

Editorials & Comments

Black Colleges Face Loser's Paradox

by Hoyle H. Martin, Sr.
Post Editorial Writer

In mid-January, President Jimmy Carter issued an executive memorandum ordering all federal departments to increase their support of the nation's predominantly black universities and colleges.

This action was in response to an earlier concern expressed by the leadership of black higher education that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare was planning to take some action involving federal student loan defaults. Such action was considered by many black educators to be a contributing factor in the economic, social and political pressures that are threatening the continued existence of many such institutions.

Undoubtedly, highlighting these pressures today is the struggle now going on between HEW and the University of North Carolina system over the fate of the state's five predominantly black public colleges within the system's proposed desegregation plan. Specifically, the failure of the University system to agree to spend \$120 million on the black institutions over the next five years and to make other changes to desegregate these schools has led HEW to threaten to hold back some \$89.5 million in annual aid and \$40.5 million in students' aid funds. The University system has countered this action by threatening to file a lawsuit to prevent the possible loss of Federal funds.

In the meantime, the five predominantly black schools -- N.C. A&T State, N.C. Central, Winston-Salem, Fayetteville and Elizabeth City state universities -- must sit idly by in a state of helplessness as pawns in this political game.

Do We Hate Our Neighbors?

During the days of slavery, the so-called "house nigger" -- those who wore the ruffled shirts and worked in the big white plantation house and scorned the field-hand slaves -- were sometimes liars and cheats who too often delighted in getting their field-hand brothers in trouble with the slave master. While the "house nigger" may have acted as he did for reasons of self-survival, too many contemporary black Americans maintain that feeling of hostility toward other blacks. "This is reflected in what is called "...a nigger ain't s..." theory.

Blacks who commit a disproportionate share of the nation's crime, commit most of that crime against other blacks. We don't support black business, our political leaders, nor our community needs. We desert our wives and children at an alarming rate. We appear too, to take every opportunity to ridicule and make fun of a fellow black who experiences some misfortune.

In fact, if a black is successful in business or politics we too often

Meanwhile, the state is seeking \$41 million from the General Assembly to help improve the black institutions. Yet, HEW contends this will not be enough to rectify the many past years of segregated, inferior educational facilities and programs. Considering the amount of funds HEW claims would be needed to effect significant desegregation, we must question the sincerity of N. C. officials to upgrade the five black universities.

On the other hand, HEW officials appear to be so hell-bent on integrating the five black schools with the eleven white institutions that they are indifferent to the black traditions, contributions, pride and identity that blacks want to retain in those schools.

The up-shot of all this is that the black public higher education in N. C. is suffering a crisis that is obviously having a negative effect upon the faculty, staffs, students and the friends of these five schools. More significantly, these five institutions appear to face a loser's paradox. If N. C. wins the lawsuit, the black universities will probably continue to be largely black and largely inferior. If HEW wins, the schools may be so drastically changed that a rich heritage of a chapter in the history of black higher education may be lost and with something special to black people.

Certainly, there must be a better way to determine the fate of a significant part of the state's higher education program. After all, with all of their inadequacies, these black universities have produced some of the finest contributing Americans who are second to none. Let's find a better way.

assume he's an "Uncle Tom," that is, assuming success did not come through the individual's own effort but only by compromising his principles to whites.

These observations, and many more, raise the serious question of whether we as black people have any love and compassion for each other. They are, in part, a reflection of James Baldwin's statement that "To be a Negro in this country and to be (racially) conscious is to be in a rage almost all the time." Unfortunately, too many blacks release their pent-up frustration and rage against other blacks because of a continuing dual system of justice that says, in the words of Raymond Fosdick many years ago, "If a black man kills a white, that's murder; if a white man kills a black, that's justifiable homicide; and if a black kills a black, that's one less nigger."

Until we as blacks learn to fellowship, register and vote, and suppress our individual needs for the collective good of us all, in some situation hate and misery will be our lot. Shouldn't we change that?



Rhodesia Election: Another American Reconstruction?

By Dr. Maggie Nicholson
Special To The Post

I do not set myself up to be an authority on foreign affairs but what I have read in the papers, seen on TV, heard on radio, and heard my family talk about, I am convinced that the election in Rhodesia can be compared to reconstruction here in the United States of America. Our history books tell that many of the colored people and ex-slaves both were put in many offices of our government. The ex-slaves were not used to making decisions nor were they used to politics. The colored people were used to making decisions but they were not used to holding political jobs. All of a sudden they were thrown into these spots without being prepared. Today, we often see people getting into political jobs that they can't handle but they are able to buy them. Nevertheless, they do have an idea of the situation that they are getting into.

Being thrown in this circumstance, they voted on and signed so many bills that they did not understand which set them back for hundreds of years and which they are not willing to break off from. They spend more energy on reshaping the past than they do on pressing forward. Philippians 3:13 states, "Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended; but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, (vs. 14). I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of GOD in Christ Jesus". In order to go forward one has to start somewhere, but don't fiddle while Rome burns.

I did not agree with Andy Young when he advocated majority rule for the Rhodesians. I still do not favor it; it seems to be turning out as I



DR. NICHOLSON

saw it. I felt that the Smith group would hold all of the important seats of control. The question is, which group is with Smith, the blacks or the colored people? Have they united? If so, they are better than the people of our country. The black people here do not want to associate with the colored people and get insulted if the colored people call themselves colored. Lots of people go along with it to be popular or to keep from being left out. This situation will cause those people to be cats' paws and figure heads to vote one in that has political pull. America has less of these people in government today than were in then under the circumstances. Likewise, there are few in the lead positions of the new government. Is Bishop Abel Muzorewa black or colored, is the question now. Or is he one of Smith's men. Will there be an internal war? Will they become united now and work for all? From what I read and understand, the black Rhodesians and the colored Rhodesians don't get along too good. The judiciary and civil services are still in Smith's hand. They did not say that even a small portion of these people were allowed to be in important offices to learn what they are calling the democratic

process of government.

The papers said that they had to dip their hands in a liquid so they could not vote twice. This shows that this voting process was a play thing. I hope that education will be their priority along with holding offices so that they can vote for equal opportunities for all, because education and opportunity to exercise one's rights is what it's all about. I attend a lot of meetings that I know those who vote don't know what they are voting for. They put up their hands because someone has told them to watch them and do what they see them do. They are only figure heads to do someone's bidding. Some may say that that day has passed but I'm here to tell you that you will be surprised to know how many politicians are bought. That's why you can't get things done. Just think how much worse it's going to be with the Rhodesians. In all governments that control the purse, the civil service, the land, and the country, I shall be keeping an eye on these things.

Just think how hard Andy Young fought majority rule. Then when he gets in power he recognizes the very thing he fought. Was it power he wanted so he could get on the wagon of selling his people? He thinks majority rule is wrong for America but right for the Rhodesians. Is it that what I say is right, and what ever I do is another thing?

Keep Tax Records

Just because you have your tax refund in hand, don't think the Internal Revenue Service may not want to audit you sometime in the next few years.

Specialists with the North Carolina Agricultural Extension Service say that a refund only indicates that the initial processing of your refund has been completed.

By VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.

TO BE EQUAL



Corporations Challenged

Just as minorities question the sincerity of corporate concern with urban problems, a corporate leader has come forth with a new plan to solve the critical problem of youth unemployment.

He's David Mahoney, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Norton Simon, Inc., one of America's largest companies. In a recent speech he called on business leaders to make a special effort to create jobs for disadvantaged youngsters.

Mr. Mahoney said: "Here's what I propose as a workable plan; if the 1,000 largest industrial corporations in the United States, and the 50 largest banks and retailers each were to hire only ten disadvantaged youths for every thousand employees they have, this could open up 200,000 jobs."

And he adds: "That's enough to fill New York's Shea Stadium three times, and enough to open the doors to about half the presently unemployed minority youths."

Mr. Mahoney announced that his company, NSI, was committing itself to hiring 250 youth, above the one percent of the company workforce which is the plan's target.

This plan strikes me as meeting the major criteria for constructive corporate action -- it addresses a crucial problem, it is well within the private sector's capabilities, and it reflects purely private initiatives.

There can be no question that minority youth unemployment is a crucial problem. The government admits that nearly forty percent of black youth are unemployed, about two and a half times the figure for white youth. And those figures are understated. If you count youngsters who have dropped out of the labor force because they couldn't find work, the true figure jumps to over 60 percent.

The human face of those figures can be seen whenever a limited number of summer jobs are announced. Thousands of ghetto youngsters jam the streets long before the office doors are opened, hoping to be one of the few lucky ones to land a job.

Hundreds of thousands of black youth are being deprived of the chance to work, to acquire skills and experience that will lift them out of poverty and prepare them for productive lives.

Mr. Mahoney's plan is easily accomplished. By creating youth jobs equal to one percent of their work force, corporations would be making a maximum contribution to their responsibility to create jobs at a minimum cost to their operations.

The new employees would add well under one percent to present payroll costs, a figure easily absorbed at a time of record profits. And employers who participate in this plan would be better able to compete in the future, for they would be hiring and training young people in skills essential to their business.

Much depends on how corporations fulfill their hiring objectives. If they just throw kids on the payroll and give them make-work jobs, they'll be programming for failure. But if they make every effort to provide the youngsters with support services and skill training, and track them onto job experiences leading to skilled jobs, they'll be ensuring the program's success.

Businesses everywhere are complaining that they can't find enough skilled craftsmen and trained workers.

High Tuition Jeopardizes Black Progress

by Bayard Rustin
Special to The Post

As recently as ten or fifteen years ago, a black college graduate was indeed a rare species. In those days, only 1 out of every 20 young black adults held a bachelor's degree, and fewer than 285,000 black youngsters attended college classes on any kind of regular basis. Moreover, those who endured the economic hardships, and long hours of study in pursuit of their degrees frequently found themselves confined to low-paying, low-status jobs which offered little opportunity for further advancement. For many young people, the civil rights revolution had scarcely begun, and America seemed happily contented with the startling inequalities between black and white citizens.

Today, however, the once enormous occupational disparities between college-educated blacks and whites have declined significantly, and black college graduates and black students have become considerably less rare than they used to be. Since 1966, for instance, the black student population in institutions of higher education has grown from a minuscule 285,000 to 1,062,000 -- more than a three-



BAYARD RUSTIN

fold increase. And between 1960 and 1976, the proportion of black youngsters with college degrees more than doubled.

As encouraging as these figures appear, one commits a serious error by assuming -- as some conservative social scientists and others have -- that this encouraging trend will continue on its own, that somehow black people have finally "made it," and that the great quest for racial equality has ended in final and decisive triumph. Such notions, while understandable, ignore some fundamental trends, trends that seriously threaten to reverse or halt the gradual movement toward greater equality.

It is important to note here that I am not referring to the new problems encountered by various affirmative action programs. These problems, of course, are important, but I think they are far surpassed in importance by a number of dangerous developments that threaten to bolt the college doors for the new generation of black students.

I can summarize the new problem facing black youngsters in three short words: inability to pay. Black people, and even working-class whites, are rapidly discovering that they can no longer afford a college education for their children. Some people, as expected, will quickly assert that financial aid programs have expanded in recent years, and that state-supported universities and local community colleges provide easily affordable education. But the facts tell a somewhat different story.

To begin with, few people without college-age children are fully aware of the huge increases in tuition, university fees, book prices, and campus living expenses. During the relatively short period between 1970 and 1976, tuition at private universities and colleges rose by 54 percent. The increase at state-support-

ed schools was even higher, 57 percent. And the tuition hikes at community colleges, the schools supposedly designed to serve the needs of poor people, rose by a staggering 130 percent. To further aggravate the situation, the new "balance the budget" mania and Proposition 13 mentality threaten to undermine existing financial aid programs, programs which are already noted for their stinginess and seemingly endless bureaucratic red tape.

To a very large extent, black advances in the area of higher education during the 1960's and 1970's were made possible by several factors: easy access to aid and low-interest student loans (70 percent of black students receive some form of financial assistance); the growth of relatively cheap community colleges and state university systems; a national commitment to the active pursuit of racial equality; and the availability of part-time jobs for young students.

Unfortunately, in today's world decent-paying part-time jobs have become scarcer, student loans have become more expensive and tuition at state-supported universities has become anything but

cheap. Consequently, millions of black high school graduates who leave school this June will find it more difficult, if not

impossible, to earn a college degree, the key which has unlocked the ghetto doors for many.

Charlotte 3 Supporters

To Picket Governor Hunt

Continued from page 1

the Lazy B stables all the way to the Supreme Court, which refused to hear the case. Now only Governor Hunt has the power to act in the case. He could grant them a pardon, reduce their sentences, or allow them to remain in jail.

The delegation presented a letter to Governor Hunt from 74 UNCC faculty members, urging him to take action on the Charlotte 3 case when he comes to the University's Commencement. The letter asked for immediate reductions of the sentences of Charles Parker, Dr. Jim Grant and T.J. Reddy.

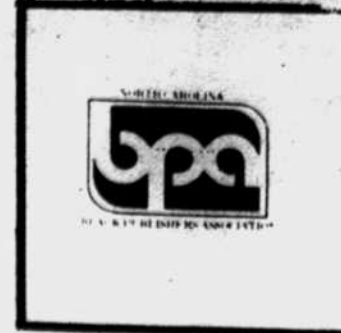
Also on April 30 the Issues Committee of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Democratic Party met to consider a resolution urging Hunt to commute the sentences of the Charlotte 3.

A dozen speakers testified in favor of the resolution and urging the Democratic Party

to take leadership in healing the wounds caused by the case.

"The issue is not politics," said Bill Berry. "It is an issue of justice. No benefit can be served by keeping these men in an overcrowded prison system."

Councilman Ron Leeper said he was a personal friend of the three men and that he thought it was time for the Democratic Party to speak to the Governor about the case.



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