JOHN M. GANDY, President-Emeritus, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.

L. H. FOSTER, Treasurer-Business Manager, and Acting President, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.

PRESIDENT J. B. WATSON, A. and M. College, Pine Bluff, Ark.

CLARENCE A. LAWS, Executive Secretary, New Orleans Urban League, New Orleans, La.

DON A. DAVIS, Comptroller, Hampton Institute, Chairman Executive Committee, National Negro Business League, Hampton, Va.

REV. H. B. BULTER, President, Baptist State Convention, Hartsville, S. C.

PROF. J. B. BLANTON, Principal, Voorhees N. and I. School, Denmark, S. C.

WILLIAM Y. BELL, Executive Secretary, Atlanta Urban League, Atlanta, Ga.

J. A. BACOATS, Vice President, Benedict College, Columbia, S. C.

MRS. R. E. CLAY, Bristol, Tenn.

FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON, Director, School of Social Work, Atlanta, Ga.

JESSE O. THOMAS, Staff Assistant, War Bonds and Stamps, Washington, D. C.

JAMES T. TAYLOR, Dean of Men, North Carolina College, Durham, N. C.

DR. AND MRS. J. G. STUART, Columbia, S. C.

ROBERT A. SPICELY, Director, Commercial Dietetics, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

C. C. SPAULDING, President, North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co., and Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N. C.

MRS. ANDREW W. SIMPKINS, Social Worker, Columbia, S. C.

DR. JAMES E. SHEPARD, President, North Carolina College, Durham, N. C.

REV. J. ALVIN RUSSELL, D.D., President, St. Paul's Polytechnic Institute, Lawrenceville, Va.

G. D. ROGERS, President, Central Life Insurance Company, Tampa, Fla.

DR. F. D. PATTERSON, President, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

ROSCOE C. MITCHELL, Associated Negro Press Representative, Richmond, Va.

JOHN W. MITCHELL, State Agent, A. and T. College, Greensboro, N. C.

DR. BENJ. E. MAYS, President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

JAMES G. MARTIN, JR., Business Agent and Financial Secretary, Carpenters' Local No. 544, Baltimore, Md.

DR. HORACE MANN BOND, President, Fort Valley State College, Fort Valley, Ga.

THEODORE MALLORY, Secretary-Treasurer, United Transport Service Employees of America, Member International Executive Board, Atlanta, Ga.

DR. AND MRS. D. K. JENKINS, Columbia, S. C.

DR. LUTHER P. JACKSON, Chairman of the Department of History, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.

EDGAR P. HOLT, Vice President, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Birmingham, Ala.

WALTER J. HUGHES, M.D., State Board of Health, Raleigh, N. C.

JAMES E. JACKSON, Executive Secretary, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Birmingham, Ala.

J. W. HOLLY, President, Georgia Normal College, Albany, Ga.

K. W. GREEN, Dean, State A. and M. College, Orangeburg, S. C.

ERNEST DELPIT, President and Business Manager, Carpenters' Local, New Orleans, La. (A. F. of L.)

G. HAMILTON FRANCIS, M.D., Speaker House of Delegates, National Medical Association, Norfolk, Va.

REV. JOHN E. CULMER, Rector, Episcopal Church, Miami, Fla.

DR. ROBERT P. DANIEL, President, Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.

A. B. COOKE, Business Agent, Local No. 815, Carpenters, Columbia, S. C.

DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT, President, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

D. G. GARLAND, Representative, American Federation of Labor, Winston-Salem, N. C.

MAJ. W. M. WHITEHEAD, Principal School for the Handicapped, Newport News, Va.

D. W. BYRD, M.D., Chairman, Health Commission, National Medical Association, Norfolk, Va.

C. H. BYNUM, Field Secretary, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Dallas, Texas.

DR. CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN, President, Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, N. C.

P. B. YOUNG, Editor-Publisher, Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va.

EDWARD MASON, representing Dining Car Cooks and Waiters, Houston, Texas.

REPRESENTED BY LETTER

C. A. SCOTT, Publisher, Atlanta Daily World, and Scott Chain of Weekly Newspapers, Atlanta, Ga.

CARTER WESLEY, Editor-Publisher, The Informer, Dallas Express and New Orleans Sentinel, Houston, Texas.

MRS. ZELLAR R. BOOTHE, Oklahoma City, Okla.

DEAN V. E. DANIEL, Wiley College, Marshall, Texas.

CLAUDE A. BARNETT, Director, Associated Negro Press, Chicago, Ill.

Others who sent Telegrams endorsing the Conference were:

DR. J. R. E. LEE, President, Florida A. and M. College, Tallahassee, Fla.

ATTY. J. LEONARD LEWIS, Jacksonville, Fla.

ATTY. J. R. BOOKER, Little Rock, Ark.
MRS. ORA BROWN STOKES, Washington, D. C.

PRESIDENT H. L. TRIGG, Elizabeth City State Teachers College, Elizabeth City, N. C.

PRESIDENT DAVID D. JONES, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.

MRS. H. L. MCCROREY, Charlotte, N. C.

DR. W. A. FOUNTAIN, President, Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga.

BISHOP B. J. KING, Atlanta, Ga.

PRESIDENT JAS. BRAWLEY, Clark University, Atlanta, Ga.

PRESIDENT W. J. HALE, Tennessee A. and I. College, Nashville, Tenn.

DR. MARY BRANCH, President, Tillotson College, Austin, Texas.

DR. L. H. BELL, Mississippi State College, Alcorn, Miss.

WILEY A. HALL, Executive Secretary, Urban League, Richmond, Va.

DR. J. M. ELLISON, President, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.

M. F. WHITAKER, President, South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, S. C.



Comments on the Conference Statement

DR. MORDECAI W. JOHNSON, President Howard University, Washington, D. C.

I am impressed at once with the fact that the statement is a judiciously worded address from southerners to southerners; that it includes representatives of labor, the press and many secular organizations, as well as the schools and the churches; and that the statement is designed to address itself to matters of immediate concern in which it is felt that substantial progress is possible now.

* * * *

DR. GUY B. JOHNSON, Research Professor, University of North Carolina.

I feel that this is a remarkable and a reasonable statement of aims upon which all intelligent people in the south should be willing to unite.

* * * *

DR. FLORENCE M. READ, President, Spelman College, Atlanta, Ga.

It is a statement that I think should have wide circulation.

* * * *

DR. W. A. FOUNTAIN, President, Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Georgia.

There is a great need for our taking steps to bring about improved relations between the races, and I am happy to have the privilege of serving in whatever capacity I can.

* * * *

JUDGE WILLIAM H. HASTIE, Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War; Dean Howard University Law School.

I am impressed most of all with the fact that your detailed and

carefully worked-out statement shows the fundamental agreement of Negroes throughout the country upon the next steps which must be taken toward complete emancipation.

* * * *

DR. SAMUEL C. MITCHELL, University of Richmond.

That is a statesmanlike paper. It is able, candid and effective. It should mark an epoch in the cause of good-will between the races in the South.

* * * *

CLAUDE A. BARNETT, Director, Associated Negro Press, Chicago, Illinois.

I am profoundly impressed by the statement which has been issued by the Southern Race Relations Conference. It is forceful, sane, practical and realistic.

* * * *

DR. BELLE BOONE BEARD, Department of Economics and Sociology, Sweet Briar College.

I have read every word of the statement with the greatest interest and want to congratulate the conference upon its action.

* * * *

LEWIS L. SCOTT, Attorney-At-Law, Columbia, Tennessee.

I wish to congratulate you and your associates on the very fine effort you have made in this movement to bring about an improvement in the much discussed race question. What you have said will not only contribute to the war effort but also to the making of a just peace.

* * * *

CARTER W. WESLEY, Editor-Publisher The Informer, Houston, Austin and Beaumont, Tex., Dallas Express and New Orleans Sentinel, and Fort Worth, (Tex.) Mind.

I think the conference statement is a historical achievement destined to play a large part in bringing about adjustments, and I believe it is a charter of Negro rights which all Negroes in the South can adhere to.

* * * *

FURMAN L. TEMPLETON, Racial Relations Adviser, Office of Civilian Defense, 3rd Civilian Defense Area, Baltimore, Md.

Although it was not my privilege to attend the conference in Durham, everything I have read about it leads me to believe that the work initiated there gives every promise of developing into an effective force for good. If there was ever a time when the country needed a clear-cut intelligent and objective statement of the problem of race relations, that time is now. It appears to me that the conference findings supply that need.

* * * *

DR. FRED M. ALEXANDER, Supervisor of Negro Education, State Board of Education, Richmond, Virginia.

I have read this pamphlet with great interest and feel that you have done an outstanding job.

WM. E. TAYLOR, Dean, School of Law, Lincoln University, St. Louis, Missouri.

The suggestions, proposals and recommendations seem to me unusually sound and forward looking. For quite a while now I have been convinced that unless some of the sensible leaders of our race step to the front and take a statesmanlike stand based upon realities and conditions as they exist rather than the Utopian possibilities of which we dream our race will suffer irreparable injury before the close of the present conflict.

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DR. JACKSON DAVIS, General Education Board, New York.

The report is straightforward and factual and the restraint of its phrases carries conviction. It reveals an understanding of the historical background of Southern life, as well as the social and economic processes through which the desired changes must be realized. To my mind it is one of the most constructive steps ever taken for better race relations in the South. I hope it will meet with the support that it deserves.

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DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

The planning of programs to guide the future of the Negro in America has not been in vain. On the whole the Durham program is a pretty good document. I should have written it a little differently myself, but I would not be unwilling to sign it.



Press Comments

Richmond News-Leader

With at least 75 per cent of the declaration, every reasonable white man probably will find himself in complete accord. The plea for humanity and for economic justice, which is the basis of the statement, is the one that will produce more of agreement than ever has existed between races in the South.

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Newport News Daily Press

We commend to both whites and Negroes for careful consideration the Durham manifesto. It contains little that is not fundamentally sound—things which American citizens have a right to expect.

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Atlanta Constitution

It will be unfortunate if the South does not discuss calmly and intelligently the basis for inter-racial cooperation advanced recently by a group of southern Negroes.

If the southern Negro leaders, asking for the cooperation of the majority race, do not receive encouragement, then the South will have failed the first effort by southern Negro leadership along realistic lines.

Atlanta Daily World

We commend the work of the Conference. It is the result of serious study by able and yet conservative Negro leaders, whose sincerity of purpose and racial earnestness can hardly be questioned.

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Christian Science Monitor

Above the clamor of current racial discussion in America, a quiet, reasoned voice is now heard in behalf of interracial cooperation in the South, through a statement by the committee speaking for the recently founded Southern Conference on Race Relations.

Advancement in responsibility and rank in military service according to ability; equal salaries for Negro and white teachers on the basis of preparation and experience; additional education facilities; inclusion of Negro doctors on public hospital staffs to treat Negro patients; organization of Negro service workers into unions with recognized affiliations; abolition of the poll tax; effective enforcement of anti-lynch laws—these and other proposals seem to furnish a reasonable basis for consideration and action.

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Norfolk Virginian-Pilot

Out of the Southern Conference on Race Relations that was held at Durham on October 20 has come a manifesto of historic importance. It is offered, on behalf of this conference by a drafting committee representative of the South's most responsible Negro leadership as a 'basis for interracial cooperation' with especial reference to the problems this cooperation presents in the Southern States. Its publication yesterday supersedes, as a declaration of principles and objectives in this field, the many diverse statements, Negro in authorship, by means of which the country has been made aware of the dimensions this problem has assumed during the last two years of war and preparations for war.

Almost without exception, the remedial, corrective and protective reforms that the present manifesto indorses, are reforms generally acknowledged as just in principle, or validated by our highest court, or actually in incipient application.

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Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch

There has come to the Ledger-Dispatch, along with many other newspapers, a report entitled A Basis for Inter-Racial Cooperation and Development in the South: a Statement by Southern Negroes. If our colleagues of the Southern press are affected by it as we are, they are profoundly disquieted.

For this report, let it be noted, is prepared by Southern Negroes, not by Northern Negroes The Ledger-Dispatch knows some of the men who prepared or collaborated on the preparation of this report, knows them to be men of quiet ability and of a natural conservatism, and it has no doubt that many of its colleagues knows a number of others.

It deserves, if it does not demand, reflection and study on the part of the White South—far more of both than is possible in an hour or two.