

Twenty-five years ago last month, the U.S. Supreme Court declared separate schools to be inherently unequal, reversing the constitutional interpretation of the Supreme Court in 1899 when it established the segregation doctrine in the Plessy v. Ferguson case.

But what has the Brown v. the Board of Education decision brought us during the past quarter century? Black folks got a belly full of footdragging as southern school systems moved with "due deliberate speed" to maintain segregation.

In our struggles to implement this new doctrine that said black people have an equal right to quality education, we spent a large amount of time and resources in court.

In our search for allies in this struggle, we turned to the federal bureaucracy and have since inherited a plethora of programs, efforts, regulations, etc.

We've seen the diminishing of black educators, particularly principals, and other blacks in management.

Previously predominantly black schools have either been closed, even when they were newer buildings than local white schools, or downgraded to junior high and even elementary schools.

But the most important problem is the reaction to a downgrading of black education.

So, using the last 25 years as evidence, we can conclude that while segregation was certainly unequal, integration, as it has been fashioned in this country, hasn't been equal either.

It seems to me that going back to 1954 through the recent we've made a fundamental error in judgement. We have traditionally believed firmly that America's white society is basically good, and when faced with certain factors, such as a Supreme Court decision, will conform to the obvious.

Today's record clearly indicates that assumption was erroneous.

Let's consider the record.

First, let's establish what caused segregated schools to be unequal, but also let's point out that these same factors caused black education to be as strong as it was.

The cause of segregation's inequality in education was simply money. White boards of education spent

The Black Beat

By MILTON JORDAN



more on white schools, for materials, books, etc., than they did on black schools. White teachers were paid substantially more, they tell me, than black teachers of equal experience. This was, of course, justified by the reasoning that no black teacher could be equal to a white teacher, because blacks weren't afforded equal education. Therefore, let us not kid ourselves that the proponents of segregation didn't realize that segregation promoted inequality.

But because black educators understood, like the white powers that be understood, that education is the first key to freedom, black teachers and principals fought hard to turn defeat into victory.

They often succeeded. Most of the blacks who have made significant contributions to this country, and to our people are products of segregated schools.

In those days of unequal segregated schools, black educators were professionals with a mission: to contribute all they could to the freedom of black people.

Today, too many black educators are professionals with something missing: the zeal and determination to inspire their students to excel to the limits of their capabilities.

But it's not all their fault.

Many black educators and other blacks are victims today of a strategy launched 25 years ago to continue in an integrated setting what has been established in a segregated setting. Many whites are dedicated to keeping us behind by any means necessary.

Here's how I believe they did it

When the Supreme Court issued its precedent-setting decision, opponents immediately established machinery to move as slowly as possible. Deliberate speed would indicate that even the Supreme Court can't change things. Even the Supreme Court, the strategy argued, can't guarantee blacks equality. Therefore, we as a people are conditioned to conclude that even the constitution offers us no guarantees. The result of this conditioning would be political, economic and educational apathy that would create the same conditions in an integrated setting that many racists designed segregation to accomplish.

Another part of the strategy was to eliminate as many black educators as possible, particularly in management. Why? The reason is obvious. These are the people who were accomplishing virtual miracles under segregated conditions. There was no telling what they would have done under integrated. They might have lifted the blinders off a lot of white folks' eyes, and the racist would lose a significant portion of their power base.

But it was no simple matter to fire these people, because many of them, products of the era when blacks had to be twice as good as whites just to get jobs, were highly qualified and competent.

So the strategy called for the closing of black schools to eliminate the need for so many black principals and management officials, along with many black teachers.

This segment of the strategy accomplished a number of things.

It decreased the number of black principals. "Black administrators have been consistently eliminated from North Carolina's public schools since 1964," says Bernard Allen, a career educator who is writing his master's thesis on the plight of black educators.

According to Allen, in 1964 there were 254 black principals in North Carolina who headed schools with graduating classes. In 1971, however, they were only twelve remaining.

Allen says the methods of eliminating black administrators have included school consolidation, demotion to the classroom, dismissal and transfers to insignificant positions.

The strategy also decreased the number of black schools, many of which were multi-purpose institutions in their communities. But most importantly, it made black students feel like strangers, unwanted and disrespected.

Small wonder our students have forgotten how to learn. Parents have often been too busy, or too unconcerned to motivate and inspire them, and to fight their youngsters' battles with racist educators the youngsters couldn't fight themselves. The remaining crop of black teachers are often afraid to be pro-black for fear of losing their jobs. So they become neutral, and largely just throw out information, hoping their charges will be able to regurgitate it come test time.

Those black educators who have maintained their dedication to excellence, have simply been swamped with the enormity of the problem. They are simply outnumbered.

The third part of the strategy, I believe, was to marshal majority white opposition to integration by promoting its inconvenience.

This segment was implemented by saying that busing somehow decreased the quality of education.

So here we are, 25 years later, reaping the rewards of an attempt to maintain under integration the basic principles of segregation. Thus, the question facing us today as we celebrate that landmark Supreme Court decision is what will be done about it?

Next week, I'll discuss the strategy of educational racism as it related to black colleges. See you then.

Blacks and the Budget

The battle of the budget is underway in the Congress, and for the first time blacks have some real leverage which could tilt the scales toward the Human Needs Amendment which Congressman Parren Mitchell and the Congressional Black Caucus are pushing.

The leverage is there, first of all, through Congressman Mitchell whom Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill has named as one of his deputy whips. This is the first time in history that a black Congressman has been a deputy whip.

Important also in the fight for human needs is the black representation on key committees. Louis Stokes of Ohio and Rev. William H. Gray, III of Pennsylvania are on the House Budget Committee; Charles B. Rangel of New York and Harold E. Ford of Tennessee are on the Ways and Means Committee; and Julian C. Dixon of California, who succeeded Congresswoman Yvonne Burke, is on the Appropriations Committee.

Mitchell wants a supplementary allocation of a billion

The Black Side of Washington

BY SHERMAN BRISCOE
NNPA

dollars in '79 for such purposes as aid to black colleges, public housing, black business, economic development, and CETA, the Comprehensive Employment Training Act. And he wants an additional four billion dollars in the 1980 half a trillion dollar budget.

It will be interesting to watch the fight now that blacks in Congress have real power.

Diggs and Herman

Blacks here in Washington and everywhere else are watching to see how the Senate Ethics Committee is going to handle the case of Sen. Herman Talmadge of Georgia. You know, Herman is the son of Gene

Talmadge who made his way to the governor's mansion race-baiting and warring red galleuses.

Years later, ax handle wielding Lester Maddox followed he same route to the Georgia capitol.

All signs point to kid glove treatment for Herman by his fellow Senators who usually look after the members of their exclusive club. Over in the House, members turned their backs on Congressman Charles Diggs. Does justice wear two faces over on Capitol Hill?

GOP Cuts '80 Delegation

The Republicans have reduced their 1980 Convention delegation by 266, reducing the number from 2,259 to

1,993 for tighter control. The Democrats, on the other hand, are expected to have their regular 5,417 delegates and alternates. Interestingly, more than half the GOP cut — 148 delegates — has been snatched from the South. This will hurt Baker, Connally and Reagan, and will further reduce the small black GOP delegation from the South and the rest of the country. Was that ex-President Ford's hand we saw back of the curtain?

Black Colleges Without Influence?

Ebony magazine has just selected its "100 Most Influential Black Americans" and not a single one represents a black college. There of heads of all kinds of sororities and fraternities and clubs, state officers and church convention leaders, but no college presidents.

This seems odd, considering that there are some 105 predominantly black colleges turning out hundreds of thousands of graduates every year. Even Cheek of Howard, Foster of Tuskegee, Leonard of Fisk, Gayles of Taldega, Dennard of Atlanta University, and Branson of Lincoln failed to make the list. But that's how the cookie crumbles.

at 3.4 per cent some say let's forget about black unemployment. Parren showed that in recommending cutting of the government efforts to end unemployment because the private sector will do it, will only prove that the big businesses will continue to lower white unemployment but will have little or no effect on black joblessness. Mitchell said that whatever the corporations' hiring policies may be, racism stands at the employment gate. He said racism can find 10,000 reasons why blacks cannot be employed but will always give one good reason why a white person can be hired.

Parren said what congress is really saying is that blacks, Hispanics and other minorities are disproportionately unemployed and that it is going to increase their unemployment. He said that some members on the budget committee cared about human beings while others felt that blacks, Hispanics and other minorities are expendable. He showed that congress and the President are pursuing policies to increase unemployment.

All members of the Black Caucus are downright sore over both the President's and House budget, and all seventeen of them are working hard to get a budget passed that will reduce unemployment and take the greatest burden of inflation off the backs of minorities, poor and elderly.

So Black Citizens, contact your white congressman, immediately, and let them know that you expect them to work for minority concerns too.

each year pay tribute to a black American. This year's dinner was devoted to Barry Gordy, Sr. "Life is somethin'. Life is really somethin'. You just got to know how to live it. There's lots to learn." Sage advice from the man who sired Berry Gordy, Jr., President of the largest black business in America according to Black Enterprise Magazine.

In my lengthy speech to the mayors, something to do with generating needed revenues, there was much laboring on converging political power for the benefit of black people.

Pop Gordy probably did not hear me hollerin' about how black mayors must assume this responsibility of running their cities for the economic benefit of black Americans. However, what he said and truly believed is the best advice any speaker could give to any audience that is that "People are the number one project in this world."

Black Caucus Mad Over Racist Budget

The House of Representatives has been rangling on the floor over the 1980 budget that came out of the House Budget Committee. This proposal represents cut in the social programs of President Carter's budget which already was a cut in those same programs from the 1979 budget. The Black Caucus is fighting mad over these superficial proposals of both the Administration and Budget Committee of pretense of fighting inflation while protecting the politically powerful.

The Caucus members are putting up a very strong fight to get the House and Administration to carry out the mandates of Humphrey-Hawkins that was passed by congress and signed into law by the President.

Representative Hawkins said the 25 years of observation; have revealed that inflation soared when stagnation in the economy and recession came and that price stability was attained under conditions close to full production and full employment. He stated that the more the "trade off" theory of reducing inflation by rising unemployment fails the more it is resorted to by both the Administration and congress. Humphrey-Hawkins mandates will prevent the errors which caused, a few years ago, the highest inflation since the Civil War and biggest economic downturn since the depression. Gus Hawkins emphasized that intentions to balance the

FROM THE WHITE HOUSE

By ALFREDA L. MADISON



budget defeats the mandates of Humphrey-Hawkins because the objectives of it are full employment full production and priority justice. He further stated that the Act requires congress to bring the President's budget in line with its mandates. Congressman Hawkins said the House and Administration budgets move towards scarcity rather than abundance, deterioration rather than improvement; Towards saddling the evils of inflation upon the unfortunate while fattening the pockets of the richest and most powerful.

Representative Parren Mitchell stated that both the House Budget bill and the President's failure to deal with any specifics for reaching the goals of Humphrey-

Hawkins. Mitchell said he feels the failure of both the Administration and House to set forth specifics is because to do so would require a good look at unemployment. He spoke of how ever since World War II black unemployment has, at least, been twice as high as that of whites, and that reasons given are; blacks have less skills than whites, less educated and less motivated, but during World War II the defense industry took the unskilled, uneducated, unlettered and unmotivated and overnight transformed them into productive workers. He said that there is no commitment by our government leaders to end black unemployment. He emphasized that since white male unemployment is

BUSINESS IN THE BLACK

Mayors' Meeting

By CHARLES E. BELLE

A little respect was paid to the White House by these power brokers as they nodded during the course of the speech of Jack Watson, one of the white assistants to the present President. Mr. Watson was holding out a promise from the President to provide increases in employment opportunities and municipal development for the mayors.

This magnificent maneuver in the plan form no less will be presented to the President in err- about six months. The black mayors no doubt sense the scheme is to be held out like a carrot to get James Earl Carter re-elected. Reaching for their napkins the mayors made for the door as politely as possible.

Putting politics aside for one moment, the mayors

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Turnout

Continued from page 2
D. Schaefer, and Pete Rozelle, commissioner of the National Football League. Baltimore City Councilman Walter Orlinsky and Sportswriters Association Representative John Steadman spoke for themselves.

Comments and presentations of plaques and trophies were made by a score of representatives of organizations and business firms including: Dr. Andrew Billingsley, chancellor of Morgan State University; Joe Black, vice president of Greyhound; Sherman Briscoe, NNPA executive director; Fred Brown of Anheuser-Busch whose presentation included \$1,000 as did Victor Julien's of Heublin.

In the audience were: Claude "Buddy" Young, Mr. and Mrs. Lee Archer, Coach Eddie Hurt, and Lenny Moore.

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