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TO BE EQUAL

Black College Gains An Illusion

By Vernon Jordan
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LEAGUE



Every time I see an analysis of the state of black Americans there is always one supposed bright spot in an otherwise gloomy picture. More blacks are going to college, and the proportion of blacks in college is about equal to the number of college-age blacks, and to the white rate of college attendance. The only trouble with that bright spot is that it isn't true.

That's because all post-secondary education is lumped under the label "college." Surveys show more black high school seniors aspire to a college education than do whites. But they don't get it.

Blacks in post-secondary education are far more likely than whites to be in vocational schools or in two-year community colleges. Proportionately fewer wind up in four-year colleges, and still fewer in universities. The opposite is true for white students.

Of special concern is the fact that the two-year community colleges are playing a steadily larger role in educating black youth. Almost half of all black students attending colleges are going to those institutions.

And yet there has been no national strategy devised concerning just what the proper role of those schools should be. Too often they are restricted to providing terminal occupational training.

That may be fine for many of their students, who receive the skills and knowledge required for specific occupations.

But many others are drawn to the two-year colleges because they are cheaper, because they think they can eventually transfer to four-year schools, or because they wrongly assume they can't do academic college-level work.

Black educators have expressed dismay that bright youngsters who should be getting university training are moving instead into community colleges and foregoing the career mobility and higher status occupation open to those holding higher degrees.

There are also fears that the nation may be creating an underfunded, understaffed and underachieving sector of higher education, designed to drain off minority and disadvantaged students whom the colleges and universities want to ignore.

Thus, critics say, there is a danger that the two-year colleges may become the ghetto of the community, reservations for the disadvantaged. Meanwhile, the higher track colleges and universities would be free to cater to the needs of white and middle class students.

Such a development would be a cruel blow to black educational aspirations. The two-year community colleges have a tremendous potential to develop into important institutions integrated into the structure of higher education.

Properly funded and organized community colleges can fulfill the basic needs of their

students and also serve as bridges to continued education. But so long as many four-year colleges refuse to accept transfers with full credit and so long as they are viewed as centers for remedial work for job training, that won't happen.

Too many black students who want to attend four-year colleges and universities don't do so because they can't afford them. Financial aid to students is drying up, and what's left is being spread more widely instead of being targeted to those most in need.

Federal grants are limited to half the tuition costs. This works against many black students in two ways. First, more attend public colleges that charge lower tuitions. So they get minimum grants while those attending high-cost universities get several times as much in aid. Second, since most black students come from poor and low income families, they need more help just to stay in school, regardless of tuition costs. They're not getting it.

So the raw numbers purporting to show that blacks are holding on to college enrollment gains are illusory. The numbers of enrolled blacks are slipping, they are concentrated in the least-favored sectors of higher education, and the gap between whites and blacks is growing in education, as in other fields. Those who are searching for bright spots will have to look elsewhere.



A PLEA FOR PROGRAMS

This newspaper has expressed concern about the concentration by the University of North Carolina on capital improvements at the predominately black campuses. It is our position, and we believe that of most of the chancellors of these campuses, that the greatest need is for operational funds.

Elizabeth City State, Fayetteville State, North Carolina Central, North Carolina A&T State, and Winston-Salem State Universities face great challenges in the coming years. They must compete equally for students, they must not allow themselves to become second-class schools.

We have seen North Carolina Central University make strenuous efforts to meet the challenges. One commendable effort has been to develop programs to serve working adults, those who often out of necessity interrupted their educations to earn their livings and those whose educations were cut short by family responsibility.

But NCCU had to make that effort without significant state support. To achieve significant results with the Evening College and Continuing Education programs at NCCU, the university must have sufficient funds to plan the programs, to adjust to a temporary duplication of course offerings, and to let the public know what it is doing.

Planning is essential. There is no great body of study which can be used to guide the development of employee

and adult education programs. The university must know what course employees and other adult students want to take, must know what courses will be supported by employers (who often pay tuition for employees and who reward educational activity by promotions) and must examine its schedules and offerings in light of the needs of a new population.

North Carolina Central University, and the other black universities, already serve a large body of students. The students now enrolled cannot be disadvantaged by the development of new programs. In the instance of NCCU's evening course offerings, the regular students must be able to take their courses during the day even while those courses are also offered at night. Until time brings an adjustment to the new scheduling system — as it will — NCCU and other schools engaged in efforts like this one must expect classes to be smaller than they could be and will become.

And finally the public must know what is happening. The effort to inform the public may include the stories this newspaper and others carry, but additional information sources are required: catalogs, brochures, advertisements, and posters among them.

All of these things will require additional program funds. The university has laid as good a groundwork as it can without program funding. Now UNC must find a way to help NCCU carry out its plans.

OUR DAY BEGUN

NAACP Celebrates Brown

By Benjamin L. Hooks
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NAACP



Recent articles in Jet Magazine and the Washington Post have tended to cast a pall over the approaching 25th anniversary of the *Brown v. Board of Education* victory of May 17 which ended the judicial sanction of separate but equal school facilities.

The articles have focused on purported conflicts between the parent NAACP and its now totally independent and separate offspring, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

From its incorporation in 1939 until its separation in 1958, the Inc. Fund served as the civil rights department of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People under the direction of Special Counsel Thurgood Marshall. The Fund had been created to receive tax deductible contributions as well as to launch a concerted legal drive against segregation.

Because offers that the federal government would revoke this special tax status due to its aggressive civil rights stance, the Inc. Fund was completely divorced from the NAACP. But despite the fact that both organizations have gone their separate ways over the past 22 years, many people still regard the Inc. Fund as the NAACP's legal

department. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

In any event, the NAACP will proceed to commemorate this landmark victory as it has done over the years by special proclamations and other ceremonies. We have called on local units to present scrolls of proclamations to legislatures in every state.

At the same time, the National Board of Directors will meet from May 16-18 in Columbia, S. C., which featured in one of the cases that led to the decision. There also, on the 17th, the NAACP will have a special banquet.

The *Brown* victory indisputably was masterminded by the NAACP under the leadership of its Special Counsel, Thurgood Marshall. The chronicle of this victory in the 1954 NAACP Annual Report states:

"In the history of the United States, and certainly in the history of the American Negro, the decision was and will continue to be of utmost significance: it put the law of the land unequivocally on the side of human rights. For that legal victory the Association, and all Americans, owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to the many dedicated lawyers, living and dead, who over the years

fought without compromise for unabridged Negro citizenship rights. Among them were such men as the late Moorfield Story, Charles H. Houston, Arthur Garfield Hays, and Leon Ransom. The list of the living must include, among many others, Arthur B. Spingarn, Thurgood Marshall, William H. Hastie, Robert L. Carter, and Loren Miller."

Arthur Spingarn, then president of the NAACP, was dean of the Association's lawyers. Hastie, Carter and Miller were principal *Brown* strategists with Marshall.

In calling for an end to "separate but equal facilities" "with all deliberate speed," the U. S. Supreme Court under the guidance of Chief Justice Earl Warren had expressed an optimism that has been frustrated at almost every turn. Without a doubt, progress has been made in civil rights and race relations since then.

But black Americans must measure their progress by the distance that they yet must cover to achieve their goal of equal social and economic opportunity and justice. And that distance is indeed great. So by commemorating the *Brown* decision, the NAACP is seeking to recommit the nation to these just ends.

"If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who propose to favor freedom and yet depreciate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the oceans majestic waves without the awful roar of its waters."

Frederick Douglass

THINGS YOU SHOULD KNOW

William W. BROWN



...THE FIRST NEGRO NOVELIST IN AMERICA / HE TRAINED AS A PRINTER WITH ABOLITIONIST EDITOR ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY & BECAME AN AGENT OF THE WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY / HIS BOOK, *LOTEL* OR *THE PRESIDENT'S DAUGHTER* WAS PUBLISHED IN LONDON IN 1853, IN THE U.S. IN 1864, AND WAS WIDELY READ! CONTINENTAL FEATURES

'Congressman Hawkins' Column

BLACKS LOSING GAINS OF THE 60's

By Augustus F. Hawkins



If you don't live in the ghettos of this country, then you can't know how really bad things are for blacks.

And they are going to get worse, given the predictions of most economists that we are headed for a recession this year, and given the President's 1980 budget.

Unfortunately the President is hell-bent on cutting programs that blacks need just to survive minimally. He's also not about to be moved by the argument that black America is in crisis, even with all the information he has access to in order to substantiate such a charge.

But since American President's have never been particularly noted for their sensitivity to pending crisis, this President is no worse on this issue than his predecessors.

What I would like to do, relative to this matter is to share with Mr. Carter some things I've been reading recently about what happens when black desperation overcomes black rationality.

Two years after the Watts (or more correctly — South Central Los Angeles) riots in August 1965, and after all the reports on the riot were filed and forgotten, there suddenly appeared a small gray booklet called "Riots In the City." Its publishers were the Los Angeles Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers.

The booklet written by three social science professionals and activists, describes events which lead to race riots. More specifically the booklet described Watts in terms of its economic poverty which made desperate people in Watts do desperate things.

In that hot summer of 1965, Watts boiled in its:

"Resentment against the Police whom the Negroes regarded as an occupying army, frustration in their ability to find employ-

ment, anger at the increasing prosperity in which they did not share, bitterness as being economically exploited, and anguish at being kept at the lowest rung of the social ladder..."

Alienated, powerless, rejected, and unable to economically move up and out, the people of Watts, systematically destroyed the businesses of all those they felt were guilty of exploiting them.

It didn't solve their problems, but it gained the attention of the decision-makers, in the white community, and it dramatically presented the black community's desperate plight.

There ought to be a happy ending to these events. We should be able to say that progress was made and that these things are behind us.

Instead, blacks, in Watts, and all over this nation never having recovered from the economic crisis of the 60's, are in a more severe crisis today.

For example, overall joblessness went from 5.8 per cent to 5.7 per cent between January and February. But for blacks, unemployment rose from 11.2 per cent to 11.9 per cent, while at the same time the rate for white workers fell from 5.1 per cent to 4.9 per cent.

More acutely, the jobless rate for adult black males with families to support, rose sharply to 8.6 per cent from 7.5 per cent in January.

There are other, equally infamous signs: blacks are being victimized by income-erosion; the nation is on a fiscal conservatism kick — which is bad for blacks; blacks are becoming more unequal to whites educationally; the Administration lacks a viable urban policy; affirmative action policies are under continuous legal attack;

and fee-for-service health care ignores black family economic conditions.

On March 15, 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson addressed the U.S. Congress and noted:

"Our mission is at once the oldest and the most basic of this country: to right wrong, to do justice, to serve man."

Those are good words. We need now more than ever to pay attention.

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