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Editorial Comment . . . .

Announcement has just been made, as we go to press, that the Kentucky House of Representatives has amended the Day Law by a vote of 50-16. The Senate had previously approved the amendment by a 23-3 vote. The Day Law, drafted over forty years ago by Representative Day and passed by a Legislature of that period, made it illegal to instruct Negro and white people in the same class, and has been the biggest obstacle faced by those working for the education of Negroes.

The amended bill provides that Negroes may attend any institution of higher learning in Kentucky if its governing body approves, and if comparable courses are not offered at Kentucky State College. The amendment, which had the support of Governor Earl E. Clements, was introduced by Senator Leon J. Shaikun, of Louisville, after much of the ground work had been done by Representative Jesse H. Lawrence, also of that city. The K. N. E. A. commends these leaders upon the success of their efforts.

Repeal of the Day Law has been a major issue in the legislative efforts of our organization for many years. We are encouraged that within the last two years so much progress in fair thinking has been made that the current amendments were possible. We are not unmindful that Governor Clements gave them his official blessing. We believe the experience throughout the State wherever integration may be permitted will be as satisfactory as it has been at the University of Kentucky.

REGIONAL UNIVERSITIES

The idea of regional universities has been widely discussed during recent years. It has its good points. But having originated in the extreme South, it includes as a main element the acceptance of racial segregation. This is the one point that has made it objectionable to Negro and other progressive leaders. As the movement progressed, Kentucky, officially, has been in contact, but not in active participation. The plan, on its presentation to the Kentucky Legislature, was viewed with concern by our Association, which joined

with others in objecting to any plan which would accept segregation, and thus offset the gains made elsewhere. At this writing, the matter is before the Legislature of our Commonwealth. An article, presenting clearly the attitude of Negro leaders on the question, is presented elsewhere in this issue of the Journal.

Announcements

Plans for the Seventy-fourth Annual Convention of the K. N. E. A., April 12-14, are completed, and another interesting and inspiring meeting is assured. Top flight orators whose thinking matches their eloquence have been secured for the public meetings, and every departmental chairman has arranged a live topic for the consideration of his department. The convention theme, "Exploring New Frontiers in Vocational Training and Vocational Opportunities" will be well introduced at the opening meeting on Wednesday evening, April 13, by J. A. Thomas, Industrial Relations Secretary of the National Urban League, who will speak on the subject, "New Frontiers in Vocational Opportunities."

Dr. Felton G. Clark, Jr., President of Southern University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and Attorney James M. Nabrit, Secretary of Howard University, Washington, D. C., will address the public meeting on Thursday evening, April 13.

The annual Principals' Banquet will be held at the Brock Building on Thursday, April 13, at 5:00 P.M.

The annual election of officers will be held on Friday, April 14.

Social events include the annual K. N. E. A. dance, Wednesday evening, April 12, at the Brock Building, and the Kentucky State College Alumni Dance on Thursday evening, April 13.

R. L. Dowery Announces Candidacy for Presidency of K. N. E. A. (see article on page 17).

ARTICULATION IN A FULL PROGRAM OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

Address by EDGAR P. WESTMORELAND, Supervisor of Industrial Arts and Vocational Training, Washington, D. C., before Kentucky Negro Education Association, Louisville, Kentucky, April 20, 1949

It is a great honor to be asked to participate in this public meeting of the Kentucky Negro Education Association.

In coming to you from the nation's capitol, I bring greetings from the Washington School Club, the Columbian Education Association, and from our First Assistant Superintendent of Schools, in charge of Divisions 10-13, Dr. Garnet C. Wilkinson. He heartily indorses the principle of mutual exchanges of ideas and opinions. We, too, in the District of Columbia, are very much interested in the theme of this convention—"Education for a fuller realization of democracy." That this theme also has a national and international interest is evidenced by the liberations now going on in Congress; the development of the Atlantic Pact, the crisis in China, the work of the United Nations, and such far-reaching problems whose final solutions will depend upon the direction and leadership of an educated people.

1. On the national level we are now making some headway. According to Dr. Earl J. McGrath, recently appointed Commissioner of Education, "It has been the view of the large majority of Americans that all children, regardless of their origins or social status, should have the chance to develop their abilities to the fullest."
2. Federal Administrator Oscar R. Ewing recently expressed this opinion, "We in America have something unique. I don't mean wealth or power, or any material thing. I mean the part of our democracy that is still largely a dream—but a very, very real one. I mean the ideal of equal opportunity. . . . We all know it hasn't been achieved. Millions of children have the cards stacked against them merely because their parents happen to be poor or because they happen to be born in the wrong part of the country. Millions more are denied equality of opportunity for purely arbitrary reasons—race or color or religion."
3. Vice President Barkley, speaking last month to the National Conference of Christians and Jews, challenged the American people to form a united front against intolerance and bigotry. The theme of this convention is, therefore, very timely.

The history of education in America presents a panorama of emphasis in the educational process. In the earlier years, the focal points were the mastery of skills and the memorization of facts. There was little else. Little, if any, attention was given to the student as a personality, to his moral, social, and civic consciousness, to his health, or his use of leisure time. Little, if any, attention was given to the development of the students' judgment, discernment, initiative, and ability to analyze and solve basic problems of living. In short, little, if any, attention was given to *Articulation*—the process of relating the use of skills to life, and of the inter-relationships among the facts learned as between those facts and life. (For example, the difference between H_2O and H_2SO_4.)

We then came to a realization that something was wrong; we found we were failing too many children. We discovered that schools were losing their holding power, and that drop-outs were far too numerous. Truancy was a recurring and rather general problem. Then, very belatedly, individual differences were discovered. We were shocked to learn of the spread in the range of the I. Q. at any grade level. We discovered significantly that the mental age range showed no homogeniety whatever in terms of the mental development of students who were working together. Finally, convinced that children actually are different, we came to three very important conclusions: (1) that we must discontinue our former unsuccessful efforts to make the students conform to a rigid highly mechanized school program; (2) that we must instead adjust the school program to the varying abilities and interests of students; and (3) that since the student is a complete and complex mechanism, and since he must live in a highly complex world, we must respect the wholeness of the individual student by broadening the school program far beyond the drilling check-filing procedures of the past.

Taking a point of departure from this briefly stated panoramic background of educational development, I shall attempt to briefly outline some of the basic principles involved in articulating a full program of vocational guidance. I agree with the thesis that "Vocational Guidance is the full process of acquainting the individual with the various ways in which he may discover and use his natural endowments, in addition to special training from any source, so that he may live and make a living to the best advantage to himself and country; that this process begins with life and continues throughout its duration."

Articulation—the process of joining together the elements of such a program, is necessary, therefore, if the objectives of self-realization, human relationships, civic responsibility, and economic efficiency are to be realized. *Articulation*, I repeat, is necessary in a full program of vocational guidance if we are to accomplish a continuous process designed to help the individual to choose to plan for, to enter upon, and to make progress in any occupation.

It is commonly agreed that public education should prepare for life as well as for entrance into college; and that the standard three or four year high school curriculum does not satisfy all needs. In our democracy the education of the child will eventually continue through high school and probably through technical institutes as well. There must be a reorganization of the high school to accommodate its curricula to these needs.

Also, there is common recognition of the need for the mastery of basic intellectual skills—reading, writing, arithmetic, and perforce thinking. You might add an additional R—Respect—respect for constituted authority and the right of others. In fact, educational trends seem to have taken a decided shift toward a curriculum which will actually prepare all students for society, and for economic efficiency in an American Industrial Democracy.

Any consideration, therefore, of some of the problems resulting from the established conception of general education as it exists today, should not be construed as criticism; but rather as an approach to the process of *Articulation*—the joining together of theory and practice into a functional program of education for optimum contributions to community life. The recent Prosser Resolu-

tion has furnished an acceptable basis for such growth in public education, and a national committee is now working on this important problem.

According to Ex-Commissioner Studebaker, data, in 1939, showed that of the 76 million adults in this country, 64 million did not finish high school and 32 million of these did not finish the eighth grade of elementary school. These figures reveal a major educational problem which is not being solved by legislation nor by establishing cardinal principles—setting up socio-economic goals and designating areas of influential experiences as common patterns for all. The solution suggests articulation and indicates the need of inaugurating a policy of offering in a few years all the practical education possible in order to enable under-prepared students to meet the practical situations of life.

In addition to this major problem of occupational adjustment, which is common to all groups and communities, including Kentucky and the District of Columbia, there are additional educational problems which are complicated by social and economic restrictions over which the school has no direct control.

For example, it is a known fact that any given community draws on many other communities and their educational systems for its workers, and that few parents work long in the community in which they receive their education. As far back as 1914, E. P. Ayres discovered that in the public schools in 78 cities of from 75,000 to 200,000 population, only one father out of six of thirteen-year-old boys was born in the city in which he was then living, and that thirteen-year-old boys were born elsewhere.

In light of these and similar facts, the practical solution of occupational life expectancy for that portion of our youth represented in the now larger numbers than the 64 million adults referred to by Ex-Commissioner Studebaker, suggests, in accordance with needs, interests, and abilities, (1) a sound basic preparation for the areas of occupational levels where entrance into employment is reasonably assured; and (2) a sound basic preparation for opportunity—Yes!—preparation for even such an emergency as was started at Pearl Harbor, and may now be in the making behind the "Iron Curtain."

Let me emphasize this in another way. It is now generally accepted that a definite sociological foundation for the curriculum aims should always exist. In light of any sane social economic philosophy, the adjustments in curricula offerings in publicly supported schools for our youth should facilitate their preparation not only for those occupational opportunities that exist, but also for those that may be created by the demand for prepared and competent workers.

I shall not attempt to indicate in detail the direction of curricula changes on any educational level. I shall briefly specify the general trends and areas involved. The commonly accepted formula for employment is E = MS + RTK + SIR. Where E notes employment in any skilled, technical or professional area, MS the manipulative skills involved, RTK—the related sciences or technical knowledges that condition these skills; and SIR—the social industrial relationships. There you have the hand, the mind, and the heart involved.

Since World War II, curriculum offerings in secondary vocational education have been materially increased, but for all groups in segregated areas, such development has been entirely inadequate, both in the quantity and quality of shop offerings, as well as in the areas of organized related technical knowledges.

Curriculum offerings on all educational levels should be checked against the above stated formula. On the secondary trade level, curriculum emphasis should be on basic manipulative skills (shop work) that have broad application in varied occupational areas in the numerous skilled trades. On the intermediate (technical institute level) and higher (professional and engineering levels), the emphasis should be on the conditioning sciences. ALL curriculum offerings on all educational levels, including teacher college, should contain some provision for developing social industrial relationships (the proper attitudes) relative to vocational occupational contributions which all students will eventually make in some degree to community development.

As interested parties, affected by a dual system of both education and employment practices, it is essential, therefore, that we keep abreast of the growth in American Industrial Practices and Processes. Already, according to the 1946 Year Book of the American Association of Technical High Schools and Institutes, we are making wool and plastics from milk; rayon from wood; nylon from coal, water and air; lastex yarn from cotton and the milk of the rubber tree; artificial rubber from petroleum or agricultural products; using ultra-violet light to tenderize the tough cuts of meat; the manufacture of vitamins; the quick freezing of foods; the manufacture of vinyl plastic, a new safety glass; the manufacture of glass fibres and cloth; the making of the preciptron which electrically removes all dust from the air; the making of an efficient fluorescent lamp, the nearest approach to the cold light of the firefly; the manufacture of the electric eye with its many uses; the production of airplane wings and hundreds of other parts from plastics; and the perfection of television. These are but a few of the products, machines and processes that have been announced to the public; in addition, many more, including radar and the industrial application of atomic energy will be made available to the public in the near future.

The development of Vocational Guidance Programs of Education to meet the practical situations of such advanced occupational life offers a definite challenge. The solution lies dormant in the process of articulation and must, in the main, conform to the following six formulas of solution:

First: The programs shall have as the primary preparatory objective the "optimum" occupational adjustment of the individual—(a) in accordance with his needs, interests and capacities and (b) for the best interests of society according to a single standard set-up for American ideals of Democracy.

Here a complete program of guidance, including selection, training, placing, and following-up on the job is implied.

On jobs in an Industrial Democracy where employability involves (1) doing diversified manipulative skills in designated occupational areas; (2) knowing the related technical knowledges that condition these skills; and (3) understanding the social and industrial significance of such jobs. According to Mays, "organized education meets its greatest opportunity to lead man to understand the social and spiritual significance of the work of his hands."

Second: The programs shall contain provisions for measuring the results of our preparatory training and shall include provisions for supplementary training in accordance with resulting changes in individuals and in society.

Here we need to study and survey what our youth are doing—what advances, stumbling blocks and why—to the end of vitalizing part-time supplementary programs, is implied. Night vocational and veteran training centers for men and women are important. Trends indicate that these and similar training programs will increase in number and in quality.

Third: The programs shall not remain static. Flexibility, designed to facilitate adjustments to meet changing conditions and to add continuously to the improvement of occupational standards in accordance with recognized ideals of democracy, shall permeate them.

Here continued research, guidance, and enrichment and broadening of courses of study are implied. As wood became obsolete, we taught skills in concrete and metals; when bolting became too slow, we taught welding; and now when "blitzkrieg" and atomic production become necessary to insure democracy, we must teach "blitzkrieg" and atomic theories, methods, and processes.

Fourth: The programs shall attempt to *determine* drop-out expectancy from one to two years in advance, and shall administer to this group a practical program of sound basic education of a semi-skilled nature in trade and industry, in homemaking, in distributive occupations, or in agriculture, and the like; designed to facilitate optimum entrance into gainful and useful employment. The development of opportunity and similar schools is implied here. The duty of any democratic government to provide educational opportunity for all its people is manifest in the very nature of government. Present legislation, now being considered in Congress, is evidence of the trend to equalize educational opportunities among all States, and for all people within these States.

Fifth: Our programs shall further operate to prevent premature drop-outs before the completion of such adequate educational preparation as is necessary for useful living according to accepted American standards by (a) making provision for individual differences and capacities; and (b) developing flexibility of methods and procedures. Here is implied the possible development of a "vestibule" program that should operate to facilitate transfers to and from opportunity programs. The pooling of acceptable academic and vocational principles to accomplish a flexible program to take care of the "Forgotten" 60% of high school students is already in process.

Sixth: Finally, the programs shall develop in close cooperation with industry itself, through apprenticeship, on-the-job, and diversified occupational programs, functional advisory committees, and through the continual bringing into the work as instructors, men and women who themselves have had some successful wage-earning experience in industry.

Many of our recent college graduates worked in occupations of the defense industries, and came in contact with labor unions and other industrial problems for the first time. Maine and other States are now requiring Vocational Teachers to spend intervals of time in industry. It is through such actual experiences that we can develop the abilities to lead others into a clearer understanding of social-industrial relationships.

In conclusion and briefly, therefore, I have advocated a philosophy of vocational education that lies dormant in the principles of the above stated formulas. This philosophy is based on the assumptions that the range and diversity of apti-

tudes and capacities are the same in any normal group of Americans; that the principles of democracy, so vital to the interests and needs of this country, will increasingly become recognized and adhered to, in all States, in accepting occupational efficiency measured by a single standard; and that entrance and advancement in any occupational area in all communities of this country will depend upon, abilities measured by the American standards of efficiency and activated within the framework of *fair employment practices.*

Finally, this philosophy implies the administration of rounded curricula that are designed to meet the needs of all groups in the development of such basic manipulative skills that are applicable to increasingly large areas of employment; in the application of the necessary related subject matter as facilitates a thorough understanding of the processes involved in these manipulative skills; and in the accomplishment of the proper attitudes involved in a sound social understanding of the needs, interests, and preservation of the American way of living. For American standards, even democracy itself, is at stake unless all individuals of all the diversified groups in America, are offered equal and adequate educational opportunities for optimum occupational adjustments and in accordance with their aptitudes, their abilities, and their willingness, to make their contributions to an ever improving civilization.

GUIDES FOR CLEAR THINKING

by Dr. J. K. Long

1. In forming opinions, do I recognize the possible difference between those opinions I prefer personally and those I may reach by rational thinking?
2. When I take part in discussions, am I more concerned about carrying my point or being sure that I am thinking clearly?
3. Do I realize that arguments I develop in support of my opinions may be false?
4. Is the question under consideration one about which I have emotional prejudices?
5. Am I willing to accept conclusions indicated by clear thinking if the conclusions are contrary to my personal preference?
6. Am I as critical of my own opinions as I am of those of other people?
7. When I have reached a conclusion, do I have a tendency to close my mind to further consideration of the question?
8. Am I willing to admit that I'm wrong? (Not the "I may be wrong, but" attitude.)
9. Do I inwardly protest against a challenge to revise my way of thinking?
10. Do I have too many unexamined opinions which no amount of evidence would induce me to change?
11. Do I adopt attitudes merely for the sake of differing with others, or do I agree too readily with others?
12. Am I offended if other people don't agree with me?
13. Do I recognize as valuable and worthy to be followed only those ideas and plans originated by myself?

WHY NEGROES ARE OPPOSED TO SEGREGATED REGIONAL SCHOOLS

by CHARLES H. THOMPSON

This is a reprint of an article printed in the Winter, 1949 issue of The Journal of Negro Education

On December 13, 1948, it was announced in the daily press that the Regional Council for Education, meeting in conjunction with the Southern Governors' Conference in Savannah, Georgia, had approved plans and allocated funds to begin regional cooperation in graduate and professional education in the South. This action, the result of a number of preparatory conferences, was taken to meet a threefold problem faced by the South. **First,** as is true in many states of the Union, as well as in adjoining states in the same region, there are a number of duplications in plant, equipment and personnel which could be greatly reduced, if not eliminated, by greater cooperation among the higher institutions in the same states or in the several states comprising the region. **Second,** in addition to this "normal" duplication there is the abnormal duplication resulting from the policy and practice of racial segregation which theoretically requires the establishment of two "separate-but-equal" systems of schools, thereby further intensifying the "normal" problem. **Third,** there has been and is inadequate provision of certain graduate and professional facilities, for both racial groups, because of the inability, in most cases, (and the inadvisability, in others) of the individual states to provide adequate educational services in certain areas such as forestry, veterinary medicine, and the like.

This recent news release is the announcement of the fact that the South through the Southern Governors' Conference has taken the first concrete step in the direction of meeting these problems on a regional basis. The Regional Council for Education, with former Governor Millard F. Caldwell, of Florida, as chairman; Clyde A. Erwin, State Superintendent of Education in North Carolina, as vice-chairman; and H. C. Byrd, President of the University of Maryland, as secretary-treasurer, has been set up to work out ways and means of providing certain graduate and professional education on a regional basis.

Unfortunately, the Southern Governors' Conference and the Council itself have decided that such regional cooperation will be set up and administered on a segregated basis. Thus, regional services will be provided for Negroes and whites separately. It is this segregated aspect of the plan to which Negroes object, and with greater unanimity than I have noted in some time. In an effort to ascertain the reasons for this near unanimity of opposition against segregated regional cooperation in higher education, I have made some extensive inquiries, and have found that the bases of this opposition are not only sound but persuasive.

The first phase of this opposition appeared at the Hearings, held on March 12 and 13, 1948, by a sub-committee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, on S. J. Res. 191. This resolution embodied the request of the governors of 14 Southern states for "the consent of Congress to a compact entered into between the Southern States at Tallahassee, Florida, on February 8, 1948." In addition to a number of telegrams and letters, representatives of some ten or twelve organizations appeared in opposition to the granting of Congressional consent to this compact, because it contemplated the setting up of segregated regional educa-

tional services. No one was opposed to the compact on any other grounds. All of the opposition was centered around the segregation aspect. It was argued that Congressional consent was not necessary to do what was contemplated under the compact, since the State of Virginia and the Meharry Medical College had had such an agreement for four years, and the State University of West Virginia and the University of Virginia had also had a similar contract for an equally long time. Thus it was insisted that the main purpose (if not purpose, certainly the effect) of this request was to obtain the implicit consent of Congress to the policy of separate schools, thereby giving aid and comfort to the proponents of segregation when that issue came before the U. S. Supreme Court.

Apparently this argument was partially persuasive with the Senate Committee because it recommended that the compact be approved with the following amendment: "PROVIDED, That the consent of Congress to this compact shall not in any way be construed as an endorsement of segregation in education." However, when the Compact reached the Senate, some senators thought that the Committee's amendment did not go far enough, and thus a further amendment was proposed prohibiting the establishment of segregated schools or services under the Compact. The Senate, after several hours of debate, effected a compromise between denying assent to the compact altogether, and approving it with an amendment prohibiting segregated schools, by sending it back to the Committee—thus killing any chance of further consideration by the 80th Congress.

In addition to the organizations (the majority of which were Negro) which appeared in opposition to S. J. Res. 191, several organizations have recently reiterated their opposition in resolutions passed at their annual meetings. Just to mention a few: The Conference of Presidents of Negro Land Grant Colleges which met in Washington in October, 1948, reaffirmed its opposition to segregated regional schools and appointed a committee to study the question and recommend such action as seemed necessary. The Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes which met in Wilmington, N. C., December 8-10, 1948, not only reaffirmed its opposition to segregated regional schools and services, but "resolved that this Association . . . will refuse to cooperate in this endeavor as long as the principle and practice of racial segregation are adhered to." Moreover, numerous Negro educators in the South have declined to serve on the study committees which have been set up by the Council to explore certain problems connected with the project. They have refused to stultify or prostitute themselves by cooperating in an enterprise which they feel is both unconstitutional and inconsiderate, if not unjust; and by cooperating on a level which is so far removed from policy-making as to be futile so far as affecting policy is concerned. Thus, it would appear that most of the opposition is persistent and calculated; rather than sporadic and misinformed.

In the first place, in my analysis of the opposition, I have been impressed by the fact that an overwhelming majority of Negroes and many Southern white people have come to the conclusion that you cannot have "separate but equal" educational provisions even in theory, and that least of all is it possible in the graduate and professional fields. They agree wholly with the conclusion of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, that the very act of segregation is per se an act of discrimination. Thus, they are opposed to segregated regional educa-

tional services because they are inherently discriminatory, and therefore patently unconstitutional. Moreover, it is noted that nowhere in the country can one produce a single example where "separate but equal" educational opportunity is provided by public funds. In each of the 17 states which require segregation by law there is at least one state-supported Negro college. In no one of these instances is the Negro college equal to the comparable public higher institution for white students. Accordingly, Negroes conclude that these states are either unable or unwilling to provide "separate but equal" educational opportunity, and they do not see how separate regional schools will give them any more equality.

In the second place, it is the further contention of those who oppose segregated regional schools that not only is it impossible to provide "separate but equal" educational opportunity in principle, but what is more important, segregated regional graduate and professional programs are unnecessary in practice, and represent a backward step in the educational progress of the South. A dozen or more instances are cited where integrated education is taking place in the South, with everyone the better off for the experience. Moreover, white Southern educators and students, particularly in the graduate and professional fields, have indicated in numerous polls and in other ways that not only is there but little opposition to the admission of Negroes to the universities now attended almost exclusively by white students, but that the most economical thing to do is to provide for such integration. This is particularly true of the states in the upper South. Negroes are, therefore, opposed to any plan to extend inevitably inferior segregated education across state lines, because (1) it is unconstitutional; (2) it will make more difficult resort to the courts to get redress; and (3) it will impede the present trend toward integration.

In the third place, it is maintained that even if it were possible to have "separate but equal" regional graduate and professional schools in theory, they would not only be uneconomical but unattainable in actual practice. As an example of the uneconomical aspect of segregated regional schools, a recent action of the Council is instructive. It has been proposed that the Alabama Polytechnic Institute at Auburn, Alabama, and the University of Georgia at Athens, Georgia, provide training in veterinary medicine for white students in the Southeastern states; and that Tuskegee Institute, also in Alabama, provide veterinary medical training for the Negroes in the 17 Southern states. At a conference held on this question by the Council on October 6, 1948, it was reported that: "Representatives from all three schools stated that they face major problems in securing adequate staff and adequate clinical material. . . . An additional difficulty is the fact that API and Tuskegee must draw on the same geographic area for clinical material. Here you not only have unnecessary duplication of facilities at API and Tuskegee, but even more important, you have direct competition for clinical material which is essential for the efficient operation of both. (In such competition it is clear that the Negro school at Tuskegee is likely to suffer more, as is usually the case.) To say the least, this is an example of uneconomical duplication which is inherent and inevitable in the practice of maintaining separate schools, and results in poorer education for both racial groups.

It is even more instructive to observe that "separate but equal" graduate work, for example, is unattainable in actual practice. While the Council has not made specific proposals concerning graduate education, any unbiased examination

of the practical possibilities of segregated regional graduate work, as far as Negroes are concerned, reveals that it would be practically impossible to establish even *one* regional graduate school for Negroes which could equal any one of several in state universities for white students in the South at the present time. (And I might add parenthetically that it would be foolish to attempt it.) For example, graduate work is offered in at least one public institution for white students in each of the 17 Southern states in an average of 50 different fields; and graduate work leading to the doctorate is offered by at least one public institution for white students in each of 12 states. From the point of view of teachers alone (white and Negro), it would be impossible to staff even *one* regional university for Negroes which would be competent to give graduate work in half of the fields now offered to white students in the average Southern state, to say nothing about providing a program leading to the doctorate which could by any stretch of the imagination be equal to the work now given at the University of Texas, the University of North Carolina, the University of Missouri, or the University of Oklahoma, just to mention a few.

Other examples could be given in other fields, but these two are sufficient to illustrate the point that even if it were granted (which it is not) that you could have "separate but equal" graduate and professional work in theory, it is not possible to do so in actual practice. And what is more, the Regional Council for Education being composed of intelligent people must be aware of this fact. Thus, when proposals are made which contemplate setting up segregated regional institutions or services for Negroes, there is no other conclusion to which Negroes can validly come, except that there is no intention on the part of the proponents of this plan to provide Negroes with equal educational opportunities; that this latest move (in addition to whatever benefits which may be gained by white students) is merely another scheme to evade the constitutional mandate that Negroes be given equal educational opportunity; and that the end-effect will be to increase the disparity in the provisions which now obtains.

In view of the persistence of the Regional Council in its plans to set up segregated regional services and in view of its protestations that it is not interested in the extension of segregation, but rather in providing better education for everyone, it seems desirable to explore this point a step further. Implicit in the arguments of Governor Caldwell and others before the Senate sub-committee which held hearings on S. J. Res. 191 last spring, as well as in the subsequent expositions of the Regional Council, is the following line of reasoning: Regional schools will provide greater educational opportunity than schools supported by the individual states. Since we have separate Negro schools in the Southern states, segregated regional schools will provide greater educational opportunity than the present Negro separate schools in the individual states. Hence, Negroes would be shortsighted to oppose segregated regional schools.

Curiously enough, only a handful of Negro educators have professed to see enough merit in this argument to go along with it, and all of them, admittedly, have ulterior motives in doing so. On the other hand, the overwhelming majority of Negroes and their white friends have categorically rejected this proposition for several reasons, of which the following are the most important.*

**I have not discussed the case of Meharry here, although it belongs in the same category, because it is an exceptional instance, and its inclusion would confuse the basic issue.*

First, it is pointed out that this argument is based upon the invalid assumption that some additional makeshift graduate and professional work on a wider scale is better than none at all (as is true in some places now), or better than what is being given for Negroes in some of the states at the present time. If this proposition had been presented to Negroes ten years ago, before they had had considerable experience with inferior graduate and professional work, it might have appealed to them as being realistic. However, ten years of experience with such inferior graduate provisions as have been established has convinced them that *no* graduate and professional work for the time being would be better than what has been and can be provided. And especially is this true, since such work has been and is provided at the expense of the undergraduate program which is uniformly sub-standard. Negroes are convinced that the only way to provide graduate and professional work for Negroes equal to that provided for white students in the South is on an integrated basis. Thus, they think it would be short-sighted, indeed, to accept any compromise which would jeopardize the attainment of this objective, as well as that of developing a first-class undergraduate program.

Second, it is emphasized that the above argument is based upon the half-truth that segregated schools are inevitable for a long time to come, and that integration is not possible in the near future. Negroes are well aware of the fact that the *complete* elimination of segregation in education in the South may take a long time, and they are willing to cooperate with any gradual but progressive program of elimination. However, they insist that the elimination should be started and that the most logical place to start is in the graduate and professional fields where the students involved are fewer in number and more mature in emotional development, where it is absolutely impossible to provide even the semblance of equality under segregation, and where it would be financially prohibitive even to try. Moreover, as has been pointed out, there are sufficient instances of integration on this level in the South to suggest that a well conceived and honestly administered plan for integration in the graduate and professional fields would be successful. Negroes, therefore, feel that any further compromise on this issue at this time would not only be shortsighted and unwise, but a distinct disservice to higher education in the South.

Third, it is noted finally that the above argument is based upon the fallacious, if not callous, assumption that the Southern Governors' Conference and the Regional Council for Education have no responsibility for the existence and extension of segregated schools in the South, and, therefore, all that they can or should do is to try to improve the situation within the framework of the status quo. This is such an amazing assumption that it probably would be profitable to spell it out in some detail. At the Hearings on S. J. Res. 191 last spring, the Chairman permitted Dr. Martin D. Jenkins, a witness against approval of the Compact, to put a question to Governor Millard F. Caldwell of Florida, Chairman of the Regional Council for Education. Dr. Jenkins: " . . . Is it the purpose of the Southern Governors' Conference to set up regional institutions under this compact which are segregated on the basis of race?" Governor Caldwell: "The question has never been discussed, but my guess is that the only thing that the regional compact can provide for is such types of education as are authorized by the constitutions of the several states. . . . " Moreover, subsequent to this

dialogue, the Council adopted and published the following policy statement: "Regional services, whether developed at existing institutions or directed by the board, are subject to applicable State and Federal laws and court decisions." Obviously, the most charitable construction which might be put upon these quotations (which are typical) is that the Southern Governors' Conference and its offspring, the Regional Council for Education, disclaim any interest in, or responsibility for, the segregated schools of the South, except to try to improve them within the framework of segregation.

It has seemed almost inconceivable that a group of the most potent politicians in the South, complemented by a group of the most intelligent white educators in the South, could or would sit around a conference table for several days at a time on more than one occasion and arrive at the conclusion that segregated education is none of their business; or come to the conclusion that even if it is their business, they are powerless to do anything about it, except to make an ineffective attempt to improve the situation within the segregated framework. Such a position is neither statesmanlike nor realistic; and is understandable only if the Southern politicians who dominate the Council have decided to take the same intransigent and unstatesmanlike attitude toward this problem that they have taken in almost every situation involving race relations since the Civil War. In every instance involving the civil rights of the Negro in the Southern states, the South has decried outside interference and vowed that it would do the just thing, if allowed to do so of its own volition. However, history records that the South has seldom, if ever, taken a statesmanlike stand on the race problem and has only acted fairly in the face of extreme pressure. Negroes and their friends had thought that the South had arrived at a point, in connection with the problem of regional cooperation, where it would face all of the issues involved and demonstrate that it has the statesmanship and the courage which are necessary to make a forward social step without undue pressure.

But in this hope Negroes have been disappointed and aggrieved. The Regional Council for Education knows that the courts have ruled that Negroes should have equal educational opportunity. It also knows that such opportunity cannot be provided under a segregated regional plan; in fact, the Council makes no claim that equal opportunity can or will be provided under its scheme of regional cooperation. Negroes not only reject the position which is implicit in the Council's plan, but resent the "take-it-or-leave-it" attitude that goes along with it. They are pretty certain that it would be shortsighted to "take it" and they feel that there are other alternatives to that of "leave it."

Why are Negroes opposed to segregated regional graduate and professional work? The answer briefly is that they are opposed only to the segregated aspect of it. They have no objection to and see considerable advantage in regional services which are based upon a principle which looks forward to a greater educational future for the South, rather than backward to a decade or more ago. More specifically, Negroes are opposed to segregated regionalism, (1) because they are convinced that equal educational opportunity cannot be provided for Negroes under the theory of "separate but equal," and thus they refuse to cooperate in any plan which is so patently and inherently discriminatory in its very conception. (2) Negroes are convinced by recent events and the present climate of public opinion that segregated graduate and professional work in the South

is unnecessary, and constitutes a backward step in the educational progress of the South. (3) Negroes have concluded that even if "separate but equal" educational opportunity were at all possible in theory, it would be definitely uneconomical and actually unattainable in practice. (4) Empirical evidence obtained during the past ten years has convinced Negroes that the old cliche—a half loaf is better than no bread—as far as segregated graduate and professional work is concerned, is fallacious. The extension of grossly inferior graduate and professional work, and particularly at the expense of the undergraduate program, is shortsighted—so much so, that *no* segregated graduate and professional work for the time being is better than what is contemplated. However, Negroes are still hoping that the Regional Council for Education will reconsider its decision and set up regional services on a sound and constructive basis.

R. L. Dowery Announces Candidacy for Presidency of K. N. E. A.

Complying with the requests of many of my friends throughout the State of Kentucky, I hereby announce my candidacy for the presidency of the K. N. E. A. Since the K. N. E. A. of 1916, I have been a regularly enrolled member with the exception of the session, 1919, curtailed by World War I. I am fully cognizant of the great responsibilities of this office. However, with the guidance of God, and the moral support of all members of the K. N. E. A., I feel the upward march made by the present administration can be continued.

We shall endeavor to work for the following:

(a) Continued increased appropriations from the State Legislature to raise the standards of our State Institutions; Namely: Kentucky State College,

Frankfort, Kentucky; Lincoln Institute of Kentucky, Lincoln Ridge, Ky.; and West Kentucky Vocational Training School, Paducah, Kentucky.

(b) Amendments of the Day Law.

(c) Federal Aid for Education.

(d) More per capita money to bring the minimum salary to $2400.00 yearly for qualified teachers.

(e) Full time supervisors of Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education in the State Department of Education.

(f) Continued meetings of District Presidents with the Board of Directors of the K. N. E. A., and also let each district select a classroom teacher to attend these meetings.

(g) District Associations take the pattern of the Blue Grass conference by meeting more than once a year.

(h) Continuation for equal educational opportunities for every Kentucky child regardless of race.

(i) For years, certain standards have to be met before our Secondary Schools can become accredited. We recommend, that the matter be taken up with the State Department of Education to set standards for our Elementary Schools to meet since they are the foundations for our Secondary Schools.

—R. L. DOWERY

R. L. Dowery was born and reared in Shelbyville, Kentucky. His Elementary education was received at the Shelbyville Graded School. He finished high school and college at Kentucky State College receiving his A.B. degree in 1931. The M.A. degree was earned at Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia in 1942. His parents were Christians, both of whom have passed on. He married Miss M. L. Butler of North Middletown, Kentucky in 1920. To this union three children were born. Bob, the oldest child, received his B.S. degree from K. S. C. in 1949, and is coach and teacher at Drakesboro, Kentucky; Mary Amy will finish Knoxville College in May 1950, and Butler Banks will finish Lincoln Institute of Kentucky in June 1950. He is a veteran of World War I, and a member of Bethel A. M. E. Church, Shelbyville, Kentucky.

This gentleman has served as one of the younger pioneers in helping to bring the K. N. E. A. to its present standing. He has worked unselfishly and untiringly, to encourage the youth in various parts of the State to higher and nobler things in life.

The State P. T. A. has received fine support from him through the years. In fact, it was he who made the motion to give the organization its privilege to go to itself and accomplish as it is doing.

As an administrator he has served the following communities in Kentucky: Franklin, Campbellsville, Elizabethtown, Manchester, Columbia, Franklin again, and at present Montclair, Shelby County. Consult these communities of the progress made during these various administrations.

In an official capacity he served for 10 years as president of 4th District Teachers Association; 1st Vice-President of K. N. E. A. for 4 years, two different terms as member of Board of Directors of K. N. E. A. and at present a member, Vice-President of 5th District Teachers Association, and Vice-President of the National Alumni Association of Kentucky State College.

Administrators join me in endorsing this gentleman.

—Signed, A. R. LASLEY

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