

PROCEEDINGS OF
THE SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE PROBLEMS
OF THE NEGRO AND NEGRO YOUTH

HELD IN
THE DEPARTMENTAL AUDITORIUM, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WASHINGTON, D. C.

JANUARY 12, 13 AND 14

1939

14320

THE SECOND NATIONAL
CONFERENCE ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO AND NEGRO YOUTH

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 14, 1939

My dear Mrs. Bethune:

As your Conference breaks up I want to congratulate all of you taking part in the sound and constructive efforts being made to have this meeting a real worthwhile one.

I was glad to have the talk with you and your confreres yesterday afternoon, as it gave me quite an insight into your aims and objectives. I sincerely hope that further progress will be made toward those great objectives for the betterment of your Race.

Very sincerely yours,

/s/Franklin D. Roosevelt

Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune
Director,
Division of Negro Affairs
National Youth Administration
Washington, D. C.

THE SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO AND NEGRO YOUTH

May 1, 1939

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

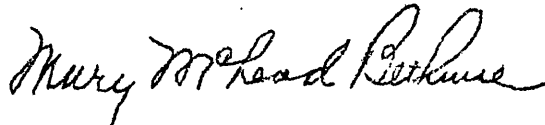
My dear Mr. President:

I am happy to submit to you herewith the Proceedings of the Second National Conference on the Problems of the Negro and Negro Youth held in Washington at the Departmental Auditorium, Department of Labor, January 12, 13 and 14, 1939.

These proceedings include the evaluation reports and recommendations which were the result of the serious deliberation of 225 registered delegates representing a cross section of Negroes from every section of the country.

The conference went on record as approving wholeheartedly your stand in issuing the call for a united democracy. While we are cognizant of the many gains which have been made in this direction, we recognize the need for continuous effort in order that there may be further progress.

Respectfully submitted,



Mary McLeod Bethune
General Chairman

AGENDAA. SCOPE

The Conference will be limited in its scope to a formulation of objectives and policies which can be accomplished in whole or in part by action of the Executive and Legislative branches of the Federal Government.

B. AIM AND OBJECTIVE

The aim and objective of this Conference will be, first, to note our progress since the last conference and second, to consider new developments and devise new approaches to the solution of our basic problems.

To propose a set of recommendations to the Executive and Legislative branches of the Federal Government including immediate practical steps to be taken and long-time policies in achieving these ends.

C. AGENDA

The problems of the Conference have been divided into the following fields:

1. Social and Economic Security
(Job Security and Employment Opportunities)

National Labor Relations Act
National Maritime Act
Wagner-Peyser Act - U.S. Employment Service
Fair Labor Standards, Act of 1938
Social Security Act
Emergency Relief Act

2. Education and Recreation

Harrison-Fletcher-Black Bill
George-Deen Act
WPA Recreation and Adult Education Program
Public Forums
National Park Service
National Youth Administration
(a) Student Aid
(b) Related Experiences
(c) Residence Training

3. Farm Tenancy

Resettlement
Soil Conservation
Cooperatives
Farm Loans
Crop Loans

4. Health and Housing

Federal Housing Administration
United States Housing Authority
United States Public Health Service
National Plans for Social Medicine

5. Public Employment

(a) Civil Service
(b) Non-Civil Service
PWA
Federal Civil Service
Senate Investigation of Civil Service Practices
The Presidential Order and Civil Service
(June 24, 1938)

6. Special Problems of Youth

National Youth Administration
Guidance and Placement
Work Projects
Recreation and Art
National Youth Act
Civilian Conservation Corps

7. Civil Liberties - Political Suffrage

Anti-Lynching Legislation
National Defense Act
Elimination of Poll Tax
Exercise of the Ballot

D. ORGANIZATION

1. Each of the seven topics will be developed by a general speaker. There will be a presentation followed by discussion.
2. There will be a committee for each topic. This committee will make recommendations to the Conference for consideration and adoption.
3. Ample provision will be made for discussion from the floor. Each topic will have its discussion leader.

4. The discussion must bear on or have relation to what the Federal Government can do.

Persons having definite ideas and suggestions may put them in writing and present them to the committees for their consideration in committee meetings. The open hearings will be held from 7 to 8 P. M., Friday, January 13.

GENERAL PROCEDURES

1. Opening by the General Chairman
2. Presentations - General and Specific
3. Statement by the Discussion Leader
4. Discussion by the Conference from the Floor

COMMITTEE REPORTS

The personnel of the Conference is divided into seven working committees, one for each problem of the agenda. Each committee has as its head a chairman. The main business of the first two days of the Conference is to enable each committee under its chairman to prepare and present to the Conference on Saturday morning, a set of definite recommendations on federal programs affecting the Negro and Negro youth.

There are three methods for conferees to get their opinions and recommendations before the committee:

1. Discussion from the floor
2. Written proposals and recommendations placed in the hands of the particular committee concerned.
3. Appearance in person before the committee at any time during the first hour (7 to 8 P. M.) on Friday evening. After 8 P. M. the committees will go into executive session to prepare their reports for submission on Saturday morning at 10 o'clock.

P R O G R A M

Dates: January 12, 13 and 14, 1939

Place: Conference Rooms A, B and C
and Departmental Auditorium
adjacent to Department of Labor

Registration 8 to 9 A.M.
Review of Exhibits 9 to 9:55 A.M.

THURSDAY, January 12, 1939 - Morning Session 10 to 1 P.M.

Statement of Purpose and Procedure: Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune
Director, Division of Negro Affairs, NYA and Chairman of the
Conference 10:00 A. M.

Opening: Mr. Aubrey Williams, Administrator, NYA 10:05 A. M.
Mrs. Florence Kerr, Assistant

Greetings: Administrator, WPA 10:25 A. M.
Miss Katherine F. Lenroot, Chief
Children's Bureau, Department of
Labor 10:35 A. M.

Evaluation Reports 11:00 to 1:00 P. M.

Health and Housing	Dr. M. O. Bousfield
Civil Liberties	Mr. Walter White
Employment and Econ- omic Security	Mr. Lester Granger
Education	Mr. John W. Davis

Luncheon, Cafeteria, Department of Labor 1:30 to 2:30 P. M.

Afternoon Session 2:30 to 5:30 P. M.

Problem #1: Youth and Its Problems

Mr. Aubrey Williams, Administrator, NYA 2:30 P. M.
Guest Speaker: Mr. Robert Fechner, Director CCC 2:45 P. M.

Youth Panel Discussion led by Mrs. Juanita Jackson Mitchell,
Chairman: Mr. Edward Strong; Miss Pauline Redmond; Mr. George
Bruce; Mr. Philip Dynes; Miss Frances Granton and Mr. William
Bell. 3 to 4:00 P. M.

Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt 4:00 P. M.

Dinner and Recreation 5:30 to 7:00 P. M.

Organization of Committees 7:00 to 8:00 P. M.

Evening Session 8 to 10 P.M.

Problem #2: Health and Housing

- Guest Speaker: Mr. Nathan Straus, Administrator
United States Housing Authority 8:05 P.M.
- Dr. Warren F. Draper, Executive Officer
United States Public Health Service 8:30 P.M.
- Presentations: Dr. John B. West, Director Central Harlem
Health Center, New York City, on Health
- Mr. Robert R. Taylor, Manager, Michigan
Boulevard Garden Apts., Chicago, on
Housing 9:10 P.M.
- Discussion: Dr. Carl G. Roberts, Health - Chicago 9:30 P.M.
- Mrs. Leila T. Alexander, Director Pearl
Street Community House, Waterbury, Connec-
ticut - Housing 9:50 P.M.

FRIDAY, January 13, 1939 Morning Session 10 A.M. to 1 P.M.Problem #3: Education and Recreation

- Guest Speakers: Mr. J. C. Wright, Assistant Commissioner
for Vocational Education 10:05 A.M.
- Mr. Floyd Reeves, Chairman of the National
Advisory Committee on Education 10:40 A.M.
- Presentations: Education - Mr. Doxey Wilkerson,
Howard University 11:00 A.M.
- Recreation - Mr. Ernest T. Attwell,
National Recreation Association 11:15 A.M.
- Discussion: Mr. H. Council Trenholm, President
Alabama State Teachers College 11:30 A.M.
- Problem #4: Civil Liberties and Political Suffrage
- Guest Speakers: The Honorable Ramsey Black, Third Assistant
Postmaster General, representing the
Honorable Postmaster General, James
A. Farley 11:45 A.M.

FRIDAY (continued)

Presentations: Dr. James M. Nabrit, Jr., Howard University 12:15 A.M.
 Luncheon, Cafeteria, Department of Labor 1:30 to 2:30 P.M.
 Afternoon Session 2:30 to 5:30 P.M.

Problem #5: Social and Economic Security (Employment and Job Opportunities)

Guest Speakers: Mr. Elmer Andrews, Administrator Wage and Hour Division 2:30 P.M.
 Mr. W. Frank Person, Director USES 2:40 P.M.
 Mr. Ewan Clague, Director, Bureau Research and Statistics, Social Security Board 2:50 P.M.

Presentation: Mr. John P. Davis, Secretary National Negro Congress 3:00 P.M.

Discussion: Mr. Forrester B. Washington, Director Atlanta School of Social Work 3:15 P.M.

Problem #6: Farm Tenancy

Guest Speakers: Dr. Will W. Alexander, Administrator Farm Security Administration 3:45 P.M.

Presentation and Discussion: Dr. Charles S. Johnson Member Farm Tenancy Commission 4:00 P.M.

Problem #7: Public Employment (Civil and non-Civil Service)

Guest Speaker; The Honorable Harry B. Mitchell, President Civil Service Commission 4:30 P.M.

Presentation: Mr. Charles Houston, Attorney, NAACP 4:45 P.M.

Discussion: Mr. Lafayette Ford, President National Alliance of Postal Employees 5:00 P.M.

Dinner and Recreation 5:30 to 7 P.M.
 Committee Hearings 7 to 8:00 P.M.,
 Evening Session 8 to 10:00 P.M.

Moving Pictures in Departmental Auditorium - Open to Public

NYA Resident Training Project - Wilberforce University
 The Negro Farmer- Department of Agriculture
 Let My People Live - District Tuberculosis Asso.
 Three Counties Against Syphilis - U.S. Public Health Service

SATURDAY, January 14, 1939

Morning

10 A.M. to 1 P.M.

Afternoon Session

2 P.M. to 4 P.M.

Reports

Recommendations

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| 1. Civil Liberties | Walter White |
| 2. Public Employment, Civil and
non-Civil Service | Charles Houston |
| 3. Education and Recreation | John W. Davis |
| 4. Social and Economic Security | Lester Granger |
| 5. Health and Housing | M. O. Bousfield |
| 6. Youth and Its Problems | Juanita Mitchell |
| 7. Farm Tenancy | Charles S. Johnson |

Statement of the Purpose of the Conference by Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune,
Director of the Division of Negro Affairs, National Administration.

Two years ago on January 6, 7 and 8, 1937, there met in this building under auspices of the National Youth Administration, the first National Conference on the Problems of the Negro and Negro Youth. More than 100 representative Negro citizens from all parts of the nation considered the fundamental problems facing the Negro and Negro Youth in America. After careful deliberation a set of recommendations was drawn up and presented to the President of the United States, members of his cabinet, the heads of various administrative departments of the Federal Government and to the members of the 75th Congress. Several thousand copies of these recommendations were released to representative organization and individuals throughout the nation.

We are again calling you together specifically to do two things: First, to note our progress since the last conference and second, to consider new developments and devise new approaches to the solution of our basic problems.

The President of the United States in the past six years has invited and called various groups of consultants to Washington - such as the Advisory Committee on Education and the National Emergency Council which most recently submitted their epoch-making report on Economic Conditions of the South. In like manner, you have been called here to bring to the Federal Government the benefit of your special counsel.

At a time like this when the basic principles of democracy are being challenged at home and abroad, when racial and religious hatreds are being engendered, it is vitally important that minority groups in this nation express anew their adherence to the fundamental principles of democracy. We feel sure that this Conference will feel disposed to wholeheartedly approve this doctrine of democracy enunciated by the President in his opening message to the 76th Congress.

"Democracy, the practice of self-government," he declared, "is a covenant among free men to respect the rights and liberties of their fellows.....In meeting the troubles of the world we must meet them as one people - with a unity born of the fact that for generations those who have come to our shores, representing many kindreds and tongues, have been welded by common opportunity into a united patriotism. If another form of government can present a united front in its attack on a democracy, the attack must be met by a united democracy. Such a democracy can and must exist in the United States."

With these precepts of democracy's leading exponent, we are in complete accord. But we recognize that no such "united democracy" can possibly exist unless this "common opportunity" is available to all Americans regardless of race, color or creed. A "united patriotism" is the fruit of political equality, economic opportunity and the universal enjoyment of basic civil rights. Only when these objectives are fully achieved will our country be able to stand before the world as the unsullied champion of true democracy.

In this spirit we are met here today. Through the channel of this conference we, as a group of loyal American citizens are offered the unusual opportunity, not only to contribute to the development of our own racial group, but also to insure a united democracy.

REPORT OF THE EVALUATION COMMITTEE ON
HEALTH AND HOUSING

The Committee on Health and Housing respectfully submits the following progress report relative to recommendations made by the Committee in 1937:

I. HEALTH

- I. Better medical care and preventive medicine for the colored masses, utilizing fully additional funds made available under the Social Security Act.

With the single exception of the satisfactory and encouraging program in the treatment of syphilis among Negroes, there has been no notable change in the approach to Negro health problems.

- II. The training and use of competent Negro personnel in health programs.

The United States Public Health Service has granted special funds to Howard University Medical School for graduate training in venereal disease control. Two competent, well-trained Negro physicians have been appointed in the Division of Venereal Disease Control as associate medical officers.

- III. Internships and residence in hospitals for special training.

There have been no advances in this field except at Freedmen's Hospital, where additional residences for the training of Negro doctors have been established.

- IV. Additional Negro public health nurses.

There has been a slight increase in the employment of Negro public health nurses but in no sense is the increase comparable to the needs of the Negro population or to the increase in employment in the field as a whole.

- V. Greater financial support for Freedmen's Hospital and the Medical School of Howard University.

There have been continuous surveys of existing facilities to estimate needs for increased financial support and expansion. An appropriation of \$600,000 has been made by the Public Works Administration to the Department of Interior in 1938 for a tuberculosis unit at Freedmen's Hospital for care of the tuberculous Negro and the training of Negro medical students at Howard University Medical School.

VI. The use of Federal funds for the establishment of health centers in Negro neighborhoods under competent Negro staffs.

Federal funds have been used notably in New York City in the construction of health centers in Negro communities. Disappointing is the fact that nothing resulted from our recommendation for the establishment of a health center in connection with Howard University Medical School. Tuberculosis and infant mortality rates among Negroes in the District of Columbia still rank among the highest in the United States.

VII. Use of Federal funds in the construction of more hospitals for Negroes.

During 1938 over seven million dollars have been expended in the construction of either Negro wings or Negro hospitals. This does not include the total figures for 1938 PWA grants which are not yet available. In addition, nearly a million and a half have gone into sanatoria in several southern states (North Carolina, Maryland, and Tennessee.)

VIII. The opening up of Veterans' Hospitals to Negro Veterans and the inclusion of Negro doctors and nurses on these hospital staffs.

No Progress

IX. Freer use of Negro personnel in the program for crippled children under the Children's Bureau.

No Progress.

11 HOUSING

1 - "That this Conference endorse the Wagner-Ellenbogen Bill - a housing measure now under discussion in Congress - and urge that, if possible, even more money than the Wagner-Ellenbogen Bill seeks be appropriated for housing projects as further needs develop."

The United States Housing Act of 1937 was passed by the Congress and approved by the President on September 1, 1937. The original legislation made available for loans to local housing authorities for development of low-cost housing projects the sum of \$500,000,000. The Act as amended and approved on June 21, 1938 increased this sum to a total of \$800,000,000.

11 - "Be it further resolved that the Wagner-Ellenbogen Bill be altered to provide for the inclusion on the Housing Commission, which it will create, at least one member of the Negro race."

The United States Housing Act set up the United States Housing Authority as a permanent agency under the Department of the Interior, under the direction of Nathan Straus, as Administrator. As a member of his immediate staff, Dr. Robert C. Weaver was appointed as a Special Assistant, functioning as the head of the Office of Racial Relations. It is the paramount duty of this office to advise the Administrator on sound racial policy and to promote the participation and integration of Negroes into the entire program of the United States Housing Authority. There is no "Housing Commission" incident to the United States Housing Authority.

111 - "Be it further resolved that adequate protection be given to skilled and unskilled labor on these housing projects."

For the protection of Negro skilled and unskilled labor on housing projects under the United States Housing Authority, the technique devised under the P. W. A. Housing Division program is being followed. The general terms and conditions of contracts include a non-discrimination clause which is implemented by supplementary clauses which include definite percentages for skilled and unskilled Negro labor. To assist local authorities in promoting employment of Negro labor through this technique, a member of the Office of Racial Relations co-operates with the Labor Relations

Division in determining percentages and conducting negotiations for the inclusion of these percentages in the contracts between the local housing authorities and the local contractors. To date, percentages have been agreed upon on projects in 13 cities in 7 states.

IV - "Be it further resolved that this Conference endorse the idea of active participation of Negroes in the management of Federal Housing Projects."

Negroes are now employed in the Management Personnel of 19 United States Housing Authority Projects. In addition, 18 Negroes have been appointed to local housing authorities in various sections of the country. Since the work of the United States Housing Authority is decentralized, most of the policies for local programs are formulated in the local housing authorities.

In addition to the above special recommendations in regard to Housing, the Conference report carries two other items which may be interpreted as touching upon the field of public housing.

V - "USE OF FEDERAL FUNDS" - "It is our consensus that in such programs as low cost housing, resettlement communities, TVA projects and similar enterprises in which the Negro has suffered from discriminatory policies, the various Federal bureaus have the responsibility to prevent any denial of benefits in any project."

It is the policy of the United States Housing Authority that there shall be no discrimination in its projects on account of race, creed, or political affiliations. All applications for projects, regardless of what racial groups they may involve, must pass through the Office of Racial Relations for review and, before they are approved by the Administrator, must bear the approval of the Special Assistant in charge of the Office of Racial Relations as being consistent with sound racial policy. At the present stage of its program, the United States Housing Authority has contracted to construct some 64,000 dwelling units, more than a third of which are to be occupied by Negro families.

VI - "Professional and Technical Workers." - "Negro technical men have been denied opportunity for employment such as will give them wide experience and it is recommended that Negroes, qualified as technical, professional, secretarial and clerical workers, such as project managers, engineers, accountants, architects, physicians, lawyers, dentists, U. S. Reserve Officers and the like, be given employment."

In the Office of Racial Relations of the United States

Housing Authority are employed the following technical workers:

Special Assistant to the Administrator, functioning at the head of a division; an Assistant Consultant on Negro Relations; a trained newspaper man who handles public relations; an experienced worker in the field of labor negotiations who handles labor relations; a research assistant, 4 secretarial and clerical aides.

In addition to these workers in the Office of Racial Relations, Negroes are further integrated into the United States Housing Authority personnel through employment in the following divisions: Technical, Legal, Management Review, Finance and Account, and as both reviewing and consulting architects. In a number of cases, local Housing Authorities are employing technically trained Negro workers on their staffs.

Committee Members

Dr. M. O. Bousfield, Chairman

Dr. Robert C. Weaver

Dr. Emmett J. Scott

Mr. Ernest Attwell

Dr. John B. West

REPORT OF THE EVALUATION COMMITTEE
ON
THE RECOMMENDATIONS ON SECURITY OF LIFE AND EQUAL PROTECTION
UNDER THE LAW

This committee expresses appreciation to the National Youth Administration and specifically to Mrs. Bethune for her foresight and statesmanship in calling the first National Conference on the Problems of the Negro and Negro Youth. We acknowledge the work of the first conference whose findings established a standard for governmental activity in the protection of equal rights. We now seek to evaluate the extent to which the recommendations of the first conference's committee on civil liberties have been realized in the intervening two years.

The basic principle in our evaluation is that the extent to which the constitutional guarantees of due process and equal protection of the law are actually accorded to Negroes, as the most oppressed minority in the population of the United States, is the fundamental test of American democracy and of the ability of the government to establish a regime of law and order, equal opportunity and civil liberties in this country.

LYNCHING

The democratic process broke down in the 75th Congress so far as the Gavagan-Wagner-Van Nuys Anti-lynching bill was concerned in the face of a southern filibuster in the Senate. The southern states have not demonstrated their ability or willingness to punish lynchers as not a single lyncher has been tried and convicted since the first conference adjourned, in spite of all the lynchings which have occurred. The character of lynching is such that a slight reduction in the number occurring in any calendar year is not significant and offers no excuse for not passing a Federal Anti-Lynching Law. Lynchings make this country's protests against the oppression of other minorities in European countries a mockery.

INSURANCE OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND
EQUAL PROTECTION UNDER THE LAW

We report no progress (a) in further incorporating and integrating Negroes in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard and Aviation; (b) toward enactment of a new Corrupt Practices Act which would make primary elections a part of the general election machinery and thereby remove some of the disabilities affecting Negro suffrage; (c) in enactment of the amendment of the Interstate Commerce Act in regard to discrimination on public carriers. On the contrary, ground has been lost by the adverse decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission in the case of Mitchell vs The Rock Island Railroad.

We note that Congressman Kopplemann introduced a Civil Rights bill for the District of Columbia but no hearings were had nor other action taken on the same. Negroes still have their citizenship insulted by being excluded from Senate and House restaurants in the United States capitol.

No legislative enactment has been made prohibiting discrimination on projects financed by the Federal Government. But some progress has been made administratively in developing a technique in procedure to serve this same purpose in the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration, United States Housing Authority and the National Youth Administration.

We deplore the fact that the La Follette Senate Committee has failed to use Negro investigators. However, we do feel that under these investigations workers have gained by the disclosure and condemnation of the practice of certain corporations employing spies for the purpose of inciting strife between black and white wage earners.

Some gains have been registered in the Federal Courts as evidenced by favorable decisions in the cases of Lloyd Gaines vs the State of Missouri and of the Sanitary Grocers vs the New Negro Alliance in the District of Columbia.

We note a forward step on the field of civil liberties in the appointment of a Negro as a Federal District Judge, even though not on the mainland, because civil liberties must not only be guaranteed by laws but must be rendered effective by individuals sitting as judges and acting as officers of the law.

Respectfully submitted,

Jesse O. Thomas, Acting Chairman
Charles Houston
A. Maceo Smith
James M. Nabrit, Jr.
John P. Davis
Thyra Edwards, Secretary
Walter White, Chairman

REPORT OF THE SUB COMMITTEE ON
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SECURITY
of the
EVALUATION COMMITTEE

The Sub-Committee on Social and Economic Security makes the following evaluation of the progress or lack of progress which has been made along the lines of the Conference's recommendations two years ago.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The Conference recommended in 1937 that support be given to Congressional proposals for a thirty-hour week on a national scale.

In this direction the present Wage and Hour Law is a step, though only a step.

However, this Act automatically excludes 70% of Negro labor from its provisions in that it does not include farm and domestic labor.

It is affirmed that an undetermined number of Negroes, particularly in the South, have been displaced from jobs as a result of this act. Actual judgment regarding the act's effects must be withheld until it has had a more sufficient time to function.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

The discrimination against Negroes by trade unions noted in 1937 still exists, though the development of the C. I. O. has brightened the picture because of industrial unionism and more enlightened racial policies, and many A. F. of L. unions have liberalized their policies.

No amendment to the National Labor Relations Act has been introduced in Congress, but amendments have been introduced in at least two state legislatures, New York and Pennsylvania, designed to forbid discrimination in unions enjoying protection of the State Labor Relations Act. In Pennsylvania the amendment was passed and is part of the labor laws of that state.

We find no record of Negro workers suffering from union discrimination making official protest before the National Labor Relations Board, though we believe such protest is in order when the union right to collective bargaining is recognized while the right of Negroes to membership is ignored. The record of the National Labor Relations Board in cases involving Negro workers thus far appears free from racial bias. The Board, however, has fallen short of proper recognition of the needs of Negro labor in that it has failed to employ Negro attorneys or other trained personnel.

REGULATION OF LABOR STANDARDS

The recommendation of the Conference for the elimination of differentials has failed of its purpose in that racial and sectional differentials continue to exist in the matter of wages and working conditions to the disadvantage of Negro labor. The absence of provisions against such practices in the Wage and Hour administration exposes Negroes to the possibility of differentials being tolerated by that administration. Although it must be said that no evidence of such intention has yet been noted.

MINIMUM WAGE FOR FEDERAL AND DISTRICT EMPLOYEES

The Conference recommended endorsement of a \$1500 minimum wage for Federal and District employees. No action has been taken along this line, though a bill is usually introduced at each session of Congress providing for such minimum.

Automatic promotions under the U. S. classified and apportioned Civil Service was recommended by the Conference. Recently action along this line has been taken through the Presidential Executive Order making mandatory intra-departmental promotions through examinations conducted by the Civil Service commission. This order becomes effective February 1 and throws squarely upon the Civil Service Commission the responsibility for the chances of Negroes now employed in Federal departments for equal chances at promotion.

The 5-day thirty-hour work week recommended by the Conference is still in the realm of discussion. A questionnaire has been sent out to some agencies to ascertain their attitudes toward such a law.

Likewise in the realm of discussion is the optional 30-year retirement proposal. No action has been taken toward the establishment of a Civil Service Appeal Board, though this was included in the Reorganization Plan of President Roosevelt.

THE USE OF FEDERAL FUNDS

The Conference adopted recommendations protesting against federal grant of public funds for state or local projects which denied benefits to individuals because of race. This committee finds that these

discriminatory practices still exist, based largely upon the use of federal funds.

Under PWA Housing Division, successful effort was made to insure comparative equitable participation of Negroes in low cost housing both as tenants and as skilled and semi-skilled workers. Liquidation of the Housing Division in favor of the USHA and transference of authority in housing construction to state and municipal housing authorities has resulted in a temporary setback along at least one of these lines. The employment of Negroes as skilled workers has fallen off because of the failure of local Negro voters to insist that their local authority follow the precedent established in PWA. In the matter of racial occupancy, while 40% of the units were Negro under PWA, they are now running about 38% under local control.

The committee notes a tendency to use federal funds for purposes of fixing residential patterns according to local prejudices, and thereby establish segregated areas and racial ghettos. The Federal Housing Administration is one of the worst offenders in this respect, with its policy of guaranteeing Negro mortgages only in Negro neighborhoods. The TVA is similarly culpable with its segregationist policies in both employment and community settlement.

The committee notes failure of Negroes to benefit properly from many kinds of federal expenditure of funds because of the lack of effective publicity acquainting Negroes with the existence of federal services and their availability.

FARM TENANTS AND AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

Several of the recommendations concerning farm tenants and workers have been partly carried out through the Farm Security Administration, formerly the Resettlement Administration. The administration's newest development of establishing rental cooperatives through which large tracts of land may be leased to tenants co-

operatively, giving them a chance to buy and giving them assistance in establishing themselves, is in direct line with the Conference's recommendation.

It is encouraging to note that five times as many Negro applicants applied for loans this year as did last year., (26,000). Though this number is still lower than it would be were proper and sufficient publicity and adequate Negro personnel made available.

The committee notes a tendency to apportion loans among Negroes on a basis of relative number of Negro applicants rather than on the basis of need.

We note also that not a single Negro has been appointed on a state or county advisory board, and it is these boards which have the power to curb or abolish racial discrimination.

Crop production loans have increased in the past two years in line with the Conference's recommendation, and the Social Security Advisory Council as well as the President has recommended inclusion of farm workers in the provisions of the Social Security Act.

No states have passed laws for revision of landlord-tenant legal relationships, but the policy of the Farm Security Administration is at least an encouragement to such action.

The Appointment of a highly qualified Negro agriculturist on the administrative staff of the Farm Credit Administration is noted with gratification, and with the hope that adequate Negro personnel will be added by the administration to assist in spreading farm credit among Negroes.

DOMESTIC WORKERS

No federal action has been taken along the lines of the Conference's recommendation for minimum hours and wages of domestic workers. Several states have passed

laws, including domestic workers in minimum wage and hour provisions and one state, New York, has included them under certain conditions in Social Security. The Advisory Council of the Social Security Board has recommended also that domestic workers be included in Social Security.

RAILWAY WORKERS

Negro workers still remained barred from almost all railway employment through connivance of railway unions and railway management. However, the Red Caps and Pullman Porters made advances. The Red Caps by being recognized by the Interstate Commerce Commission as legal employees entitled to wages and Unemployment Insurance, while the Brotherhood of Pullman Porters were designated by the National Labor Relations Board as bargaining agent for the porters of the country.

PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL WORKERS

The committee notes little improvement in the employment of Negro professional and technical workers by the federal agencies, except through WPA projects. In this latter category the Rural Electrification Administration has sponsored a project for map making and tracing to train Negroes, and has expressed a readiness to employ some of them after a year's training as draftsmen in the REA.

An example is set here which can well be emulated by the older Civil Service agencies.

In several departments, Negroes have suffered actual losses of important jobs. These losses are noted in the Department of Commerce, and the Solicitor's Division of the Department of Interior, among others.

NEGRO NURSES

We find little or no progress made to improve the federal employment of Negro nurses. They continue to be excluded entirely from two federal services, The U.S. Pub. Health Army Nursing Service and subject to salary and work differentials in two others, the U. S. Veterans and Navy Nursing Service.

UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

The Conference recommended the inclusion by the United States Employment Service, qualified Negroes in

policy making and administrative capacities on state and local and federal committees and in staff personnel. Little or no progress has been made toward realization of the Conference's recommendation. There has been the transfer of one Negro in the Department to the United States Employment Service administrative staff, and the establishment of some offices manned by Negro personnel. Yet there have been other offices, formerly manned by Negroes which are now manned by whites, representing a distinct loss. There have been a few isolated gains as in New York where a Negro sits on the Board of Appeals of the Unemployment Compensation Commission, and three Negroes are managers of branch offices; and in Pennsylvania where a Negro is a member of the labor commission.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Reference has already been made to recommendations for improving the services of Social Security in discussion of Farm and Domestic workers.

FEDERAL vs STATE CONTROL OF RELIEF AND RELIEF PROJECTS

The Conference took the position two years ago that the interest of Negroes was best served by federal control of relief. Experience since that time confirms the accuracy of this belief, and the committee views with concern present developments indicating that federal control will be decreased and state control increased.

PROTECTION OF NEGRO LABOR ON GOVERNMENT PROJECTS

The committee observes a trend toward less employment of Negroes on government contracts rather than more, because of the conditions referred to above, namely the withdrawal of the federal government from active promotion of construction projects and delegation of its authority to state and municipal commissions.

CIVIL SERVICE

Chief progress noted in Civil Service employment has been referred to above in the matter of departmental promotion under Civil Service examinations. However, the use of photographs and selection of one out of three ranking eligibles is still continued as the procedure and Negroes continue to be discriminated against thereby.

In at least one state legislature, New York, legislation has been introduced limiting the freedom with which an appointive officer can pass over an eligible.

Congressman Mitchell has introduced a bill to eliminate photographs on application blanks, and the National Alliance of Postal Employees has given assurance of its support of this bill .

PARTICIPATION IN ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

No progress is observed toward the Conference's recommendations concerning the appointment and employment of Negroes in administrative and policy making bodies.

COOPERATIVES AND CREDIT UNIONS

Mention has been made above of the appointment of a highly qualified person to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Dr. Henry Hunt.

APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

No action has been taken towards the Conference's recommendation regarding the appointment of Negroes to membership on federal and state committees on apprentice training, and the membership of Negroes on state advisory committees on apprentice training.

The development of a Federal Aviation Training Program gives opportunity for the inclusion of capable young Negroes in this important type of apprentice training. Suggestions have been made to this effect, but no action on behalf of Negroes has been taken thus far.

EVALUATION COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SECURITY

Mr. Lester Granger, Chairman

Mr. Forrester B. Washington

Dr. Charles S. Johnson

Mr. George C. Cohron

Mr. Lafayette Ford

Mr. Harry McAlpin

Mr. Harper Fortune

EVALUATION REPORT OF
THE
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND RECREATION

The Report of the National Conference on the Problems of the Negro Youth held in the Government Auditorium, Department of Labor, January 6th, 7th and 8th, 1937 included among its recommendations the report of the Committee on Education and Recreation. These recommendations were as follows:

1. "The conference recommends that the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps be continued as permanent organizations and that all of their services be expanded."

Reports indicate that the thirty thousand C. C. C. enrollees in 142 camps throughout the country have school buildings devoted to leadership and trade courses. Your committee is of the unanimous opinion that the number of camps should be increased because it is obvious that there are thousands of young Negroes who need these facilities and can make use of them because of the small number provided, and their limited capacities. We note that there have been 700 new opportunities available in these camps for project assistants of a junior technical grade. We suggest again that we would view with satisfaction the increase of this number and the selection of assistants of the senior technical grades.

Your committee feels that the federal subsidies to education now carried on under the National Youth Administration have been of great benefit to Negro youths and have materially aided their education.

In view of this situation, however, it is our opinion that the educational emphasis has not always been dominant but rather the work emphasis had a permanent place in the consideration of some administrators. We are further of the opinion that on the graduate and professional levels the age limit of twenty-five years has prevented many deserving youths from continuing their education. This defect in the continuing processes of education has been reported extensively to your committee and it has led the committee to the consideration of the extension of these years.

2. On matters specifically pertaining to Negroes, the conference recommends:

- (a) "That whenever Federal monies are allocated in aid of education to a state or territory which maintains separate educational facilities based on race or color, the amount of such funds expended for Negroes shall not represent a smaller proportion than the ratio which the Negro population bears to the total."

The committee, in surveying the operation of federal monies in the land-grant colleges, has found that monies have been allocated to all of the land-grant colleges, but that in the 17 states where land-grant colleges for Negroes are maintained, while \$1,190,000 in federal funds have been expended for the training of white students, no expenditures have been made for such training for Negro students.

It is our opinion that the broad benefits of the national land-grant acts and the supplementary acts have not yet been fully realized for the benefit of Negroes in the states which have the separate land-grant institutions. These institutions have wrought well in the limited funds. Cooperative agricultural and home economics extension programs are a part of the land-grant colleges for white students for which federal monies are appropriated. It is unfortunate that the larger part of these monies go for the educational benefits of whites. This sort of neglect prevents the Negro colleges from serving the rural Negroes of the South where the greatest need in agriculture and home economics seems to exist. There is failure also to provide specific trade vocations for Negroes, quite largely provided in white institutions from federal funds. The allotments under the National Vocational Education Act, approved February 23, 1917, the Smith-Hughes Fund, the George Dee Act, all show that the Negro student is still receiving inadequate benefits from these acts so that both in educational training and teacher training for vocational purposes the Negro suffers as indicated above.

The latest figures in Negro Adult Education training indicate that about 100,000 Negro adults have been taught to read and write during the last two years. Approximately 100,000 Negro adults have improved their educational status from barest literacy to the point where they can make use of the average tools for learning. Constructive service has been given in Adult Education through improving the employability of adults. The parent education projects and nursery units have been established to the number of 160. Considerable improvements have been made in health education through the conduct of classes for parents and adults in the community. An average of between four thousand and five thousand teachers have been employed annually in Adult Education and about one half of these numbers have been employed in the section where there has been greatest need - the South. In the summer of 1936, 1937 and 1938 conferences were held for Negro W. P. A. supervisors and teachers. There were about 6,000 persons in attendance at each of these conferences. Rehabilitation work for Negro educational workers has gone forward also with effective work being done and in this connection there has been an introduction of teaching materials dealing with Negro life.

In general we find that each agency of the Government which has been granted an opportunity to work in Negro education has been accomplishing remarkable results in the face of grave difficulties. time will permit a detailed discussion of each one of these agencies. These statements will be available to this Conference.

(b) "That if the former Harrison-Fletcher Bill be reintroduced in the Congress it be modified in accordance with certain provisions to guarantee the equitable sharing by Negroes in the benefits of the funds appropriated."

With its amendments which are well known to the members of this conference the committee has followed the proposed revisions of the bill and has at its disposal the latest as of October 30, 1938. It is probable that the bill will be reintroduced in the present Congress. Although, since the last meeting, decided progress has been made in maintaining the proposed Harrison-Fletcher bill in accordance with our recommendations, we note with regret that the bill was not finally enacted by Congress.

(c) "That federally supported or controlled educational institutions or agencies, including the Military Academy and the Naval Academy, be operated without discrimination."

The committee stands today just as it stood two years ago on this recommendation and there is no new development which would cause your committee to change this recommendation. We regret that no progress has been made in the realization of this recommendation.

(d) "That recreational and educational centers be provided as integral parts of all federal low-cost housing projects."

Some recreational centers have been established in several parts of the country, notably, one in Atlanta, another at Atlantic City and at other places in the country where federal low housing projects have been developed. In this respect some progress has been made but unfortunately some of these centers are limited as to funds. Libraries, for instance, in these projects have needed financial assistance and appeals to the community for books became necessary.

(e) "That all facilities, services and privileges in national parks, forests and other centers be made available to Negroes without discrimination."

Since these facilities are conceived of by your committee as being educational in purpose and practice, it was desirable that Negroes be permitted to make use of these facilities. We find that there are four areas in the state of Georgia where facilities for public parks have been established but no provision for Negroes in these parks have been made in spite of representations for this purpose and in spite of the fact that funds for these parks were obtained from the National Government. Negroes have not been unaware of the value attached to the public program as an educational center, however. A personal gift by a colored man of 100 acres for a park in Arkansas and

a deed of land by a group of colored persons in South Carolina for the purpose of a public park are commendable evidences of the interest of Negroes but this does not affect the exclusion policy with the use of federal funds and it does not lessen federal and state responsibility for the inclusion of Negro citizens in these facilities. We note with regret that Negroes are still excluded from these federal and national areas. The establishment of parks on an equal basis for all citizens is very desirable. The establishment of parks on separate bases seems to meet the need but it does not touch the large question of administration of all citizens to federal facilities.

(f) "That more work and recreational camps be provided for the youth of the nation and for under-privileged Negro women."

Your committee re-emphasizes its recommendation of last year because the need is still present for wider extension of recreation facilities for Negro women. Some camps have been provided in different parts of the country for Negro women in which the care of the home, and preparation of food, marketing, gardening, canning and sewing are taught in connection with the recreational program. This need, however, is very great and your committee reaffirms its recommendation of last year.

The most important happening in Negro education has been the decision of the Supreme Court, State of Missouri at the relation of Lloyd Gaines, petitioner, vs. S. W. Canada, Registrar of the University of Missouri and the Curators of the University of Missouri. This decision was rendered on December 12, 1938. While it is directed at the Law School of the University of Missouri its implications affect Negro education all along the line. Your committee has sensed several reactions to this decision in Negro life. First, a tendency to accept inadequate provisions within the state for graduate and professional education for Negroes through the creation of meager facilities in present state institutions for Negroes. A second tendency has been the proposal for the development of regional universities for whites and Negroes which might result in equitable provisions for the races. The third observation of your committee is that Negroes may not insist upon their constitutional rights in connection with this decision. The fourth observation is that in accepting the decision we accept the implications for separate education and overlook the possibilities of integration which are inherent in the tenets of American democracy. We believe that if this decision is followed up on the national and state levels that Negro education can be very greatly advanced through it.

In connection with the recommendations of the committee of last year several weaknesses have been manifested which indicate the lack of adequate cooperation with the recommendations of this committee on the part of organizations, national and state and municipal, at work in the field of Negro life. If this cooperation had been carried out more would have been accomplished in the execution of these recommendations. There are so few Negro advisory committees in the local communities that the practical operation of our recommendations has been greatly handicapped. In addition there has not been adequate integration of Negroes into the supervisory capacities and administrative agencies of the federal government dealing with Negro education. However, we have noted with approval the appointment of persons to the staff of the National Youth Administration and in the pre-school, adult education and recreation programs. This progress, nevertheless, has not been as extensive as your committee would hope.

In view of the pressure under which the committee has been working, we are aware that this report does not represent the most comprehensive survey of the two year period. Extension and amplification of it will be possible during the sessions which are to follow.

Respectfully submitted,

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND RECREATION

John W. Davis, Chairman
R. W. Bullock
James A. Atkins
Howard H. Long
F. D. Patterson
Charles H. Thompson
Charles H. Wesley
Doxey A. Wilkerson

SUMMARY STATEMENT
OF
THE EVALUATION COMMITTEE REPORTS

You have heard the reports of the four Evaluation Committees based upon careful study of the recommendations made by the Conference two years ago. We have studied these statements carefully since they were submitted yesterday afternoon. Further study will result in a careful analysis, but it is now apparent that there have been specific gains, some of them as the result of certain procedures and actions taken by the Federal Government. It is equally apparent that there is much that remains to be done.

Among our significant gains, we note the increased opportunity for employment and economic security resulting from the federal work relief program of such national agencies as the Works Progress Administration, the National Youth Administration and the Public Works Administration. We, who in the field of private industry, are proverbially the "last hired and the first fired" found some recognition of our intense and pressing need for wider work opportunity. Secondly, we have seen a lifting of the horizon of our youth through increased educational and recreational opportunity. Such Federal programs as student aid under NYA, Adult Education under WPA and the vocational training available in CCC camps brought the light of training to thousands of Negroes whose own economic resources would have held them in darkness, ignorance and dependence.

Then, we have tasted the delights of more healthful housing and living conditions. The filth of our enforced slums has felt the cleansing touch of the PWA Housing program and the United States Housing Authority. Social Security benefits and welfare services such as The Children's Bureau have brought new stability to our family life. The great masses of our people lost in the hopeless maze of farm tenancy see gleams of hope and guidance in the Farm Security and Farm Credit programs. Finally, that fundamental tenet of democracy emblazoned on the portico of the Supreme Court, "Equal justice under the Law," was given new meaning in the lives of Negroes and Negro youth when that high tribunal ruled that the provision of equal educational facilities was

one of the fundamental rights of the individual in a democratic state not to be abridged on account of race, color, or creed.

These distinctive gains have been in some degree effected by certain significant governmental techniques. We would emphasize the importance of the presence of a growing number of trained and competent Negro executives in administrative and policy-making federal positions, especially in the so-called "New Deal" agencies. When we sit at the planning board, we can be a part of the program from its inception and affect its very nature. We note the specific and adequate provision of extensive federal surveys of special Negro problems. We applaud the technique of the President's Advisory Committee on Education in including the Negro as an integral part of the report rather than in a separate minority statement, and in stipulating definite legislative guarantee for equitable Negro participation in the expenditure of federal funds for education. We would especially cite the administrative device of the NY A in requiring participation in school aid by minority groups in accordance with population ratios, and in setting up special funds for graduate study. Finally, we would especially point out the policy of the United States Housing Authority which, in addition to the staff of its Division of Race Relations, integrates technically trained Negroes into its Technical, Management, Auditing and Legal Divisions, and stipulates that, on construction projects a definite proportion of the payroll be designated for skilled and unskilled Negro labor.

These techniques and devices only point the way to other approaches. While our gains have been definite and distinct, there is much - very much - to be done. Our task has just begun. There is immediate need for:

Federal Anti-Lynching Legislation

Elimination of Discrimination in Federal Civil Service

Unrestricted Use of the Ballot

Continuation of an adequate and federally administered Work Relief Program

An expanded low-rent housing program

Extension of Social Security benefits to agricultural and domestic workers

Participation in the program of the Federal Housing Administration

Additional Policy-making positions

Equitable participation in the George-Deen Act for Industrial Education

Full participation in the apprenticeship training and vocational guidance program

A national health program

Continuation and extension of youth service programs.

These needs are but steps in our approach to the benefits and responsibilities of full American citizenship. America need have but little fear of subversive un-American activities and doctrines if our full energies are devoted to bringing the democratic ideal within the grasp of the lowliest citizen, regardless of race, color or creed. One of the great tragedies of American life has been and still is the denial of opportunity to a rising army of trained Negro youth. We are equipping them for service and then slamming the door of opportunity shut in their faces. They grow restless and may prove fertile ground for the seeds of resentment and of false political and economic doctrine. We express the hope of this conference that our recommendations may be considered in the light of a possible contribution to the aspirations of this group of young American people. By so doing we contribute not only to the strengthening of our own racial group, but to the cause of democracy. This concept was signalized when the President of the United States said recently to the Congress in his message on the State of the union, -"...the united strength of a democratic nation can be mustered only when its people, educated by modern standards to know what is going on and where they are going, have conviction that they are receiving as large a share of opportunity for development, as large a share of material success and of human dignity as they have a right to receive."

Mary McLeod Bethune, Chairman of the
Conference and Director of the
Division of Negro Affairs, NYA

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SECURITY

Introduction

It is not necessary for this conference again to make lengthy reference to the precarious social and economic position of the Negro population, except to point out that this position continues with slight abatement, in spite of the more or less substantial gains that are noted in these Precedings. The fact that 33% of the Negro population, as compared with 20% of the white population, is still dependent upon public relief is ample proof that unemployment continues among Negroes in severe disproportion to their numbers in the population.

In a situation so deeply rooted and arising out of so many diverse factors, it is evident that no single program of corrective action will be sufficient to remedy the defects that handicap us in the form and administration of governmental recovery programs. The conference acknowledges that many federal and state officials have become honestly concerned over this breakdown of democratic government and are introducing new personnel and new regulations in attempts to correct the conditions referred to above. The Conference deplores, on the other hand, continued efforts by many local officials to withhold from Negro citizens the benefits of projects planned by the Administration for the entire population - projects which are financed by all classes in the population.

The recommendations which are presented by the Committee on Social and Economic Security are designed to check discriminatory practices, and to support the efforts of the Federal Government to insure equitable distribution of benefits of its program of social and economic reform.

Participation in Administrative Functions

Basic to equitable participation by Negroes in the benefits of governmental programs is participation by Negroes in the policy-making and administrative functions of those programs. Two years ago this Conference noted the absence of Negroes in such capacities and since that time slight progress has been made. We repeat the recommendation made two years ago, and urge the appointment of Negroes to policy-making and administrative bodies, with specific reference to relief and recovery programs, including regional, state and local work projects, and relief

and commodity distribution programs. We urge moreover that the federal government use its influence with state and local governments to make similar appointment of Negroes to such responsible posts.

United States Employment Service

Continuance of disproportionately heavy unemployment among Negroes with no prospect of its conclusion, places public employment services in a place of extreme importance to Negro workers. According to estimates of the Social Security Board, 54.6% of Negro labor works in fields not covered by unemployment compensation. It is especially important, therefore, to Negro job applicants that adequate public employment services be maintained and kept free of racial discriminations. We urge that adequacy of service be further established by increased appropriation for the USES. The Conference notes with approval the steps that have been taken toward integrating qualified Negroes as staff members of the USES and many of its state affiliates, and urges the appointment of more Negroes to the field service of USES. The Conference also calls attention to many instances of rank injustice practiced by certain states in the appointment of their personnel and their placement activities. In such cases the Conference feels that federal funds are improperly used to perpetuate local policies of excluding Negroes from certain types of job opportunities. We recommend that the USES use its authority in disbursing funds to states so as to insure that federal subsidy shall not be used to the disadvantage of minority groups in the population, and that funds be withheld in extreme cases where state services are guilty of gross discrimination against Negroes in performance or placement activities.

Administration of Relief Funds.

No developments have occurred since the last Conference to cause this Committee to change from the attitude expressed at that time on the matter of federal vs. states control of work projects and relief administration. On the contrary, experience has shown us that relief administrators in many state and municipalities either lack sympathetic understanding of the problems of minority groups, or are desirous of preventing Negroes from equitable sharing of the benefits of relief programs. Under these conditions, it is apparent that federal control of relief funds furnishes the most practical safeguard for the protection of minority groups. The Committee deplors the

present trend in Congress toward state control of federal relief funds and debasing of existing relief standards. The Committee recommends that Congress be urged to increase, rather than decrease the amount of monies appropriated for WPA and other relief functions of the government. The Committee recommends moreover that no extension of state control of relief funds shall be made without careful safeguards insuring that all classes in the population shall have equitable participation in the benefits of such funds. We recommend that when federal grants of relief funds are made to states, they shall be made conditional upon such equal participation, the Federal Government reserving the right to withdrawal of grants should discrimination be employed by the state in question.

We recommend that the USES use its influence to aid in the appointment of Negroes to membership on state advisory or other governing boards of public employment services. We protest the unwillingness of public employment services to exert special effort on behalf of Negro job applicants who meet special handicaps in their search for employment. We feel it to be the responsibility of state employment services to educate employers regarding the existence and availability of Negroes qualified for all types of employment, and this responsibility cannot be performed through adoption of a "neutral" attitude. We recommend that the USES continue to impress upon local services the importance of adopting a positive policy in the matter of securing equal job opportunities for Negroes and other minority groups.

Social Security

The Conference endorses the principles and objectives of the Social Security Act, but calls attention to the fact that any social security program intended to meet the actual problem of social insecurity cannot be static in form or theoretical in its administration. Both form and administration must change frequently to be efficient in meeting current needs. The Conference endorses the recommendations made to the Social Security Board by the Social Security Advisory Council and approved by the President calling for inclusion, beginning in 1940, of farm and domestic workers in the provisions of the Social Security Act; monthly benefits to widows and dependent children; increased benefits for lower income groups; compulsory health insurance; amendment of the unemployment insurance provisions to include employers of one or more wage earners.

As a basis for more equitable distribution of the benefits of social security programs, the Committee recommends that all personnel in Federal-State programs be appointed through merit examination under laws similar to those of the Federal Civil Service. We call attention to the lack of Negro personnel in the national or any regional staff, and in all but two of the 372 field offices. Especially is this notable in the national office, where fundamental programs are made and policies shaped. We urge the extensive appointment of Negroes throughout the services, with especial attention to those areas where Negroes constitute a large proportion in the population and stand in especial need of the services of the Social Security program.

Consumer Education

With more than 50% of all Negroes now gainfully employed excluded from the benefits of the Federal Social Security program and the Wage-and-Hour Act, and with the general income of the Negro population at distressingly low levels, even in times of normal employment, it becomes necessary to protect the level of living for Negroes, as for other low-income groups, by not only increasing the wage level, but also by increasing the efficiency of utilization of the present wage. Both of these are means of increasing the economic welfare of the Negro worker and are supplementary, not competitive. We recommend, therefore, a program of consumer education, financed by the Federal and State Governments, looking toward cooperative developments with credit unions in the forefront.

Vocational Education, Guidance and Placement, and Apprenticeship Training

Technological growth, social and economic change, and consequent vocational maladjustment have increased the demands made by industry upon all workers and have intensified the problems of training workers for present-day employment. It is easily apparent that these problems are even more serious for Negro workers, and especially for Negro youth. It is, for instance, notorious that for all practical purposes such apprenticeship training as is now offered by, or in cooperation with trade unions is denied to Negroes; We recommend and urge:

1. That present programs of vocational guidance, education and placement, and programs of apprenticeship training be increased and further implemented:
 - a) By the appointment of adequate Negro personnel to all agencies of the Federal Government having to do with these aspects of the employment programs of the nation, and

- b) By the Federal Government using this personnel to effect proper representation of Negroes on all State and local administrative and policy-making agencies having to do with this work.
- c) And in view of the special needs of Negro youth for the facilities intended to be provided by the Apprentice Training Program, we recommend again that:
 - (1) That well qualified Negroes be appointed to membership on the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training, and
 - (2) That adequate and qualified Negro personnel be appointed to State Committees on Apprentice Training, and
 - (3) That State Advisory Committees, and such other State and local agencies, dealing with Apprentice Training include in their membership adequate qualified Negro personnel.

Wage and Hour Administration

The Conference heard with pleasure reports by the Wage and Hour Administrator of progress made by Negro labor under the Wage and Hour Act. We urge that the Administrator take such steps as are needed to verify or disprove accounts of loss of employment by Negroes because of evasion of the Act's provisions. We commend the first steps that have been taken toward the inclusion of Negroes in the Administration's personnel, and we urge early and adequate provision for more-widespread inclusion. Specifically we suggest the appointment of Negroes to such positions as attorneys, information persons, enforcement workers and the like.

Employment on Federal Work Contracts and Use of Federal Funds

The Conference views with concern the fact that as direct control of work projects has tended to shift from Federal Government to State and Municipality, there has been little provision in that shift for protecting the right of Negro workers to employment on public work contracts. The liquidation of the Housing Division of PWA, and the withdrawal of federal government from direct construction of low-cost housing, saw elimination of the federal provision for a "racial minimum quota" as a safeguard against racial discrimination.

Through USHA, not a few municipalities have been persuaded to include such provisions in their local regulations, notably and recently the city of Pittsburgh. We urge that the Federal Government continue its good offices in this direction, and that Negro citizens initiate pressure upon their state and municipal authorities to the end that enabling provisions be made against racial discrimination.

The conference urges even more extended protest against flagrant misuse of public funds that occurs in agencies administered directly by the Federal Government. We protest regulations of the Federal Housing Administration which prevent the guaranteeing of mortgages held by Negroes in so-called "white districts", or of those held by whites in so-called "Negro districts", for we hold such regulations to be using Federal funds to fix and freeze local residential patterns formed out of prejudice and unAmerican attitudes. The conference protests the policies of the TVA which have resulted in exclusion of Negroes from residence in the permanent model communities of TVA and from preferred types of employment therein. We recommend that protest against these and similar instances of misuse of Federal funds to perpetuate unAmerican attitudes be a continuing responsibility of the Federal Council of Negro Affairs.

Collective Bargaining

Protection for Negro labor in bargaining agreements between trade unions and employers remains an issue of paramount importance in 1939. The prospects for Negro workers within the ranks of unions have brightened considerably in the past two years, due to increased intelligence and militancy of Negro labor, growth of liberal forces within A.F. of L. unions and the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations with advanced racial policies and intelligent relations between white and Negro membership.

Anti-Negro discrimination, however, still remains in many unions and continues as a barrier against job opportunities for Negroes in vast areas of public and private employment. Connivance between railway unions and managements in southern States has resulted in steady decrease in number of Negroes employed by railways in that section, while they remain barred entirely from railway employment in many other sections of the country.

In absence of specific provision by the National Labor Relations Act against such practices, two courses are open to Negroes to secure protection of their right to collective bargaining. The Conference notes passage by the Pennsylvania

Legislature of a labor relations act which barred from protection of that act those unions that discriminate against workers on account of race or religion. Similar action is urged upon other legislatures, and the support of Negro voters should be rallied to secure such action. The Conference recommends moreover that Negro workers who find themselves deprived of bargaining rights and trade union membership by unions which bargain with employers under the National Labor Relations Act shall test the readiness and ability of the National Labor Relations Board to intervene in their behalf by making protest to the Board against deprivation of their rights. We recommend also that the National Labor Board recognize the special problems and needs faced by Negro labor in their relations with employers and trade unions, by appointing capable Negroes as attorneys and in other posts where they may increase the effectiveness of the Board and the protection it accords Negro labor.

We reaffirm support of a minimum wage of \$1500 and a maximum of 30-hour week for Federal and district employees.

Domestic Workers

The problem of Negro domestic workers in the United States, affecting as it does more than 85% of all Negro women workers, is one which does, and will continue, to demand immediate action by the Federal Government. Their wages, hours, and standards of living, even lower than those for white workers, in both rural and urban communities offer a challenge to American ideals of social legislation.

Immediately, we believe it to be necessary for Congress to enact legislation, establishing minimum standards for these workers, protecting them with adequate social security and workmen's compensation legislation and guaranteeing to them the right to organize and bargain collectively. We believe further that the United States Employment Service, and Federal relief agencies should establish policies to prevent assignment to domestic jobs below certain decent wage and labor standards, and to provide adequate relief to such domestic workers as cannot secure jobs at wages sufficient to provide a decent standard of living. It has already been indicated that these workers should and must be included in the benefits of the Social Security Board.

It is further urged that the Federal Government exert the influence and service of its various agencies to provide education, information, and support in the technique and implements of trade union organization in the interest of domestic workers; and further that similar assistance be provided in the areas of consumers education and cooperatives to assist these groups in the development of collective action in their own interest.

Lester B. Granger, Chairman

COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SECURITY

Members

Mr. Samuel A. Allen
Miss Thyra Edwards
Mr. C. A. Franklin
Mr. Floyd Covington
Mr. A. L. Foster
Mr. Lemuel Foster
Mr. John Hope II
Mr. Joseph H. James
Elder L. Michaux
Mr. J. S. Mitchell
Mrs. Carita Roane
Mr. Edward Lewis
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CHAIRMAN

Mr. Lester Granger

EDUCATION AND RECREATION

PREAMBLE

Democracy depends for its survival not on armed forces but on the intelligent devotion of its citizenry. This makes public education a primary function in the life of the State. In public education the democratic principle can admit of no more than one system and one standard in any single State. We acknowledge that in the case of *Gaines vs. University of Missouri* the United States Supreme Court has established a new ethical standard for public education by holding that each State must offer all its citizens substantially equal educational opportunities within its borders and that the claim of the individual Negro against the State for a right to share in the educational facilities offered to white citizens cannot be denied even in the face of the lack of applications from Negroes for these privileges. We appreciate this declaration of the United States Supreme Court, but we will never be satisfied until substantial equality of opportunity is interpreted to mean identity of opportunity. The conference believes that there should be only one standard of public rights, duties and privileges for all American citizens regardless of race, creed or color. We urge the Federal Government to take the lead in obtaining for its Negro citizens equality of opportunity with all other citizens of the United States.

While we view with indignation, along with the rest of the citizens of the United States, the treatment of the Jewish minority in Germany and Italy, we ourselves cannot be unmindful of the results of the indirect system of proscription within the United States which affects seriously its Negro minority. Since it is the Federal Government, and not the States, which is immediately concerned with this minority problem abroad, it is imperative that the Federal Government exercise its offices in protecting its citizens at home prior to its insistence upon the protection of foreigners abroad. When there is racial segregation in all of our departments, divisions and branches as a national government and when it exists under the authority of the national government, it must be apparent that foreign governments, which are criticized for the similar treatment of their minorities, must look with considerable questioning upon our appeals to justice for the minorities within their borders. In this respect it is apparent that charity and love should begin at home. In order that these objects may be obtained and that America may become in reality a land of the free through the assistance of the Federal Government, we recommend:

1. That there should be an equitable distribution of Federal funds to all of the States so that Negro citizens may be benefitted by these funds as well as white citizens. To this end we suggest that appropriate legislation be recommended and enacted that wherever Federal funds are allocated to aid educational activities in the State which maintains separate educational facilities based upon race or color, the amount of these funds expended on educational facilities for Negroes shall bear direct relation to the ratio which the Negro population bears to the total population of the State. In no case should this appropriation be smaller than this ratio. Such legislation should apply to all existing funds and should constitute the condition in all future legislation appropriating funds in aid of education in a State.

In this connection, we desire to point out that with the exception of the Morrill-Nelson Act and the Bankhead-Jones Act, (Sec. 22), no permanent grants to a State since the Civil War have been made with special provision for an equitable division of funds between Negroes and whites. It has thus occurred that Negroes have never shared equitably in such federally aided educational programs and services as agricultural extension (Smith-Lever Act of 1914 and its extension); agricultural research (Hatch Act of 1887, Adams Act, 1906, Purnell Act, 1925); vocational education (Smith-Hughes Act, 1917, George-Deen Act, 1936, etc.); and vocational rehabilitation of the physically handicapped (National Vocational Rehabilitation Act, 1920, etc.). By contrast to these acts, the Morrill-Nelson and Bankhead-Jones funds for resident instruction in land-grant colleges are divided equitably between white and Negro institutions. These are the only Federal education laws which require "a just and equitable" distribution of the funds between the races. Further, full reports on the distribution of these funds, by race, are published annually. There are no such reports in case of funds for agricultural extension, vocational education and vocational rehabilitation.

We respectfully request:

(1) that, as in case of the Second Morrill Act of 1890, all other Federal laws authorizing grants to States for education be amended so as to require a "just and equitable" division of the funds between the white and Negro population in States maintaining separate schools;

(2) that this equitable division of the Federal funds be not accompanied by a proportionate decrease in State and local funds devoted to Negro Education; and

(3) that government officials who are charged with the responsibility of compiling and publishing Federal reports covering appropriations or grants to the States in aid of education, be required to show in such annual reports the extent which whites and Negroes share in the benefits of the appropriations and grants in those States maintaining by law the separation of the races in education.

2. That Negro committees and individuals be interested in cooperating in their local communities in securing the practical operation of the benefits of these allocation of funds. This cooperation should extend to all organizations, national, State and municipal. The Federal Government could aid in this cooperative enterprise through the appointment of sympathetic and fair-minded officials.

3. That opportunity be granted to Negro youth for participation in the government aviation program so that there will be trained aviation pilots and mechanics. We respectfully suggest that Negroes have been interested in this field and have had pilots and mechanics who have obtained licenses and have become efficient, in spite of the grave difficulties before them. Some of our institutions have already manifested interest in this field and some of their campus sites offer the facilities for efficient training. Certainly if 20,000 American youths should be trained in this field, there should be a number of Negroes so trained in the proportion which their numbers bear to the total population.

4. The implications of the decision of the Supreme Court in the University of Missouri case seem to be that the Federal Government is interested in the educational opportunities of all of its citizens and concerned that they should be placed upon equitable bases. We can see that there may be developed tendencies, even on the part of Negroes, to accept inadequate facilities for graduate and professional training for Negro youth by the establishment of adjuncts to present State institutions for Negroes. We respectfully urge the citizens in the several communities to stand with the leaders in Negro Education to prevent this make-shift development. Your committee believes that the Negroes of the country are going to insist upon their rights as citizens under this decision. If they follow up the decision, Negro Education can be effectively advanced all along the line. We do not believe that they are going to accept the implications of this decision for separate education upon an unequal basis, such as is existent in so many of the States at present, and at the same time overlook the possibilities of integration which are inherent in the tenets of American Democracy. It is conceivable

that there are some universities in some of the States which could be attended by Negroes without any affects upon the present social order. This has been the experience at the University of Maryland Law School, where a young Negro later entered the University, from which he had been excluded, and graduated in June 1938.

5. That the expenditure of Federal funds for military training in the land-grant colleges be allocated equitably for Negro and white youth. In the seventeen States where land-grant colleges for Negroes are maintained Federal funds are largely expended annually on military training for white students and little if any expenditure is made for such training for Negroes. Negroes are as loyal to their country as any other citizens and are ready to expend their blood for their flag. To this end they should be trained rather than left untrained so that the time of emergency may find them prepared for the places which they may be called upon to fill.

6. That Experiment Stations for agricultural research now maintained by the National Government shall grant an opportunity for Negroes, as well as for whites, to secure the benefits which have been offered. These stations are frequently located at State colleges and their emphasis is placed upon Agriculture and Sociology, in which Negroes as well as whites are intensely interested. Negroes should be employed on the research staffs of these stations and there should be the definite allocation of funds to the Negro State colleges for research. This is being done in some State colleges. It seems desirable that there should be equalization of opportunity in this respect as in the others noted above. It is known that annually \$90,000 of Federal money is voted to each State for this purpose. It is not known that none of this money goes to Negroes. It must be manifest that Federal funds should not be disbursed so that only a part of the citizens receive benefits from them. Moreover, cooperative agricultural and home extension programs are parts of the projects, for which Federal funds are appropriated, to land-grant colleges for white students. It is unfortunate that so large a part of these monies go for the educational benefits of whites alone. This sort of neglect prevents the Negro colleges from serving the rural Negroes of the South where the greatest need in agriculture and home economics seems to exist.

7. Negroes should receive opportunity to engage in training in forestry which is also frequently connected with the State colleges and maintained by Federal funds. We observe again that Negroes receive no part of this training and their

colleges receive no part of these funds. This is a neglect and an inequality which the National Government should not continue to sponsor.

8. That Negro recreation specialists be appointed in the Children's Bureau, the Tennessee Valley Authority and in the Division of Community Organization for Leisure.

9. That the Harrison-Thomas-Fletcher Bill be reintroduced in the Congress and so modified as to provide for the equitable sharing of the benefits of the funds appropriated and apportioned under the bill. We endorse the recommendations which have been made through the National Coordinating Committee and the Advisory Committee for Education. We recommend that cooperation with these committees in following up the bill for enactment into law.

10. That larger appropriations be made to the National Youth Administration. This administrative agency, through Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, has done a wonderful work in Negro Education. Its work could be more extensive and useful if there were larger funds at its disposal. There are Negro youths who could be helped and who are not helped at present. The demands upon the funds are very great. Projects are received at the office which cannot be aided because of the lack of funds. Many institutions for white students have large amounts to aid them in the pursuit of their education. This is not true in Negro institutions. We depend largely upon the Federal monies granted through the National Youth Administration. The age limit of twenty-five years for graduate students is an obstacle to the grant of aid to a large number of Negro students. We respectfully request that the age limit be extended to thirty years.

11. We recommend that there be an increase of the educational camps and facilities for the Civilian Conservation Corps and that Negro officers and personnel be increased. We also recommend that there shall be not only assistants upon the junior technical grade but also upon the senior technical grade. We recommend further that there should be, as soon as possible, a Negro personnel in these camps and that they be trained to take their places in the leadership of the camps. We are opposed to making these camps military units but we believe that they will have marked effect in the training of a better citizenship.

12. That all facilities, services, privileges and employment opportunities in national parks, forests and other recreational centers, and in all other parks, forests and

recreational centers under the supervision or control of the Federal Government, or to the creation or maintenance of which the Federal Government gives any financial assistance, shall be made available to Negroes without discrimination. It is also recommended that in the administration of the National Park Service, Negro representatives be employed in executive and administrative capacities.

13. (a) That more work and recreational camps be provided for the youth of the nation, without discrimination as to race, color, creed, or sex; that special attention be given to providing work and recreational camp facilities for underprivileged Negro women; and that qualified Negro women be employed in such camps in administrative and executive positions.

14. That all federally supported or controlled educational institutions or service schools, including the Military Academy and the Naval Academy, be maintained without discrimination in the admission of students on the ground of race or color.

15. That in all departments, divisions and branches of the Federal Government and in State and municipal agencies which administer or supervise educational activities with Federal funds qualified Negroes be appointed to executive and administrative positions as well as subordinate ones in all central and local offices.

16. That Works Progress Administration funds for adult education be spent in more equitable proportions for the education of Negro adults. The experiences of Negroes with such "New Deal" educational programs as W.P.A. adult education and N.Y.A. student aid has been much more satisfactory than with most permanentfederally-aided programs. Administrative regulations have insisted upon a proportionate division of funds and services between the races. It should be noted, however, especially in case of adult education, that the relative need of Negroes is greater than a mere proportionate distribution of funds would satisfy. Equity would call for proportionately larger expenditures on adult education for Negroes in response to the disproportionately low educational status of the Negro population.

17. That a continuation committee be appointed by this conference so that the objectives of this conference indicated in its recommendations may be attained.

John W. Davis, Chairman

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND RECREATIONMembers

Mr. Ernest Attwell
 Mr. Willett R. Banks
 Mr. William H. Bell
 Mr. F. D. Bluford
 Mr. Sterling Brown
 Mr. Felton G. Clark, Jr.
 Dr. M. S. Davage
 Mr. Carrington Davis
 Mr. John W. Davis
 Mr. C. W. Florence
 Mr. W. A. Fountain
 Mr. Richard S. Grossley
 Mrs. Julia West Hamilton
 Mr. Leslie P. Hill
 Mr. David D. Jones
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 Dr. William Stuart Nelson
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 Dr. Sherman Scruggs
 Mr. James E. Shepard
 Dr. Charles Thompson
 Mr. H. Councill Trenholm
 Mr. Eugene Clark
 Dr. J. S. Clark
 The Reverend E. L. Harrison

Report read by Dr. Charles Wesley

J. F. Drake
 Mr. H. L. Trigg
 Mr. W. R. Valentine
 Mr. J. B. Watson
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CHAIRMAN

Mr. John W. Davis

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON FARM TENANCY AND RURAL PROBLEMS

The Committee is in general accord with the provisions and purposes of the Bankhead Act and the program of the Farm Security Administration. We find, however, that there are several ways in which the services of this agency as well as the services of other federal agencies serving agriculture can be measurably improved so far as the participation of the Negro is concerned.

Membership in State and County Committees

A democratic administration of the provisions of the Bankhead Act would indicate the equitable inclusion of all segments of the population in the benefits accruing from and the carrying out of the provisions of the act.

In many states and counties in the South, the percentage of Negroes in the total farm population as well as in the farm-tenant population, unquestionably warrants the inclusion of Negroes in the membership of State and County Farm-Tenant Committees. By the same token there should be inclusion of Negroes on local Acreage Allotment Committees of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, or any other local committees for the administering of federal programs where Negroes are vitally concerned.

We respectfully request the Secretary of Agriculture, as representative of the Federal Government, to remedy the undemocratic practice now prevailing in which Negroes do not receive appointment on these committees.

Additional Negro Personnel in Rehabilitation Work

It is only within the past few months that any appreciable number of Negro employees has been added to the staff of farm and home supervisors of the Farm Security Administration. There are approximately 50,000 Negro farm families who are rehabilitation clients, and most of these desire the more sympathetic service of members of their own race. This is especially true in regard to the more intimate relationships which this work requires if it is to be adequately carried out.

We recommend that immediate steps be taken to enlarge the personnel to the extent that there will be at least one Negro farm management supervisor and one Negro home management supervisor in each county where the number of Negro clients represents an appreciable part of the total.

Negro Administrative, Clerical and Technical Personnel in Regional Offices

In the administration of the several agencies having to do with the problems of the rural south, the tendency to decentralize these activities and organize under regional, state and county direction has resulted in an inequitable participation of Negroes in clerical, administrative and fiscal positions.

In a few instances Negro messengers and custodial workers have been employed but the doors have been closed to clerks, stenographers, typists, bookkeepers, accountants, technicians and other white collar workers.

We recommend that steps be taken to secure the employment of an equitable proportion of such workers in regional and county offices.

Provision for Negro Rural Information Officials

One of the greatest handicaps to full participation of Negro farmers in the government services is that they receive very little information regarding them. What information they do receive is often secondhand, inaccurate or tardy. We recommend that the responsibility of advising Negroes of government loans and other services be vested in state or regional Negro information officials whose duty it would be to see that Negroes in their respective areas receive the correct information, promptly. These services might well be located at and developed in cooperation with the Negro Land-Grant Colleges.

Protection of the Interests of Farm Laborers

As the result of forces growing out of prolonged agricultural depression and changes in the organization of many plantations (in some cases, apparently, as result of federal legislation) there is occurring a more or less rapid shift from tenancy to day labor, in many sections of the cotton belt. In these areas we are faced with a growing agricultural proletariat of landless, propertyless and often casual laborers, of which Negroes are a majority.

To a considerable extent this represents total displacement of families and unemployment.

It is recommended that the Federal Government make careful studies of this situation with a view to providing

a program for the security and protection of these people.

As laborers the principles of minimum wages and of organization for collective bargaining should be extended to these people as the same principles have been extended to other types of labor.

Revision of Landlord-Tenant Laws and Lease Contracts

Present studies of the landlord-tenant laws of the various southern states show that legislation in this regard is archaic, inadequate, inconsistent and weighted heavily with protection of the landlord as opposed to the tenant.

Landlord-Tenant contracts in the southern states are of a loose, oral variety and last only for one year in most cases, with no assurance or renewal.

Laws regarding responsibility for repairs, removal of the implements, freedom of cultivation and disposal of the crop, control of the person of the tenant, and in regard to landlord liens are generally designed to protect the interests of the landlord.

A few states, notably Oklahoma, Texas and North Carolina, have taken some steps toward liberalizing and rationalizing their landlord-tenant laws.

We recommend that everything possible be done to promote legislative reforms in all the southern states in this regard, along the lines suggested in the report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy.

We further recommend that states receiving federal funds intended to improve tenancy conditions, be required to provide guarantees of more adequate and just landlord-tenant legislation within a stated period. It is further recommended that federal funds be withheld from states failing to meet this requirement at the end of the period indicated.

The Importance of Education in Any Program for Rural Improvement

Any broad program of agricultural and tenure improvement must be accompanied by an adequate and thorough-going educational program.

The Negro farmers living largely in states of low educational standards suffer most because of racial differentials in the amounts appropriated for education in these states.

This is not the committee on education, but because of the closeness of their relationship we could not omit statements regarding some of the matters of education dealing directly with the Negro farmer.

1. The allocation of Smith-Lever funds as handled by the Cooperative Extension Service is by no means in proportion to the needs or the numbers of the Negro rural population. The result is that the amount and quality of the county agent service for Negroes lags behind that for whites. Many counties with heavy Negro populations are not served by county agents. Often a Negro county agent is supposed to cover from three to five counties.

One very good reason why Negroes do not participate equally in these services is that Negroes have no part in the formation of policies or the administration of these funds.

We recommend that the Secretary of Agriculture do everything in his power to see to it that the officials of the Negro Land Grant Colleges are represented on the State committees or boards which have to do with the allocation and placement of the funds under the Smith-Lever Act in the various States, where such colleges exist. In this manner a more equitable distribution and participation of Negro farmers in this very important service would be guaranteed.

2. The number of rural projects of the National Youth Administration, which have been established for Negroes is woefully inadequate, and suffers by comparison with NYA projects for white youth and with both Negro and white NYA projects in urban districts.

The general educational and developmental opportunities for Negro youth are considerably poorer in rural than in urban areas.

We therefore recommend that the work of the NYA among rural Negroes be greatly expanded.

Provision for Recreational Facilities

There is practically a complete lack of recreational facilities for the rural Negro. This whole question of

recreation is vitally important in any lasting program of rural improvement. Ways and means must be found to make rural life more attractive to the better minds and more active personalities among our rural youth.

We recommend the present program of the FSA, of setting up community center school buildings and other recreational facilities. We urge that other agencies serving rural youth turn their attention to this problem. It is important that the health and energies of rural people be conserved and developed.

Charles S. Johnson, Chairman

COMMITTEE ON FARM TENANCY AND PROBLEMS OF RURAL NEGRO

Members

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 Mrs. Katherine Helm
 Mrs. Mayme Mason Higgins
 Mrs. Eva B. Holmes
 Mrs. Marion Hubbard
 Mr. B. F. Hubert
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 Mr. Cornelius King
 Mrs. Jennie B. Moton
 Dr. Robert R. Moton
 The Reverend R. M. Williams
 The Reverend W. A. C. Hughes

CHAIRMAN

Dr. Charles S. Johnson

Mrs. Constance Daniel read the report

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

Security of Life and Equal Protection Under the Law

We believe that the test of democracy in America is its ability to solve the problem of its minority groups. We applaud the condemnation by Americans of persecution of minority groups abroad. But we call attention of these Americans to the fact that oppression of minorities at home must, at the same time, be as vigorously condemned and abolished if we are to help correct injustices elsewhere. We are encouraged to note that American public sentiment is showing signs of becoming more alive to the problems of race prejudice in America as manifested by the recent conference on human welfare at Birmingham, Alabama.

LYNCHING -

The need for a Federal anti-lynch law such as the Wagner-Van Nuys-Capper-Gavagan Bill is as great as ever. The States have neither demonstrated ability to cope with mobs nor any honest disposition to punish lynchers. It has become manifest that without limitation of debate in the Senate it will be practically impossible to secure a vote. Therefore, failure of any Senator to vote for cloture must be considered an unfriendly act. We call upon all true friends of democracy in both public and private life to wage an active fight for the passage of this needed legislation.

We express appreciation to those legislators in the 75th Congress who so ably and courageously worked for anti-lynching legislation.

DISCRIMINATION IN THE ARMED FORCES

It is freely predicted that war may break out in Europe within the next year. It is not unlikely that America may be drawn into that conflict. Yet, in spite of this threat to our country, discrimination and segregation of Negro citizens in the armed forces of the United States are rampant. In the Navy, Negroes can serve only in menial capacities. In the Army even the Negro regiments have been broken up and reduced to inactive combat units chiefly performing custodial and personal services. Even in the unprecedented expansion of the air service now being put into effect, Negroes to date have been wholly excluded. We call upon the President, as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of our government, to appoint a commission of inquiry, whose membership shall include Negroes, to make an examination of the present status of the Negro in

the armed forces and to make specific recommendations for his integration into all of the armed forces without discrimination or segregation.

THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

This conference urges speedy amendment by the 76th Congress of the Social Security Act to include within the benefits of that legislation, domestic, agricultural and casual workers.

THE WAGES AND HOURS ACT

We urge amendment of the Wages and Hours Act to include agricultural and casual laborers who sorely need the benefits of that legislation but who are now excluded from the provisions of that Act.

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT

We approve of the protection of the rights of the workers as guaranteed by the Wagner Labor Relations Act. We suggest that the safe-guards be maintained but we urge that the law be strengthened by an amendment providing that no labor union shall be recognized as the bargaining agency for workers if that union bars from membership workers on account of race, creed, or color.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

This conference urges that there be included in the Harrison-Thomas-Larrabee bill for Federal aid to education in the several States, specific provisions to insure equitable distribution of Federal funds in those States where Negroes are required to attend separate schools.

CIVIL RIGHTS IN FEDERAL TERRITORIES

In view of the fact that Negroes are notoriously discriminated against in the matter of civil rights in the District of Columbia, we urge upon Congress the passage of civil rights legislation to apply to the District of Columbia and all other Federal territories.

DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC CARRIERS

We urge amendment by the Congress of the Inter-State Commerce Act to prohibit discrimination on public carriers on account of race or color.

We strongly urge that all Federal financial aid whether it be in the form of loans, subsidies, grants, air mail contracts, or in any other form be withdrawn from or denied to railroads, air lines, steamship lines, bus companies, or any other public carriers which discriminate in any fashion on account of race, creed, or color.

DISFRANCHISEMENT

We urge upon the Congress enactment of a new Corrupt Practices Act which would declare primary elections to be an integral part of the election process.

Such legislation should prohibit placing of the name of any political party on the official ballot in a general election if that party in its primary, party convention, or other nominating machinery, prohibited participation of any otherwise qualified citizen on account of race, creed, or color.

We further urge legislation barring the placing of the name of any candidate on the official ballot if he has been nominated in a primary election, convention, or other nominating machinery from which otherwise qualified citizens have been excluded on account of race, creed or color.

This conference hails the rapidly growing independence and power of discrimination of the Negro vote particularly in the 17 pivotal States in which today the Negro vote is potentially the balance of power. It urges upon Negro voters in these and other States, greater unselfishness, independence and intelligence in the use of the ballot not only for the attainment of specific objectives desired by Negroes but for the general welfare of all Americans.

SEGREGATION BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

This conference notes with alarm and vigorously condemns the attitude of certain Federal agencies such as the Federal Housing Administration and the Tennessee Valley Authority in requiring segregation in Federal financed projects where, in many instances, Negro and white Americans have lived together in amity for generations. We insist that this establishment of patterns of segregation be speedily eliminated. If these agencies do not desist from these practices we urge an exhaustive investigation by committees of the Congress.

DISCRIMINATION OF FEDERAL FINANCED PROJECTS

We regret that Congress has not as yet enacted legislation to prohibit discrimination on projects financed by the

Federal Government, through inclusion of clauses in all contracts to prohibit such discrimination on account of race or color. Though some progress has been made administratively in development of technique of procedure to this end by the Public Works Administration, the United States Housing Authority and the National Youth Administration, we urge Congress to extend such procedure by legislative enactment applicable to all projects financed in whole or in part by the Government.

POLL TAX

This conference urges speedy abolition of the use of the Poll Tax as a means of disfranchising not only Negro citizens in southern States, but more than 5,000,000 white citizens of those States as well. At a period when democracy is imperiled throughout the world, the ballot remains one of the chief bulwarks of protection of the democratic process. We urge removal of all restrictions, except tests of fitness fairly applied, upon the use of the ballot by Negro and white Americans.

Walter White, Chairman

COMMITTEE ON CIVIL LIBERTIES AND POLITICAL SUFFRAGE

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 Mr. Max Yergan

CHAIRMAN

Mr. Walter White

Report from Committee on Youth and Its Problems

Rapid social and technological advances and changing economic conditions have resulted in an ever-widening period between the time young persons leave school or college to the day they find employment. Out of this long period of idleness by twenty million American youth between 16 and 25 years of age while awaiting their turn as workers, has sprung the American youth problem in its present form.

While the problems of the lack of opportunity to complete an education, inadequate vocational guidance and vocational training, job seeking, handicapped by lack of work experience and increased leisure unmet by a proportionate increase of recreational opportunities are common to all youth, they are a thousand times more complex and difficult for Negro youth. For approximately two and one-half millions of Negro youth between 16 and 25 years of age, these specific youth problems are intensified by inequality of opportunity occasioned by racial discrimination.

We, therefore, commend this conference for its recognition of these special problems of Negro youth and for its inclusion this year of a committee to evaluate them and to make recommendations for their alleviation.

The National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps have made material contributions to the well being of Negro youth. While we heartily approve the purposes and objectives of these agencies, on the basis of an evaluation of their present effectiveness for Negro youth, we make the following recommendations:

Reaching Youth In Need

We recommend that the NYA be converted into a permanent federal youth service agency and that the laws of eligibility governing it be modified to include youth of non-relief status on the basis of need.

Integration of Negro Youth in NYA

We reaffirm the vital necessity of a thorough integration of Negro youth into the program of the National Youth Administration. We urge the continuance of the effort to provide for the appointment of Negro Administrative Assistants in all states where there is an appreciable Negro population, to insure this integration.

In view of our unequivocal opposition to a sliding scale of wages based upon race alone, we recommend that salaries in the National Youth Administration be standardized for administrative personnel, Negro and white alike.

We further recommend that the practice of employing Negro State staff persons under the title of "Supervisors" be discontinued and that they be called Assistant State Directors, or Administrative Assistants.

In view of the fact that there is prevalent a disproportionate ratio of Negro administrative personnel, we recommend that these Negro administrative assistants be given an adequate staff to perform the work of the Division of Negro Affairs in the several states.

Guidance and Placement

1. We recommend that Negro youth be given the opportunity to fully participate in the existing vocational guidance and junior placement services of the National Youth Administration. We further recommend that this program be extended to adequately provide for the vocational guidance and placement needs of youth in those localities where they do not now exist.

2. We urge that the Federal Government control the National Youth Administration and the Junior Placement Service of the United States Employment Service, to the extent that the equal benefits of this service will be received by Negro youth throughout the country.

3. We further recommend that this same junior placement service as well NYA Vocational Guidance Program include Negro personnel to give special consideration to job placement problems of Negro youth. Such Negro staff members shall have the same status as other workers performing the same duties.

4. In view of the fact that industry restricts occupational opportunities for Negro youth, and since the National Youth Administration is increasingly interested in the integration of youth in private employment, we recommend that a nationally representative committee be appointed by the Division of Negro Affairs of the National Youth Administration to investigate occupational trends and employment opportunities.

Expanded Program of the NYA

We recommend that the national office of the National Youth Administration give particular consideration

to the inclusion of Negro youth in the development of the expanded programs now operating on a regional and national basis.

There is today an increased interest in national defense. Heretofore, Negroes have been discriminated against by the army, navy, marine corps and aviation forces supposedly because they lacked sufficient skills. The youth committee, cognizant of the President's recent recommendation that an aviation training program be established, urges that definite steps be taken to insure the inclusion of Negro youth, Negro staff and supervisory personnel in all phases of the training program. We believe that this professional and mechanical experience will undoubtedly prove to be of inestimable value in future technological developments both public and private. Some such training centers are already in existence. We wish to make the following recommendations regarding them:

1. That provisions be made for the full participation of Negro youth in the NYA regional training projects for metal arts and crafts, auto mechanics and aeronautical mechanics at Charleston, West Virginia and Algiers, Louisiana.
2. That while Negro youth are included in the resident training projects at Quoddy, Maine a larger Negro youth participation should be secured.
3. That upon the satisfactory completion of training courses in metal arts and crafts, auto mechanics, and aeronautical mechanics, Negro youth be given equal opportunity to secure work in public and private enterprises requiring such skills.
4. That Negro representation be included on the President's Advisory Committee on Aviation.

Apprentice Training

Since very little authentic data are available on Negro participation in the federal apprentice training program operating in and with the cooperation of the local communities, we recommend that the various federal advisers on Negro affairs in Washington give care and study to this problem. Further, insomuch as earlier experiences have indicated gross discriminations against Negro youth, either by excluding them

altogether or by including them in a type of indentured employment, we make the following recommendations:

1. That a Negro representative be appointed to the present federal committee on apprentice training.
2. That Negro representation be included on all state and local committees on apprenticeship.
3. That due caution be exercised to prevent the federal government from providing funds for furthering the apprentice training program in cooperation with trade and labor unions that exclude Negroes from the benefits of apprentice training and practice.

Civilian Conservation Corps

We recommend that the Civilian Conservation Corps be a permanent agency of the Federal Government and that there be an increase in the appropriation for its continued development.

We urge that there be an increase in the colored administrative officers, reserve officers and technical personnel in the Civilian Conservation Corps camps and on the ROTC in high schools and colleges.

We recommend that Negro personnel be integrated in the selective agencies and also in the technical agencies, i.e., the Soil Conservation and the Forest Services of the Department of Agriculture and the National Park Service of the Interior Department.

We recommend the establishment of interracial CCC camps. We condemn the practice of establishing separate CCC camps in states where there is no legislation prohibiting interracial grouping, and therefore urge the abolition of this practice which is in effect the extension of segregation with federal approval.

Education in Cooperatives

We recommend that the NYA extend its program of giving education in cooperatives. In so much as cooperatives already in existence at the various resident training centers have generally proved successful, we therefore recommend the establishment of additional cooperative projects along other lines.

Health Education

We recommend that the United States Public Health Service in its present and expanding program for urban and rural youth be administered without racial discrimination and based solely on health needs. To insure the successful carrying out of this recommendation we urge adequate Negro representation on the administrative staff.

In view of the fact that sex education plays an important part in the transition from immaturity to maturity, and in the preparation of individuals for marriage, we recommend that the federal government take steps to insure adequate sex education for youth through the provision of trained health education workers to be loaned to the states much in the same way as are the consultants in the venereal disease control program of the United States Public Health Service.

Follow-up

We urge that a continuation committee on Special Youth Problems be appointed to help follow through on the recommendations made at this conference. We further recommend that there be adequate youth representation on this committee.

COMMITTEE ON YOUTH AND ITS PROBLEMSMEMBERS

Miss Marjorie Baltimore	Miss Alida P. Banks
Mr. J. Percy Bond	Mr. Charles P. Browning
Mr. Willard L. Brown	Mr. Henry Lee Carpenter
Mr. Emmett Collins	Mrs. John W. Bundrant
Mr. John Doggett	Dean L. K. Downing
Mr. Robert Elzy	Miss Frances Granton
Mr. Edward Goin	Mr. Howard Deas
Mr. Stanley Jackson	Mrs. Grace Jackson
Mrs. Sadie G. Mays	Mr. Herbert Mack
Mrs. F. O. Miller	Mrs. Grace McCard
Dr. J. H. Robinson	Miss Pauline Redmond
Mr. Edward R. Rodriguez	Mr. Elder Russell
Mrs. Venice Spragg	Mr. William Shell
Miss Margaret Ostrc v	Miss Alice Stamps
Mrs. Claudia McConnell	Mr. Andrew J. Simmons
Mr. William A. Smith, Jr.	Mr. Edward V. Taylor
Mr. Rufus S. Watson	Mr. William Vernon Shields
Mr. Edward Strong	

CONSULTANTS

Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown	Mr. Edgar G. Brown
Dr. Frank S. Horne	Mr. R. O'Hara Lanier
Mr. Ira De A Reid	Mr. Ralph W. Bullock

CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Juanita Jackson Mitchell

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT

Civil and Non-Civil Service

We take the position that all Federal agencies and all projects financed in whole or in part by Federal money should be administered without any discrimination as to race or color, but solely on the basis of efficiency.

CIVIL SERVICE:

We favor the wider extension of the Civil Service in the field of Government employment and the appointment to positions in all accepted administrative categories on the basis of competitive examinations.

We recommend that the use of the photograph on the application for the Civil Service Examination be eliminated, and that in its stead identification be made by finger prints or other means which have no application to race.

We recommend that appointments under the Civil Service be made strictly in order of rank of eligibility, abolishing the now discretionary power which an appointing officer has to choose among the three highest candidates certified to him.

We advocate that all Civil Service lists be made public records, so that any candidate or any citizen may know the absolute and relative standing of all persons on the list.

We do not advocate a reduction in Civil Service requirements. We ask no special favors as Negroes and are willing to accept the results of qualifying standards and competitive examinations fairly set up and conducted. We do object, however, to what seems to be an ever-increasing practice to make qualifications for positions and for taking examination increasingly technical without true relation to the duties of the position to be filled, because in so many instances these technical qualifications serve to eliminate all Negroes, regardless of their general experience in the particular field to be covered by the examination.

We respectfully request the President to issue an Executive Order carrying out the principles above enunciated, providing for the substitution of finger prints instead of photographs on the applications, appointment strictly in order of rank of eligibility and a declaration of policy against discrimination in appointment and promotion.

We also favor legislation embodying the above reforms in the Civil Service Administration.

We urge that all groups and organizations encourage Negroes to qualify for and take Civil Service examinations in all categories offered. We suggest to Negro schools, colleges and high schools, where possible, and also to social agencies such as the YMCA, the YWCA and the National Urban League, that coaching classes be instituted for Civil Service examinations and that Negro newspapers give full publicity to notices of future Civil Service examinations. We further ask Negro newspapers and periodicals to give editorial support toward encouraging Negroes to qualify for and take Civil Service examinations. On our part, we pledge our full support behind all qualified candidates to see that they are not discriminated against because of race or color.

NON-CIVIL SERVICE

We recommend the elimination of inquiries as to race or color on applications for non-civil service employment and recommend the substitution of inquiries merely as to citizenship and place of birth.

We recommend the inclusion of non-discrimination clauses in the organic law establishing any special governmental agency as a standard pattern of conduct for Administrators, and that sufficient supervisory personnel be employed to see that the non-discrimination policy is actually carried into effect.

We acknowledge with appreciation the increased practice of appointing Negroes in advisory positions in governmental agencies where they have an opportunity to help in policy formation. We recommend that more Negroes be placed in official, policy making and supervisory positions in the organic structure of these agencies and that sufficient Negroes be placed throughout the staff to see that the policies are carried out in actual practice. It is impossible to expect that one or two Negro "advisers" can look after the interest of all the Negroes that come within the scope of any governmental agency's activities. Wherever Negroes have been placed in positions dealing with policy making or administrative supervision in an agency, we note that the agency has functioned with greater efficiency and less discrimination; as witness the contrast between the United States Housing Authority, which has such a set-up, and the Federal Housing Administration on which the highest ranking Negro now employed is a messenger.

Since the proportion of Negroes employed as technicians in engineering, architecture, and chemistry, those employed as artisans in the maintenance departments of the government, those employed as artisans in any other government agencies such as the U. S. Navy Yard's aviation and ordnance plants, the Government Printing Office and the Bureau of Printing and Engraving and those employed upon contracts of various kinds financed by Federal funds, is deplorably small and inasmuch as this works a very serious handicap upon the economic status of the colored citizens of this country increasing unemployment, augmenting the relief load and discouraging the trained Negro youth through lack of opportunity, we therefore, recommend that this conference immediately call this deplorable condition to the attention of the President of the United States and to all others concerned to the end that the necessary reforms may be instituted to correct this condition.

POLITICAL APPOINTMENTS

We recommend that representative political appointments of Negroes should be made to positions affecting governmental policy.

Projects under private management but financed in whole or in part by Federal funds, and subject to political pressure through municipal sponsorship, etc.

We recommend non-discrimination clauses defining standards of discrimination similar to the formula used by the Public Works Administration in all contracts for construction financed in whole or in part by the Federal Government.

SERVICE IN ARMED FORCES

We believe that in any city or other locality in which the Federal Government contributes in any part to military training, whether State or Federal, that the same should be opened, without discrimination, to Negroes.

We recommend that the Negro infantry and cavalry regiments now in the service be reassigned to active combat service status.

We recommend that Negroes be admitted to Citizens' Military Training Camps in their areas on the same basis as any other citizen.

We recommend the enlistment, appointment, and promotion of Negro citizens in all the armed forces of the United States without discrimination.

MISCELLANEOUS

We recommend that the Foreign Service Officers Training Schools be opened to qualified Negro applicants.

We recommend that the employees in the service of the District of Columbia Municipal Government be appointed through Civil Service.

We recommend that adequate representation be given to the Negro in employment in the National Park Service.

We urge Negro government employees to join associations of employees as one of the most effective safeguards against discrimination.

PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT - CIVIL SERVICE AND
NON-CIVIL SERVICE

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Mr. Elwood Chisholm
Mr. Lafayette Ford
Mr. H. Hollis Hooks
Dr. William Lloyd Imes
Mr. H. L. Johnson
Mr. Samuel H. Lacey
Mr. Belford S. Lawson
Mr. Louis Lautier
Mr. J. Leonard Lewis
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Mr. A. Maceo Smith
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Mr. Joseph R. Houchins
Miss Jane Hunter
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Mr. Edward Lovett
Mr. Harry McAlpin
Mr. William J. Trent
Mr. Charles Duke

CHAIRMAN

Mr. Charles Houston

THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON HEALTH AND HOUSING

At the Second National Conference on the Problems of the Negro and Negro Youth, the Committee on Health and Housing finds that less progress has been made in the field of health than is shown by the committee on education, economics, civil rights and other groups reporting at this meeting. The Committee notes with pleasure favorable changes in the attitudes of public health administrators and the informed and sympathetic utterances, as well as printed statements, of the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service. As yet, these changed attitudes and interests seem not to have been transformed into concrete performances.

I. In considering the present and future programs of the United States Public Health Service, we recommend:

1. The appointment of a qualified Negro physician as Special Assistant to the Surgeon General.
2. That racial identification should not be a prerequisite for Federal appointments in the Public Health Services, but as long as it is special provisions should be instituted to protect Negroes.
3. That great care be exercised to protect the interest of Negroes if and when a national health program is inaugurated. In the allocation of funds to the various States for the prosecution of these programs such funds should be made available only with the proviso that they will be used in such a manner as to provide adequate care of Negroes in urban and rural communities on the basis of their health needs rather than on their ratio to the total population. Membership in the county medical society should not be used to determine eligibility for participation in these programs.
4. A more specific study should be made to determine the need for health centers in Negro communities.

5. The right of Negro doctors, dentists, pharmacists, nurses and social workers to treat and care for Negroes should be protected and they should receive the same compensation provided for others for like services.

6. In view of the paucity of hospital beds for tuberculous Negroes in the South and in view of the existing condition of segregation, it is respectfully suggested that a study be made to determine the feasibility of establishing a cooperative tuberculosis hospital and preventorium probably within the confines of some Federal park in the south. It is proposed that in such a hospital each State, county and municipality, practicing segregation of tuberculous Negro patients should be invited to construct and maintain one or more beds. It is believed that by this type of regional hospitalization the cost of bed construction will be reduced materially and the cost of bed maintenance will be lower.

7. Negro professional workers should participate more actively in the National Syphilis Campaign. The assignment of Negro professional personnel to strategic positions will facilitate this work.

8. Special needs of Negroes should be considered in the United States Public Health Service's program for industrial hygiene. Problems to be studied should include those health hazards peculiar to industries where large numbers of Negroes are found and state health departments should be encouraged to include adequate plans for the protection of the Negro as well as the white worker.

9. Negroes should be integrated into the activities of the National Institution of Health. Among a scientific staff of 241 (81 of whom are commissioned medical officers) and 430 assistants, there should be Negro workers selected on a basis of competency.

10. Medical psychiatric services should consider the need of increased facilities for mentally handicapped Negroes and the training of Negro personnel to aid in their care. Some of the more difficult criminal situations which arouse public opinion, especially in the South, are traceable to the lack of care provided for this group. Inclusion of Negro personnel in the new hospitals for the mentally handicapped at Lexington, Kentucky and Forth Worth, Texas would be part and parcel of this program.

II. With Special reference to nursing services:

1. Qualified Negro nurses should be used in the several Departments of the United States Public Health Service.

2. The federal government should concern itself with the equalization of salaries for Negro nurses especially in the South and wherever these services are aided by federal funds Negro nurses should be appointed on the same basis as all nurses in the several divisions of Nursing within city, county, state and federal departments of our government. The appointment of Negro nurses should be given first consideration in expanding public health programs where there is a large percentage of Negroes in the population.

3. Wherever the federal government operates separate hospital services for Negroes, interracial units in nursing councils should be set up, with power to assist in formulating and controlling policies relative to nursing education and services.

III. In considering the work of the Children's Bureau.

1. We recommend that more attention be given to extending medical care to Negro mothers and babies. The situation is sufficiently grave to be considered as a special problem. According to reports of the Children's Bureau, for the country as a whole, 65% of all Negro babies are

delivered by midwives and in some rural areas of the South this figure reaches 90%. Funds should be made available through the Children's Bureau for:

(1) The establishment of centers in approved hospitals for the adequate training of Negro public health nurses in midwifery. To this end, State health agencies should be encouraged and assisted in making plans for the elimination of untrained midwives.

IV. With reference to the U. S. Veteran's Administration.

1. We recommend that wherever a United States Veterans' Administration facility exists in a northern or western state, that racial segregation be prohibited within the facility.

2. Facilities for southern Negro veterans are inadequate for their needs and additional Veteran's Facility staffed by Negro personnel should be established in the South.

3. Negro contact representatives should be appointed in existing facilities where colored veterans are cared for.

V. With reference to the Farm Security Administration, in the field of health,

1. We recommend the extension of its work among Negroes in health sanitation and in the formation of group health associations.

2. The employment of Negro nurses on the staff of community projects.

3. The integration of competent Negro physicians into the service.

VI. The Committee feels that there is great need for Birth Control information and service, particularly in rural southern areas. It is our opinion that this procedure is a part of good public health practices.

REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE ON HOUSING

UNITED STATES HOUSING AUTHORITY

1. The Committee considers the program of the United States Housing Authority as a basic attack on the problem of housing low income groups. We feel that initial steps to integrate Negroes throughout the program should be extended. We recommend to the President and to the Congress the appropriation of an additional billion dollars to be used as loans to local housing authorities for low rental housing projects.

2. Since the U. S. H. A. program is now decentralized with local housing authorities largely determining policies and procedures, we would recommend that the U. S. H. A. use the influence of the Federal Government to urge upon local authorities the advisability of:

- (a) Including a Negro as a member of the Authority in those localities where an appreciable number of Negroes live;
- (b) The participation of Negro personnel in the management of public housing projects;
- (c) Requiring the inclusion of clauses in construction contracts involving specific percentages of skilled and unskilled Negro labor, guaranteeing to them appropriate proportion of the payrolls.

3. The Committee urges upon the U. S. H. A. the necessity of being on guard against the use of public housing projects as an instrument to extend segregated areas or to establish ghettos. Public housing developments should not involve the demolition of a larger number of dwellings available for any racial groups than the program provides for this group.

4. In cases where improvement of sub-standard dwelling units is used to satisfy the equivalent elimination requirements, the U. S. H. A. should use its influence with local housing authorities to avoid the extensive use of this improvement feature where it results in even higher rents being demanded of the low income groups.

THE FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

We deplore the existence and extension of covenants designed to restrict the area available to minority groups for use in ownership of residences. It is contrary to democratic principles for the Federal Government to encourage or sanction the use of such restrictive covenants. According to recent investigations, certain activities in the Federal Housing Administration indicate that it considered and gave face to the use of such measures. Therefore, we recommend:

1. That there be appointed in the F.H.A. a Negro Administrative Assistant with powers to promote the interest of colored property owners and to adjust the rules and regulations of that agency within the structure of the law in such a manner as to make the services of the F.H.A. available to all citizens.
2. That the F.H.A. insuring loans not predicate its participation upon the existence of restrictive covenants against minority groups.

RURAL HOUSING

Over half of the Negro population lives in rural areas where the needs for improved housing is acute. The agencies where programs have been directed toward alleviating this need have with the limited funds available, done little more than demonstrate what might be done to affect the living conditions of farm families.

There are rural slums as well as city slums and thousands of farm and rural dwellers are still forced to live in shacks unfit for human habitation. We, therefore, recommend:

1. The program of the Farm Security Administration be expanded so as to bring to Negroes a larger share of housing benefits.
2. That future legislation designed to improve and enlarge the public housing program give attention to rural as well as urban needs.
3. That the Federal Housing Administration give Negro rural dwellers a full and fair opportunity to participate in the program for insured mortgage loans.

4. The abolishment of the policy of exclusion of Negro citizens from resettlement greenbelt communities, since it is undemocratic.

M. O. Bousfield, M.D., Chairman
Committee on Health and Housing

A M E N D M E N T

Because of the high cost and uncertain incidents of sickness, medical care given purely on the basis of the ability to pay is inadequate and constitutes a real menace to existing levels of living of all Americans. Since the average yearly income of the Negro family is from one-half to two-thirds under that of whites in the same geographical area, the hazards of inadequate medical attention are particularly serious. The ability of the average Negro to pay for adequate care on an individual basis is non-existent. This conference recommends that the principles of group medicine and compulsory insurance constitute a sound method of lowering the cost of medical care to fit the pocketbook of the average American, particularly the Negro.

This program should be supplemented by government grants made on the basis of need. This must be large enough to extend to all Americans the basic democratic rights to exist. Obviously, the Negro would participate in relatively large measures, if any such program were put in operation.

COMMITTEE ON HEALTH AND HOUSINGMEMBERS

Mrs. Leila Alexander	Mrs. John Hope
Miss W. Gertrude Brown	Mr. Edward Hope
Miss A. Eliza Bell	Mrs. Estelle Massey Riddle
Dr. W. Warrick Cardoza	Miss Lucile Miller
Mr. Seymour Carroll	Mr. G. D. Rogers
Miss Pearl H. Denney	Dr. Carl G. Roberts
Mr. A. W. Dent	Mrs. W. A. Scott
Mrs. Caroline Bond Day	Mrs. Mable Keaton Staupers
Mrs. Lethia Fleming	Dr. Ralph Stewart
Mrs. Galena French	Mr. Robert R. Taylor
Dr. T. Edward Jones	Dr. Charles I. West, Jr.
Dr. E. A. Graham	Dr. John B. West
Mrs. Marion Hope	Mrs. Rebekah B. West

CONSULTANTS

Dr. Roscoe C. Brown	Mr. Henry Lee Moon
Dr. Sarah Brown	Dr. H. A. Poindexter
Dr. Paul Cornelly	Dr. J. Parker Prescott
Dr. Dorothy Ferebee	Dr. Emmett J. Scott
Miss Mae C. Hawes	Dr. Robert C. Weaver
Major Campbell G. Johnson	Dr. A. M. Curtis
Miss Vinita Lewis	Miss Frances Williams

CHAIRMAN

Dr. M. O. Bousfield

ADDRESS BY AUBREY WILLIAMS, JANUARY 12, 1939

It seems to me propitious that this conference should take place at the beginning of the New Year. We human beings take some sort of comfort in dividing our lives up into sections so that at one point - every three hundred and sixty-five days - we can stand still in our not very glorious and reasonable tracks and say to ourselves "There is where I have been", and "There is where I am going". It gives us a chance to pretend that we are godlike creatures looking objectively upon our own all too human course. We can look back upon ourselves drifting as our own frailties require, buffeted and driven by forces we have not yet learned to control and analyzing those frailties and those forces say to ourselves: "Next year it will be different; next year we shall be the masters of our fate".

During the past year we have seen old hopes and illusions vanish one by one. We have seen new wars destroy the hope that war as a method of social change was left behind us for all time. We have seen waves of persecution swell to such proportions that man's fundamental respect for his own humanity was all but obscured. We have seen people frightened and troubled and angry and confused to the point where reason and proportion gave way to blind driving action that had as its basis only the release from inaction. In our own country new forces have shaped themselves, forces of light, forces of darkness.

If the past year has brought us any satisfaction among these lost illusions, it has been the satisfaction of seeing more clearly what it is we are fighting for and what it is we are fighting against. There is strength that comes with clarity of purpose; there is wisdom that comes with bitter understanding. These are the gains we have made in 1938.

We in this country have been raised on the belief that democracy was the cornerstone of our national life, not to be questioned and, therefore, perhaps, not requiring defense. This may come strangely to the ears of persons who, through the accident of race, have suffered more than any others from the imperfect functioning of that democracy. It is true that we have often taken the word for the fact; have repeated the words spoken out of the vision of our nation's leaders - like Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln - and hypnotized ourselves by their very repetition into a comfortable belief that their vision was already an accomplished reality. That is part of the very danger of taking democracy for granted.

But now in this time of change and shock we are confronted with the painful but at least honest realization that democracy is not like the air we breathe, a fact of our life beyond question. Democracy is a way of life, conceived by man, a way of life for which our ancestors fought and died in the belief that only through democracy could man be free to realize his own best potentialities. The idea of democracy, in this country, has persisted not because it was a fixed and immutable fact established by divine law, but because it has suited the needs of our times and because there has been no powerful force, either at home or abroad, that has seen an advantage to be gained in its destruction.

A political philosophy conceived by man can be destroyed by man. We have seen it destroyed in country after country and we have marveled at the apparent willingness of people to sacrifice not only their freedom but also the very instrumentality whereby they might safeguard that freedom and control their own destiny. Surely no conviction of national grandeur based on the denial of knowledge, no sense of deliverance from some artificially stimulated danger from within or without, no promise of economic security can explain a sacrifice so great. No, there must be a further explanation. It must be that the mass of the people did not understand what was happening. It must be that they neither understood the nature of democracy nor the danger that menaced it.

We here in America have an advantage for we have been forewarned. We have seen what happened in other countries; we must study this process in order to understand better how to strengthen and protect our own democratic institutions. That is why I feel we have made a gain in 1938.

But complacency and ignorance are still the main dangers which confront us. It is one thing to recoil as democracy abroad yields to new philosophy and practice. It is another thing to recognize that same philosophy and practice when it appears in its domestic guise, thoroughly Americanized, shouting the slogans of democracy in order to obscure its true purpose. We must study not only the experience of other countries; we must study also our own history and the nature of our democracy, both its strengths and its weaknesses, so that we cannot be misled by familiar sounding slogans into treacherous ways that will destroy it.

One of the things that we must study is the difference in this country between our concept of democracy and the reality of its actual functioning. No possible purpose can be served by blaming on democracy itself the fact that

we do not now have complete and perfect democracy in this country. It is surely self-evident that the only cure for this situation is more democracy and a better democracy. If there is one thing we have learned it is surely that we need the strength, the wisdom, and the devotion of every man and woman with social conscience in this country to bring it about.

This is a conference to discuss the problems of Negroes and especially Negro Youth. This conference is in itself a part of the very life blood of the democratic process, for here we have leaders of a certain section of the population coming together to discuss among themselves and with public officials the problems close to their own people. So it does not seem to me irrelevant to talk about democracy as the broad frame of reference in which all of your discussions take place. For today it seems to me impossible to consider the problems of our young people, of their welfare, their education, their civil rights and liberties, their opportunity for useful work, which is perhaps fundamental to all the other problems, without remembering that we are all engaged in a great, decisive battle which alone will determine whether our young people will have the opportunity in the future that we have today to consider and solve their own problems. This is the battle to save and strengthen our democracy, to make it work in such a way that all our citizens will not only enjoy and exercise intelligently the rights and privileges of political participation in the solution of their common problems but will also realize their full stature as workers in an economy which permits every man and woman, every young person to use to the best advantage his own strength and talent in the creation of a national well being for all the people.

All of us, Negro and white, have today an opportunity by which we shall either gain or lose the world. We have the opportunity to find our own salvation in the fight for democracy, for the right of all people to have a voice in shaping their own fate.

REMARKS BY MRS. FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT,
JANUARY 12, 1939

Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Chairman: Ladies and gentlemen, we are very, very happy to bring to you, a cross-section of men and women of the United States all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific, representing all the different fields of life, an opportunity to meet and hear the First Lady of the Land, a friend, a great humanitarian, a woman who has set the pace for the service of womanhood in America and the world. The most humble child in the alley can stop her and speak to her and receive a smile. The work that she has done for the American youth and for the American people can only be recorded in the pages of history as the years go by. I am most happy to present to you, Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who will speak to you.

MRS. ROOSEVELT: I am embarrassed because I haven't done anything which any others could not have done and would not have done as they saw the opportunities. The times have made it possible for a great many people to do things which they might never have had an opportunity to do. You are here considering the opportunities for the youth of your race in this country as they enter or begin their lives. Now, I think it is foolish for us not to realize that all young people are under a handicap today, a handicap created by a changing world. And the young people of your race, I think, are probably under a greater handicap than other groups in the nation for a variety of reasons. Now, you probably have discussed all the different aspects of this problem today, and I could, in all likelihood contribute very little, if I were to make a speech. Therefore, I am going to ask if you have any questions which you feel you would like to ask of me and which for some reason you think I might be able to answer better than some other people might. Instead of just talking, I am going to ask if you will ask me questions. Now, are there any questions?

DELEGATE: Mrs. Roosevelt, you were in Birmingham at the Southern Conference on Human Welfare. You spoke on the youth question. Many of us were not there. Would you say something of what kind of group it was and your impression of the youth session of the conference.

MRS. ROOSEVELT: Well, my impression of the youth session of that conference was a very favorable impression, favorable for a number of reasons. In the first place, I thought that there was more liberality of thinking among all the young people there than you would have found, perhaps, among some of the older people. I thought that the young

people who presided showed a great deal of good judgment and good sense. There was in Birmingham an opportunity for bad judgment to create a situation which might have discredited that entire conference. But the fact that the young as well as the old showed an amount of patience and tolerance, which I thought very remarkable among the young particularly, made it possible to continue a conference which I think may have far-reaching results without anybody being able to say that existing laws were not obeyed no matter how people felt about them. And the fact that it was stated that, as long as laws existed we would obey them even though we might not approve of them, made it possible to discuss subjects which I think were necessary to better understanding and more knowledge on the part of a great many people. I felt that the youth session, particularly, should have the respect and the admiration of the older people who were there, for the judgment and the calmness that they showed on all sides, when a little bit of the hot-headedness of youth might have spoiled the possibility of the continuation of the conference and curtailed that free and open discussion which I think very valuable.

I was, unfortunately, not able to be at more than one of the youth panels. I don't know how much it covered but I feel sure that it will lead to really good work. I have already had intimations that the work was going to be carried on which was started there and I feel that a real forward step was taken. Even at the meeting I attended I felt that there was a clarification of certain standings, of certain points of view that were held by important people. One of the gentlemen present stated a point of view which perhaps he would not have stated under any circumstances and it was a good thing to know how he felt. I have great hopes that the work may grow and increase the better understanding which may come as a result of that conference.

DELEGATE: What are your views on the anti-lynching legislation?

MRS. ROOSEVELT: Yes, I am perfectly willing to give it to you as an individual. I doubt very much whether the anti-lynching legislation would do away with lynching, but I would like to see it passed, because I think it puts us as a whole on record against something which we should certainly all of us, anywhere in this country, be against. However, I believe that it should be passed as applying to every part of the country, so that there can be no question as to any part of the country's believing that taking the law into your own hands is permissible. I personally think

that we should pass that type of anti-lynching legislation as soon as possible as a gesture, even if it doesn't succeed in doing away at once with all the evils that we would like to see done away with.

DELEGATE: I wonder if you would mind giving your opinion as to whether or not the National Government could take a definite step to equalize educational opportunities not only as between races but as between sections of the country?

MRS. ROOSEVELT: No. I don't mind, again giving it as a personal opinion. I don't want you to take any of the opinions that I give as representative of the Administration. They are representative of what I think as an individual. I would like very much to see the Federal Government, - I am not stating up to what amount or in what measure exactly, - but I would like to see the Federal Government take steps to equalize the educational opportunities everywhere both as to localities and as to races.

I think that an effort should be made to live up to our original conception of public education, which was that every child, everywhere had a right to the same opportunities for education. Now, every child is not able to advance along certain lines, perhaps, or even along the same lines. They may not be able to take the same type of education in every way but they should have the opportunity to get education if they are able. I think we should go one step further and make it our objective today to make possible for every child, the development of his or her gifts to the furthest point possible, so that our education will offer a child development according to its capacity and not be a completely stereotyped thing, so that every child must take just the same course right up to the end. That is what sends a lot of your people out of school when they should be still in school. They can't get the things which mean development for them and for their capacities, so I think we should go that step further today, with our added knowledge about education and that the Federal Government should, as far as the Congress thinks it possible, aid in equalizing these opportunities and making them greater along more modern lines.

MISS PAULINE REDMOND: The Negro youth have been disappointed. The Federal Government has not given them equal opportunities in jobs which are made available by that grant to the Government. We specifically have Civil Service in mind. Do you think the outlook for Negro employment in grants of the Federal Government is brighter than formerly?

MRS. ROOSEVELT: I am sorry to say that I don't know exactly what the ratio in Civil Service should be and is. I think it ought to be according to the population of different places in a fair ratio, whatever that is. I should think that as we develop Civil Service, the chances for Negro youth ought to be better but I am not in a position, unless I really made a study, to tell you whether that is what is happening today according to the ratio of population. It might be, of course, that in some places where there was a preponderance of one race that you could not get the person fitted for the particular opening. That, I think, does require some study and my answer may not be entirely satisfactory, but, in a general way, I should say that the proportion in Civil Service should be according to the population and also, of course, that the people must meet the qualifications and must be up to passing the examinations in order to get the proper rating for the different things that they take. That would be my idea of what should be done and I should think that every effort would now be made to do that. Now, I say, "I should think", because I want to be frank with you. I have received a number of complaints telling me that Negro people were being dropped, - for instance, a man or a woman was dropped out of a position and it was being filled by a white person and not by a colored person. Now, whether that was done because the ratio had become unbalanced, I haven't yet been able to discover. I have attempted to follow up each complaint that has come in and to get a reason for it and on one occasion, as far as I could find out, no qualified person had taken the examination. On another occasion, I am frank to say, I don't think there was any reason why they should have changed. When those individual cases come up the only thing that I can do is to investigate and I have tried to investigate. There have been scattered cases. I think perhaps five or six have been brought to me here in Washington and one or two in New York City but that is why I don't answer you without some qualifications in my own mind. I do try to look into it and I think that on the whole we can be pretty sure that there will be an effort made to keep a proper ratio in the future.

DELEGATE: Mrs. Roosevelt, considering the world-wide scale upon which democratic ideals seem to be challenged at this time, do you think there is a possibility that the minority groups who fail now to speak out on the extent to which they are denied the operation of the democratic system, - do you think there is the possibility that by their silence they may do an injustice to the whole country?

MRS. ROOSEVELT: I think what the delegate means, is: "Is it helpful to democracy to speak out." Isn't that right?

Would it be better for democracy, if the minority groups who are denied a participation in democratic forms of government should speak out and let it be known to what extent they are denied those rights. I think that it is harmful every where today where minority groups, who are not allowed participation in democratic processes, do not speak out. On the other hand, I think it is far more harmful where majority groups do not recognize the importance of full participation of all groups under a democratic form of government. I think it is most important and perhaps a greater responsibility for majority groups who believe in democracy, to see to it that democracy is really democracy for everybody within their borders.

DELEGATE: Following your previous answer to a question on civil service, as I understand it, your opinion is that civil service appointments should be made in proportion to population. I would like to ask how you would suggest the elimination of discrimination against minority groups, particularly Negroes, after complete eligibility lists have been made up for appointment by Civil Service?

MRS. ROOSEVELT: Of course you have to take your examinations and get your marks. What I meant when I said that about proportion, was that first of all you have to pass the examination. And if it is a position that has to be filled from the first three and there is in the community a given ratio in the population of different groups, and in those first three only one group is represented, then it stands to reason that that one can be taken. But if in the three other parts, in which discretion is possible, you can take a person who does represent a ratio that should be held in the community, you should do so. You see, according to groups of population that is a possible thing to do under the law. You have to live up to the law in any case, but it would seem also that you can have a certain amount of fairness in your distribution according to population, where the law is complied with and you have the choice. For instance, if you know that there are, say, a third of your population which is colored in a place, and a third is foreign--some particular foreign groups, like Italians or Poles--and a third is Anglo-Saxon, we will say that in the government offices to be filled one group is filled up to the amount it should be. An examination is held and three people pass and there are in those three, a representative from two other groups and one other group that already has a third of the places. Well, I think it should be filled from one of the other groups. Now of course, there is nothing to force you to do that.

You can't force people to do that unless you create public opinion sufficiently strong to make people want to do

the fair thing in civil service as they would in anything else. I don't think you could expect to beat the law under any circumstances, but there is always that leeway which is given consideration.

DELEGATE: The thing I have in Mind is this: a young Negro dentist was the highest on the eligible list of 36 persons who took an examination for an appointment. He was the only Negro and he has to this day,--and that was at least four years ago,--not been certified for any position. He refused to waive his right for that position. Now that is the point I believe this young woman was trying to bring out a while ago, when she spoke of discrimination. What can we do? What would be the fair thing to be done by us to help our Congressmen--Senators and Representatives or administrative officials--bring up questions that would give us a fair and equal opportunity to which we feel we are entitled.

MRS. ROOSEVELT: I don't know what service he took the examination for, but I do know there are certain services into which we have not admitted colored people as yet. Therefore, if he took the examination for a particular service where colored people have never been admitted, he would probably not be reported, or notified, because they would consider there was no opening. Now you naturally will contend that there should be an opening, regardless of his color, if he stood the highest. But if he were to be appointed as a young dentist to a position where the majority of his clients were white and they wouldn't go to him, there would be very little point in his being notified and in his being appointed. Therefore, I do think you have to use common sense. If he took the examination for a position where he could be appointed because people of his own race were ready to come to him, I contend he should be called and given the opportunity.

Now personally it is probably your reaction that anyone, if he had the qualifications, should be ready to go to him. Perhaps that day will come. It hasn't come yet and therefore you still have to use a certain amount of intelligence in trying to fit the person who is capable of passing to the job that he can get. Now there are probably jobs that he can be appointed to where he can be of use. There would be no sense in appointing him to a place where he would sit with folded hands. I am not familiar with this case, but I have been interested in one or two cases in which the people have come to me, where they had passed with the highest rating and still couldn't get their appointments. Twice I have found that it was because the places they were trying to get into were those where colored people had never been admitted.

I don't say it isn't a good thing to try for those places because eventually a change will probably come in

general thinking, but I wouldn't stick to it so long that I didn't get some other job that I was fitted for. I'd try to get the position, but if I failed, I'd take something I believed in, that really was possible for me to get. Now, as I say, I may not be answering this correctly because I am not familiar with the case, but judging from other things that have come my way this is the way it should be handled.

DELEGATE: What do you think of the \$1,500 minimum wage?

MRS. ROOSEVELT: I am not familiar with the usual scale, but I think there are a great many people in government employment who do not receive \$1500 and as the wages of government employees are set by people who know more about it than I do, I am not going to say what I think is the minimum wage, because I don't know.

DELEGATE: In view of the fact that 70% of the Negro groups or nearly 70% in the section of the country from which I come in the South are engaged in domestic service and agricultural practices, I would like to ask, would you, personally, favor their inclusion in benefits derived from the Social Security Act?

MRS. ROOSEVELT: I do favor it very much, but I have received in the last few days a letter from someone in the Northwest, who contends that most of the people in domestic service and agriculture do not wish to be included because they see no advantage in being included. If they feel that way, I think it is a very narrow outlook, because of the fact that they do not want to have deducted the small amount that is deducted from their pay with the idea of getting future benefits. Now I rather think that might be the reaction from some people in the groups that we are now discussing. If so, I think it may require a certain amount of education to get those groups to understand what the benefits are of being included under the Social Security Act. I, personally, would feel that it is of benefit to both those groups to be included, and I hope they will be.

DELEGATE: I'd like to ask you a question. Are Negroes being admitted to Army and Navy service? If a war should come the Negroes would be called upon to give their lives.

MRS. ROOSEVELT: I have always felt that Negroes should be admitted. I believe, in the past, they have gone up as far as officers and they should be given opportunities

for advancement. I also feel they should have the same treatment afterwards in anything that has to do with their service in the war. Now I don't know whether that answers your question because I am not quite clear what you are driving at.

DELEGATE: Mrs. Brown touched somewhat on the question I wanted to ask Mrs. Roosevelt. I am wondering, in view of the fact that there are two million domestics in America, if Mrs. Roosevelt has given sufficient study to their problem to want to see them included in the laws providing minimum wages and maximum hours. I am very much interested to know what you think about it.

MRS. ROOSEVELT: I have always felt that domestic service should be included. There are particular things that have to be considered, but I have always felt domestic service should be included although we treated it in certain ways differently. We should include it in legislation dealing with minimum wages and maximum hours. I realize the difficulties, but I think they should be threshed out and considered and a fairer situation than now exists should be worked out.

DELEGATE: Economists say that because of technological changes in industry and changing economic conditions there will always be a large group of unemployed in America. What is your opinion as to Federal legislation for a 30-hour week which might decrease that permanent unemployment?

MRS. ROOSEVELT: I do not feel I know enough about that as a remedy for an economic situation to give you an opinion. I don't think I have given it sufficient study. I have heard so many conflicting studies from different economists that I haven't been able to decide whether their remedies will do what they hope to do--which is, employ more people. So I can't give you an opinion on that.

DELEGATE: I'd like to know whether you believe the trend will continue as it has been, the trend of dropping qualified Negro workers from private employment to make way for white workers under the impact of economic stress and because of racial solidarity. Do you think that trend will continue and, if so, how may we encourage the employment of qualified Negro workers in industry?

MRS. ROOSEVELT: I didn't know that had been a trend of late. I am afraid I haven't made enough of a study of that to know whether there really was a trend for dropping them from different occupational groups. Is that trend largely in professional work or is it in every line of work?

DELEGATE: I think it is in every line of work. I speak particularly of the impetus given it in the N.R.A. when many Southern employers, rather than pay Negro employees fairly decent wages, dropped them to make a place for white people. We simply cannot make them pay us \$14 a week.

MRS. ROOSEVELT: Well, I think there are two ways of doing that. Now you have set down as a premise that they are qualified workers. You must realize that in some cases what the employers have said is: "We have employed Negro labor because it could do this type of work and it cannot do any better work and, therefore, if we have to have better work done because we are raising wages, then we have to take people who can do better work and we think these white people can do better work."

I don't think that is so, but I think you labor under the same difficulties women labor under. Now women have to do, as a rule, in a given job, twice as well as men have to do. I think it is probably that a colored person must do his job, whatever it is, twice as well as perhaps the white person who is doing that same job.

This is a question of labor, isn't it? It is a question of the right to work and the right to work should know no color line. It should be on the efficiency of the person who is working. There is no question we can discuss except the efficiency of the person who is going to do the job. Therefore, it seems to me that your remedy will lie in better organization, you have to stress the quality of service just as much as the things that are due to labor. The right to work should be without any color line drawn, as far as I can see it.

DELEGATE: Do you think the Federal Government has any responsibility for conditions existing in Federal buildings such as separate locker rooms, separate lunch rooms, and segregated working quarters?

MRS. ROOSEVELT: I think this: I think the Federal Government is established in a city which is still largely a Southern city. Now, like it or not, we cannot change things in a day.

MR. FORRESTER:-Washington: Mrs. Bethune, Mrs. Roosevelt, Mr. Williams and you and I, are the only ones here, I think, who were present at the Southern Conference on Human Welfare. We at least know the courageous attitude that Mrs. Roosevelt took at that time, in Birmingham. I might be out of order, but I'd at least like to offer this motion in this Conference that we thank her, - knowing the responsibility she assumes as the First Lady of the Land; - that we thank her

for her moral courage then and the stand she has taken today for social justice for minority groups represented here. I'd like to make a motion on that.

(. . . The motion was made and carried . . .)

CHAIRMAN BETHUNE: We want to express our gratitude to Mrs. Roosevelt. She must now go and I am sure you are happy to have seen her.

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FEDERAL RELATIONS TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

The Federal Government conducts or subsidizes education in many different fields. For example, there are several special Federal institutions; programs of in-service training for employees in all Federal departments; educational programs or services directed by such "New Deal" agencies as W.P.A., N.Y.A., C.C.C., and P.W.A.; and, most extensive of all, grants-in-aid to States under a number of Federal laws authorizing funds for various types of educational service. It is to the experiences of Negroes with the latter type of federally-aided programs that this report is restricted. More specifically, we are here concerned with the extent to which Negroes share in Federal aid to States for:

1. Land-grant college resident instruction
2. Vocational education in schools of less than college grade
3. Vocational rehabilitation of the physically handicapped
4. Agricultural and home economics extension
5. Agricultural research
6. General educational purposes (as proposed by the recent Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill)

1938-39 Federal appropriations for

Educational Aid to States:

Land-grant colleges.....	\$ 5,030,000
Vocational education.....	21,785,000
Vocational rehabilitation.....	1,983,000
Agricultural extension.....	17,936,000
Agricultural research.....	6,860,000
Total.....	\$ 53,594,000

Within the limits of our time allotment, we can do little more than to cite one or two crucial measures of the extent to which Negroes share in the benefits of each program, and to suggest the general lines along which action is needed to improve existing conditions.

1. Land-Grant College Resident Instruction

(Over 5 million dollars in 1938-39 for U.S.)

(In 17 Southern States where Negroes constitute 25.0% of the population aged 18 to 21)

A. Total receipts from Federal funds (1935-36):

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>% Negro</u>
(a) 1st Morrill.	\$ 184,746	\$ 10,817	5.9
(b) Other land-grant	133,451	---	.0
(c) Morrill-Nelson and Bankhead-Jones.	<u>1,167,647</u>	<u>322,120</u>	<u>27.6</u>
Total	\$1,485,844	\$ 322,937	22.4
(d) (Smith-Hughes-Voc. Tea. tr.)	315,280	52,804	16.7

B. Receipts per resident student for resident instruction (35-36):

White: \$112.45
Negro: 98.12 (or 87¢ per white \$1.00)

C. Trends: 1923-36

- (a) Morrill-Nelson and Bankhead-Jones (Sec. 22) are the only laws requiring Negro-white equity; Negroes have got from 28 to 29% of total each year.
- (b) Only 4 schools (Ky., Miss., S.C., Va.) shared in 1862 land-grants.
- (c) Only Miss. shared in "other land-grants".
- (d) Different schools in different years shared in Smith-Hughes.

D. What to Do:

Promote Federal legislation to require a "just and equitable" division of all funds for land-grant colleges (cf. Morrill-Nelson)

II. Vocational Education

(Nearly 22 million dollars in 1938-39 for U.S.)

A. Receipts from Federal funds in 18 states, 1934-35 (Negroes 21% of total population)

1. All schools.....\$ 3,374,474
 Negro schools..... 324,490 (9.6% of
 total; or 45% of proportionate share)

2. Due Negroes: \$722,137
 Given Negroes: 324,490

Diverted from
 Negroes: \$ 397,647 (or \$73,157 more than they
 actually received.)

3. Per capita receipts:

Per teacher:	White	\$ 294
	Negro	131 (44%)
Per pupil:	White	\$ 7.87
	Negro	4.42 (56%)

4. Trends: 1929-35:

- (a) 1929-32: Total receipts gradually increased from \$2,133,932 to \$3,630,969; per cent to Negroes decreased from 9.8% to 7.2%
- (b) 1932-34: Total decreased to \$2,273,399; per cent to Negroes increased to 10.7%
- (c) 1934-35: Total increase to \$3,374,474; per cent to Negroes decreased to 9.6%

Thus, the more Federal money the South gets for vocational education, the less proportionately is spent on vocational education for Negroes.

B. What to Do:

1. Amend Smith-Hughes and George-Deen laws to require equitable division of Federal funds and no % reduction in state "matching" funds.

2. Require "state plans" so to provide
3. Publish reports of data by race.

(Note: Congressional committee hearings on the Smith-Hughes Bill gave no special attention to the Negro at all).

III. VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

(Nearly 2 million dollars in 1938-39 for U.S.)

- A. Number of clients rehabilitated, 1935-36, in 17 States (Negro 21.5% of total population):
- | | |
|------------|---|
| Total..... | 3,402 |
| White..... | 3,114 |
| Negro..... | 273 (8.0%, or 37.2% of a proportionate share) |

- B. Chief services rendered:

White -	vocational training
Negro -	prosthesis

- C. What to Do:

1. Amend laws for equity in Federal funds and no % reduction in State "matching" funds. (Repr. Wood of Indiana introduced an amendment to the original bill in 1919 to require no discrimination on penalty of loss of benefits to the State. Vote 40 to 39 against amendment.)
2. Make state plans provide for equity
3. Publish reports of data by race

IV. Agricultural Extension

(Nearly 18 million dollars in 1938-39 for U.S.)

- A. Number of farm, home, and boy-girl agents in 16 So. States, February 1937 (Negro 24.2% of rural population)

Total.....	3,734
White.....	3,286
Negro.....	488 (12.0% or 49.6% of equitable share)

B. Number of farmers per county agent, 1935:

White..... 1,455
 Negro..... 3,606 (2½ times as large)

C. Total (Fed.-State) expenditures in 16 So. States, year ended June 30, 1937:

Federal.....\$ 8,538,740.41 (65.5%)
 State & local 4,505,546.41 (34.5%)
 Total.....\$ 13,044,286.82

Negro \$804,657 (6.2%; or 25.6% of a proportionate share) (With one or two exceptions, all funds are administered through white land-grant colleges)

D. What to Do:

1. Revise basic statutes so as to:

- (a) Leave central administrative control of the State program (for unity in program and to prevent racial competition for local "matching" funds)
- (b) Require equitable division of Federal funds between races.
- (c) Require no proportionate reduction of Negro share of state and local funds.

2. Provide for equity in state plans

3. Publish reports of data by race

(Note: A proportionate share of 1937 Federal funds alone would have given Negroes \$2,066,375, or \$1,261,718 more than was actually spent from Federal, state, and local funds combined.)

(Note: Senator Jones of Washington tried vainly to amend the original Smith-Lever Bill in 1917 along the lines of the Morrill-Nelson Acts.)

V. Agricultural Research

(Nearly 9 million dollars in 1938-39 for U.S.)

A. Receipts from Federal funds in 17 (land grant college) states in 1935-36 \$1,440,000. (All went to white colleges; none to Negro).

B. Losses to Negro:

1. Technical education of students
2. Research opportunities of teachers
3. More emphasis on research relating to problems of Negro adjustment to rural life.

C. What to Do:

1. Keep central control of the state program.
2. Engage more Negro research aids on Experiment Station Staffs (e.g. as at Virginia Polytechnic Institute)
3. Allocate definite amounts to Negro colleges.

VI. General Federal Aid

A. Original Harrison-Fletcher Bill left Southern States free to discriminate against Negroes.

B. Campaign for amendment (Carried on chiefly through National Coordinating Committee).

- Results: (1) Bill amended in Senate Committee
(2) House bill rewritten before committee hearings

C. President's Advisory Committee on Education

1. Negro appointed as consultant and a Negro employed on research staff. (To publish monograph on Negro education).
2. Recommended Negro safeguards in proposed new grants. (For elementary and secondary schools, adult education, school building construction, rural libraries,) and amendment on vocational education laws to provide specifically for Negro schools.

Compiled by Doxey A. Wilkerson
of Howard University

Excerpts

"This is the point -- I don't want to take much time, but this thing is serious - we are going through the same process here and our memories are very short and we forget that we are going through the same process. We have more advisers now in administrative positions than we had then, that is the only difference, we have about twenty now, but with the change of Administration, if we read the conditions aright, every one of those advisers can be swept out by the stroke of a pen of the administrator who appoints them, and unless we do what Howard University has done about its appropriation - Howard University got the organic law and that prevented Congressmen from sweeping out that appropriation. Now, unless we can make it sufficiently clear and unless we can line up enough political pressure - I am going to speak in very plain language - to get it done and get into the organic law something to have it put so that this will not be at the pleasure of the administrators who want some Negro advisers, it will be in the organic law that the Department of Labor and the Interior and any other department that needs it will have such in the organic law that a Negro representing one tenth of the population will be appointed automatically, as a matter of course. The office is there and it will have to be filled."

(Excerpts from Dr. George Haynes' speech
January 12, 1939)

"In the matter of the vote, while it is true of course that no corrupt practice act has been passed, yet the fight is continuing and there will shortly reach the United States Supreme Court a writ of certiorari which has been granted a case arising in Oklahoma and which will involve a very important aspect of the question of suffrage. But aside from legislation, the growing independence of the Negro vote, of course, is playing a considerable part in bettering the position of the Negro politically.

Finally, there is one thing that I hope this Conference will take cognizance of and that is a very harmful policy which certain agencies of the Federal Government are developing, particularly in such projects as the TVA and the Transylvania Project down in Louisiana, where the Federal Government is going into areas where white and colored people have lived side by side for more than three centuries and where the Federal Government is going in saying that there must be complete segregation.

I hope that this Conference will study this problem and will go unequivocally on record against this tendency on the part of certain agencies of the Federal Government."

(excerpts from Walter White's speech,
January 12, 1939)

"So the Federal Government, in cooperation with states and localities, proposes to provide medical care and service for people who need it, and to see that they receive it even though they may not have funds of their own with which to pay for it. Now this kind of service is not to be given by doctors going out from Washington with their little black bags and paid by the Federal Government, nor is it to be administered by doctors from state health departments, also paid by the government, but most likely the way it will be rendered will be by practicing physicians, white and colored, in the communities where people are to be served. The plans for administering that medical service will have to be worked out, state by state, to meet the needs and requirements in each state. I expect probably there again, after a plan has been worked out by state and sent to the Federal Government, and the Government finds it workable and feasible, the contribution of the Federal Government will be made to the state treasury and plan will be administered by duly constituted authority of the states and localities."

(excerpts from Dr. Warren F. Draper's speech,
January 12, 1939)

"You have slums because the building industry doesn't know how to build within the rental pocketbooks of families who live in the slums. It doesn't know how to build for families with rental pocketbooks far above the slums. But while we are waiting for them to meet that challenge as we have waited for more than 50 years to have them do something about the slums, the Wagner-Steagall Act establishes this machinery to attack the problem directly and effectively. The Act is modelled upon successful European experience. It is modelled upon the plan that has enabled Great Britain, Sweden, Norway, Holland, Switzerland, yes, even Germany and Austria when they were civilized countries, to go a long way in wiping out their slum. The plan has been successful abroad.

In England or Great Britain one million homes have been built since 1918 and they are being occupied and the plan is going on year by year. And let me emphasize the Wagner-Steagall Act, the U. S. Housing Act is modelled in large upon that successful European experience.

.....We are on our way, trying to do something to solve the problem of housing in this country so that eventually, not within the lifetime of any except the very youngest in this room, within the distant but visible future the slums will go the way of the dinosaur, and every American family will have a decent home! Thank you."

(Excerpts from Dr. Nathan Straus' speech,
January 12, 1939)

"The FHA which was designed to "thaw out" and liberalize home financing can be of invaluable advantage to the Negro home owner who has always been the prey of exploitative money lenders. Under present circumstances, however, FHA can not operate to the fullest advantage of the Negro home owner. I do not claim that race prejudice dominates the policies of FHA. As a matter of fact, the State Administrator of FHA in Illinois is unprejudiced and is a true liberal. Appraisal policies of FHA impose a handicap upon Negro home owners for the following reason: A Negro must buy or build his home in a segregated neighborhood which is usually characterized by congestion, absentee ownership, and various stages of property deterioration. FHA claims that these conditions affect the value of new property placed in such a neighborhood, regardless of the reliability or resources of the owner or the soundness of his proposed new structure. The neighborhood in which the building is placed prevents the Negro from qualifying for maximum loan terms and in many cases denies him the privilege of securing an FHA loan at all. Because you are black you must build in a segregated neighborhood and because you are in a segregated neighborhood you cannot fully qualify for home financing as provided by the National Housing Act. I suggest that this conference recommend that a national policy be formulated by the FHA which will alleviate these handicaps.

This raises the question of restrictive covenants which create segregated residential areas and form a fundamental basis for the housing problems which confronts the Negro.

Sponsored primarily by real estate boards, aided by skillful lawyers, the practice of imposing restrictive covenants on land has gained widespread use in recent years in American urban centers. These covenants on land have gained widespread use in the title to property, restrict the use, ownership, or both, of land.

The principle of restricting land use or ownership by agreement first received legal sanction in England several centuries ago, particularly at the time industrial revolution was beginning. In those years restrictive covenants were devised as a means of protecting residential areas against encroachment of industrial plants, saloons, taverns, and similar objectionable agencies. The theory of restrictive covenants is, therefore, deep-rooted in the English common law, and principles devolved years ago formed the basis of our modern zoning ordinances.

Real estate and other interests in this country have taken this sound and well-grounded principle of law and have used it to restrict the use or ownership of property to certain groups of citizens, irrespective of their personal qualifications or character. Particularly Negroes, and not infrequently Jews, Italians, and other minority groups, are barred in some instances forever from use of residential property through restrictive covenants.

(Excerpts from Robert R. Taylor's speech,
January 12, 1939)

".....I am merely going to give you a ten-point platform. I am not a politician...This plan is not for your adoption. It is an attempt to express some ideas at which you may shoot, upon which you may reflect and there might be some ideas that you may put in the final resolutions. I am going to take them up one by one. I have asked that they be passed out. However, I will take them up in order....."

1. Appointment of Special Assistant to the Surgeon General, position to be comparable to that now held by Dr. Robert Clifton Weaver.
2. Allocation of federal funds to Howard University School of Medicine for establishing post-graduate courses. Particularly desirable in obstetrics and pediatrics, in view of alarmingly high infant and maternal mortality among Negroes.
3. Establishment of school for public Health nursing education. This is to provide education for Negro nurses under the same conditions with which they will constantly come into contact.

4. Establishment of additional V.A. Hospital
5. Establishment of cooperative tuberculosis sanatorium and preventorium in south for segregating states. Preferably in National Park if possible.
6. Establishment of Health Centers in Negro communities under competent Negro guidance.
7. Allocation of federal health funds by percent of disease, not percent of population.
8. Attempt to guarantee participation of Negro professional workers in national syphilis campaign.
9. Compulsory health insurance.
10. Appointment of sub-committee to insure follow-up of recommendations finally adopted by this committee.

(excerpt from Dr. John B. West's speech,
January 12, 1939)

".....I should like to suggest one other aspect of the implications of this conference, and that has to do with respect to the impacts upon the youth themselves. We are doing a good deal for the youth, far less than we hope to do, but we are doing a good deal more than we have done before. It is question as to what that means so far as the thinking of the youth themselves is concerned, so far as the returns to them. It is also a question as to whether it means that now here is the Federal Government in its bounty that has something available and we are going to be in get ours; or whether or not it means that we are going to be in a position to help those individuals to achieve a little more in their own conception of the extent to which a democracy involved a certain amount of individual responsibility, a certain type of cooperative living with which all of us are in accord and which we understand. But it means from the point of view of how we are going to achieve it, that there begins to be not only the opportunity but the very definite challenge as to whether we are going to be able to administer these additional funds in a way to do the most for those whom we propose to serve."

(excerpt from H. Council Trenholm's speech,
January 13, 1939)

"Therefore it seems to us that the amendment which was suggested two years ago at this Conference which read as follows: 'We urge that the President recommend to the Congress the enactment of the new Corrupt Practices Act in which it shall be declared that a primary selection of candidates to be elected to Federal Offices shall be an integral part of a general election, should be continued by this Congress with this addition: So as to not have an enactment which extended this corrupt practices act to the primary and then find that even there, there was no provision to protect you against discrimination at the primary because Congress cannot by legislation enact an interpretation of a constitutional amendment, therefore it should carry with it this, that at any such primary election for selection of a candidate, no otherwise qualified person - that leaves the qualifications of course, set up by the most numerous branch of the state legislature - shall be excluded from participation nor denied the right to vote on account of race, color, or creed, and that if such a person is denied the right to vote on such primary selection of a candidate, said candidate's name shall be excluded from the official ballot in the general election.

That is the first thing the Federal Government can do. I will wind up with the second, which is that as a last resort we can advocate the submission of a constitutional amendment, that amendment to say this: No person shall be denied the right to vote at any election - that is where the 15th stops - at any election, general or special, primary convention, or other nominating device created by or recognized by states on account of race, color, or creed, or previous condition of servitude; and then we will adopt the enforcement provisions as set out already in the laws.

This seems to me to be essentially a Federal problem. It is difficult, but I believe within the framework of those two suggestions as a Congress we might have a basis for a systematic and orderly attack upon the disabilities which afflict the American Negro.

(excerpt from Dr. James A. Nabrit's speech
January 13, 1939)

"At the close of the Civil War the Negroes were forced to enter free labor without economic experience and were faced by immediate employment. They had, under necessity, to accept what they could get. It was in almost every instance wages lower than that paid the white workers in the same task. It was so low it perpetuated low standards of living that was in many cases ineffectual. Such an unhappy situation in the interest of free labor market gave rise to what might be termed racial difference. It is a wage difference that has become a tradition in many parts of the country even to this day. Many private investigators disclosed that the wages of Negro men average from 15 to 50 percent less than the white male wage earner. The Negro women, 20 to 40 percent less than the white women. This racial differential may be illustrated even more clearly by examining the industrial situation in the south. A study made several years ago disclosed that 38% of the gainfully employed were Negroes. At the same time the average family income in ten states comprising the old south was \$530 compared to \$960 for the rest of the country where there was almost a negligible percent of Negro workers. These figures make it readily apparent that legal freedom and economic freedom do not go hand in hand. However, Congress has written in the statute books of the land the fair labor standards acts, the so-called Wage and Hour Law which establishes minimum wages and maximum hours for all employees engaged in interstate commerce. For the

Negro and white worker alike in wages and working conditions. The law cannot nor can any law, of course, rectify all the inequality which Negroes face in the industrial world. It abolishes some of the injustice due to the fact that employers who are making goods for interstate commerce cannot pay workers less than 25 cents an hour whether colored or white, whether in Maine or Alabama. This is a wide and from the Negro standpoint highly beneficial departure from the differences permitted by the NRA before it was declared unconstitutional. There were numerous industries suggested under the NRA having favorable wage differences established for the south. There were low wages for Negroes. Many factories were opened in the south by members of the industry taking advantage of the less skilled Negroes chiefly in agriculture. Labor was heavy in industry, in public service and domestic and personal service. Interest to a smaller degree has been made to skilled and unskilled labor classification. The act, of course, does not apply to agriculture, domestic or personal service. This, however, means more in the payment of workers in labor industries and trade which is in interstate commerce. These higher wages will give many members of your race their first opportunity to escape the hunger, ill health and squalor and general miseries which has been the results of economic advantages.

As the Wage and Hour Act expands, it is our intention to add a Negro lawyer to the staff to deal with the problems that affect the race. We hope to add Negroes to the staff of Cooperation and Enforcement Plan. We have also several Negro clerks employed in the division at the present time. As I have pointed out, the Wage and Hour Act affords many Negroes to escape substandards of living which were forced upon them by their forced entry without preparation into free labor market immediately after the Civil War.

(Excerpts from Elmer A. Andrews' speech,
January 13, 1939)

"Now, there are a great many things I would like to say about this matter of job opportunities. But I have only two minutes. One, it seems to me, one thing I would like to say is to point out again the ridiculousness of talking about vocational education alone, vocational rehabilitation and that sort of thing when there aren't any jobs to direct the Negroes to. The thing we ought to be

talking about is something more fundamental. That is important. But the fundamental is to devise something to protect Negroes, to see that there are jobs to guide them to. It goes back to the fact that where we have education set up all the way from elementary school to the high schools and the liberal arts colleges and liberal arts touches education in such a way that it has no relationship to the life of a Negro that has to live. History is taught in such a way that it has no significance written by some white man with illustrations of dynamics and sections of country where that is being taught. That professor couldn't go inside an airplane factory. If we get the right measures of teaching then we will take the lowest material that a Negro can come into contact with and teach science that way. In that way we will have other careers. What I am trying to say is that it is all right to talk about vocational rehabilitation but we must be elastic about it and then final....."

"In talking about the Lloyd-Gaines bill, I think there has been too much attention directed to graduate training and not enough realization of the fact that that bill, that rule by the Supreme Court can be applied to high schools and elementary schools in the south where many of us know they wouldn't teach our children in schools where they live. What we ought to do is to take the Lloyd-Gaines bill and the Boards of Education and see that the proper type of trade training is set up in the elementary schools as well as high schools and not waste too much time talking about graduate training and in that way set the stage for answering the argument that you don't have equipped Negroes."

(Excerpt from Forrester B. Washington's speech,
January 13, 1939)

"The recent executive order by the President of the United States which goes into effect on the first of February still further offered opportunities for people who are equipped to advance in the Federal Civil Service. These promotions in the future or after February 1st will be through examination. That executive order gives the commission power to collaborate with the various departments so that when a promotion comes along it shall be on the merit of efficiency and capability as shown through examination and not merely because of personal preference or some supervisors or head of some particular bureau. That naturally

is going to work in favor of Negroes because there is no use of denying the fact that some time in the past prejudices have skipped them down in the minor positions. We hope that that will work for efficiency in the government service as well. We believe this. We believe that if people were advanced to higher positions because of shown capability and shown efficiency that then the persons who have been in the past left somewhat in the background will have a better opportunity to advance.

"I don't want anybody to misunderstand me, that that is going to reasonably make a change in the situation so far as one class or another is concerned. Persons who are to be advanced must show themselves able to fit the positions. If the colored people in the country want to get into higher positions in the government, then they will have to equip themselves for these particular positions. In our own agency, Civil Service Commission, I think we have a larger proportion perhaps of Negro employees than most of the other agencies. For some time we have been advancing these people through examination in our commission. We haven't made any advances from one grade to another without examination giving an opportunity to all those who felt they could fill higher positions and giving an opportunity to take that examination. Just a little while ago we held examinations for promotion from messenger class to clerical positions. There were sixteen or eighteen people who were thought competent to take the examination and I think out of eight vacancies to fill, six of the vacancies that were filled through that examination were filled by colored people.

There is in your minds - I don't know whether in your minds, but in the minds of colored people particularly - that they are discriminated against because of photograph application. The thought in your mind is that the employing agency doesn't or would not name a person certified along with two others for a position due to the photograph which would show that the applicant is a colored person. Perhaps that is true, and it has been suggested that we do away with the photographs. I don't know that that could cure the situation that is being referred to. Those photographs were originally used a good many years ago because of the necessity of avoiding fraud in taking examinations. Before the use of photographs, it was found a great many people took examinations for someone else. People qualified took the examination in order that some friend or relative might then come in and get a position although the person who took the examination didn't want

to get that job. I don't know. As you know, our examinations are framed to fill the particular job where the vacancies are."

(excerpt from Mr. Harry B. Mitchell's speech,
January 13, 1939)

....."Mr. Mitchell did not make simple that the Negro can go from position one to zero by being missed or passed over three times. In other words, so far as the same department is concerned, a Negro who stands number one on the list being certified three times and rejected goes down to the foot of the list and is not certified again. So that you win only to lose. Now, on that question we must realize that the solution is largely political. You are not going to get it through the Civil Service Commission but you have to get it through your political strength....."

"On the question of work projects founded by the government and under the control of the Federal Government, the Works Progress Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps camps, the Tennessee Valley Authority and others. You have heard of the CCC camps and something of the WPA. I want to call your attention to the third government project, the TVA which to my mind is worse than any other authority that I know of with the possible exception of the FHA which has in its law that it will not make loans to Negroes in white districts, will not make loans to either whites or Negroes in either districts. Now, as to the TVA which is under examination, the TVA doesn't have a single Negro chauffeur in the whole TVA. It doesn't have a single Negro messenger, it doesn't have a single Negro stenographer in the whole TVA. If you want to know "why" the answer is that the TVA went down in the Tennessee Valley with the idea of a social rehabilitating program for the region but that social rehabilitating program doesn't include the Negro. Dr. Clapp who is Director of personnel admitted in Knoxville before a joint committee of Congress investigating the TVA, that one reason messengers in the TVA were what they were was because the messengers formed a part of the training program or apprenticeship program. It is not contemplated that messengers will not always remain a messenger, therefore he cannot be a Negro. In the same way the chauffeurs in the TVA will not remain a chauffeur and can't be a Negro in the TVA's eyes. In the same way when it comes to the question of camouflage, the TVA says that it employs Negroes in proportion to their population in the valley area. But what you find is that no Negroes are employed on the administration, and that construction, that is the actual construction of the dams, the construction has to absorb more than its percentage of Negroes in order to take care of the slack in the administration."

(excerpt from Charles Houston's speech,
January 13, 1939)

".....I want to say that I have attended both of these conferences that we have held under the auspices of the NYA and under the leadership of Mrs. Bethune. I believe that they are epoch making in their constructive character in regard to Negro thought and Negro programming and Negro life.

I have been equally impressed by the reverent regard by which all members have for the presiding officer. We have had the best possible democratic procedure and finest possible contribution on the part of a multitude of individuals. I have been impressed by the fact that we have passed through the stage in Negro life when a meeting of this kind must be taken up with long speeches by several individuals each capturing the conference with ideas and we begin to realize that if we are going to make a great program for the Negro race, we must get facts from different individuals and different points of view and thought and bring them to some constructive program. This we did the last time and this we have done this time and are going to do. It is a great forward step in my judgment in the life of the Negro race. It helps us all to know that it is that we want, and one of the first steps to getting what we want in this country and in this world is to have a very definite and clear cut conviction about what we want so that we believe it ourselves and can orient the points of a compass toward which we wish to move. It is a very great advantage to have these findings presented to the offices of the government. No government can be guided by the mere resentful protest of a disadvantaged people. The leaders in every political party are under great pressure from every point of view. There come moments when they see they can do something for the minority group like ours but they themselves are paralyzed unless they have before them a clear cut indication of what it is that we want them to do. If they can have in their hands the findings of such a representative conference as this and know that in spite of differences of opinion we can come to fundamental agreement, they can go forward with conviction that we are about to do something that will be greatly helpful to our people and greatly appreciated in all quarters.

May I emphasize, too, how important it is that we not only make up our minds and present our findings to the officials of the Federal Government but that we shall realize the importance of those findings being pushed by those members of our race who are identified with the party in power.

We must come more and more to recognize that what - ever may be our party's application, if our party is out of power then the Negroes who are in power are affiliated with the Negroes in the race. However much we may differ on this or that point we must further agree that they constitute the most timely and possibly constructive members of our race and we should do everything that we can to hold up their hands. I want to emphasize how important it is also, that in addition to the members of the party in power who would press for such a program, that we have here the importance of having a non-partisan national organization that shall never lose sight of all these objectives at the most strategic place whether in legislatures of states, Congress of the United States, or in the courts of the land. Every day that I live I am more and more confirmed of the absolute indispensable necessity of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and I think we have not advanced the support of the people in the way that we must.

May I suggest also the extreme importance that by the mere perpetuation of the program on a national scale and placing it in the hands of the officers of the government in power and in the hands of the Negroes who are associated with that organization and with the demands of the NAACP, we shall not be able to realize what we are seeking for in America until we put more emphasis upon the significance of black man and black woman who are on the spot in the state and locality.

I think it has come in our race when we are ready to recognize the existence of a person like Mrs. Bethune on a national scale. At the same time we know we are helpless unless scattered all over the land. We need people with equal courage and intelligence who will work and push the thing relentlessly.

.....Every program of this kind represents a number of different kinds of points of view. Every person who leaves the conference of this kind as soon as he can get a hold of a program should try to orient himself carefully as to whether he would go further to the right or to the left of the program here presented. On that we may never be stultified by mere agreement on a great compromise, however important, but a compromise continually punctured and attacked to new or orientation by persons who have more and stronger conviction on some point. It would seem to me

that a program of this kind should be placed in the hands of the social science and legal division of every Negro division in the country and in the hands of every Negro educator and every time we get to write and think on the Negro race, orient ourselves by common agreement, watching that we omit something or not because we haven't sufficient facts and to strengthen our convictions by getting a wider prospectus. So when we return to a conference like this as we must do year by year, we bring each time an increase of factualness, an increase of thoughtfulness and an increase of height of capacity to move forward on a stronger and broader and more powerful program."

(Excerpt from Dr. Charles S. Johnson's speech,
January 13, 1939)

"...We are people with a grievance and we have been invited to the very Capital of the Nation and requested to express that grievance, and if there is anybody here today or yesterday or the day before who has not expressed his opinions, it was his own fault. For a good many years I have been coming to meetings here and yonder, but I don't know when I have felt freer than I have here in the Department of Labor under the administration of this meeting. I said this morning, "What in the world have we left out?"

I think I owe it to myself, Mrs. Bethune, and to my respect for Negro womanhood, and to my sense of chivalry, to express to you and to say on the part of others here and certainly for myself, that we are profoundly grateful that you have invited us to come to Washington and I have been particularly charmed. I have enjoyed seeing these men and women of mind and body showing utterance and deference to our friend and leader. It seems to me a lasting respect to Negro womanhood that every one of us could carry.

And so to you, Mrs. Bethune, and to you, Mr. Williams, on behalf of your friends, without any camouflage, without any trick, without any platitudes, we most sincerely thank the NYA for the opportunity and the privilege to voice our minds. I move, on behalf of this group, that we extend to Mrs. Bethune our unstinted thanks and appreciation and love for her personal leadership and the integrity of her mind and the purity of her soul and the swell of her faith. God bless her and give her power."

REGISTERED DELEGATES

THE SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE
PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO AND NEGRO YOUTH

Washington, D. C.

January 12, 13 and 14, 1939

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