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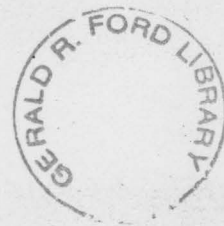
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Black Colleges: A National Resource

For Mr. Robert J. Brown's Eyes Only

DRAFT
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Black Colleges: A National Resource

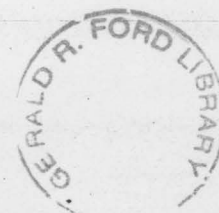


Report of a Task Force
of
Federal Interagency Committee on Education

Fourth Draft

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I. THE REASONS FOR THIS REPORT

In the summer of 1969, presidents of 20 of the Nation's traditionally Black colleges in a letter to the President of the United States declared themselves "appalled and outraged" at what they said was both inadequate Federal understanding of the critical situation of their institutions and the weakness of the solutions proposed to their most pressing problems.

Robert H. Finch responded for the Administration. Mr. Finch--then Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and now Counselor to the President charged with a special responsibility for White House liaison with higher education--replied that a study of the Black colleges was already under way and that he hoped this would produce "a plan of action." That plan, he said, should be keyed to direct involvement of what he termed "this vital group of American colleges" in a strategy aimed at better communication with all Federal agencies, as well as providing means for increasing the flow of Federal funds.

This Report proposes such a plan. Implementation of some of its proposals by some departments and agencies in the Executive Branch of the Government has already begun. The major decisions, however, remain to be taken.

This Report is the product of a task force appointed by the Federal Interagency Committee on Education which included representatives of five of the "FICE" constituent agencies and departments. This group

initiated site visits to Black colleges before the Committee of Twenty College Presidents met in July of 1969 at Mobile, where the presidents drafted the six-point resolution of concern that came to be known as the "Mobile Manifesto." It was to this document that Mr. Finch responded on August 25, 1969. (The correspondence is in the Appendices to this Report.)

A month later, on September 17, 1969, a general meeting of the Federal Interagency Committee heard a detailed exposition of the grievances felt by the Black college presidents. Twenty-eight separate "factors contributing to discontent" were summarized by Samuel L. Myers, President of Bowie (Maryland) State College, a signatory to the Mobile Manifesto. (A precis of these 28 points is contained in the Appendices to this Report.)

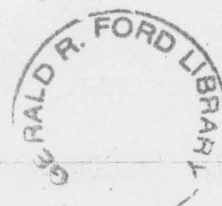
Five weeks later, on October 25, 1969, the White House convened a meeting to report on agency involvement with the Black colleges. Presiding was Robert J. Brown, Special Assistant to the President, who is himself a graduate of a Black college--North Carolina A & T State University. From detailed data requested at that meeting, FICE staff later published a study on Federal funding to these institutions during fiscal year 1969. The study was titled Federal Agencies and Black Colleges. A similar study of Federal agency funding in fiscal year 1970 is now being made.

Black Colleges: A National Resource summarizes a mass of data drawn from a variety of sources inside and outside the Government, as well as impressions gained from site visits to college campuses, meetings with leaders of the Black colleges (now formally organized as the



National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education) and consultations with specialists at work on the same set of problems for organizations such as the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education.

The FICE task force has attempted to keep its recommended plan of action in consonance both with the new legislative proposals in the President's two major Messages on Education of March 3 and March 19, 1970, and with the action steps immediately available under current law. The Report also took into account the range of opinion among the authorities consulted, both in person and in the growing relevant literature, as well as the variety of suggestions on cognate matters already made to the President by a number of other consultants and commissions.



II. THE BASIC PROPOSITIONS UNDERLYING THIS REPORT

This document is based upon three propositions.

The first proposition commits the Nation to secure a just social and economic order with equal opportunities for all--regardless of race, color or national origin.

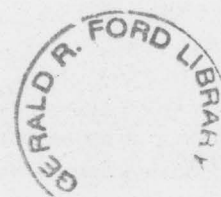
The second proposition is that education is a determinant factor in social acceptability and economic success in our society. The level of education substantially determines the nature of one's employment, the degree of remuneration, and the quality of life itself as it relates to housing, health care, communal resources and equal protection under law.

The third proposition is that Black Americans in recent years have acquired a new sense of awareness and pride in their origins and Black identity. This awareness includes a determination to achieve full citizenship in our society. Implicit in this is equal opportunity in higher education.

Undergirding our discussion of the Black colleges is an awareness, appropriate to emphasize here, of the sheer bulk and scale of the American educational effort. Almost one in every three Americans is either a student or a teacher in this total system, on which we spend about \$65 billion annually, or about as much as the rest of the world (94 percent of the globe's population) spends. In higher education alone, there is an intermeshed U.S. system of more than 2,500 separate



institutions. These enroll eight million students, taught by half a million instructors at a total operating cost of about \$23 billion per annum.



III. MAJOR FINDINGS OF THE TASK FORCE

Summary

The task force finds that the more than 100 traditionally Black colleges in 19 States and the District of Columbia are a valuable national resource.

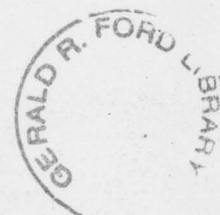
They should be supported and strengthened as a matter of national policy. They deserve special attention and require special funding from the Federal Government.

These colleges are an indispensable national resource for five reasons:

First is the visible drastic shortage of Black professionals (such as doctors, lawyers, scientists) and managers, in both business and Government at every level. These posts require baccalaureate preparation for advanced study. An immediate doubling and quick tripling of such degrees for Black Americans is required if they are to have a fair share in and equal access to the opportunities of contributing to the national welfare in the future.

Second, although almost all predominantly white senior colleges now have some Black students, more than half of all Black B.A. and B.S. degrees continue to be produced by the 89 traditionally Black senior colleges and universities. Both these 89 institutions and the 1,400 predominantly white B.A.-B.S. colleges and universities must be encouraged to expand Black enrollments. But the predominantly white schools, under increasing applicant pressure, cannot and should not be expected to do alone what must be done, and done quickly, to achieve Black parity in higher education.

Third, the Black colleges have proven they can succeed with a clientele who come to them with every kind of cultural and economic deprivation. These handicaps include inferior preparation in inadequately-funded secondary schools, low parental formal education (which usually means homes without books), inadequate



family income with no other cash help available either from relatives or rich alumni, as well as lack of social experience, at once a simple and complex handicap. Many predominantly white colleges have no such record of experience, expertise or success especially in dealing with newly motivated Black youth, whether rural or recently urbanized.

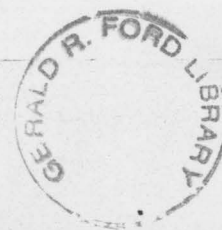
Fourth, these Black colleges have a unique and invaluable national mission in exploring and nourishing the idea of a special American identity for the citizen whose cultural roots lie in Africa. The Black colleges created this mission in a time of a general ignorance and disinterest in the matter. They are the natural center of this fascinating, important, complicated and expanding field of inquiry and teaching.

Fifth, the identity, past achievements, present strivings and future potential of these Black colleges is an important part of the total national heritage, and the preservation and strengthening of these institutions is a matter of moral duty as well as wise social policy. In a century of lonely and patient struggle, neglected and almost invisible in the major society from which they were until recently excluded, it was these colleges who created the system that fulfilled some of the broken promises of emancipation. The most vivid single example is the fact that they trained the teachers who made Black Americans literate.

* * * * *

Discussion

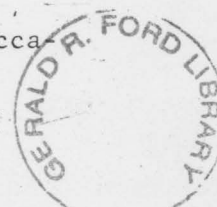
The shortage (and under-employment) of college-trained Blacks are both severe. Indeed they cripple attempts to obtain effective "affirmative action" on high-level hires and promotions in almost every sort of enterprise with the possible exception of subcollegiate teaching. This is a serious national need: manpower and womanpower trained to new levels in new fields, and it will become more severe in the near future as two changes occur in our national workforce. These are (a) the increasing proportion



of Americans who are Black and (b) the steadily-rising level of education needed to qualify for and succeed in the careers opening in a total society growing into a new technology. The inevitable result, if we are wise in the use of our national human and institutional resources, is to make the historic tasks of the traditionally Black colleges more important than they have ever been. Their role has been promoted by events, not outmoded by them.

The general ignorance by otherwise well-informed white citizens of the existence of these institutions, and of the role they have played in the life of this country, is surprising. So, at first glance, is the fact that almost a generation after the end of de jure segregation in the public schools, these institutions, which are largely clustered in the South, still enroll more than half of the Black B.A. students in the U.S., graduate an even larger fraction of Blacks earning baccalaureates, and draw students from every part of the country.

The Supreme Court struck down formalized segregation in the 1954 case of Brown vs. Board of Education (of Topeka, Kansas), overturning the idea of "separate but equal" schools that an earlier Court had implicitly approved in 1896 in the case of Plessy vs. Ferguson (which in fact involved the legality of forcing racial separation in railroad coaches). The 1954 decision was followed by a series of dramatic events opening institutions of higher education, especially in the South, to Black Americans. These culminated in 1964 in a Civil Rights Act which, in Title VI, provides that "no person in the United States shall, on the grounds of race, color, or national origin, be excluded



from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance." This covers almost all the accredited degree-granting colleges and universities in the country, which eagerly compete for Federal funds.

When the Future Was In Doubt

Title IV of the same Act specifically forbids discrimination in "public colleges," broadly defined as not only State institutions but also colleges operated predominantly through the use of governmental funds or property. This Title adds "religion" to "race, color and national origin" as reasons made illegal for the denial of admission of a student.

All these developments seemed at various times to put the future of the Black colleges in doubt.

Although never segregated by their own design, they had been kept outside the mainstream of the academic enterprise and in four States, in fact, were forbidden by law to employ non-Black faculty.

Even the system of land-grant colleges, which revolutionized American life, had been formally segregated in 17 States by an 1890 supplement to the original Morrill Act of 1862.

The change in the laws and the changes in the social climate resulting from the civil rights movements of the late '50's and early '60's occurred during and after massive movement by many Blacks from the South (where 90 percent lived at the turn of the century and 77 percent



as late as 1940) to the North and East. These migrations occurred primarily because of manpower demands in the two world wars and the recent rapid changes in the structure and technology of Southern agriculture and industry.

In these times of spectacular change, some doubts were raised as to the Nation's need for as well as the Black student's demand for, the traditionally Black college. The evidence of continuing public need and constituent demand appears extraordinary.

In the last decade, these Black institutions, though still kept largely invisible in terms of the mass media and largely excluded from the science-resource funding lavished upon other institutions in the post-Sputnik space race, have grown in enrollment by 92 percent. More than half that growth occurred in the years between 1963 and 1969.

Because of the steady absorption of non-Black students in the colleges in the border States (e.g., Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, Delaware, Maryland), the Black institutions taken en bloc are more integrated in the composition of their student bodies than are the predominantly white schools, just as the Black colleges always have been more integrated in their Boards of Trustees, faculties, and staffs.

Many Black colleges, however, have few white students, and some have none. They should be aided in attracting more. Similarly, the predominantly white schools, and especially the leading U.S. graduate departments, should be encouraged to extend the somewhat cautious, high unit-cost experiments that some of the major institutions have



in attempting to recruit, hold and teach Black students. A major social question identified in this study, however, is the present grave shortage of Black baccalaureates. These diplomas are increasingly demanded not only for entry upon a professional course of study but also for first-hire in management and other white-collar jobs. Often, the undergraduate field of study is not immediately relevant to chance of success on the job, which must in fact be learned onsite. This is the primary problem: more Black bachelor's degrees, and especially for males, because Black collegiate attendance patterns show female majorities (the opposite of the white pattern).

The Black colleges have demonstrated their continuing appeal to their clientele and their ability when given the resources to adjust curricula and teaching methods to the changing job market for their graduates.

At a time when the Nation needs quick multiplication of the number of college-trained Black men and women, not only for immediate tasks but as civic, business, political and professional leaders for the new generation now entering the first grade in our country's schools, these Black colleges represent a proven, productive national resource in dealing with culturally deprived and economically disadvantaged students who frequently need much careful transitional training or an awakening of suppressed potential and dormant talent before they can successfully embark upon major fields of college study.

The predominantly white colleges which have done little (and that little so recently) in attempting to carry such students through



to completion of degree programs, should of course be encouraged to continue present efforts to gain larger experience and to work toward the major role that both the law and social justice requires of them.

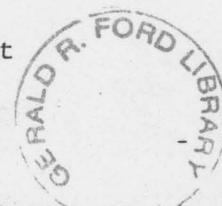
Admittedly the tasks that these predominantly white institutions face in accepting these new responsibilities are complex. They must set up learning situations, establish teaching methods and create social climates in which Black collegians--deprived of so many other, earlier experiences that such schools usually take for granted--can succeed.

But the Black colleges not only know now how to do all these things for this clientele, they have proven success in these tasks and they should be encouraged to enlarge and expand their efforts.

This is not in any sense to advocate resegregation or to condone any illegal system of apartheid. The task force expects that all publicly financed institutions and many privately governed colleges and universities will be increasingly linked into more or less unitary local, State or regional systems. This will be done if only to obtain economies flowing from scale of effort and sharing of resources in such parts of the academic enterprise as information retrieval systems (including library exchange plans), supervision of student internships in the health and welfare fields as well as in student teaching, and cross-scheduling of lectures, seminars and laboratory periods by subject matter specialists in short supply.

The Importance of Preserving Black Identity

It remains important that the special identity of the Black college, building on both its past history and present Black leadership, be

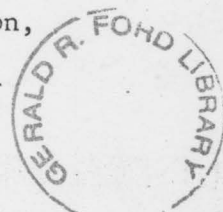


preserved as a proven part of the total educational effort. This special identity and this particular leadership appear essential for success, but need not be restricted to a single racial clientele.

In this past are the roots of a particular potential for fulfillment of our national goals. And it is an important fact that the Black college appears to be the only part of our national secular status system that, in a time of consolidation, desegregation, liberation, is visibly under Black intellectual leadership and control.

As the central place of concerned scholarship in this time of rediscovery and redefinition of Black identity, the Black colleges bring balance and perspective to many issues long ignored in the dominant culture. Much was allowed to go unrecorded, some was submerged and forgotten, and elsewhere myths were sometimes permitted that could conceive of a people without a cultural past. This is a fascinating matter which requires the service of almost every scholarly discipline: anthropologists, sociologists, linguists, economists, as well as the historians, the geographers, the specialists in comparative religion, the musicologists, and the poets who will finally tell the tale for each generation's changing moods and needs.

When Black parity in equal opportunity for higher education is finally reached, an essential mission of the Black college --in addition to fulfilling its on-going role in higher education--will continue to be this fundamental task of acting as primary guardians of the scholarly definition of the uniquely American heritage growing out of the uniquely American experience of the native-born Black citizen. The emergence of the new African nation-States and the arrival of independence in the



Caribbean provide new dimensions for this study as does probing of the differing African migrant experience in immersion in other cultures.

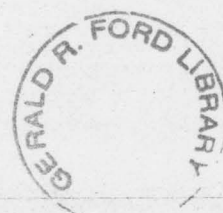
Meanwhile, the American Black's own milieu has changed dramatically in our generation, not only in his new status before the law in an open society but also in his own internal migrations in which he leaves the countryside for city life with whole new patterns of work and play, and goes North and West so that barely half remain in the South. But the Black colleges are largely clustered there, where a fifth of the population remains Black. However Black identity finally is accepted--whether as being substance or pride or power or folk culture of the special sort summed up in the idea of "soul"--the Black college is a resource of a kind much needed by all other groups in our society. Growing general interest elsewhere in so-called "Black Studies" should not be allowed to displace the Black colleges from the central place they hold in this field of learning and teaching.

Indeed, the Black colleges themselves are an important part of the saga of rediscovery of the past, present, potential for the American from Africa. The colleges, even those that matured late, had an influence that only now is beginning to be understood. Interacting with the State, they prepared the teachers of their people. Interacting with the Church, they prepared the preachers who held the people together through decades of segregated suffering. And the Black colleges laid the base of the cultural renaissance that is the Black awakening. They accustomed this country to the idea of the cultivated Black American who later gained national recognition.



They were also the first U.S. institutions to open their doors to native Africans. Many of the leaders of African independence received their collegiate education in American Black colleges.

It is a peculiar and little known past, an important part of the strange and tragic history of oppression and opportunity that underlies the racial tensions in this country. But it is also a past which provides a firm cultural base for a national commitment as well as a program of action to equal opportunity in higher education and all that this means.



IV. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION: IMMEDIATE STEPS

Summary

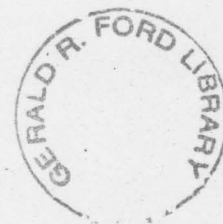
The task force recommends that the Administration take a number of immediate, explicit and highly visible actions to demonstrate its belief in and concern for the Black colleges. In addition, there is need for a sustained program of four-step long-range action which is discussed in a later section. The immediate steps are these:

First, the Administration should announce that it will encourage and assist the traditionally Black baccalaureate institutions--taken as a group--to double their total enrollment as swiftly as academic plant, faculty, and course offerings can be expanded and enriched.

Second, the Administration should prove the Federal commitment to this policy decision by mandating the Executive departments and agencies for an immediate doubling in the current fiscal year of the \$122 million in U.S. funds distributed to these Black colleges in fiscal 1969, out of more than \$4.1 billion in direct allocations to institutions of higher education. This is an important initial step since doubling enrollment will require much larger funding.

Third, the Administration should take a number of operational steps to insure that this help is provided in creative and understanding ways, and done promptly, effectively, and consistently. Eight such steps are enumerated:

1. Establish a small coordinating staff responsible directly to the White House to provide continuous liaison with special decision-making groups on support of the Black colleges which should be set up in each department and independent agency where such groups do not now exist.
2. Require the Executive departments and agencies to create close working relationships with the colleges, through formal and informal conferences, through use of the Black campus as a meeting place, and also through building warm and close agency working arrangements at the regional office level.

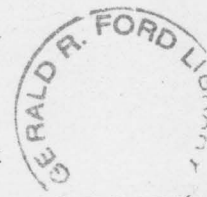


3. Instruct Federal agencies to award contracts and grants on "new-idea" and "new-subject" enterprises wherever possible since in these cases competing bidders cannot claim superior expertise built on prior Government funding.
4. Provide that the Black colleges are systematically given a special opportunity for normal funding through normal channels for the current Government areas of interest, from which many of the Black colleges have been shut out in the past.
5. Fund a consortium of these colleges so that they can help each other in assessing present and future potential, and purchase needed advice and help from both established service agencies and private contractors with the necessary special skills. This consortium should represent the whole Black college spectrum: large-small, urban-rural, public-private, sectarian-nondenominational and the 19-State range in location.
6. Encourage and strengthen graduate work in Black colleges and universities and stimulate the major predominantly white universities to enroll, with adequate assistance, Black graduates for work on advanced degrees in the professions, sciences, and managerial areas outside the field of education.
7. Seek, wherever possible, to obtain "maintenance of present effort" pledges from present private and public agencies that support Black colleges, when these colleges receive new or larger Federal assistance. These new Federal funds should be additional sources of revenue, innovation, and improvement for the recipient colleges, not merely replacement of current funding.
8. Provide for adequate Black representation on agency advisory councils, screening panels, and the rest of the consultative apparatus which helps Federal departments to fix policy, set priorities, and take action decisions.

* * * * *

Discussion

First Recommendation. The Administration should announce that it will encourage and assist the traditionally Black baccalaureate institutions--taken as a group--to double their total enrollment as swiftly as academic plant,



faculty, course offerings and extracurricular arrangements can be expanded and enriched.

These 89 institutions offering at least the B.A. or B.S. in 1969 enrolled at least 150,000 American Blacks in a total of 158,000 students. In 1970, their Autumn enrollment was up by 9,500, or 6 percent, to 168,000. They awarded more than 20,000 B.A. degrees to an undergraduate enrollment of about 145,000. Two-thirds (or 105,535) of the total 1969 enrollment were in 36 public colleges, and the other third (52,988) were enrolled in 53 privately-sponsored institutions, of which four schools registered 15,692 or almost 30 percent of the private college total.

The Federal Government should make it plain that it has no blueprint for this expansion, nor prior decisions on which colleges can or should or must share in this growth, and no intention to interfere in the orderly plans (if these are fair) of either Church or State to work toward unitary systems within the laws forbidding discrimination by race, color, national origin or sex.

As the President has repeatedly emphasized on other occasions speaking on other issues, the autonomy of every collegiate enterprise under its present system of governance must be preserved. Some colleges will not choose and others may not be able to multiply enrollments at the rates necessary to meet this national goal of doubled enrollment in colleges and universities preserving both a Black heritage and an identifiable Black leadership. Others, including those that choose to physically relocate to new centers of population growth or who



deliberately adopt new and expanded service, extension and continuing education roles, may be able quickly to raise registration by considerably higher multipliers. Some colleges apparently must be helped in vigorous recruitment drives or see enrollment fall to levels where high unit-costs are inevitable and quality of both curriculum and teaching is imperiled. Many colleges, we believe, will be able to make significant improvements without major capital outlays if only they can be assured of using their present plants to capacity, perhaps with innovative rearranged scheduling systems, with students who can pay the real costs of tuition, food, lodging and other services.

The specific intention to help immediate doubling of enrollment should be targeted on the 89 Black baccalaureate-or-better institutions because it is there that available new Federal funds should be concentrated, and a more general injunction "to double and triple Black B.A. and B.S. enrollment" might lead hard pressed administrators of other, white institutions to hope for a general diffusion of very scarce money.

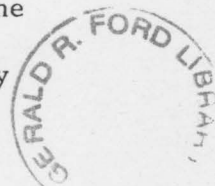
The 1,400 predominantly white collegiate institutions granting the B.A. now do comparatively little for Black youth. They attracted 35,393 Black first-time, full-time, nontransfer freshmen out of a total of 1,013,424, or 3.49 percent, according to the careful annual study by the American Council on Education in the Fall of 1969. In 1968, the Black percentage was 2.9.

These predominantly white institutions should, of course, be required to continue efforts to comply with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. This is particularly true of the publicly-funded 80



predominantly white State universities and land-grant colleges (which educate about 30 percent of American collegians). The 72 such institutions in the continental United States which could report ethnic data for 1969-70 estimated their total Black undergraduates at 28,997, of a total of 1,186,077. That is 2.44 percent, and it is unlikely the other eight universities, based on their 1968 reports, increased the ratio. Significantly, 22 of these 72 large State universities said that more than half of their Black undergraduates were freshmen. Just as significantly, the 18 traditionally Black member-colleges (including the newly-funded Federal City College in the District of Columbia) reported for 1969-70 an undergraduate population of 45,960, or about 160 percent of the Blacks in the predominantly white "State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges." Five percent of this enrollment in the traditionally Black land-grant schools was non-Black: twice the degree of integration in the white institutions. This desegregation was, however, sharply split between the Old South, where 0.58 percent were non-Black and the five border States, where 30.37 percent were not Black.

Since at least 11 percent of our adult population cherishes a Black heritage, since at least 14 percent of our school age children are Black, since about 16 percent of the preschoolers--one in six of the Americans of the next generation--are Black, these data show that the white colleges and universities have much to do. This is especially true for the 1,150 institutions that had less than 2 percent Black enrollment, the 495 colleges that had less than 4 percent, the 220 schools that had less than 6 percent (total: 1,875 institutions) as



catalogued in the study, The Black Student in American Colleges, that Alan E. Bayer and Robert F. Boruch wrote for the American Council on Education in 1969.

The Federal effort at direct help--beyond its statutory duty to see that reliable ethnic data on admissions, dropouts and pushouts, transfers and graduations support effective "affirmative action" plans under the desegregation laws--should be concentrated in a more manageable sphere of proven degree productivity. These are the 89 senior Black colleges.

The 23 predominantly Black "junior" or "two-year" or "community" colleges (seven public, 16 private, some very small) should be encouraged to maintain their identity while they widen constituency, role and competence, but the main thrust should be at production of Black baccalaureates and, for at least the next decade, this means encouragement of the traditionally Black colleges to increase their output of trained men and women, ready either for graduate and professional study or for the immediate post-commencement new job roles opening up in the new economy.

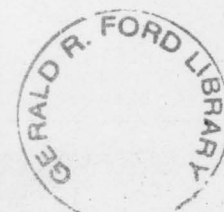
All should realize that though the Southern States will benefit particularly from this upgrading of their manpower resources, the impact will be national. The American Council on Education data show that among freshmen entering Black colleges in 1969, 55 percent were from the South, 31 percent were from the Middle Atlantic States,



10 percent came from the North Central States, 1.4 percent from the West, and 0.8 percent from New England. The special impact of the Black colleges on the South was demonstrated in this questionnaire when for all freshmen, wherever registered, 14.1 percent in the South said they were Black, as against 3.7 percent in the East, 4.4 percent in the Midwest and 4.1 percent in the West.

Other data developed by the Federal Interagency Committee on Education show similar startling impacts of the existence of these Black colleges in the developing Southern States. These are later summarized.

Second Recommendation. The Administration should prove the Federal commitment to this national policy of encouraging the Black colleges to double their overall enrollment by mandating the Executive departments and agencies for an immediate doubling in the current fiscal year of the \$122 million in U.S. funds distributed to these institutions in fiscal 1969, out of more than \$4.1 billion in direct allocations to institutions of higher education. This is an important initial step since doubling enrollment will require much larger funding.



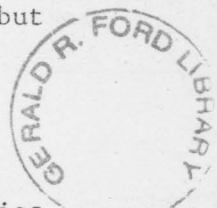
Since 64 percent of that \$122 million in FY 1969 came from the Office of Education, which controls less than one-third of the categorical funds now going to higher education, to achieve doubling of the Black college funding will require some U.S. agencies to increase the scale of their collaboration by considerably higher multipliers than "two." To do this will often require rewriting and reinterpreting guidelines in mission-oriented agencies, frequently with Congressional Committee consultation and sanction. To do this also means requiring by executive fiat that agencies and departments which have made little or no money input to these colleges to fund them, and to do this in inventive and imaginative ways.

This effort may be seen as part of the general attempt to undo some of the damage and to correct some of the distortions in American higher education which the President has observed may be blamed upon society's demand upon that total system to do work-on-hire for the Government in the sciences throughout the last decade. The agencies may indeed welcome this opportunity to reanalyze and redirect their efforts toward support of essentially undergraduate institutions.

But it is also an opportunity to correct in part a long-standing injustice by which only one of the 100 institutions obtaining the most Federal money in fiscal 1969 was Black. That one institution was Howard University in Washington, D.C., which has a special relationship with the Federal Government and which is funded by a separate line-item in the HEW budget. It ranked twenty-second in a list headed by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which alone received almost \$98 million. Aside from Howard, 31 other institutions in this list of the 100 leading money-getters were in the South, D.C., and Border States, but no other was Black. (An Appendix lists these 100 institutions.)

In fact, taking all things into view, doubling the Federal cash inflow of dollars should not be difficult, so long as the other agencies do not depend upon such obviously inadequate sources as the \$33 million Title III "Developing Institutions" total appropriation to provide the additional \$122 million for the Black colleges.

And much obviously can be done in many fields. For example, one grave national problem is the shortage of Black physicians (5,000 out



of a total of 295,000--less than 2 percent, according to the President's Manpower Report for 1970). The health consequences range from children's performance in the schools, to jobs, to death and disability rates. Most Black doctors are produced by Howard and Meharry (Nashville, Tennessee). Total national Black enrollment in the Nation's medical schools in 1969 was 2.8 percent and in 1970 about 3.7 percent. While efforts are made to meet the shortage in physicians, attempts are also made to encourage growth in the other health profession fields. The National Institutes of Health, for example, now plan to subsidize undergraduates (and their institutions) in their junior and senior years to prepare them for this professional training. A later Recommendation urges concentration on such innovative ideas, but it seems apparent that, given a firm Executive instruction, doubling the current Federal input to the Black colleges in ways that will help and not burden them is a task not difficult and one which, as soon as completed, should promptly be followed by an official instruction to triple the 1969 level of funding.

In return, the agencies will discover that these Black colleges have much to offer, that they are a long-ignored, much-needed national resource that can help mission-oriented agencies in striking ways.

Caveats on Funding: And Answers

To avoid misunderstanding, it seems desirable here to state a number of caveats about the impact of this proposed new level of Federal funding.

First, doubling the 1969 Federal input of \$122 million will not provide funds to double enrollments. This is a matter of several hundreds of million dollars annually. There are obvious "catch-up costs" necessary to make up for decades of neglect which resulted in underfunded, understaffed, underpaid faculty striving to work with sparse library and laboratory resources. There are



costs obligatory in reshaping curricula, along with the increasingly elaborate and expensive academic machinery needed to learn and teach the emerging subject matters. To meet these identified needs in the ways recommended by the special study of the Southern Regional Educational Board in May of 1969 would cost, the task force estimates, about \$160 million annually at current levels of enrollment.

The calculation is rough and is based on a differential general operational costs per "full-time equivalent student" of about \$1,100 a year between the Black colleges, taken as a group, and all other U.S. institutions offering at least the baccalaureate, taken as a group. (An Appendix shows the data.)

At present levels, operating costs for these B.A.-and-higher Black institutions probably total about \$400 million a year, with costs rising annually at 7 percent to 10 percent. These numbers are formidable, but not frightening in a system of higher education costing about \$23 billion when one speaks of that segment of the American collegiate network which is the major cultural resource of so large a proportion of our people as Black citizens now are and increasingly will become.

Second, the principal impact of this funding may well be exemplary as demonstrating to the agencies themselves as well as to all the other real and potential sources of support, that the Federal Government means business on this matter.

The foundations, whose predecessor individual philanthropists played so large a part in establishing some of the institutions, have done little in recent years and apparently now plan to do less.

A FICE study showed that despite an appeal from the then-President of the United States--John F. Kennedy--on the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, five of the major foundations in the next five years gave only a traceable \$55 million to these Black institutions. The churches, for so long the main pillar of support, increasingly find the escalating costs of higher education to be a reason for re-examining their historical commitments. No less than foundations and churches, the cities, counties, States and regions where these colleges are sited may need evidence of Federal approval of efforts to strengthen these schools.



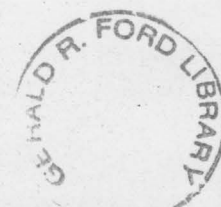
Third, the task force is aware of a counter argument: to the effect that categorical funding from research-oriented agencies (the sort of U.S. money now usually available) damages the fundamental task of the undergraduate institution. It can divert faculty attention from teaching to more "prestigious" research. It encourages a certain type of academic entrepreneur hustling for contracts and grants. It can emphasize hardware and not the life of the mind. It downgrades the essential remedial tasks of teaching the fundamental literate skills to students baffled by the new hopes, the new threats, the new demands made on any entering student by a college campus and with special impact on the poor or shy, or timid, or culturally disadvantaged.

More than that, as colleges grow, and faculties increase, some mysterious law of scholarly nature (perhaps merely the prospect of more promotions, more tenured jobs) leads to a kind of unremitting pressure for the creation of new research operations, or new graduate departments, or other enterprises divorced from the humble learner. Most educators now seem to realize that the "pre-taught" student who comes to college pretty well able to educate himself with a minimum of faculty bother, the student who does well on so-called "objective" examinations designed to find exactly him (or her), is largely the product of high socioeconomic status in the majority ethnic groups. A forthright, vigorous attack on this use of college as merely "a sorting and selecting station" instead of an academic skill-coaching system (as in sports) was written by Ralph W. Tyler for the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress (in a book dated October 7, 1969, on "The Economics and Financing of Higher Education"). Dean Tyler predicts, or states a hope, that the best future U.S. teaching situation will be in colleges of 2,000 students and that more use will be made of imaginative experiments in new-type institutions outside the accreditation system. The task force has also read with attention the President's views in his major Messages on Education in March, on which we later focus.

A Sense of Grievance, Deprivation, Handicap

Nonetheless, the sense of grievance, deprivation and consequent operational handicaps felt by the Black colleges as a result of their past failure to obtain these categorical Federal grants and contracts for categorical research must be taken into account and so far as can be done quickly under present law, ameliorated.

These Black educators know they were shut out of the great lush flow of hundreds of millions of dollars in new buildings,



new laboratories, new equipment, new faculty financing, new fellowships during the great period of Federally-funded "hire" (to use the President's word) of college and university plant and staff to do science and other work stated as Federal needs.

The Black colleges consequently feel handicapped at trying to get and hold good faculty in a period when Title VI of the Civil Rights Act and, perhaps, a maturing social conscience, has made recruiting of Black faculty from the obvious source--Black colleges--by offers of higher pay, lower teaching loads and better research facilities, an increasing habit of other institutions. If it is an error to use Federal funds to build laboratories, to get good libraries, to find young faculty who will earn colleagues' esteem with papers in professional journals, these are errors that many Black colleges have had comparatively little chance to make. They now want to see how it feels and make up their own minds. They want to be in the mainstream of American academic life. They know that new fields of academic inquiry are being funded and that they are sometimes ignored because they were not chosen for the old fields of Federal interest.

The Black colleges say that "competence," on which they are judged by project officers and program directors allocating Federal funds, comes after and because Federal money is invested. Expertise in a special subject matter comes after the money; and the experts will go where the money is. So will students and faculty who want to share in ground-breaking research. This will encourage integration on a self-selection basis. It will also give the Black colleges a chance, long-denied, "to share in the action," to hold ambitious young faculty, to stake out claims as possible sites for future large-scale spending to produce centers of academic excellence in emerging fields--ecology or marine science, for example--from which their present underfunded, no-specialty status now debars them.

Without an immediate, firm and obvious Federal commitment for consistent funding, the Black college leaders foresee a grim future.

Fourth, the importance of maintaining not only official but personal ties with these Black colleges should not be underestimated in a time of increasing talk of separatism, including revived speculation about that "Black Nation" which Alexis de Tocqueville discussed 140 years ago. The Black colleges are the principal link that has been forged--despite general indifference and even ignorance by otherwise well-informed white citizens--with the leaders of that part of our people.



On their own initiative, these Black colleges have come together in their own organization (the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education). They have testified before Congress. They have met with the Commissioner of Education and then with the President. One of their number was a special White House advisor as a colleague of Chancellor Heard in the late spring and early summer of 1970. Yet many wait for a decisive signal of recognition, acceptance, support. They mean Federal funding, assigned in a collaborative way.

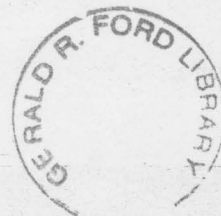
"Since emancipation--and the original broken promises symbolized by '40 acres and a mule'--we have been waiting for some such signal," Benjamin E. Mays, the president of the Atlanta Board of Education and the former president of Morehouse College (where Martin Luther King, Jr., took his first degree) wrote the Federal Interagency Committee on Education. "Today, the Nixon Administration has a great political, cultural, educational opportunity to do for Negro education what no previous administration has done." His letter predicted that without Federal "special treatment and special support" the Black colleges "are doomed" to what he had earlier described as "a slow death" resulting from "several new kinds of discrimination."

Third Recommendation. The Administration should take a number of operational steps to ensure that this help is provided in creative and understanding ways, and done promptly, effectively, and consistently. Eight such steps are enumerated:

1. Establish a small coordinating staff responsible directly to the White House to provide continuous liaison with special decision-making groups on support of the Black colleges which should be set up in each department and independent agency, where they do not now exist.

To work with this small coordinating staff, each of the departments and agencies should be encouraged to set up special decision-making groups close to the principal officer in the department, on the model already established in the Department of Agriculture to provide special support to the so-called "1890" Black land-grant colleges.

This small central coordinating staff should be kept small. Its mission should be plainly defined as coordination, not decision-making. It should not be



allowed to function as a third party intermediary whose approval must be obtained before negotiations between an agency and a college can be concluded. At the same time, it should be instructed to work closely with the departmental task forces so that not only imaginative but also high quality tasks with potential for future growth so that future missions are entrusted to the Black colleges. It should call attention to the need in some situations for explicit prior special attention to and special funding of departmental requirements on special reports and special auditing procedures, which some colleges now are not staffed to do. Without trespassing either on departmental jurisdictions or collegiate autonomy, this staff also ought to help the Executive agencies weigh the local, State and regional implications of grants and contracts, and the current distribution of the Government workload among Black colleges, as a help to the agencies in obtaining an efficient and equitable distribution of these tasks.

This Report as a matter of conscious policy has avoided any attempt to make individual assessments of specific institutions, of specific past accomplishments, or specific present needs, or specific future potential. Similarly, the small staff suggested in this Recommendation should not be seen as relieving program and project officers of departments and agencies from the need to acquire their own expertise on where and how the work they contract for or the money they allocate in grants should go. The coordinating staff should, however, attempt to help these program and project officers see the total picture insofar as these institutions are concerned and so avoid overloading a dozen or 20 of the colleges, more or less by accidental accretion, with one certain consequence a severe and irremediable lack of funds for the conventional grants and contracts being available to the other institutions.

The main role of this staff should be to insure, on an informal daily basis and formal weekly reports that the departmental and agency working parties set up to give special attention to the Black colleges are in fact doing the job, and doing it right. Without foresight, some contracts can force a college to cannibalize its present resources, or alternatively leave it with surplus staff when the contract ends. Reporting and auditing requirements can also be burdens unless carefully thought through in the process of negotiation.



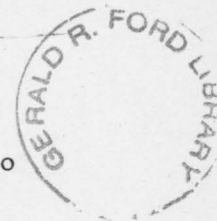
2. Require the Executive departments and agencies to create close working relationships with the colleges, through formal and informal conferences, through use of the Black campus as a meeting place, and also through building warm and close agency working arrangements at the regional office level.

In addition to the high-level working party with access to the principal agency decision-maker, the departments and agencies ought to be encouraged to get into close working relationships with the colleges in a number of ways. One example again is in the Department of Agriculture, which is in the process of stationing a permanent representative on each of the 16 "1890" Black land-grant college campuses. Another is the system by which the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the Department of Labor has been able to bring to its Washington headquarters economics faculty from all interested Black colleges to discuss both job opportunities for their graduates and the present main lines of interest and technical development within the Bureau.

There are many variants between these two extremes. Perhaps as important as any is the deliberate development of close and friendly relations between the relevant college faculty and administrators and the regional offices, especially in Atlanta and Dallas, the offices which cover most of the traditionally Black colleges. An exemplary example is the special effort made by the Atomic Energy Commission in the last two summers (of 1969 and 1970) to bring faculty of the Black colleges, initially from the six engineering schools and subsequently from a wider range of institutions, to its installation at Oak Ridge in Tennessee. Another example is the series of proposal-writing workshops organized by the Bureau of Higher Education in the U.S. Office of Education. Follow-up funding is, of course, the desirable outcome of such seminars.

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Office of University Affairs also has been deeply involved in its Developing Institutions Program to bring Black college professors and administrators to its Goddard, Langley, Marshall and Manned Spacecraft Center for joint exploration of NASA research needs. Begun in 1968, this effort has generated more than \$500,000 a year in research funds for these schools.

An early result of the White House initiative to help the Black institutions in 1970 was an all-day conference arranged by the chairman of the Civil Service Commission, Robert E. Hampton, and the executive director, Nicholas Iganovic, to discuss stimulation of cooperative education in these Black schools as part of a general systematic effort at better recruitment from them. Both of these efforts can be supported by individual departmental and agency action. In some cases, direct recruitment of graduates of these institutions might be considered advisable in setting up the agency task forces, exactly as agencies now look for special expertise from Chicano and Puerto Rican and American Indian employees in dealing with the special problems of these ethnic groupings.



Two simple but often overlooked ways of establishing easy working relations with the colleges are, first, routine scheduling of Federal conferences on Black college campuses, and second, routine inclusion of representative faculty from these institutions in agency planning and program review sessions. Such steps should be systematically fostered and agency achievements recognized and rewarded by the Administration.

3. Instruct the agencies to award contracts and grants on "new-idea," "new-subject" enterprises wherever possible, since in these cases competing bidders cannot claim superior expertise built on prior Government funding.

Since many Black colleges have for so long been excluded from a real competitive role in the multiple ways of bidding for and getting Federal money, some may feel they are at a disadvantage in terms of the present "usual" awards, or in fact may be so, because of the accumulated experience and practical insights derived by other institutions from past awards.

Hence it is in innovative funding, in new enterprises, where little prior expertise can be claimed by any institution, that both the agency and the college may get along best in their initial collaboration, especially because it is in the new enterprise sort of contract that the Black college may have the better chance to get and hold staff interested in the field.

It is also important that wherever possible, the special abilities and special needs of the Black colleges be taken into account within the limits of present law. An example of desirable action consistently urged by Black college spokesmen was the special waiver authorized by the Secretary of HEW, Elliot L. Richardson, in late summer of 1970 in releasing an additional \$4 million in work-study funds to the Black colleges. He empowered the Commissioner of Education to issue guidelines exempting some colleges from a "matching" requirement, the exemption being based upon the percentage of the institution's students coming from families with a gross annual income of \$7,500 or less. The action was saluted by the Black college presidents' organization as "a real precedent for educational opportunity of which this Administration can be proud."



Studies by both the American Council on Education and the Institute for Services to Education have demonstrated the very low parental income of most students in most Black colleges. Consequently it is important that work-for-pay opportunities for these students, outside of the current context of work-study and similar programs, should be taken into consideration in devising programmatic awards and contracts to the Black colleges, especially in plans to provide direct service to or survey of a particular noncollegiate constituency.

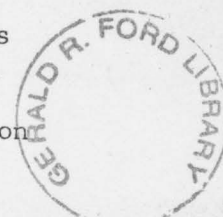
4. Provide that the Black colleges are systematically given a special opportunity for normal funding through normal channels for the current Government areas of interest, from which many of the Black colleges have been shut out in the past.

Some of the Black colleges have spent much effort and developed considerable skill in dealing with some parts of the Federal bureaucracy. Others have not had the surplus in skilled manpower to learn techniques or even the jargon--that "RFP" means "Request for Proposal," for instance, and may be advertised in the Commerce Daily, but that there is also something called "an unsolicited proposal," which may also be funded, and that agency advisory boards and screening panels sometimes play the operationally decisive roles in deciding who gets what.

In these circumstances, each Black college should be encouraged to pursue funds in whatever fields it believes it has special competence or a special interest.

Until the President's program of reform and revitalization in higher education clears the Congress, funds for the colleges will be available only through the present elaborate system, which focuses on categorical funds--money for defined purposes on a defined timespan--from mission-oriented agencies, which hire college resources to get their own work done.

The immediate Administration objective should be to give the Black colleges what most have never had: a normal chance of normal funding through normal channels. Most should be helped by the special bridging mechanisms already suggested, but some, which have been able to set aside money to pay salaries of so-called development officers, or who have been able to obtain scarce foundation resources



or earlier Government funding, will possess an apparent immediate advantage. It seems important to the task force, nonetheless, that competition among the Black colleges be both real and free, as well as obvious to all concerned.

Top quality work should be expected by the contracting officers, and while they should be expected to avoid perfunctory token allocation of some funds among a few especially well known institutions, no screening agency or other apparatus should debar any institution from going directly to the Federal money source in a search for the contract or grant.

Most of course would also benefit from a "Developing Institutions" grant of the sort funded under Title III of the Higher Education Act but since this Title is funded at only one-third of its authorized level of \$91 million and must cover not only community colleges but also non-Black institutions, it cannot now begin to meet the need for self-assessment and improvement by consortia methods.

5. Fund a consortium of these Black colleges so that they can help each other in assessing present and future potential, and also purchase such special advice and help from service agencies and private contractors as each college may find it needs.

Colleges which need a variety of outside helping services should be able to obtain these from a nongovernmental agency in which the college can feel a double kind of relationship: a member as well as a client. Several variations on a proposal for a service consortium of this type have been made, both before and after money was set aside for such a service in late July of 1970 by Secretary Richardson.

If a group of colleges are funded to purchase the necessary services by subcontract, it would appear important that the whole range of the traditional Black colleges be represented. These colleges include all the standard categories in American life: large-small, urban-rural, public-private, sectarian-nondenominational. Four are in the North (two each in Pennsylvania and Ohio, including the two oldest of the institutions, both of them pre-Civil War). The others stretch from Maryland to Missouri to Texas, around the Gulf to



Florida and back up the South Atlantic States including the inland States such as Tennessee. There already exist about half a dozen well established service agencies for various parts of this Black college spectrum, and all of these might share as subcontractors to such a consortium, which could also identify and contract with other companies or agencies possessing special needed abilities.

The range of problems that most colleges confront, white as well as traditionally Black, are those summarized by the President's Task Force on Higher Education on pp. 14-17 of its report, under the rubric "Institutional Priorities."

These are: (a) clarification of institutional purposes, with a new, rational, particular allocation of resources for each program of study, research and nonacademic service; (b) improvement in the quality of the curriculum and methods of teaching and learning, including the forging of new links and possible time-saving crosscuts between undergraduate and postgraduate study; (c) more efficient use of resources, including improvement of management, planning, cost effectiveness and fiscal control practice, with especial emphasis upon regional and inter-institutional cooperation; (d) clarification of institutional governance, the academic phrase meaning how the college is run, who makes the fundamental decisions and who carries these out in daily practice and how this is done.

Some of these questions are issues for all Black colleges and all are issues in some of them. What should be emphasized in funding and overseeing the work of this consortium in helping individual institutions resolve these questions is that the consortium and its contract agents should not be allowed to act as a screening agency that would bar any institution from seeking help from any source, including Federal funding.

It is equally apparent that the educational, analytical and advisory work of this consortium and its contract agents must be rigorously divorced from any lobbying efforts undertaken in behalf of the Black colleges in general or any particular grouping of them. With a competent consortium staff working closely with the responsible U.S. program officers, none of this should represent any kind of operational, tactical or political problem.

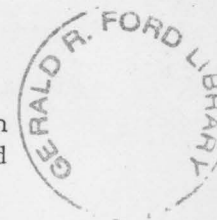


6. Encourage and strengthen graduate work in Black colleges and universities and stimulate the major predominantly white universities to enroll, with adequate assistance, Black graduates for work on advanced degrees in the professions, sciences, and managerial areas outside the field of education.

The shortage of professionals who are Black is best known in medicine (2 percent) and in law (about 1 percent) but it extends through almost every field of endeavor requiring a postgraduate degree. The only professional field in which Black citizens have had any status resembling parity has been in teaching and the allied educational specialties (in which they have held about 10 percent of the 2,178,000 jobs now open) and this occurred primarily because of the existence of a segregated school system in the South. The fact that teaching jobs historically have been open to Black college graduates and the consequent emphasis on the comparative advantage of holding advanced degrees in related fields (school administration, guidance, etc.) may have blurred the transition in that job market that now is accelerating. Teaching jobs in general are no longer a shortage occupation and desegregation of school systems in some cases has closed or constricted paths to advancement in some jurisdictions.

There are a number of problems: restructuring the Black college curriculum is only one. Both the student and his family must be shown that a State teaching certificate may no longer be the best job insurance available to him. The predominantly white schools, some of which have done little in the past to build bridges to the Black colleges, should be encouraged to do so. Their record is not good. The most recent Office of Education study of graduate students (in 1965) showed that the American universities had, overall, three times as many foreigners among their graduate students as they did native-born American Blacks. Among male students the ratio was four aliens to one U.S. citizen. Among full-time graduate students, the ratio was five to one. In 1968, the Ford Foundation surveyed the leading American graduate schools. Those institutions which could supply ethnic data provide more than a third of all graduate degrees earned annually in the country and represent a third of all American institutions granting the doctorate. They reported that in the preceding five years, they had awarded earned doctorates to 0.78 percent Black Americans. That is 78 in every 10,000, or to use the actual numbers, 294 separate Ph.D.'s among the 37,456 given by these institutions between 1963 and 1968. Graduate enrollment in general was 1.72 percent Black, or 3,012 among the 174,615 persons in the 64 institutions responding.

Meanwhile, the predominantly Black institutions offering advanced degrees have received neither money support, recognition nor forthright encouragement and strengthening they so urgently need if they are to fulfill the missions assigned to them.



In June 1970, Alan E. Bayer published the results of a survey undertaken by the American Council on Education in collaboration with the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. The sample embraced 100,315 regular faculty at 303 collegiate institutions ranging in faculty size from 20 to 4,000--4,000 instructors and professors. In the universities of this country, only 0.5 percent--one in every 200--of the faculty said they were Black. In the four-year colleges (including, of course, the Black colleges), the Black percentage was 5: that is 4.2 percent of male faculty and 7.4 percent of female faculty. Among the two-year colleges--the most rapidly growing segment of American higher education--the percentages sank back to university levels: 0.5 percent for men, 1.4 percent for women and 0.7 percent overall.

Black Americans and Foreign Faculty

The total American Black representation, for collegiate faculty of all kinds, was 2.2 percent. This compared to a total of 3.8 percent foreigners (plus another 5.3 percent naturalized aliens, who have played so important a part in recent American scholarship and science).

Among many other points of interest in this survey, two items had special relevance for the Black colleges. One was the dominant position in preparatory scholarship by university faculty taken as a whole, where 56.3 percent had a Ph.D. and another 16.2 percent a professional degree (such as M.D.) leaving only 27.4 percent without such "qualifications." The other was the fact that for the whole universe of faculty questioned, fewer than one in ten specialized in education in his own post-baccalaureate graduate work: 8.5 percent. Yet despite rapid curriculum changes, "education" remains the major field of work in most Black colleges and according to the College Placement Services, Inc. three-year study of jobs for Black graduates, the public schools enlisted 55.8 percent of the Black college graduates going to work after graduation in 1968.

Much can be done by the major white universities, in consultation with Black college undergraduate faculty, in identifying early candidates for graduate study elsewhere, in helping to strengthen their undergraduate preparation, in arranging for special summer session preprofessional courses, and in making special financial arrangements to carry the students chosen through the very long period of preparation needed for so many spheres of work in American life.



Such plans can include a suggestion by John Munro of Miles College: arrangements under which the Black college itself underwrites part of the cost of the postgraduate preparation of one of its alumni--identified perhaps as early as his sophomore year--in return for an agreement for his return to the college to teach for a stipulated number of years. This kind of arrangement is commonplace with many social work agencies to provide enough Masters of Social Work. Cooperative education plans, on a variety of models, may also be called into play. It is essential that graduate departments in the Black colleges be expanded and strengthened.

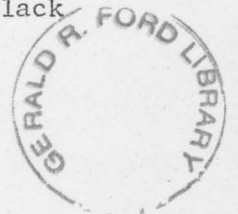
The basic point to be held steadily in view is the national urgency of at once arranging to begin the long process of producing more Black professionals from the available supply of recent and new B.A.'s and B.S.'s. Most of the white universities have been shirking a task, and they can be persuaded to devote more effort to it if their attention is called to the need for effort, by persistent attention from Federal program officers. Similar attention must be paid to post-graduate needs of the Black institutions.

7. Seek, wherever possible, to obtain "maintenance of effort" pledges from present public or private sponsors of Black colleges when these colleges receive new or larger Federal assistance.

Most jurisdictions are hard pressed to maintain the present quantity and quality of the educational efforts which depend upon the local or State taxbase, let alone provide funds for the steadily rising expectation of college degrees by high school students, parents and employers, and steadily rising levels of prejob preparation in increasingly expensive special subject matters.

In the circumstances, there is a danger that any Federal funding of any educational enterprise will be seen as merely an opportunity to withdraw (or "redeploy" or some such term) the present money source of support. This is as likely to be true of a church group that says it is hard pressed to maintain its annual allocations to a college as to State system of higher education. The Administration should make it plain that although it views these Black colleges as being, collectively, a national resource, it believes that primary funding at current levels should continue to come from present sources: State, local, philanthropic and sectarian.

To this end, the Federal Government should, wherever possible, seek to obtain "maintenance of effort" clauses from collegiate



sponsors, guaranteeing that the provision of new, extra Federal funds will not result in reduction of present support sources. We do not advocate making this mandatory and all-embracing because there may arise cases where fiscal reality, or realignment of colleges within a new unitary system, or perhaps a hostile local authority, might make execution of such a clause impossible and delay or forbid an otherwise desirable grant or contract.

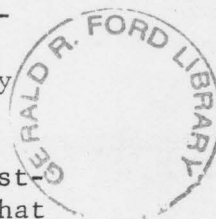
It should be emphasized, however, not only to political jurisdictions contemplating the question of if and how to subsidize what costs of private colleges so as to relieve pressure on public institutions that might otherwise result, but also to religious denominations unable to meet rising costs of faculty and the academic machinery they need to teach new subject matter, that the Federal Government is not now and cannot in the immediate future become the major financial patron of undergraduate education. There is now no way for the U.S. Government to take over the funding of what are essentially regional institutions (although serving a national clientele) with an audience primarily of a single ethnic group.

This will continue to be true even when the President's proposed National Foundation for Higher Education is made law.

If this National Foundation is established with initial annual funding at the President's proposed \$200 million level and even if a substantial part of its resources--at the outset, half of its appropriation--were devoted to the crisis of the Black colleges, this kind of money would not suffice for their major new funding needs.

The Black colleges will be helped most by student assistance, by the variety of other kinds of collaboration that are recommended in this Report, and by the special kind of consideration of the special situation of these institutions implicit in both the waiver of "matching" funds authorized by Secretary Richardson and the whole set of steps taken by the White House already to focus attention on these colleges.

A routine request for pledges of "maintenance of effort" from present funding sources should make plain these facts, especially that the Administration does not propose to nationalize these colleges, though indeed they serve a national purpose.



8. Provide for adequate Black representation on agency advisory councils, screening panels and the rest of the consultative apparatus which helps Federal departments and agencies to fix policy, set priorities and take action decisions.

These councils, panels, boards, committees, groups of advisors vary in number, size, texture, frequency of meeting and importance from agency to agency. In many they play key roles, and in some their views can be decisive. Some of these bodies are exclusively academic, even narrowly specialist in nature. Others serve as more generalist civic advisors on policy.

The urgency of the need to get graduates of Black colleges (who know the capabilities of these institutions as few others can) appointed to these panels runs as a constant theme through several sections of this Report. The reason is that so many problems encountered by the Black college arise from the undiluted ignorance of many agency program and project officers of the very existence of the colleges, let alone their location, special advantages in faculty competence, and current main thrusts of interest. Distinguished Black citizens from other institutions should, of course, routinely be selected on their special competence and ability to help agencies achieve their missions.

Without a deliberately-created place in this fabric of agency advice-givers, the Black colleges in many cases can expect only to continue to be treated with an indifference that means no meaningful interaction with the funding agency and hence no support for the work of the college.

Ideas of "academic excellence" and "special competence" held by any individual administrator in a Government agency are usually based upon (1) a very narrow range of personal experience, (2) some part in a gossip network of alumni of a defined set of schools (including his own), and (3) (perhaps most importantly) examination of the results of contracts and grants previously assigned, with the results of the work now evaluated by specialists drawn from pretty much the same cluster of institutions. Obviously the last, real judgement of quality of work done cannot begin until some work is assigned to an institution.

The sociology of all this may seem plain enough to reflective Black educators, but in action the results are almost indistinguishable from the old open hostility that many grew up with.

A useful test of the sincerity of any administrator in his belief in equal opportunity is to ask, at every advisory meeting he assembles, the simple question: "Where are the Black faces?" In these meetings, the unseen are never heard.



V. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION: LONG-RANGE

Summary

The task force offers four suggestions for significant, long-term action. Through these, the Administration can encourage the necessary continued growth and development of the Black colleges in a firm partnership with the many other jurisdictions and special interest groups concerned--local, State, regional and nongovernmental.

First in both immediate and ultimate importance of these long-range proposals is the President's call for reform and revitalization in American education. These were stated in his major Messages of March 3 and March 19, 1970. These aim at a genuine system of equal educational opportunity in America. Prompt enactment by the Congress and vigorous development of the main lines of action enunciated by Mr. Nixon are of primary importance to the Black colleges.

Second is wise and effective use of the Federal machinery already established to obtain compliance with the various laws and executive orders on civil rights, the objective being to insure that the Black colleges are helped and not hurt by these measures.

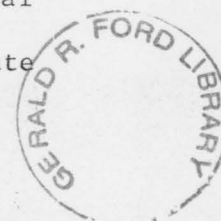
Third is the systematic encouragement of more effective State and local support of the Black colleges. This is vital as unitary systems of public institutions are created and cross-links of joint efforts woven between public and private colleges.

Fourth is intensive stimulation of helpful nongovernmental action by the churches, the foundations, the professional societies and the great civic organizations in our country.

Fifth is a long-range commitment by the Federal Government to continue support of the Black colleges at levels consistent with their future growth. At current costs, a doubled enrollment would require a commitment that may exceed \$500 million annually.

Discussion

First in both immediate and ultimate importance of these long-range proposals is the President's call for reform

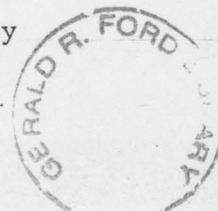


and revitalization in American education. These were stated in his major Messages of March 3 and March 19, 1970. Prompt enactment by the Congress and vigorous development of the main lines of action enunciated by Mr. Nixon are of primary importance to the Black colleges.

In his March 3 "Message on Education Reform," Mr. Nixon told Congress that "we do not yet have equal educational opportunity in America." It is time, he said, to stop pretending that we understand the mystery of the learning process. Despite the expenditure of billions of dollars in what he called a largely fragmented and disjointed Federal program of aid to elementary and secondary schools (supported 8 percent by U. S. funds, 38 percent by State appropriations and 54 percent by local taxes, largely on real estate) he listed a number of deficiencies of special interest to the Black colleges.

"The most glaring shortcoming in American education today," he said, occurs in our inadequate understanding of what is required to make "compensatory education" work. We also need to know more about how to make up for environmental deficiencies among the children of the poor, he said, and about how to help children in the decisive first five years of their lives.

Mr. Nixon's proposals included the creation of a National Institute of Education, to create a coherent U.S. approach to research and experimentation in education, not only in the classroom but in the total environment in which the child matures. The President pointed to the pioneering work aimed at establishing what children know launched by the National Assessment of Educational Progress by the Education



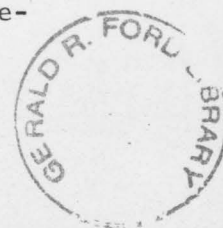
Commission of the States. This Commission is a voluntary legislative compact among 43 States led by governors, State legislators, State and local educators. Mr. Nixon stressed the need to create "new measurements of educational output," which would pay as much heed to "responsibility, wit and humanity as it does to verbal and mathematical achievement." He stressed the idea of the "accountability" of the school systems for the specific result achieved with a particular set of pupils in a particular situation.

This idea is sometimes called the "value-added" concept of attempting to measure the real productivity of a teaching-and-learning system, in trying to assess what a school actually taught a specific set of students rather than measuring what they happen to know against so-called "objective" tests of verbal and numerical skills based on so-called national norms.

The whole set of ideas and proposals is of particular interest to Black educators.

Many are eager for an active role in the tasks of exploration, discovery and reform outlined by the President. The Black educators know that many of their students come to them badly prepared and that their colleges frequently must do much transitional training before upper-level collegiate work can be accomplished.

They feel, therefore, that they have been held by circumstances to a kind of "value-added" accountability and reality-test of their real contribution to a student's growth long before the idea was presented to other sectors of American education.



As for the current "standardized tests," these present to these Black educators both a special opportunity and a special problem. They know that not only their own students but Black youngsters in general do not do well on these so-called "objective examinations."

Yet these tests play a critical part in deciding who will go where in many spheres of American life. They determine assignments not only in school systems but also in many situations in the armed forces, in business and industry, and within the Government itself.

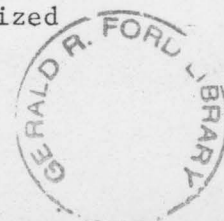
The tests themselves are sometimes accused of ethnic and class bias. Certainly they do little to measure the depth or quality of a Black youngster's response to his environment, or whatever sense of control over his own fate he has been taught by his community and his experience to believe that he possesses now, or can earn in his own future.

This complex subject, with such profound consequences in so many go-or-no-go life situations, now begins to come under a new and searching kind of examination of the kind called for by the President on March 3.

"Insensitive, Narrowly-Conceived, Inimical"

In late October of 1970, for example, the Commission on Tests of the College Entrance Examination Board--which annually tests 2,000,000 American high school students a year--called these examinations insensitive, narrowly-conceived, inimical to many of our youth.

The current state of the controversies over the known inability of minority ethnic groups to do well on these examinations is summarized



ably by Robert H. Berls. His long article on "Higher Education Opportunity and Achievement in the United States" appears in the October 7, 1969, Joint Committee Print of the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress already cited.

It is not only in renewed scrutiny of the American testing system that the Black colleges want to be involved in Mr. Nixon's bold demand for systematic research leading to genuine equality of educational opportunity in this country.

If the schools that produce many of the Black college entering undergraduates are bad at both elementary and high school levels, it is a fact that many of these schools are staffed by graduates of the Black colleges. The colleges want to examine this situation and see what remedial steps can and must be taken.

Many of these inadequate elementary and secondary schools are seriously underfunded, to be sure, in part because some States--though spending a larger proportion of tax revenues on education--still cannot match dollars with richer areas. In some cases, past discrimination in assignment of available tax funds may also be a factor.

Inquiry is needed. The President in his Message warned that the answer to lack of understanding of cause and effect in the development of a child's mind is not simply "more money."

Yet there are grave questions of future national policy to be resolved here, also. Accordingly, the President in his March 3



Message announced that by executive order he had created a Commission on School Finance. Its mission is to examine the future financial needs of the American public school system as student populations stabilize after the recent years of very rapid growth. This Commission is also charged to look into the issue of differential levels of spending as between school districts and among States.

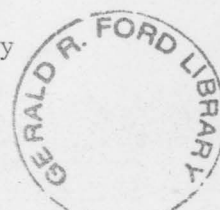
The public schools are locally-run and in large part locally-financed but the issues are of national importance because our people need no passports for that free and spontaneous migration among regions which has been so much a part of our history in settling the continent. People from poor schools are likely to live and work anywhere.

All of the tasks spelled out by the President in his March 3 Message on the need to search for better ideas on how to get equality of educational opportunity are germane to the Black colleges. They are an essential force in the effort to get parity for Black citizens in education and hence in access to jobs, health care, housing and everything else associated with economic status, which increasingly appears to depend upon level and quality of education.

What Children Learn and Where and How

Black educators feel that they know the problems confronting Black youth, not only in establishing significant new ways of testing human promise and potential to achieve, but also in creating a learning environment of pride and self-respect.

If the President's proposed research institute can be established, funded and mandated to develop the thorough kind of knowledge of what



children learn and where and how, the Black colleges can play a significant role in creating laboratory systems to test new hypotheses, in retraining administrators and teachers, in improving both the numbers of Black youth finishing high school and also the quality of their preparation for college.

Three of the concrete objectives of this institute--of (1) establishing better theory and practice in compensatory education for children in poor families, (2) improving the accuracy of testing devices aimed at Blacks and other minority ethnic groups, and (3) improving the actual quality of inschool learning--all are essential to the Black college's chosen role of providing higher education.

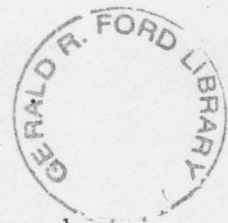
The Black college leaders, complaining that they have been largely shut out from the expensive experimentation already done on "early learning" and "compensatory education," want and need a prominent role in the President's planned major revision of the national attack on all these problems. Some declare their knowledge of proven methods--technique and curriculum--needs only systematic testing to be accepted as models for teaching the disadvantaged of any ethnic group in any college anywhere in the Nation.

* * * * *

The Message on Higher Education

The March 19 Message of the President took a similarly large and sweeping view of what he identified as the fundamental problems confronting higher education in this country at the start of a decade in which enrollments will increase by 50 percent.

"Something is basically wrong," Mr. Nixon told Congress, when family income plays so decisive a part in determining who goes to college.



He explicitly identified the Black colleges in their major role: training future leaders.

He said that reform and revitalization of the entire huge \$23 billion system with its half million instructors and professors could come if the Federal Government realized its own responsibility in its present practices: "spending \$5.3 billion yearly" in "programs...dis-jointed, ill directed, without a coherent long-range plan." The result of "hiring" the colleges and universities to do Government work on contract, he said, has been "a serious distortion of the activities of our centers of academic excellence." Too little attention has been paid to "career" education in community two-year colleges, he said, and then he made a general assessment of the total situation:

"Something is wrong with higher education itself when curricula are often irrelevant, structure is often out-moded, when there is an imbalance between teaching and research and too often an indifference to innovation."

Such criticisms are familiar to some of the Black colleges as targets of critics either unaware of or impatient with the history of these institutions, the constraints under which they grew, and the newness of the opportunities that the institutions, their faculties and their graduates now face.

But this was a different statement, aimed at the total higher education community.

The President proposed to the Congress a concrete program of innovative reform. Each of the three main proposals was and is of deep interest to the Black colleges.



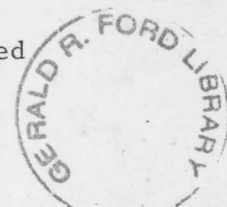
To insure that "no qualified student who wants to go to college should be barred by lack of money," Mr. Nixon proposed that the Congress charter a National Student Loan Association, which would be able to buy and sell student loans made by colleges as well as by financial institutions. This is the same role that the Federal National Mortgage Association plays in home loans. Under such a plan, the Administration later said, this would "supply all student loan funds that are sought, a situation which does not now and has never before existed." And the President also proposed that the student from low-income families be deliberately favored in allocation of grants and subsidized loans to give each such the same ability to pay as a family earning \$10,000.

Formulae should be established, Mr. Nixon said, that would in effect almost double the amount of assistance available to students with parental incomes of less than \$7,500. Under his plan, the President said, eligible students from families of \$4,500 annual income would be guaranteed a total of \$1,300 each in grants and subsidized loans: a sum that would become a financing floor that earnings, scholarships and other loans could increase. The \$1,300 was six times the \$215 that would have been available to all eligible students from \$4,500-a-year families if all had been aided under existing programs, he said.

The consequences of such a plan for the Black colleges can scarcely be overestimated.

What Economic Deprivation Means

The poverty of their students is notorious, and the students' need to do special remedial work in college bars many if not most of



them from the part-time jobs (or part-time college attendance) commonplace for white students. As for their poverty: Bayer and Boruch, in The Black Student in American Colleges, estimated that 55.6 percent of entering Black freshmen in 1968 came from families earning less than \$6,000 a year, as opposed to 14 percent of non-Blacks. At the opposite end of the scale, they said that only 17 percent of all Black collegians reported family earnings of \$10,000 or more, as opposed to 53 percent of white students. In a sample of 14 Black colleges, Elias Blake, Jr., found for the Institute for Services to Education that 62 percent came from families earning less than \$5,200 (and 34 percent earning less than \$3,000!). Similarly, Herman Smith, of the Office for the Advancement of Public Negro Colleges sponsored in Atlanta by the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, has estimated the average income of families of the students in 33 such schools as \$4,000, or two-fifths of the white \$10,000 level. Many observers have commented on the obvious ambition and tenacity of Black youth in seeking college in circumstances both of academic preparation and lack of family money support that, had they belonged to another ethnic group, would have seemed to debar any such attempt.

Given a program by which poor students could pay the real costs of their education, under a system of grants and subsidized long-term loans, many Black colleges could at once launch programs of simultaneous expansion and upgrading.

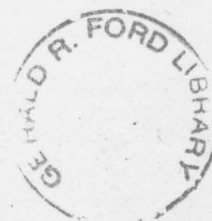
These "real costs" are sometimes particular and special in ways not always understood. They include the steadily increasing price-tags



on new subject matter and the library-laboratory equipment needed to teach that subject matter, as well as the real cost of those dormitory and food service arrangements which so many Black colleges have to provide, manage and maintain with their own meagre resources. This is a kind of cost and management responsibility that many predominantly white institutions do not have because they can customarily rely upon the surrounding community to provide not only housing and food service but also cultural and recreation opportunities. Black colleges, especially in isolated rural situations, can make no such easy transfer of responsibility for essential services.

The President also proposed the creation of a National Foundation for Higher Education. It was in this context that he mentioned the Black colleges as among the kinds of institution seeking "experiment or reform" which could turn to the Foundation for noncategorical funding, not only in terms of new curricula but also in new dimensions of adult education and new direct links between the educational experience and the world of work.

The models that Mr. Nixon cited were the National Science Foundation and the National Institutes of Health. The mission would be to support excellence, new ideas and reform, "to strengthen colleges and universities or courses of instruction that play a uniquely valuable role in American higher education, or that are faced with special difficulties," and to provide an organization concerned with the development of national policy in higher education.



The semiautonomous Foundation Board appointed by the President would be authorized to make grants, limited to five years, for innovative programs to individual institutions, to States and communities, and to public and private agencies.

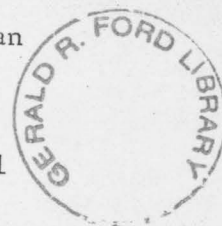
Assuming that a significant number of places on the Board were assigned to distinguished Black citizens and that a suitable proportion of its professional staff were Black, this Foundation could help make visible to the rest of the country the Black colleges, their past and potential as well as their present performance.

The Case for Career Education

The President's third emphasis in his March 19 Message was on career education.

He observed that a four-year college is not suited to everyone, and declared that "any serious commitment to equal educational opportunity means a commitment to providing the right kind of education for an individual." Mr. Nixon cited a number of job fields in which two-year community colleges can provide indispensable special technical and paraprofessional training, at a relatively low cost both to the institution and to the student commuting from home. He proposed an initial appropriation of \$100 million to help States and colleges meet start-up costs in courses in community colleges and technical institutes for critical skill shortage occupations.

This program is obviously needed, and in parts of the Black community, especially among educators, there has been some resentment at

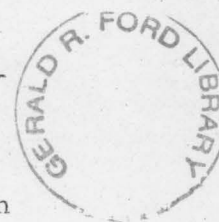


the lack of provision for community colleges located in Black midcity areas and staffed largely by Blacks under Black leadership. An example is the incisive discussion by Professor William F. Brazziel, of the University of Connecticut, in the fall 1969 issue of The Journal of Human Resources, published by the University of Wisconsin Press, under the title "Black-White Comparability in College Enrollment."

From the special point of view of this task force and its perception of the imperative need to increase immediately the supply of Black baccalaureates, there appear to be obvious difficulties in insuring that Blacks benefit equally with other groups in the extraordinary recent growth of American junior colleges.

Some of these difficulties were predicted by Earl J. McGrath in his already classic discussion of The Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities in Transition, published in 1965. Professor McGrath said then that these "community colleges" were not likely to appeal to many of the potential clientele of the traditionally Black colleges for three reasons. One is that for the Black student, going to college has meant going away from home. Another is that the idea of "community college" may have little inherent attraction for a youth who feels that the total "community" has paid little attention to him in the past and has no role for him in the future. The third is the lack of attraction in the immediate vocational orientation of many such programs, since a "non-degree education" sometimes offers little incentive to Blacks customarily excluded from the best entry job opportunities because they do not have earned degrees.

On this last point, the task force observes that it is a commonplace among college aspirants in underdeveloped countries to which the U.S.A.

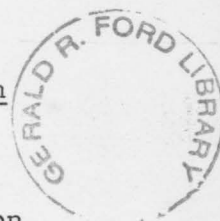


has given assistance in the Orient and elsewhere to find college-bound youth determined to aim high, at degrees leading to white-collar occupations and preferably those protected from assumed prejudice by some sort of civil service standard. It is also unwise to assume, as some people occasionally do, that paraprofessional "vocational" courses in new technical fields require less immediate ability or less inherent ability to perform difficult mental and manual tasks than more conventional degree curricula. And as long as Americans put a price-tag on a college degree for status and success, many Black students will try to use the community college as a transfer base to a four-year institution.

In any case, the problem of creating or transforming institutions of the community college type so that Blacks feel inspired by their offerings and comfortable in them, properly coached and guided and well-aimed at profitable and productive careers is one that attracts continuing study. One example is People Who Need College--A Report on Students We Have Yet to Serve, produced for the American Association of Junior Colleges under a Ford Foundation grant.

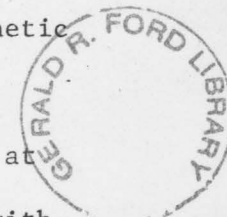
Another is New Challenges to the Junior Colleges: Their Role in Expanding Opportunity for Negroes, a progress report by the Southern Regional Education Board on a study funded by the Carnegie Corporation.

Some observers have told this task force that in their view many of the questions now posed to Black educators by the emergence of new opportunities, new institutions, new careers, new curricula result in the reopening, in a vivid, almost startling intensity, the debate conducted 70 years ago in a long dialogue between the educational theories of Booker T. Washington and W. E. Burghardt DuBois.



The classic statements that each of these educators made are contained in Washington's Up from Slavery, first published in 1901, and DuBois' The Souls of Black Folk, first published in 1903. They are available, along with James Weldon Johnson's Autobiography of An Ex-Colored Man, in a single paperback, Three Negro Classics, edited by John Hope Franklin, chairman of the Department of History at the University of Chicago. Interpretations will differ, of course, on how each scholar would interpret in today's very different conditions the Tuskegee doctrine of careful acculturation for life in a technically-oriented society and the DuBois view, nurtured after his own Ph.D. studies at Fisk, Berlin and Harvard, that the best of the university curriculum tradition should first be concentrated on the Talented Tenth. Like many other significant questions affecting the future development of a specifically American Black identity, the task force thinks these questions are best debated and resolved by Black educators, with sympathetic attention and support from the rest of a concerned citizenry.

In terms of its special concern for more Black baccalaureates, at once and in a process of systematic growth, the task force learned with concern from the Berls article previously cited, that California, which has the most highly developed system of community colleges in the country (and which also enrolls one in every nine Black collegians in the U.S.), ranks forty-ninth in the country in moving its college entrants to degrees. Berls cites evidence that two in three junior collegians there drop out before the end of the first year and that only one in seven receive any kind of terminal award, including one-year program certificates.



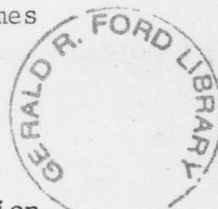
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Second in the list of long-range Recommendations is wise and effective use of the Federal machinery already established to obtain compliance with the various laws and executive orders on civil rights, the objective being to insure that the Black colleges are helped and not hurt by these measures.

Federal efforts to force a fast pace in dismantling the old rigidly-segregated dual system of education should neither place a heavier burden on the traditionally Black colleges than on their white counterparts nor be aimed (either by designed or accidental by-product) at extinguishing the visibly special Black identity of these institutions.

No responsible educator believes that the Black schools should be exempted from any antisegregation law. But neither should demands for "affirmative action" (to show compliance with such laws and executive orders) ignore the special leadership role of the Black colleges nor the special tasks they face in providing crucially-needed opportunities available no other place for students who are sometimes poor in everything but spirit, drive, ambition and determination.

Most of the traditionally Black colleges are in the South and there is a general effort by youth of all races throughout the region to get for themselves the advantages of higher education. The Southern Regional Education Board estimates that college attendance rates in its area are now about 75 percent of the national rate and that in the next five years alone, the present enrollment in all institutions in the



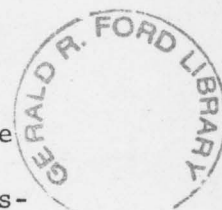
South will grow from about 1.8 million by 700,000 (almost 40 percent) to 2.5 million: with four-fifths of these in publicly-supported institutions.

With this kind of general expansion and demand for new places in college, there is a more or less constant possibility that the special needs of Black youth--who get to college generally at only about a third of the white rate--will be overlooked. Gains for Black youth in education have been dramatic in some aspects. John Egerton, one of the shrewd and sensitive observers of this scene, has pointed out that Alabama, for example, with a Black population the same size as in 1940, now produces seven times as many Black high school graduates annually as in that year.

With such a new demand for college admissions, suggestions to close down or merge out of existence or otherwise constrict the very colleges which have been created in large part by the determination of Black people seem unwise as a matter of social policy and unsound as a matter of social justice.

Artificial Barriers to Recruiting

Nor should artificial blockades be tolerated in such fundamental issues affecting survival as full and free access by Black college recruiters to the total student body in newly integrated schools. White counselors who know little about these institutions should be instructed in the opportunities they present, as a matter of professional duty. Limiting access by Black college recruiters to high school students who have "preselected" those colleges, however



convenient for the high school administration, is not part of any genuine unitary system of equal opportunity for the best students, white or Black.

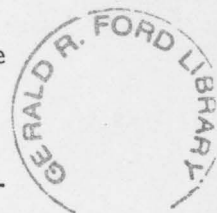
More, not fewer, student places in baccalaureate institutions for Blacks should be the national goal.

There are a number of important suggestions in the staff paper on "A Unitary State System of Higher Education," prepared for the Southern Regional Education Board. It emphasizes the continuing need both for special funding "to overcome cumulative deficiencies" and to get "greater student retention and production of graduates oriented toward new career opportunities." But it also stresses that:

"The need for an identity on the part of traditionally Negro institutions which includes pride in their past and dignity in new roles must be met as an integral part of their potential contributions within the total system of higher education."

Maximum cooperative use of plant, of special facilities and of special faculty competence is advocated in this Southern Regional Education Board paper, with major aim "movement of faculty and students between campuses for educational reasons," not merely to get some percentage of racial mixture to report to compliance authorities. There are, as this SREB study says, abundant opportunities to achieve these intermixes.

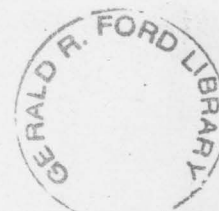
When subject matter monopolies are assigned to a single institution in a unitary system (for example, agricultural science or business administration) the task force believes that obviously care should be taken to insure that Black colleges in the system be assigned



significant monopoly areas. This is the quickest way to assure that all students, of whatever race, who are interested in the field, will study together. Similarly, whenever subject matter areas are withdrawn from a Black college curriculum the professors and students also should be transferred to the branch of the unitary system assigned responsibility for that subject matter. Amalgamating staffs quickly may be expensive in some cases under the doctrine of equal pay for equal work, because of past differential rates of pay when Black college faculty suffered from low scales.

Duplication of expensive academic plant by building new white institutions near currently operating traditionally Black institutions would seem in principle an unwise and expensive measure though in particular cases, such steps may be justified on scrutiny of the alternative possibilities of expanding or rehabilitating present institutional facilities. In general, Black educators view such duplication of academic plant near their own institutions with suspicion. In merged operations, Blacks will particularly resent as racist any assumption that leadership of the total combined effort automatically will be placed in white hands, with Blacks demoted or dismissed.

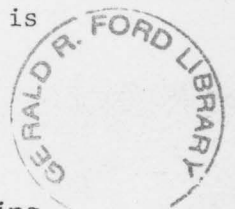
To secure compliance with the spirit and letter of the various civil rights laws and executive orders, those charged with such responsibilities should keep in mind the simple assertion that these laws and orders were meant to help Black citizens, not to hurt them. The President's Manpower Report for 1970 discusses one study showing that in one State Black educators apparently lost status (and jobs



as high school principals) as a result of desegregation. Education is the only profession in which Blacks have been near parity with a share of the job market in any proportion to their share of the population. The Black colleges have catered to this audience, at both undergraduate and graduate levels. Now curricula are changing.

But of 11,381 baccalaureates awarded by 34 publicly-supported Black colleges in the 1970 commencements, 34.8 percent related to education (as against 47 percent in 1968 and 66 percent in 1956). This was still the largest single area of concentration. And of the 1,107 post-baccalaureate degrees awarded, 919 were Masters of Education.

To deny all these bright and ambitious Black people jobs that were open to them when they commenced their college work would seem more than unjust: it also is unwise. Black educators also emphasize their belief in the need for the oncoming generations of Black youth to see Black role-models not only in the classrooms but in positions of authority and responsibility in the total school system. There is concern also for the future role and promotional possibilities for such special professional groups as the 800 Black county extension agents estimated by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to be working in a total system of 11,000 field agents. Like most such matters, this question is encased in a complex system including an elaborate network of local and countywide small citizen committees with varying degrees of authority and power. It is a time in general of shifting old practice and traditions, and the present Black professionals should not suffer in a period of general forward movement for their people.



The Role of "Contract Compliance"

It seems plain that positive efforts to get definite, visible support--advice, equipment and cash--for the Black colleges should be woven into the attempts that any Federal agency makes on any contract or purchase (or bank deposit) of \$10,000 or more to see that the anti-discrimination provisions of Executive Order 11246 are observed. Not only big business and its subcontractors, and the banks and the insurance companies, but also community leaders, economic development commissions, community action agencies and the major trade unions should be consulted in this effort.

One obvious leader in this effort is the Office of Federal Contract Compliance in the U.S. Department of Labor which coordinates the compliance efforts of the other Federal agencies and on occasion intervenes in a specific problem with a specific proposal, as in the so-called "Philadelphia Plan" to establish minority hiring goals in the construction industry. Some of the leadership and some of the staff of this Labor Department agency are themselves graduates of Black colleges and know not only special opportunities but also special problems in weaving graduates of these institutions into the total job market. These men should be encouraged to take a leading Federal role in efforts to help.

An obvious partner for this Federal compliance monitoring mechanism is the National Alliance of Businessmen, along with the other major organized industrial, commercial, financial, professional groupings.

This effort should be not merely to help identify, place and promote Black college graduates in meaningful staff and line jobs

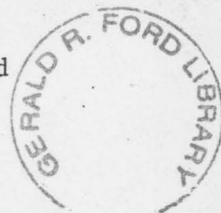


in the whole range of American enterprise. It also involves helping provide whatever support that an individual college may decide it needs and wants and that an organization such as the National Alliance ("NAB") can provide in the way of concrete advice, the loan or gift of special equipment, and supply of special lecturers and seminar leaders.

FICE staff has discussed these possibilities with senior executives in both the Department of Labor and in the National Alliance of Businessmen and has been assured that, given a firm executive mandate, each "side" would welcome the chance to collaborate in helping these colleges, and in fact are eager to help.

This National Alliance, originally organized as "Plans for Progress," represents 27,000 companies, has about 1,800 business executives on temporary detail to public service whose salaries are paid by their private employers, is aiming at special "Metro" single-city organizations in 200 locations, and helps administer more than \$120 million in Labor Department training and placement contracts by private industry for entry level hires through the "JOBS" program.

Five years ago, the National Alliance of Businessmen established a special system of liaison with the Black colleges, including an annual conference between their presidents and senior faculty and leaders in the business community. The Alliance also adapted for its own use the Title III-type "cluster concept." Under NAB's plan, specific industries either geographically close to a specific Black college or otherwise sharing identifiable interests were chosen to work together.



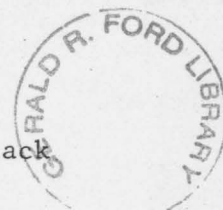
The joint "cluster" task is to help industry find, train, hire, promote Black and other minority men and women in jobs and at plants and offices where they had not been seen before, and to offer such consultation and other help to the college as the specific institution might desire. This seems an excellent plan, one that should be stimulated to the degree desired by the autonomous colleges, and not allowed to become merely a "cosmetic" sort of public relations effort on both sides.

Equally, the trade unions have a similar role and duty in their increasing need for professional staff trained onsite in their own brand of economic forecasting, occupational analysis, health-and-safety engineering and the emerging social science specialties summarized in the idea of conflict resolution as a technic.

Community leaders can also be enlisted in this effort to help the Black colleges, and the assistance of all hands sought in upgrading the school systems which produce the Black college area population, in addition to those students who come down from the North and Midwest seeking a special ambience or a kind of special experience in an ancestral homeland.

The Best High School Motivator

The best high school motivator may well be the successful Black college graduate who can go into a ninth grade or tenth grade class and tell exactly what major company or county or union he works for, what he does, how he learned to do it, what he is paid, and so on.

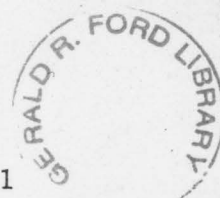


This kind of vivid stimulation takes time to show impact upon quality of college work, but it lasts, and may encourage youngsters to work harder before they get to college and so reduce the time that many of them now must spend in transitional training. This sometimes results in a youth and a college jointly investing six years to prepare and complete a curriculum in engineering, for example, that "normally" is scheduled for four or five years.

Special experiments in bringing Black college students into touch with a variety of new cultural and job experiences through systematic exposure to work off-campus can also be encouraged. Wilberforce in Ohio, founded in 1856 (and the second oldest Black institution in the United States after Cheyney State in Pennsylvania, which dates to 1839), has an obligatory program of such "cooperative education," meaning an earn/learn plan.

Sixteen other Black colleges have leagued together to develop such cooperative education plans in a consortium with headquarters at North Carolina A & T State University. There are many other special models, of which Hampton Institute in Virginia and Clark College in Atlanta are examples.

On this whole question of "compliance" with the civil rights laws and executive orders, it would seem obligatory for the Federal Government to collect reliable and consistent ethnic data. Such is not now available, in part because of the general difficulty in collecting educational statistics on agreed and enforced common



definitions, and in part because it used to be thought "racist" to keep such data. The reverse now seems to be true.

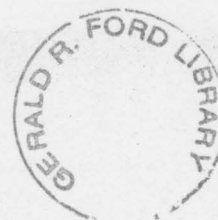
The people of this country--both citizen and legislator--are entitled to know what the situation is in every aspect of the attempt to get racial justice after so many years of oppression, suffering, segregation, neglect. Of course, different agencies need different kinds of information on different calendars for different purposes, and some can do actual headcounts while others must depend upon samples of varying size and putative accuracy. But a determined Federal effort to collect ethnic data systematically and routinely, aiming to establish a general data system meeting the needs of many different information-consumers inside the Government, seems required.

This is of particular relevance to the Black colleges, whose role is sometimes distorted and which as individual schools need hard comparative cost, benefit and performance data sometimes not easily available nor obviously relevant and reliable.

* * * * *

Third in the task force long-range recommendations is the systematic encouragement of more effective State and local support of the Black colleges. This is vital as unitary systems of public institutions are created and cross-links of joint efforts woven between public and private colleges.

It is easy to misunderstand and distort a sober appreciation of the Black colleges as both a national and a regional resource and to



believe, incorrectly, that partisan political considerations are, or can be, dominant in determining upon a course of action.

Such is not the case, and in encouraging the South and the border States to build on the strong base they already possess in the predominantly Black colleges, the Federal method should be concentration on the enlightened self-interest of the regions and localities involved. The method should be persuasion and recognition of positive achievement in providing special support and particular help to these colleges.

Seen from a national perspective, the South not only has made extraordinary economic and cultural advances in recent years but apparently, as a region, stands upon the threshold of a whole era of great new opportunities.

The 1970 Census already has demonstrated that in the last decade for the first time in a century, more people moved into the South than migrated from it. With 31 percent of the national population (61.5 million people) the South is the most populous of the four major geographical areas in the country. The decades of economic disadvantage compared to the rest of the U.S.A. are ending, with growth rates in family income, and such indices as housing starts and new car registrations, rising faster than in any other section.

These early Census projections also show, however, that the South as a whole has the same kind of catch-up problem in terms of family income as the Black colleges do in their own financing, and the South

