

can be achieved. With the creation of a free world majority which understands, and discriminates between ideas, we can have a gradual disintegration of the philosophy of Karl Marx as complete as the disintegration of all those philosophies of totalitarian power which preceded his and which, like his, were masked in a false face of claimed human benefit designed to deceive the masses whom they would enslave.

WE CAN ENTER GREATEST PERIOD

But with all the more stable free governments of the world dominated by the people, if the people think wisely, we could be entering upon the greatest period we have yet known. This could be a period of peace and progress, in which all peoples could greatly increase their education and skills, in which all could contribute as never before to the production which is basic to the elevation of our standards, so widely demanded, particularly among the underdeveloped countries and races.

The opinions of majorities change slowly. Once intelligence is achieved, it is rarely lost and is usually transmitted to many others as the communication multiplies.

A sufficiently strong, well-informed, and constructively intelligent public opinion, once developed and established in the free world, would be likely to continue for many generations.

Such a public opinion could conceivably create for the remainder of the 20th century and all of the 21st a new Pax Intelligentsia which could stabilize the world and lead to the flowering of a culture and civilization of a magnificence never before dreamed of.

Thus, we could move on to a new era in human dignity, in enterprise and in living standards that will make all the previous Golden Ages, by comparison, seem like tinsel.

Toward that end, all public-spirited Americans can, in unity, pledge their faith and dedicate their lives.

The New, New, New, Negro, Esq.

THE LEADERS WE WANT

By SIMON BOOKER, *Author and Head of Washington Bureau of the Johnson Publishing Co.*

Delivered before the Khayyams Club, Cleveland, Ohio, September 26, 1964

AFTER BEING introduced as a White House correspondent, you expected a celebrity with a Brooks Bros. suit, a dapper, flashing smile and a halo stuck on his head. You've been fooled. The last time I saw L. B. J. was the same time you saw him—on TV. To be frank, I have not interviewed L.B.J. or Senator Goldwater, but did have the pleasure of interviewing Ike and Nixon months after they left the jobs. So you see, I'm no "hot shooter."

In America, a Negro's hometown is the place from where he migrated or got chased from to go somewhere else to find work and take care of the family. That's why the best location (for whites) in the Nation is my hometown. I left here some 15 years ago as a symbol of unequal opportunity. I return tonight with great appreciation for the clubmen who have brought me here, stashed me in the first suite I have ever stayed in, and shepherded me about the city as if I have some formula to get rich quick. Well, I do—buy my book, "Black Man's America," so I can retire.

Unlike some of my distinguished friends in Washington who have made headlines by being the first Negro appointed to this or that job, I don't come here telling you to quit demonstrating, picketing, boycotting, or protesting discrimination—until after November 3. This is always a question in my mind about whether these VIP's are thinking of your future or their continued prosperity—a fine home and riding a limousine in one of the highest income cities for Negroes in America.

There is much talk of a white backlash, and the need for us to be quiet, docile, and hidden in some corner of American cities when major political candidates come around this year. We're supposed to stay out of the way and let the major parties appeal to the white citizenry since we are only a tenth of the population and a less percentage of the voters. On November 3, we're supposed to vote a certain way.

In regards to the white backlash, we have felt the sting for 350 years of the backlash, the side lash, the front lash, crooked lash, the vote lash, the Dixie bomb lash, the police backlash, the leather lash, and even the lynch lash. We have survived. In

regards to the Negro communities being "off limits" to major politicians this year, we need to say, "those who come to visit us, visit our areas, speak to us as friends, and pledge support in building a better America will win our vote and those who stay away and condemn us before the world, will feel the wrath of our vote."

We should make clear that our vote—the largest in history because of a huge mobilization—can easily bring victory in the important Northern States and some Southern States. What other minority, with more than 6 million votes, boast leaders who are advising our people to "lay low" during these critical times instead of insisting on firm, well-publicized goals. Who is going to insist on more and higher positions in Washington—including a Negro in the Cabinet, on the Supreme Court, and in diplomatic roles? Who is going to insist that the Agricultural Department which has robbed Negro farmers of millions of dollars, denied them credit and quotas, denied our schools money for courses and programs, be integrated to improve the economic lot of our people in the South? Who is going to insist on a fair shake in the anti-poverty program, the anti-juvenile delinquency programs, the housing and business programs, and the medicare programs? Who is going to insist that Congress appropriate sufficient money for application of the civil rights law, that the new administration appoint an aggressive Attorney General (in the make of Robert Kennedy), and that the National Government take greater steps to end mob violence and defiance of law in the South?

This election, it seems to me, is a critical election—not of whites versus black, or State versus Federal, or South versus North. This is an election which could determine the future of our great land, whether we will remain a democracy for white people or whether, in the original sense, America can become truly the melting pot of all of the oppressed who seek its shelter—including the ones who were here before the European immigrants got here. Americans want this country to grow, to prosper with a growing economy and a growing sense of racial harmony. Our role is to take leadership and

give direction, not succumb to the fright and panic which could only guarantee another century of mass poverty and violence for our children and grandchildren.

My subject tonight is, "The New, New, New Negro, Esq." I didn't pick this subject. The press gave it to me. Every few years or so, there's a wave of articles on something new about us and nobody has stopped to compile the various shifts and trends since we came here some 350 years ago as slaves. So tonight I thought I would do the job—in a few minutes.

The first step was the "beat down" stage when we were tagged with the label of Negro, black, nigger and what have you. We were slaves auctioned off on blocks, sold like pigs, bred like horses, hit in the head like cattle, called morons and imbeciles. These 250 years were the most inhumane period in American history and what we went through few historians write about. The history books extoll the magic of Christianity which influenced the white folk to cleanse their souls and free us eventually—after a war. Read some of the gripping accounts of slavery conditions and you'll begin to understand the horrors and cruelties your forefathers and mothers survived. This was the period during which few Negroes thought for themselves. We were forbidden to learn to read or write by law. We were put into the hands of masters; we were toys and love partners at the impulse of our guardians. We sacrificed, we slaved, we died like fleas. We bowed low, said "yas'm" and we suffered from worn out knees, bad backs and heart trouble induced by being around savage white men. But we struggled on.

The second step was "the beat up" period. We'd been freed and promised a mule and 20 or 40 acres. We really got to thinking we were on freedom road when Negroes for the first time sat in Congress and the Senate and served as State Governors in the South. We shouted, thanked the Lord while politicians in Washington stripped us of most constitutional rights, including the right to vote. We became freed slaves, unable to work, denied education, housing and welfare. We were exploited, victimized, murdered, slaughtered and starved to death. We were tenants, peons, and convicts. But we witnessed one of the biggest doublecrosses in history. An emancipation which turned into slavery again and gave us a century of mass misery. We couldn't vote in Mississippi, then, either.

This brings us to the "beat out" period. The next years, we struggled to live, to exist, to keep a little flame of freedom alive. Aw, it was rough, baby. Hitler was a freshman compared to what happened in America's South. But few writers tell about the horrors. The big Negro leaders were the ones who knew how to properly carry their hats in their hands, bow low enough to touch the floor, and say "yes, sir" the loudest. You can grin but that was the way it was, and had to be. The leadership in this period was accommodative. Can you imagine college presidents who had to know how to pray and sing, or do a soft shoe shuffle to get money for their schools, and many of them could not add or subtract? Can you imagine the big Negro in a community being the headwaiter at a country club or hotel? Well, baby, this period was rough. When we went to college, Negro college, that is, we had to preach or teach—take our choice—and by the time we got out, we'd have to do both to make ends meet. In Mississippi, we still didn't vote.

Well, we come to the "beat in" stage. While we were running like hell to get out of the South and escape the cruelties, we were packing into old houses in northern cities and running down communities. We moved in—on and on, and bigger and bigger, and wider until we got a sizable vote. But we had a sizable everything else—a sizable headache, too. Rural families unused to toilets. Families in one room. Commonlaw marriages. Crime, low morale, delinquency, a sence of

hopelessness, just think of something unfortunate and we had it. But despite this mountain of despair, we managed to support civil rights groups fighting for legislation and recognition and we managed to get Negroes on Capitol Hill. Then we started to do something about schools—letting Negro kids get some education, like white folks said they needed. The only thing, we wanted education at the other schools. There was the legal channel, and the NAACP successfully used it. It took the case several years to reach the U. S. Supreme Court, giving bigots the chance to fire a few hundred teachers and kill some race leaders. Negroes were getting bolder. We even asked for old books used by white kids in Mississippi, but we didn't win the right to vote there.

The "beat it out" stage was the most thrilling. It was climaxed in 1963—the centennial of our emancipation—and it happened because Rev. M. L. King, Jr., made the decision to march in Birmingham, Ala., when the police warned him not to, when the courts ruled against his marching, when white leaders tried to throw every roadblock. We have waited long enough, thought Reverend King. Segregation must go. With scores of sit-in demonstrations in the few years before, 1963 became the year of the Negro—his freedom year, the year of the march on Washington, a quarter million strong—white and black, we brought a great Nation to its knees; we touched the conscience of a multitude of Americans. We demonstrated in every city of America. And we prodded a great President to press for passage of a major civil rights bill, an action which politicians said couldn't happen.

For the second time in American history, we were legally freed. The children of the children of the children of bondage finally saw the sun slowly coming over the hill. But too few Negroes see the sunshine. Two-thirds of us are poor. Most of us live in ghettos with poor schools with poor housing and poor paying jobs. We are blinded by the ravages of disease, stunted by the horrors of slum living, hungry on starvation diets, and discouraged by the continual thump, thump, thump of oncoming poverty and bankruptcy and disaster.

This is the "beat out good" stage today despite the glory and might of the publicity releases of government. The problems we face today are great, much more harassing and distressing, much more intricate and complexing to solve than merely winning passage of a civil rights bill or marching in the street. We have serious problems in housing, education, employment, and welfare which will require the best brains and knowhow.

Who is the "New, New, New, Negro, Esq." to help erase this backwash of 350 years of neglect, of deprivation, and of fourth-class citizenship?

Is he the Negro, two paychecks and a mortgage ahead on a new home, who explains: "Look, I'm not interested. I've got mine. Negroes are not my concern or my business. I'm happy. They should be happy." Aloof from his people, this Negro is interested only in belonging to downtown organizations, in mingling with only a handful of us, and in appearing at a bargaining table against us. He is a product of overintegration, overexposure, and has become a loss to our total improvement.

Or is this selection the slick-talking Negro, who's given up the fight to win a place in America, and who has become the black nationalist, spreading race hate and bigotry as well as discouragement to the masses? His message is one of emphasizing the defects, inequalities, and the faults. His philosophy is one of turning black against black and black against white and calling for a Jim Crow state and a back-to-Africa excursion.

No, the new, new, new, Negro is not a member of either of these two groups. He or she is a Negro who thinks of his people and his Nation, serving as a brother and a neighbor.

He's one who's not ashamed to walk into slums and help his people, emphasizing the vote, home care, and the value of an education. He's able to properly represent his people in every area of a city, an ambassador, a symbol, and a citizen. He is an ardent supporter of integration, always willing to lead his people in this direction, but he insists on quality and efficiency in Negro institutions and undertakings.

He's a Negro who can say "baby" or "sir," enjoy chitterlings or soft shell crabs, drink bourbon or wine. He's one who carries no racial chip on his shoulder, but is quick to defend the rights of his people. He neither panics nor becomes frightened at the perilous journey we have yet to go in America, but constantly inspires, encourages an even greater number of our people to join in the freedom march. The future of our people will depend upon the firmness and militancy but yet the constructiveness of our program. And it will depend upon the balance of the "New, New, New, Negro, Esq."

So many people ask me how I can get so involved in so many civil rights crusades—even to being one of the passengers on the first freedom ride a few years ago in Alabama—and not get angry, or blinded with passion. This is how I explain it. Several years ago, I spent many weeks in Little Rock when they integrated the schools and came home a pretty banged-up guy—just in time to take my youngest son on his first day of school. My kids go to a parochial school in Maryland and they have to walk several blocks through a white neighborhood to board the bus. That morning, I was angry, giving the whites hell. As I stood beside my boy with a growing number of white kids, getting angrier all the time, a little white girl came up to me and said, "Mr. Booker, you don't have to stand there. I'll take Jimmy to school and I'll look after him." I went home an embarrassed man, a bigot.

The nation we want to live in is not our Nation or their nation—but a together nation. We have millions of white Americans as allies. We have come too far to turn back now.

Involvement And Leadership

WHAT IS THE PRICE TAG?

By LEE S. BICKMORE, *President, National Biscuit Company*

*Delivered before The 46th Annual Meeting, Illinois State Chamber of Commerce, Palmer House, Chicago, Illinois
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THOMAS CARLYLE, the great English prose writer, made the statement: "The History of Any Great Country is the History of the Lives of the Great Men in That Country." We can paraphrase that and say that the history of any great company is the history of the great men in that company.

I think the above quotation sets the background for our subject, "Involvement and Leadership." You may question, in view of the high salaries being paid to leaders today, why we do not have more of them. I think the answer is you have to pay a price for leadership.

The price you pay for leadership is not comfort. The glory of life is that it is worth the struggle. There are no bargains or markdowns at the "leadership" counter, but the effort to achieve represents the finest genius given to man.

In Malachi, the last book of the Old Testament, there is a passage that goes something like this: When the Master comes in his second return, He said it would be like a "refining fire and the fuller's soap." Our life here is a testing period—we are being refined—we are being purified. This is particularly true for anybody who aspires to be successful, aspires to a position of leadership. Why? Because you do not become a great Leader alone. Leadership pre-supposes follow-ship, and the successful man's destiny is determined, in large measure, by what he is able to get other people to do. Yes, there is a price on leadership and that price is never cheap.

Shakespeare said: "Some men are born great; some men achieve greatness; and some men have greatness thrust upon them."

It is said that men become great for three reasons: *First*, because of native endowment; *second*, because of great opportunity; and *third*, because of great will to serve.

I think a classic example of this "will to serve" was illustrated by the Saviour. At one time, when He was meeting with his twelve Apostles, Peter and James fell to quarreling about which one should be seated on the right side of the Saviour, as that indicated the importance of each. Finally, when they couldn't resolve their difficulty, they said, "Let's

ask the Master." So they did this, saying, "Master, which of us is the greater?" Do you remember the reply? "The greatest among you is he who serves most." This means complete involvement—not being a spectator, but a participant.

Attaining leadership is a journey. It is not a destination, because we never fully arrive. Yes, there are price tags of leadership and involvement. What are these price tags? There are four major prices a leader pays because of involvement:

1. *The first price is that of great preparation.* Plenty of people would like to be successful, would like to be president of their company, would like to be a leader, but not enough of them are willing to make the sacrifices necessary to attain that important position. They won't prepare; they won't qualify themselves. They won't become completely involved. A successful man is a leader. A leader stands out in front. He is a director; he is a coordinator; he is a dreamer; he is a planner.

Leadership pre-supposes and presumes great preparation. Yes, to be a leader one must have a sound grounding in preparation. Before entering one of the major golf tournaments, Ben Hogan practices a single shot by the hour. Necessary? Yes, great preparation is very necessary. He doesn't practice by reading about golf—he becomes involved.

I well remember when I came East, I took a trip up the Hudson River to Hyde Park to visit the home of former President Roosevelt. I saw there a series of drafts of one of his famous speeches. There were nine drafts of this particular speech. The first draft was rough; the second was improved; the third showed still greater improvement; but when the eighth draft was reached, there was only a single word changed before the ninth and final draft was run. Great preparation! Tremendous preparation! All great leaders know they have to have this thorough grounding in preparation.

The late Dale Carnegie performed a tremendous service in helping people to stand on their feet and express themselves. He said, "The greatest qualification to enable a man to become a good speaker is thorough preparation of his talk." One hour of preparation for each minute of speaking time.

Former President Eisenhower has been in public service

