

# EDITORIALS AND COMMENTS

## RACE A KEY FACTOR IN VETERINARY SCHOOL DECISION

An official decision will be made next Wednesday concerning the location of the new state veterinary school and from all indications, the Board of Governors of the University of North Carolina will award the school to North Carolina State University in Raleigh instead of A&T State University in Greensboro.

Based on a rating system devised by two Ohio State University professors, a planning committee of the board has already recommended the awarding of the school to State, and just last week voted a second time in NCSU's favor. The planning committee also recommended a study to determine the possibility of developing a "complementary facility" at A&T.

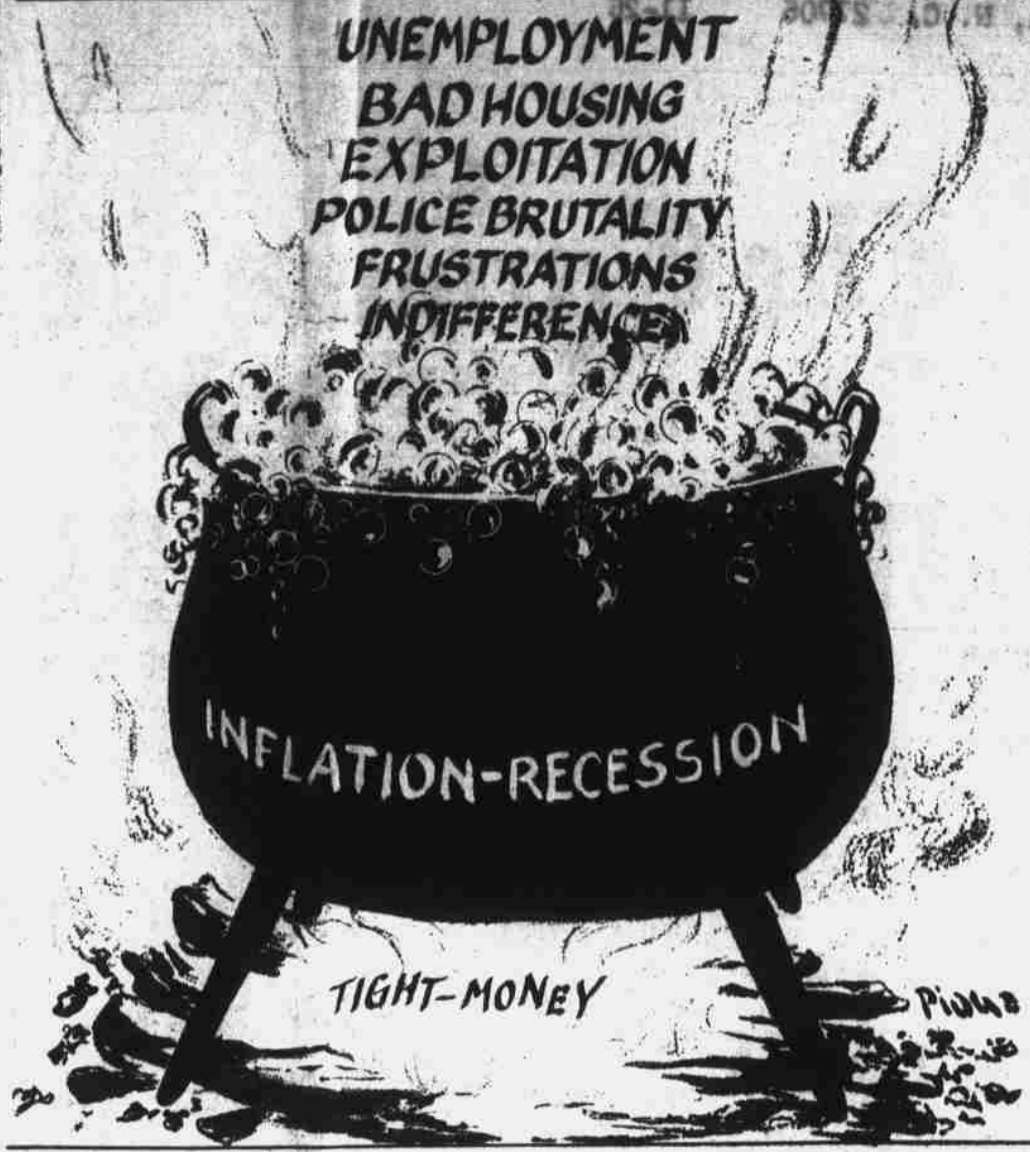
It is not known at this time what form the "complementary facility" would take, but we support the lukewarm response to it by A&T Chancellor Lewis Dowdy. It is unfortunate, but from all indications race will be an important factor in the board's ultimate decision, and the key question - as we have stated previously - is whether the state of North Carolina will diversify the strength of the university system's professional schools and at the same time, upgrade the quality of the professional schools at the system's traditionally black campuses.

Everything else then, becomes secondary, the HEW regulations concerning the racial impact on the respective campuses, the preparedness of the two universities regarding the implementation of the new program, the room for possible expansion at the two campuses, or even the location of most of the state's veterinarians. Even the matter of the quality of the new program is secondary for in a real sense - and simply put - North Carolina will have a quality veterinary school at A&T OR N.C. State if it wants to have one. It makes no difference where it is located.

No, the issue comes down to a matter of black and white and as a result the final decision of the Board of Governors is anxiously awaited. For in the final analysis, the Board's decision will not only affect the future of veterinary medicine in the state, but will also reflect, to a large extent, the official state of North Carolina view towards the importance, relevance and quite possibly, the future of the state's traditionally black state-supported institutions of higher learning.

The selection of A&T for the new vet school would indicate for a long time to come that the traditionally black university has a key role in the future of North Carolina higher education.

### Seeds Of Unrest In The Black Community



## TO BE EQUAL

By VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.

This past summer the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights released a report titled "Equal Opportunity in Suburbia" that deserves a lot more attention than it's received.

The report is a damning indictment of the growing polarization that locks more and more blacks into city ghettos while more

and more whites flock to suburbs from which blacks and other minorities are largely excluded.

"The exodus of affluent whites from the cities has continued unabated," the report states, "along with the large-scale movement of jobs and wealth. The new suburbs have enjoyed an era of unparalleled prosperity, while the central cities have strained to answer growing demands for services for the urban poor and, ironically, suburban commuters."

The population shift is easily seen. From 1960 to 1970 the white population of large central cities decline by 1.9 million people, while their black population increased by 2.8 million. As the central cities became blacker, the suburbs absorbed greater numbers of white families.

A population shift of this size doesn't just happen. There are two basic reasons why blacks did not join the movement to the suburbs - past and present racial discrimination in housing, and the suburbs' intentional lack of housing opportunities for lower income families. Even this last reason has racial connotations - proportionately, twice as many poor blacks as poor whites live in central cities.

This situation affects blacks negatively in many ways. First, there is the denial of equal opportunity to live where a family wants to live.

It also means lost job opportunities. Most cities are experiencing a loss in jobs, especially blue-collar jobs most likely to be held by minorities. Not only are old factories moving out of the city into the suburbs, but new industries are also locating there.

This means, for most black workers, an impossibly long and costly commute or the necessity to buy cars or join un dependable car pools. Many businesses pull out of the city without any attempt to insure that the suburbs they move to will allow housing for their workers.

Federal and state fair housing laws have proven ineffective. They are not enforced and beyond making a few cosmetic changes, most real estate brokers continue to foster a dual market for housing, shunting blacks into all-black or "changing" neighborhoods. Many banks and mortgage lenders "red-line" such areas too, refusing mortgage money for houses there.

Suburban governments erect barricades behind which few blacks are allowed. Their zoning laws make it impossible to build on smaller lots or to build apartment housing. Often the Commission found, existing black neighborhoods were demolished by roads and other government sponsored projects. And most have refused to allow their communities to participate in public housing or rent supplement housing. The report documents too, the extent to which the federal government has encouraged this trend, starting with official backing for racially restricted neighborhoods and continuing to the present passive role in enforcing anti-discrimination laws and desegregating the suburbs.

In fact, the government has been one of the worst offenders in relocating important functions from the central city to suburbs lacking accommodations for minority and less well paid employees.

The Commission recommends in addition to strict enforcement of the laws, creation of metropolitan-wide housing and community development agencies in each state to guarantee housing opportunities for all, regardless of race or income.

That is something the federal government ought to take to heart. The vicious cycle of housing discrimination and denial of equal housing opportunities has to be broken before the country is permanently locked into rigid class and racial segregation.

## THE U IN HOUSING

By GLORIA E.A. TOOTE

### Cash Assistance

Discriminatory housing practices are, by law, illegal. Strict enforcement of the law is mandatory. The tools for assuring compliance are guidelines, regulations, governmental monitoring, investigation, and litigation.

It is also the policy of my Office of Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity, however, to provide technical assistance wherever possible to assure compliance with the law.

President Ford's commitment to open housing was clearly enunciated in his signing of the landmark Housing and Community Development Act of 1974. "In particular," the President emphasized, "we will carefully monitor the use of funds to assure that recipients fully comply with Civil Rights Law prohibiting discrimination."

This new Housing and Community Development Law is significant to total America, as it provides for the development of viable urban communities that can assure decent housing, and a suitable living environment for the poor, and that will expand economic opportunities for persons of low and moderate income. It offers hope for the eventual elimination of slums and the conservation and expansion of housing with increased public services.

The commitment of this law to remedy the needs of the poor, is evidenced with the provisions of the allocation of funds on a formula based on population, housing overcrowding and poverty which is counted twice. Also the expansion of the experimental housing allowance program and direct cash assistance for low income housing in private accommodations may provide greater access to open housing for minorities.

Of critical concern to the Office of Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity is the freedom of choice and availability of housing unfettered with discrimination for minorities and the poor.

The priority in program application for developers who offer 20 per cent or less of their units for assisted families will do much to ease the impact of the poor within a given geographic area, to preclude the design of instant ghettos, and to assure the receipt of like services for all citizens.

There is also the promise of better selection of sites for the housing of the poor with the involvement of both the private developer and the local housing authority.

Section 8 of the new Housing law provides for the leased housing of units already in existence and available for occupancy. However, some existing housing will have to be substantially rehabilitated for program use. It is the Department's hope that housing to be built in the future will also be available. The major application of this new program will be multi-family structures.

But whatever the size or the style of the housing, the new Law provides that HUD can enter into a contract with its owner or owner-to-be provided that the owner is willing to rent to lower-income persons without discrimination, and the Department will guarantee a rent subsidy for the occupants of low income.

Priority in the allocation of Section 8 housing guarantees will be provided where leasing of subsidized units involve not more than 20 per cent of the developments total number of apartments. The intent of this provision is to encourage an economic mix among residents and, avoid concentration and impact of minorities and the poor.

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## The Grand Illusion of Separatism Full Of Contradictions

By BAYARD RUSTIN

Black Americans perceive the debate over whether we are in a depression as an irrelevant exercise in avoiding harsh realities. Depression is a harsh and relentless fact of life in the ghetto, and its cold tentacles have begun to ensnare working people and the middle class, having disposed of the most impoverished.

For many, the abrupt and unprecedented turn of events has encouraged a sense of hopelessness, a feeling that things are going to get much worse before they get better if indeed the do get better. I do not subscribe to the alarm and defeatism so often encountered today. I am convinced

that America has the resources and creativity necessary to overcome current problems.

The prophets of defeat and gloom, will no doubt be proven accurate if the level of national leadership does not rise above its present mediocrity and timidity. And while the Black community certainly did not create the problems we are mired in, it has a natural and fundamental leadership role to play in helping to determine how the nation is to face enormous consequences of economic deterioration, and to help formulate an aggressive, thoroughgoing agenda of change.

This agenda, it should be stressed, would require a considerable break from the thinking of the past. It would be more far-reaching than the Great Society which, for all the good it accomplished, was a far too limited response to pervasive class and racial injustices. More to the point, it would not be a recognizable black program, but would instead embrace all those who need social change or the protection of government against the consequences of a mismanaged economy.

This last point is crucial for both moral and strategic reasons. It is a vital moral point simply because depression is color-blind, its full force, if it comes, will be felt by white and black worker alike. And from the point of view tactics devised solely for black people (with the obvious exception of civil rights laws) have without exception failed to accomplish anything but the raising of false illusions.

How meaningful in retrospect, was the proposition to build a black financed and black financed and black managed ghetto economy structure? Those who pinned their hopes on the strategy of black capitalism: not only deceived themselves, but diverted the energies and ideas of the civil rights movement to a stone wall of confusion and failure.

What of the notion, implicit in much of the black studies movement, that education should primarily serve to advance cultural solidarity, rather than helping students, prepare for the real world? Today black studies courses are largely ignored by black students, precisely because they recognize how useless and empty of content they are.

What of the whole separatist movement, with its emphasis on trying to forge uniquely "black" answers to any and every social, political and economic problem? The march of events has clearly revealed its weakness, contradicting its total inability to achieve for black people even the most minimal progress.

What separatism has accomplished is to supply to forces of reaction with a justification for every cutback, every program dismantlement, for the attacks on school integration, in other words, for every signal of retreat trumpeted during the past six years.

It was not so long ago, in the 1960's, when the basic goals of black people defined a national agenda of change. While this agenda was built around the specific and unique needs of minorities, it was relevant to all those who had been excluded from a share of the good things our society has generated. Today, of course, the destiny of blacks is much more intertwined with the future of American society.

Blacks will not move ahead while the rest of society is in widespread decline. Our needs will only be served by a rapid and dramatic transformation of society which results in a new and better social order that meets the needs of all who are in need.



## Black Empowerment

By Dr. Nathaniel Wright, Jr.  
HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST

### "BLACK GENOCIDE"

One of the potentially explosive social issues during the decade of the 1970's will be the issue of alleged black genocide or the severe and repressive limitation of black numbers.

Whether the alleged black genocide is planned or unplanned is not the essential question. Thoughtful and responsible citizens, rather, will concern themselves primarily with such questions as to whether the genocide charges are real and, if so, what can be done about them.

Charges of black genocide were made in one of the key resolutions of the 1967 National Conference on Black Power. These charges were re-stated by the Black Panthers.

Most recently, however, no less a distinguished churchman than Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Washington, D.C., has joined his voice with those who are warning that systematic efforts are presently underway for the limitation particularly of the black population in America.

The prime targets of the charges of black genocide have been government and private agencies concerned with birth control, family planning and with national and world population control. Added to the targets most recently have been the so-called environmentalists.

Some advocates of a cleaner and more agreeable environment have been talking about the creation also of an ideal kind of population to live in an ideal environment. An ideal population, according to the prevalent American conception of what is ideal, would certainly not include basically black people.

Our schools, by their failure to prepare black youth for work, are also seen to be stockpiling for genocide of black people.

The fear of possibly widespread and unstated sympathy for the limitation of black numbers is held by a number of people who have been reflecting upon the social, as well as economic effects of automation.

With growing automation, and the consequent diminishing need for manual labor, large numbers of our population as a whole will be forced out of the labor market. By 1980, as many as 60% of our black people may be considered idle if things continue on their present course.

With our American Protestant "ethic of work", this situation may mean a catastrophe for black people. In our society, on the basis of inherited religious principles, a man's worth is determined by his productive work. If a man does not engage in productive work, he is considered worthless. An efficiency-minded economy would always tend to eliminate that which is dysfunctional or non-productive.

While large numbers of white laborers would also be nonproductive, the brunt of the population limitation efforts would logically tend to be concentrated upon the overwhelmingly "worthless" or nonproductive blacks.

Even now, efforts are being made to couple family size limitations with public welfare assistance.

Controversy was created in New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and in several southern and western states over this practice several years ago. Yet, present government programs through the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare practically guarantee the continuance of the practice of coupling birth control of family size limitation with the public welfare or family relief endeavors.

Indeed, in 1968 over one-half of the public and private agency efforts at birth control and family size limitation were directed at the black poor. The poor whites were discriminated against in the efforts at bestowing such a blessing as family size limitation upon the needy in our land.

Values in any society change gradually. When we spend, as in New York City in 1970, more money for relief than for public education, it shows that our society does not value in a primary way the development of human potential.

Our basic purpose with all human life must be to encourage in every way the capacity for every life to sustain itself and to contribute to the common good.

When we use relief, employment discrimination, poor schools and a hypocritical nod at the drug addiction problem to force a major portion of one specific group out of the class of "productive citizenry," we are encouraging genocide.

Whether we believe that genocide is being consciously planned against black people or not, the incontrovertible fact is that increasing numbers of blacks are being forced to live in a pregenocidal condition.

People who are sustained by the public's taxes and who do not contribute to the common good are soon will be considered as an unnecessary evil to be limited or controlled in our society. With our present practice of not guaranteeing some type of worthy productivity for all of our citizens, we are simply creating unconsciously the pre-conditions for genocide.

We must all recognize the symptoms which point to the possibility of black genocide and then we must work openly and honestly to eliminate the causes of this pre-entially tragic condition among us.

## Things You Should Know

### PRINCE HALL



... THE FATHER OF FREE MASONRY FOR U.S. NEGROES - A MULATTO BORN IN 1748, IN BRIDGE TOWN, BARBADOS, B.W.I. HE CAME HERE 1765; WAS FULLY SELF-EDUCATED BY THE AGE OF TWENTY-SEVEN, AND A RENOWNED METHODIST PREACHER AT CAMBRIDGE, MASS. HE FOUGHT IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, AND HAVING RISEN TO THE RANK OF MASTER MASON, FOUGHT FOR A CHARTER FOR A NEGRO MASONIC LODGE. HE WON THIS GRANT MARCH 2, 1784, FROM THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND AFTER MANY REFUSALS BY AMERICANS!

## The Carolina Times

L. E. AUSTIN  
Editor-Publisher 1927-1971

Published every Saturday at Durham, N.C.  
by United Publishers, Inc.

MRS. VIVIAN AUSTIN EIMONDS, Publisher  
MALVIN E. MOORE, III, Editor  
CLARENCE BONNETTE, Business Manager  
J. ELWOOD CARTER, Advertising Manager

Second Class Postage Paid at Durham, N.C.  
27702

### SUBSCRIPTION RATES

United States and Canada ..... 1 Year \$8.50  
United States and Canada ..... 2 Years \$15.50  
Foreign Countries ..... 1 Year \$10.00  
Single Copy ..... 20 Cents

Principal office located at 436 East Pettigrew Street  
Durham, North Carolina 27702