

Proceedings

Black Leadership Symposium

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Lawrence Holidome

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Edited by

Jacob U. Gordon
Executive Director
Center for Black Leadership Development and Research

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607 BLAKE HALL

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

LAWRENCE, KANSAS 66045

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Introduction and Acknowledgements

Any meaningful study of African-American History requires an in-depth look at the leadership which has struggled for equality and change in the American experience. In this regard the disciplines of the Humanities provide an excellent vehicle for analyzing the careers of black leaders who seek in diverse ways to advance Black Americans and overcome the racial barriers and oppression that pervaded American society. The humanities call for imagination, literary taste and critical standards. They also demand the philosopher's insights and judgments. Thus the first black leadership symposium was designed to reflect the humanities content. Many aspects of black leadership were examined from the humanities perspective: intellectual, political, social, economic and spiritual leaderships. Considerable emphasis was also placed on black family leadership. Panel discussions were led by black academic humanists from the Kansas Regents Institutions of higher learning and Washburn University. Two keynote speakers, Dr. Broadnax of Harvard University and Councilwoman Collins from Kansas City, Missouri made valuable contributions to the humanities emphasis.

Of course, it was not possible to include all aspects of black leadership in the symposium. We decided at the outset that in order to achieve a better perspective, it would be wise not to treat all aspects of black leadership in American history. In addition time limitations and the current state of research in black leadership helped shape our choices. We hope that the 89 black leaders who attended the symposium returned home with renewed dedication and enthusiasm to resolve many of the issues raised at the meeting. These issues included the future of the black family, the youth, the problems of education, teenage pregnancy and other health related issues, to name just a few.

We wish to thank many people who made the symposium a real success. We are especially grateful to Barbara Sabol, Secretary of the Kansas Department of Health and Environment who served as chairperson for the symposium; Mrs. Joanne Hurst, symposium coordinator and members of the Black Faculty and Staff Council at the University of Kansas for their unfailing support and helpful suggestions.

Finally, we offer our unalloyed gratitude to all those who participated in the symposium. Without their efforts the program would not have been successful.

Jacob U. Gordon

BLACK LEADERSHIP KANSAS

In his opening remarks, the President of the Black Faculty and Staff Council at the University of Kansas, Professor Jacob U. Gordon, welcomed the participants to the first Black Leadership Symposium. We hope that the information that we share with each other today will be of value. We also hope that it will start us on a journey that we believe can significantly impact Kansas communities.

Exactly ten years ago, we, the members of the Black Faculty and Staff Council at the University of Kansas were brought together by our common heritage, our collective souls, our common struggle for the advancement of black folks and our membership in the human race. These roots that bind us together have continued to sustain us over the years as we continue to pursue our goals and objectives. Our objectives, then, 10 years ago were very clear: (1) we wanted self-determination.

A. Philip Randolph put it very clearly in 1942 when he said, "Oppressed people must assume the responsibility to free themselves." (2) We wanted to increase the number and quality of black faculty and staff and students at the University of Kansas. (3) Our third objective was that we wanted opportunities for full participation in the decision-making processes of the University. I am pleased to report that we are now at least better than we were yesterday but our task is not over. It is my personal opinion that after ten years of struggle and progress, as Frederick Douglas once put it

in 1855, "there can be no progress without struggle." We have begun to work on the second chapter, such as this symposium. In this regard, our short term and long term objectives are very clear.

The Kansas Committee for the Humanities (KCH), an affiliate of the National Endowment for the Humanities, made it possible for us to accomplish our short-term goal, by providing the necessary financial resources needed to convene this august body. Second, I'd like to acknowledge the conditions and support of members of the Black Faculty and Staff Council. At this point I would like to recognize those members who are present, particularly members of the executive committee. Will you please stand & be recognized. Most of the faculty I'm sure are teaching this morning but we are very delighted that these people have helped us to bring this program together. You may be seated please.

And now it is my personal pleasure to introduce to you a man who has done so much to help us in many many ways that time would not permit me to enumerate at this time. He is Dr. Gene Budig, the Chancellor of the University of Kansas, who will now make some remarks before leaving town for another engagement.
Chancellor Budig.

CHANCELLOR BUDIG

Thank you very much. Before making my comments I'd like to ask how many people here today are 45 years of age or older? Okay, to those of you 45 years of age and older you know what I'm

going through. I, two weeks ago, got my first pair of bi-focal glasses and I cannot get used to these things. I got them over at the Medical Center and I've missed 4 and 5 stairs at a time, and, I mean, it's just terrible. Do you get used to this after a while? What I'm going to do is just very quickly change glasses. Because I thought it would be the only way I'd be safe in coming out here today would be to go back to the two pairs.

It is my pleasure to welcome you. Good morning ladies and gentlemen. We are especially pleased that you could be here with us for this symposium on black leadership. The University of Kansas is pleased, and in fact very pleased, to present this conference and to support its aims and those of the KU Black Faculty and Staff Council, a very committed group of individuals, a very able group of individuals. The discussions and the presentations should be helpful in furthering the goal of increasing the leadership role of Blacks in Kansas. And this is very important. Many of the speakers and panel members already hold important positions in the life of our state. They must be joined by others in the years ahead and I would like to underscore that fact. It is past time for black leadership in Kansas and it is throughout society. As each of you know, the task is not easy, it never is. In your efforts, however, you can count on the University to do what it can to assist you and the black community of Kansas. There are many ways in which we can be of assistance. The most basic, of course, is through education. Through many and varied programs of the University of Kansas, this year 6.2% of the students are

members of minorities. This is an increase of more than a full percentage point over the figures of 5-7 years ago. We are pleased, very pleased, by this increase. But it is not enough. Minorities represent approximately 12% of the Kansas population. I believe our student body should reflect at least that much ethnic and racial diversity. We believe KU is receptive to the needs and aspirations of blacks and other minorities in our society. We believe that KU has much to offer those students of whatever age, whatever their aspirations. We also believe in and feel very strongly that our campus can be the source of future generations of black and minority leaders in our state and in our nation in the training ground for a thoughtful and educated and active minority presence in Kansas. With your help, your direct assistance, we can reach our goals in minority-recruitment and education. As concerned and active citizens of our state you can play a central role. A central role in increasing the number of black high school graduates going on to college and going on to professional schools such as law and medicine. You can help us conserve the priceless resource that these young people represent. And by doing that, you can ensure that black leadership in Kansas is not a goal but a fact. Again I would like to thank you for attending. I would like to commend your interest and we ask for your support. Thank you.

JACOB U. GORDON

My second function is a very brief one. And that is to introduce the person who will chair the whole session. Instead

of introducing this person, I'm just going to try to present her because she really doesn't need any introduction. But I do want to say one or two things before presenting this person.

A review of related literature in leadership suggests six good leadership qualities. They are strong personal identification, use of problem-solving resources, intra-personal skill, inter-personal skills, situational skills and lastly, judgmental skills.

The person I'm about to present to you, epitomizes, in my judgment and the judgment of most people who know her, that she really possesses all of these qualities and so without any further ado I'd like to present to you Secretary Barbara Sabol of the Kansas Department of Health and Environment. Here's Barbara! Thank you.

Barbara Sabol

Secretary, Kansas Department of Health and Environment

Thank you very much and welcome to all of you. I think I'd better start by saying that if I were a singer I'd sing and if I were an artist I would paint because this is indeed a beautiful audience and it feels good.

First let me tell you a little bit about black Kansans to give you a perspective on some of the issues that we'll be discussing during the conference. Blacks represent the largest minority group in Kansas. We make up 5.3% of the population. More than half of us live in two counties, Sedgwick and Wyandotte. And there are 9 Kansas Counties, according to the 1980 census in which there are no blacks; keep in mind that there are places

in Kansas where the population density is very, very sparse. As a group in Kansas we are relatively young. In 1980 the median age for blacks in Kansas was 23 years. Surprise you a little bit? It surprised me too. White Kansans had a median age of 31 years. There are some problems we must address. For example, unemployment rates for black Kansans between the years 1940 and 1980 have been between double and triple the rate of whites. In 1980 our unemployment rate was 10.8 and for whites it was 3.6. The median income for white families in Kansas has increased faster than the consumer price index, based on 1959 through 1979 data. The real income for black families in Kansas has decreased between 1959 and 1979. Although the poverty rate has dropped for nearly all groups there are still dramatic disparities between blacks and others. In fact, the poverty rate for blacks is still more than two times that for whites. In Kansas, between the years 1980-1984, over 25% of black women needing prenatal care received inadequate or marginal care. The black infant mortality rate continues to be almost twice that for whites. In 1984 the black infant mortality rate was 20.2 per thousand live births and for whites it was 8.5%. The homicide death rate among black males was more than triple the rate for white males. You probably read that there is good news about lung cancer. It is on the decline. But it is declining for white men. In fact, cancer among blacks is being described as a national dilemma. The National Cancer Institute has reported that for cases diagnosed during the

period 1973 to 1975 and then followed up in 1981 there was a 2% increase in the cancer incidence overall, while the increase in blacks was 7%. There's other data I will provide as we go through the conference. What I want to do now is to underscore one of the things that Chancellor Budig said. The task is not easy--the tasks are many--therefore, black leadership is critically important. The purpose of this conference today is to create an opportunity for academics, humanists and black leadership practitioners in the state to identify leadership issues and to promote better understanding of black leadership. A few questions: Is a leader a definer of values? A satisfier of needs? If leaders require followers, who leads whom where? And as leaders how do we go about together solving some of these most pressing problems that I have previously described? Today, we'll be talking about leadership and the black family, black leadership and education, leadership in the area of civil rights, spiritual leadership and black economic leadership as well as the area of legislative leadership and how our institutions of higher learning can help. This is an opportunity for all of us; for all this brain power to think together, to share and learn from each other. To get us off to what I know will be an exciting start, we have with us Dr. Walter Broadnax. Many of you in the audience know Dr. Broadnax. You've had an opportunity to work with him. You've had an opportunity to continue to work in children and youth programs that were initiated by Dr. Broadnax. Dr. Broadnax is an alumni of the

University of Kansas. He has served as Kansas commissioner for children, youth and families in the State Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services. He served as the assistant secretary for planning and evaluation in the Department of Health Services. Currently, Walter is serving as Director of the Ford Foundation Innovations in State and Local Government, the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. I'll stop with that very short introduction. There are many many things I could say about Walter, some of which he has asked me not to say. So let me turn to Walter to speak about black leadership.

Walter Broadnax

Director, Harvard/Ford Foundation
Innovations in State and Local Government Program
Harvard University

Thank you very much Barbara. It is indeed a pleasure for me to be here and it is a pleasure to see so many familiar faces. When I was standing outside this morning in the lobby and sort of chatting with a few people like my dear friend Col. Richards, a warm feeling swept over me. I, like Barbara, when I am in a situation or I'm surrounded with so many dark and tan and various hues of colors like this--that warm feeling sweeps over me. In fact, the older I get the more that is the case. I find that I need regular doses of being wrapped in my people to feel that I'm okay. It feels real good this morning. The second thing is that God knows its the truth that Barbara Sabol could say things about me up here that would be more than a notion as my Grandmother would say, and cast me in several different lights. But that is what friendship is all about. And it has been a good friendship between us and I can say that she does know me. It's been a pleasure knowing her as well.

What I purport to do this morning is, hopefully, begin our wheel turning as far as beginning to think about the issue of black leadership. I certainly do not purport to come here this morning with some pat solutions to the problems of black people, but hopefully it will give us an opportunity to begin to at least examine what I would call some intellectual vectors, if you will, for thinking about the problem. I think Barbara's opening comments certainly begin to map out the terrain, if

you will, in terms of what the current situation is in the state of Kansas. My initial remarks will sort of cast this on more of a national level, and give it that kind of scope. But I think it will be immediately obvious to you that the character of the statistics that I am quoting are of the same nature as the statistics that Barbara was quoting to you from the state of Kansas. I also would like to characterize my remarks, to some extent, in the context of some things that a colleague of mine has been talking about. I don't know how many of you have followed the contemporary press and become familiar with Professor Glen Lowry, but he is becoming sort of the black guru of the twentieth century. Harvard University sort of has the ability to do that for people. It recognizes that we don't have anything more novel to say, but it's the benefit of Rev. John Harvard for putting together a multi-billion dollar enterprise to support what you're saying which helps a great deal.

So, let me sort of characterize the opening remarks in terms of saying some things that Professor Lowry is saying that I think are very important and are helping shape the environment within which black people are going to have to think about leading and think about bringing about change. One of his favorite comments, and we have struggled about this at times over the dinner table, is about black leadership as it exists today. He says that "black leaders today are nothing but self-serving". He says, in fact, they have no concern for the black poor and

the black underclass. He says the current black leadership, the middle class, upper-middle class professionals, are only interested in preserving their position in the political and economic hierarchy and they stand on the backs of the black underclass to do this. Therefore, we cannot look to the current black leadership, particularly the current--what you call black professional civil rights leadership--to be of use to the larger black society in terms of providing leadership, particularly leadership for positive change. He says that black middle class interests in affirmative action are simply an opportunity for them to achieve an edge. That they recognize that affirmative action is a meaningless concept which is not necessarily heeded and that all it does is provide them with the edge in terms of contracting white-collar jobs and other sort of social amenities and it does not provide any meaningful opportunity for blacks who are not members of the middle class or the professional class. So again, he's saying that all the laws, the regulations, the sort of context we've established is only to serve a small group of black people, that they recognize that, that there is no intention that it serve the larger black population. He says that black professionals, the black middle class, the black civil rights leadership enjoy the perpetuation of this image of blacks in America as sort of this downtrodden mass of people who are struggling and so forth because this sets up the proper mental image in the minds of whites so they feel sympathetic and feel they should respond to those needs. When they respond,

of course, the beneficiaries of the response is again the black middle class, the black professionals. He says the black professional civil rights advocates have a lot at stake in terms of talking about changing leadership in America and their stake is preserving the status quo. He goes on to say, "Look at black America and see why we haven't talked about it as it is." And he leads with one of his favorites. He says illegitimate birth rates are as high as 75% in some of our inner cities. And we find generation upon generation upon generation of children born out of wedlock to children born out of wedlock to children born out of wedlock and so on. He points out that two-fifths of all black children are welfare dependent. He points out that blacks enjoy ordering blacks and says that 40% of all victims turn out to be black. A more recent statistics is, as he points to the Boston-Latin schools. I don't know if you're familiar with those schools or not, but historically these were elite schools within the context of the public school system for children who did extremely well and they are almost like preparatory schools within the public school context. He points out that Boston Latin admits blacks that score in the 50th percentile on standardized tests. Whites and Asians to be admitted to Boston-Latin must be in the 75th to 80th percentile on these standardized tests. The result is that the black flunk-out rate is twice as high as for other students. He says why obviously it is. Again, look at what this affirmative action is doing--these kids at 50% are not going to do as well as kids at 75-80%. One last number for you, and not to overwhelm you or subdue you with the numbers. A

Washington D. C. public official, reported recently that 48% of working age blacks in the District of Columbia have no high school diploma. I think we'd better think about that one for a while. This is the federal city. Absolutely a white-collar city and we're reporting we're the majority in that population and that 45-48% of working age blacks in the District of Columbia have no high school diploma. One of the things that research seems to indicate about black people in the large, as Professor Lowry points out and other studies point out as well, is that we are not a people without tremendous ambition. You'll find among black children in almost any economic circumstances tremendous ambition, high aspiration, but often there is a tremendous gap between those aspirations and the children understanding what is required to fulfill those aspirations. The classic example is talking to black children who are interested in medicine and often time finding an absolute disconnect between their interest in a medical education and understanding that that requires an interest in mathematics and science as they proceed through their lower grades in the educational process. So, here we are, high aspirations, interests in moving ahead, but not understanding what is fundamentally required to move ahead. Sort of finishing up the business of the context of the environment which we find ourselves in to talk about leadership. I think it is important to turn our attention for at least a brief moment to the Reagan administration. There is a concern here between my

colleague and friend Professor Lowry and some of the things that the president is saying. Some of the facts that I am reporting are simply facts. Look at Bradford Reynolds, who goes up and down sort of in the press. I understand there is sort of a concerted effort to try and keep him out of the press these days--to keep his profile a bit lower--but this man has some very powerful things to say. I think we have to understand that with the support of the Attorney General of the United States--and in turn he must be with the full support of the President of the United States--this man is absolutely opposed to the concept of affirmative action and has put all the emphasis on the concept of reverse discrimination to the point that if a black is hired in a position that the opening question becomes one of why didn't the white person get hired. So you start on that premise as opposed to talk about any premise that would involve rectification. You have another of our brethren in this administration, Clarence Pendleton, who is deeply concerned these days about whether blacks are reducing the quality of education in exceptional and elite schools and wanting to conduct studies so that Ivy League schools, the preparatory schools, can look to see if blacks being admitted have brought down the quality and standards of education in those institutions and is funding such research. I need not tell you about funding research. I mean you can find what you're looking for if you are willing to pay for it. I think it is fair to say that there has been an absolute concerted attack on domestic programs at the federal level under this administration.

If you look at health, housing, economic development, aid to families and their children, even the social security administration, the WIC program and it goes on and on, but there has been a concerted attack on these programs. And that redounds absolutely negatively on two black people given the disproportionate number of us who are dependent in many instances on these programs for fundamental support. Further, this administration not only emphasizes defense, it de-emphasizes a federal domestic policy. And I think that is more important than the fact that it emphasizes defense. It de-emphasizes a federal role in domestic policy which portends it with a federal buffer in terms of black concerns at the state level and suggests and even encourages that many of these images be hammered out at the state and local level and says that possibly there should be diversity. What that could result in, and the data is not yet in, but it could result in the kind of disparities we found in the 1940's and 50's as you went from one state to the other in terms of blacks--how they were received, how they were treated, etc. It is a return to something that I think you would all recognize. Last, really emphasizing the importance of the state and local laboratories called out in the president's office of intergovernmental relations, there are lots of interesting things that can be done at the state and local level. Let's see what the states come up with as approaches and remedies for dealing with these problems. The federal government has failed, we didn't do well, we have hurt blacks. Affirmative Action has hurt

blacks, the civil rights policy has hurt blacks and the tone now is let's stop hurting blacks. Let's leave them alone and let them return to the Mississippi's, etc., and let them work out their redress at the statehouse level. A couple more numbers. In the face of all this, and in the face of how well we're doing, the Boston Globe had some interesting numbers a couple of weeks ago. Because, in Massachusetts, we're going through a tremendous high as far as our economic success, unemployment in Massachusetts is below 3%--a low for blacks that is barely a bit below 10%. But we're told in that state all the time how well we're doing. The numbers are really interesting. The state of Massachusetts, has made a very concerted effort to hire black executives and has run a tremendous program across the country to do this. We now have 8.8% of black managers in Massachusetts state government. In the city of Boston, which has a black population in excess of 20%, we're all the way up to 19%. We celebrate that. We celebrate how private corporations are stealing blacks away from the univeristy and that's why the University can't hire the outstanding black people while yet the numbers indicate one black in Boston metropolitan area at the vice-president level in the private sector and this person works at digital. This is one of the growing areas of the high-tech area in the Boston area. On the other hand I look at my own institution which has over five thousand faculty members, not counting the medical school faculty and we find 31 black full-time faculty members at Harvard University. This is in the

Crucible of liberty in a city that has distinguished itself as the upholder of equal rights and human rights for all mankind. Obviously this is not a bright picture that I have painted here this morning but I think I would be kidding you and telling you something that you know is not true if I painted you a different picture.

What does it mean? It means what it has always meant I think for black people. A recognition that life is tough, that the problems are hard and sometimes seem to be unyielding. That yes, there are winners and losers and you have to keep on battling in order to become winners. What does this mean to an audience like this? Why am I depressing you and depressing myself again because every time I look at these numbers I find it depressing. So why do we need Walter Broadnax to come to us early in the morning and put us in a state of depression? Well, its about this thing called leadership and our role and your role in bringing about positive change. What can we do as black professionals? As I look out here this morning clearly, now this is an audience of black professionals. I think there are two levels to think about what black professionals can and should do.

And some of my remarks are absolutely filled with portatory and the awe if you will in terms of what should be done and I do this unblushingly. I think on the one level is leadership on the job.

One of the things I think is often forgotten in this country is that the perception in the United States of America as a place where people can come and struggle and change their status in life. That image is still the prevailing image. What it means

for blacks is somewhat different but that is still the prevailing image and I think that we have to understand that work in the context of the prevailing image which means that work and performance at work and attitudes toward work are extremely important in terms of defining people in the society and I only point to the Southeast Asians.

Right now in the State of Massachusetts the first lady is preparing a gala event to celebrate what the Vietnamese and Thais have done to the Boston area in ten years. They came as tenants and now they own gigantic tracks of the city of Boston--buildings, stores and so forth and they are going to celebrate what these people have brought to the city. It is defined again in terms of work. So work is very important. What does that mean for us, then, in terms of our work. Expectations, I think, are shifting. I think we are going to be increasingly called upon in our worlds of work to perform instead of a return to something that many of us heard as youngsters at our mother's knees about the expectations about our capacity to jump higher and we expected to jump higher. If there was sympathy, I think it has rapidly ceased to exist, for black people in the place of work. As I go across the country I hear the conversation more and more openly of returning to--look, we're not doing any favors, we're not running any welfare organization here. Yes we'd like to have some black people here but they're gonna have to perform. Yes, there is an added tax there. You know that, I know that, but the bottom line is that if there is any belief that there is a little bit of sympathy and a little bit of a

buffer, I think that is rapidly going away.

What are we called upon to do within the context of the work besides performing? Well one, I think is that all black professionals are called upon to be role models. You've heard that I'm sure until you're tired, beleaguered by people telling you to be role models. But I think it is absolutely important. It's essential, I think for the survival of the black community. Some of the numbers I read off to you earlier indicate that the black community if you take what black people in this country in the large are confronted with, a situation of whether we as a people can survive, long before we start to talk about prosperity, I think as a people. I think we have to demonstrate some of the fundamentals. A real eagerness to learn, and that that is a sincere eagerness to learn. A demonstrated desire to succeed in fundamental ways. A re-discovery, if you will, of reward of hard work. The relationship between savings, investment, and consumption. And I must say, I mean that an interesting set of relationships. We need to understand the relationship better between economics and politics. I think all too often we speak in extremes. Either we find ourselves emphasizing the political to the detriment of the economic or the economic into the detriment of the political, these things are interrelated and both are fundamental to our success. I think black leaders need to understand that and adapt to it. In general we need to once again remind the dominant population that black people are sincere about business and business means that the black professionals are interested in meeting the charge to bring about positive change. The second, and last level in terms

of this leadership and what can we do and what should we be doing as black professionals I think relates to our communities. I think we must become builders first and consumers second. Let's talk about hard things, now. Builders first and consumers, second. This is tough. And to some people it's even a foreign concept. A dollar in means a dollar to consume. Two dollars in means two dollars to consume. We're gonna have to understand the difference there in order to understand that a dollar in may be fifty percent for investment 10% for consumption and other kinds of breakdowns, if you will. We're going to have to think about investing in our communities. And this means yes, investing in our churches, investment in the housing stock in our community, investment in businesses in our communities, investment in schools. One of the things that is clear as one of children's capacity to learn is parental involvement. I mean in all the studies for the last 30 years to the present one of the highest predictors of whether children are going to succeed or perform well is parental involvement, my God, if you had a child the child has a parent. So parental involvement will ensure the child's going to do better in school. I think we need to re-emphasize among ourselves as black professionals the role in importance of the family within our community. I think we have drifted along with some of the changes in our society that have de-emphasized the family. The family is fundamental for us in terms of holding us together and keeping us together and I think we need to re-emphasize that among ourselves. We need to re-establish the length between rights and responsibilities. Everybody's good and understanding rights. That's the nice side

of it. I think we need to understand the length between our rights and our responsibilities as black professionals and as leaders in our community. We need to understand better and re-establish the link between and privilege and obligation. Professionalism brings with it certain privileges but it also carries with it many obligations. We need to understand and re-emphasize the linkage between the mother and father as related to families and children. One of the things we need to understand is that as you look at black America, where those children born who have two parents the probability of them being in poverty is greatly reduced over those children who are living with one parent. We have to re-emphasize standing up for values that lead to success, I think we've all become embarrassed about talking about these things. We need to re-emphasize that its important to be future-oriented. We need to re-emphasize the importance of frugality. We need to re-emphasize the importance of faith and the fighting spirit. I think its really important to sort of disabuse ourselves of the notion that it is impossible to do well in this society, in this culture if you don't read well if you don't count well, you don't have any resources of your own. That you're going to be able to walk out in this society and do well. That is not going to happen. I think its our responsibilities as blacks in our communities to hammer that message home to make sure that the linkages between ourselves as black professionals and the larger black society is firm because that's what we're talking about in terms of leadership. It's not just leadership among each other as black professionals but leadership for our communities and ultimately leadership for the

race. I agree with my colleague Glenn Lowry that we must engage the enemy within. He has gotten America rallied up to the black community as being a victim now of an enemy within. It has people thinking basically that the enemy is us. I think there is an enemy within the black community and I would agree that there is but I think there is also an enemy without and we cannot forget that. It is a two-front war at the minimum. Many of the things that concerned us as black people and as black leaders are still there to be concerned about. Racism still exists and in parts of this nation racism is still dangerous. I mean dangerous to your body and to your person. I think we must again work on our survival but I think our goal is prosperity and health. We must realize that the path to the achievement of this prosperity and health will be difficult--as it has always been for black people--but I think the alternatives for us in terms of following this difficult path are unacceptable. Thank you very much.

RON GRIFFIN

Professor of Law, Washburn University, Topeka, Kansas

Ladies and gentlemen, distinguished panel members and Walter. If I am permitted to do that, what I would like to do is to start where Professor Broadnax ended and then to make some comments and perhaps offer some provocative ideas that might stimulate conversation when the panels meet. This is a recent study done by the legal defense fund out of New York. Part of a study done by Barrington Parker, who has worked with Julius Chambers on civil rights, civil liberties, questions for a number of years.

According to the US Census Bureau, 1983 registered the highest black poverty rates since 1968, 9.9 million or 35.7 percent of black Americans were poor. Blacks were 22% of Americans who fell into poverty since 1980. The poverty rate of black teenagers rose from 35% in 1980 to 41.5% in 1983. In 1981, 74.2% of black children under 6 were in families headed by women. In 1981 and 1984 the number of black long-term unemployment jumped 72%. The New York Times reported in October 1984 that blacks have lost more ground than any other ethnic group since 1980. Among blacks as a whole, white has worse in certain groups, appear to be especially at risk. They are, I should say, editing it, the majority of black families headed by women are poor. The National Urban League has drawn attention to the serious national implications of the fact that over 2 million or 29% of all black men between 20 and 64 were not employed in 1982. And the statistics and the other reports go on and on and on. Our distinguished speaker touched on three themes.

Theme #1 had to do with internal criticism of black leadership. We are in the midst of what I call healthy debate. Young men, well-seasoned leaders, engaged in a vigorous discussion in search of a moral and philosophical consensus as to how we're going to lead our people in the last quarter of the 20th century. I welcome that today.

Second, Dr. Broadnax talked about black aspirations among children. He pointed out and I think it was an important insight that there is a gap or simply a chasm between black aspiration and what I call black preparation to realize those great dreams. Hopefully we will discuss and I hope Dr. Broadnax will participate in that discussion, something that can be done in education. The institutions of higher learning, primary and secondary education, should do three things: (1) provide people with updated information, (2) teach students how to learn and (3) teach students how to solve problems. You see, in the last quarter of the twentieth century, we won't need just information gatherers, we will need people who know how to learn and people who know how to solve problems. We need renaissance men and women. The third theme was the Reagan administration. Dr. Broadnax talked about Affirmative Action and reverse discrimination and as I understand it there will be some distinguished lawyers talking about that. He talked about economic Darwinism--give no quarter, take no quarter, expect none. The market is robust, the forces are vigorous, there are allocative inefficiencies, the market will cure. And he talked about no federal role

in domestic policy, assigning to the state the responsibility to experiment in domestic social problems. Well, I think like, though, the young lawyer and the old soldier. There are two kinds of discussions that can conceivably take place in the black leadership conference and in a problem-solving context. One can be in an ideological discussion where people draw lines and say, "Thou shalt not cross." The other kind of discussion that can conceivably take place is one where we get underway with a project to do some institutional work in education and with regard to the black family. Now let me suggest an idea which is an extension of a theme already expressed by our distinguished speaker. In the final analysis, children are our ultimate resource. If we don't save them, there will be nothing saved. The institution where we must draw our battle lines in the defense perimeter is the American family. We are to understand that the relationship between adults and children is a special relationship under something called our ordered liberties protected by the due process clause of the 14th Amendment. And that no agency and no institution can take away that institution without responding to and respecting due process. I'm talking about foster parent relationships and I'm talking decisions, often well-intentioned decisions, interfering with monitoring and correcting supposed or alleged or proven disfunctions within the family. There are cases coming out of New York and out of California and out of Kansas and Iowa, laying down restrictions in the behavior of foster parents when they impose interests

on their children and then children have the right to sue their foster parents and arguably sue the state when they haven't carried out their responsibilities to youngsters --- shelter them against the criminal element, to protect their property and to protect them against personal injury by their parents, foster parents and other elements.

I was pleased to be a part of this panel and to be a part of this distinguished gathering of brain-power in Kansas. I look forward to further participation in today's activities. Thank you very much.

BARBARA SABOL

Thank you very much Ron. I think probably the one thing on which we get no argument from this audience is that, indeed, an investment in children is a well-made investment and that children are our ultimate resource. I think without further comment from the moderator, what I will do is see if there are any questions or comments from the participants. Would you like to get on the table any questions that you would like to raise at this point?

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

Several questions were raised about the black family, education, economics, etc. Perhaps the most important issue relates to the future of the black family. Specifically the question relates to the differences in the levels of motivation and achievement between black males and black females.

Dr. Broadnax

I should say that I don't pretend to have the answer to that query. But its something that lots of different people have reflected on at different times. My own sort of suspicion is that it's tied up very much in this issue that I talked about in

terms of role model and what is held up the various sexes as what's important and I think from black boys and I think a lot of the work that Harry Edwards has done when he starts to get into this issue that black people turn out to be very successful at those things that we really work at. The things that we really commit ourselves to, we turn out to be very successful. One of the problems is that young black males have not as a group found it very worthwhile to commit themselves to the educational process in terms of their intellectual development. Whereas, with young black females, I think there is a larger commitment in terms of what the benefits of return will be from that process. Said another way, a much larger commitment to athletics, tremendous number of hours put in on the basketball court, bodybuilding, running, all kinds of other things where the young black male see a positive return and I think part of the issue is for black leaders to be able to get the message across to those youngsters or help get the message across to them that there are positive....positive return to be had from their intellectual development. Certainly, I think its a tremendous and massive job to do that because there are many other forces in the environment beckoning to them without them understanding the probabilities of success, for example, to say--become a successful basketball player. But I saw some statistics saying one night, that the probability is much greater for many of these black youngsters to become neurosurgeons than it is to become a member, not a starting member, of a professional basketball team. If they understood

the probabilities of success, they would apply themselves in some other areas as well. I don't know if that answers your question exactly but that's my suspicion on that.

The other thing that I might add is that we are going to be working this afternoon on some of these issues and there will be a specific group focus looking at some of these issues of education and it might be another opportunity to raise that question again.

Dr. Broadnax also commented on how the labor market has affected the black family:

"You have to look at problems not in a national context anymore but an international context. You see they have internationalized labor and internationalized capital which makes it difficult for black people and other ethnic groups who are not well educated to compete. That puts an enormous strain on the family. Not only with regard to resources but an opportunity to educate youngsters. Now when we talk about an action-oriented agenda it is an action-oriented agenda linked with an economic plan and you can't forget that."

Billy McCray, Director of Minority Business Division of KS Dept. of Economic Development raised a question about the relationship between politics and economics.

Dr. Broadnax:

Let me say Billy that if I said that I wanted to make a distinction between economics and pure politics then I'm sorry that I was misunderstood. I'm saying that I think that

those relationships are very strong, that its almost impossible I think to talk about politics without talking about economics and vice-versa. In a very practical kind of way, what I'm suggesting for black people is, that you know oftentimes we act in extremes and forget the relationships between those two things. For a while we'll be very politically active so we have a civil rights movement and we bang, bang, bang and we try to make political progress and we sort of ignore the economics ways. Then that ends and then we become bang, bang, bang, we're going to sort of make economic revolution and say money is really important and we forget about the politics. Well I think if you look around the country its very simple. For successful ethnic groups in the United States of America, they put their money and their politics together. And I'll give you an example; there's a Chinese gentleman in Boston metropolitan area by the name of Ahn Wang, you've hard of this man. He owns an interesting company that makes computers called Wang. Dr. Wang's dream was that there would be a building in the city of Boston thatwould have a name on it unlike Lodge or Cabot or Kennedy, itwould be different. And now it's called the Wang Center of Performing Arts. What he had done, clearly is he put his money, tremendous economic power together with his politics and I think Black people have to do that. You have to put your money together with your politics. That's what I mean about investments. I mean its through politics that you provide the crucible within which you can prosper. I mean all you have to do is look at South Africa to sort of put

it in a larger context. First you understand, is that, you know, to talk about black millionaires in the context of South Africa at some level is ludicrous because you constrain people in terms of their capacity to utilize their economic wherewithal. I mean that economic prosperity is supposed to bring greater liberty. So the two things must work together is what I was talking about.

Sabol

I'm getting signs from the back of the room, Mr. Richards and many others, however we'll have to bring this session to a close and you'll have an opportunity as we go through the day to continue to debate and discuss these issues, not only with Walter and Ron, but with other program participants.

PANEL DISCUSSION

A panel discussion on Black Leadership issues followed the break. The panelists were: Professors Gerald Early, Mohamed El Hodiri, John Gaston, Dorthy Pennington and Philip Royster. Gerald Early, University of Kansas, Professor, Dept. of English

I don't have any numbers and I'll try to talk as rapidly as possible. It is quite impossible to talk about intellectual leadership in the Black community or in Black America. Indeed it is quite impossible to discuss in any way that would be useful the idea of intellectual leadership in America, the third world, and the world at large. The term itself as we use it now is not simply problematic, it is impossibly ambiguous. Let us start with the first part of the term with the word

intellectual which comes from the Latin, "inteleheri," which means to understand, and which signifies the human function quite distinct from either feeling or willing. Nowadays the word has come to cover anyone who sees, well, in some way or other--some brainy person who can attain fancy phrases, write obscure poetry or literary essays to venerate critics who plunder the jargon and concepts of other disciplines. Is The Color Purple an intellectual novel? Is Jesse Jackson an intellectual? He has debated with such intellectual figures as Thomas Swall, but is Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. an intellectual? He did write books although not as Dr. W.E.B. DuBois who every Black person believes to be one honest to God, and beyond any shadow of a doubt, intellectual. It was, for instance, quite popular in the 50's to label progressive jazz, a strange phrase in itself, as intellectual. And to speak of Miles Davis' music or the young Cecil Taylor music as intellectual since in the 50's these quite dissimilar musics were somebody's idea of progressive art. No one ever explained what made music intellectual. Is it because the music was difficult to play, difficult to listen to or made one think great thoughts while engaged in listening? Music is the first and also from Eliot Carter to Franz Lizst might be called intellectuals. Even the blues rift, to someone unaccustomed to playing that kind of thing might be construed as difficult. Difficulty in defining quality would be comparable persuasive and relative, the twin things are clear thought in the academy today where either everything

is everything or everything is ironic. If it is the second, then my daughter's banging on the piano is certainly most intellectual being the least musical sounds I have ever heard. Noise itself would become aesthetic if this were true and if intellectual music produces great thought it is difficult to ascertain exactly how it is to do that, an inspiration, revelation or therapy. And of course great thoughts about what. Charlie Parker's "Coco" is a great piece of music. What am I to think about when I hear it? Something specifically ascertainable or anything I want them to? This merely presents us with two more things of moderate thinking in the academy. The false thinking revolution of the ambiguous, that is, the meaning of the moment is the meaning of all time or free association, any and all meanings will do. I say all of this only to emphasize that the term intellectual has become a thought cliché, that it really means nothing at all, that it has become a synonym in our daily lives for that which is difficult, obscure, impressive, grandiose, pretentious or simply new. In black music for instance, every moment from bee-bop to 60's and the 70's Yale school of Anthony Davis and the like has been dubbed intellectual. Usually the wizard of music and the more overblown the artist's assertion about what he does, always assures the tag of intellectual. Obviously, intellectual cannot mean all the things I have mentioned or cover all of these areas of human activity. First, I have tried to narrow in the precisely what determines intellectual means. It means first of all totally inappropriate to apply the term to music or to the visual arts. These endeavors may

be difficult, drilling or even deeply profound but they can never be intellectual because they do not primarily deal with words. Words are the province of the intellectual, the articulating power and magic of our rhetorical, linguistic and image-making resources in our language and is nothing but our language. Visual art and music may emanate intellectual minds and may be criticized by intellectuals but they are not intellectual expressions. They are not articulated and clarified by language, indeed part of their appeal is that they do not, so that we experience when we listen to music and look at art something that momentarily frees us from the prison of language as expression. So, until we come to understand art and music as both something less and infinitely more than words we never hope to utter. As Jacques Barzun has written, "Art distills sensation and embodies it with enhanced meaning and memorable form, or else it is not art." These powers made art preeminent. Intellect can't automatically undermine or at least counterbalance the effort of art. As the source, intellect dismisses the concrete, particular, reducing it to an instance of the General. In the product, the work of art, intellect either challenges with sovereign literalness, a provocative and richly ambiguous assertions, when baffled by the calm self-sufficiency of the object and asks as the philosopher asks about the sonata, "What does it prove?" But we went further than the intellectual by eliminating most creative writers. For not only is intellect interested exclusively in languages also exclusively interested in the philosophical act. Not a pronouncement about the condition but pronouncements of ways to think and conceive that condition.

That is, ideas about the conditions. Intellectuals at some point must posit something resembling theory or pure circulation about the nature of things instead of being concerned solely with presenting things as they are. So must fiction writers pose as some do not produce intellectual work in the strictest sense of the word. Although the writers themselves may be intellectual and may feel that their work prays in the currence of the philosophic act. Besides, novels and poetry are not good places to deal strictly with ideas as ideas with the philosophic act since the public itself does not come to these works with these sorts of expectations about ideas.

The "Invisible Man" as an intellectual work has its most important feature as a novel, its manifestation as a philosophic act. This is not to say that a novel cannot manifest itself purely as a philosophic act. And there is one towering for American novels which I have in mind which does so. But more about that later. So if we eliminate virtually all art as intellectual this leaves that core of writing that deals with views, that deals with ideas and views itself as manifesting a philosophic act. A self-evidently philosophic act. In this way I think we have a term that is both more precise and a bit more useful. Now the second term in the phrase intellectual leadership is also more than a little troublesome. Do we mean by the leadership intellectuals are or should be leaders in society at large, in politics or in the vehicles of the mass media? Or do we mean by leadership, intellectual leaders, where intellectuals are leading in historical and contemporary circles in the narrow province of black intellectualism itself? If the second is the case then we ought to speak precisely

of leading intellectuals and not intellectual leadership. If the former is the case then we are in the difficult time for a complex welter of reasons. First, we must ask ourselves if this is the proper place for the black intellectual in the position of leading masses of people. Does the intellectual, him or herself, see his or her functioning in that way? Do the masses see it in that way? By and large, masses distrust intellectuals themselves and this it seems to me is quite right. Intellectuals are necessary for the wholeness of any western or westernized people. But they are not beloved or heroic characters. They merely perform a very necessary of mental clearance through rigorous analysis, criticism and endless speculation. Lest we forget why we should distrust intellectuals let it be known, once and for all, that racism is not, never has been an emotional or pathological disorder. It is an intellectual, hardly intellectual idea. Racism is first and foremost a most profound critique of alien ordinariness and the less than mundane in human beings. It is also a speculation of, be it an unethical and pernicious one of what that ordinariness in the alien other means. Racism in short, is a way of ordering and finding fictive significance in human differences.

The KKK or Racist whites chasing blacks out of neighborhoods have little to do with the perpetuation of the idea of racism. Governor William Graham, Sumter, Spencer And Fitz in the 19th century were responsible for the continuation of racism.. As are Shockley, Spearmint, Jenson and Goddard of the 20th century. And of course all of these men were and are intellectuals who dealt with the idea of racist superiority. So intellectuals

ought not to be trusted because we know from history and experience that they are quite likely to become enchanted with this strength in the most inhumane ideas. Indeed because they deal with ideas, intellectuals are quite capable of producing the most merciless, bloodthirsty theories or speculations imaginable. Moreover, there is no real need for intellectuals to interfere with our purely intellectual endeavors. They are not equipped to deal with anything else usually and they have enormous influence in society without actually being leaders of society.

I have said that intellectuals are absolutely essential for any western or westernized people. I say this because intellectuals reveal the necessity of not only producing ideas and theories, speculation and criticism, but also because they force us to confront their gifts and limitations of language and language-making, which is undoubtedly a most impressive invention as human beings and the one most likely to destroy or disable us in the end. Intellectuals make us conscious of the only vessel in the end that can contain our ideas and that is the only definition of our humanity. It is rapidly becoming in many instances the sign of our inhumanity as well as it becomes a hypnotic drug and a weapon of oppression. So, since we cannot trust the intellectual at any given moment because he or she may be wrong or evil or both, we must have a society of free speech where the critique will be in its own critical expression. Where speculation will become your inspiration for further speculation, the only way to prevent

the corruption of language is to allow absolutely free discourse and not to allow language to contain the contradiction of its own censorship. So much for that.

What has all this to do with the case of the Afro-American intellectual? Everything of the highest importance I must answer for the Afro-American intellectual occupies a particularly strange and particularly embattled position in American society. His or her position as a creator of the philosophic act articulates the meaning and resolution of the most intense literal oppression. It is both the very necessary free speech which humanizes American intellectualism generally and which is the very problematic burden of its own insufficiency. The question is not what is the nature of Afro-American intellectual leadership, the question is can the Afro-American intellectual, trapped by a bourgeoisie consciousness and a bourgeoisie moral code as seduced and repelled by the material progress of a bourgeoisie contradictory culture functions in the manner of the intellectual in these societies must function. Will the contradictions of bourgeoisie culture misplace the mere puritanism of the sexually liberated white dominated self-see island of displaced casual mediocrity calling itself America? Will these contradictions ultimately undermine the Afro-American intellectual and will his work simply mirror the unease of those contradictions and make him excessively self-conscious of his inability to resolve anything in a truly telling way? Will he or she simply lament

his or her own position as so pointlessly rendered by an early sixties poem, "As Agony As Now", "I am inside someone who hates me, I look out from his eyes, smell what foul tunes come to his breath, Love his wretched women." Every Afro-American at this point in our cultural history has every right to be not only uninterested but downright impatient with this sort of self-pity example which for such a long time has been the clarion call which has been emanated from the Black intellectual. Particularly the Black male intellectual who simply wishes to tell the world over and over again that he is in some strange sense the helpless victim of some huge seduction called Euro-American culture which has held forth the prizes of recognition, money and white spouses. And this particularly wretched pathos has forced many Black intellectuals, certainly from the Black renaissance on, to generation after generation, be condemned to repeating a history which was frankly not worth living in the first place.

There is, of course, the role of the Afro-American in the future. Of course any intellectual worth his or her salt, must be wary of all ideologies, that is, wary enough to use them and not to be used by them. In short, the romance of the left ought to be ended once and for all, as well as any form of conservatism, which is simply a manifestation of the rather hoary defense of accommodationism. The last thing any Black, particularly any bourgeoisie Black ought to be interested in is accommodating his or herself to a culture that can supply obsessively that trappings of living while denying life itself, a rigorous re-examination of theology at the basis of the philosophic

act might be a beginning since religion seeks the only mass reality that can move great numbers of Black people. There is one last point I wish to read, a muchmisunderstood quotation from Richard Wright's autobiography "Black Boy". "After I had outlived the shocks of childhood, after the habit of reflection had been born in me, I used to mull over the strange absence of real kindness in Negroes. How unstable was our tenderness, how lacking in genuine passion we were, how void of great hope, how timid our joy, how base our traditions, how hollow our memory. How lacking we were in those intangible sentiments that bind man to man, that how shallow was even our despair after I learned other ways of life. I used to brood upon the unconscious irony of those who felt that Negroes are so passional in existence. I say that what had been taken for emotional strength was our negative confusions, our plights, our fears, or frenzy under pressure." I do not wish to analyze this passage in any detail, sufficing to say it has by turns confounded, confused, distressed, insulted and angered a good many Afro-American literary critics and scholars. But there is an element about this passage that in some way symbolizes the whole intellectual process. Wright here sounds very much like a little boy who shouts out "The Emperor has no clothes," and for the intellectual that is precisely the nature of his or her game...to criticize the clothes put upon the emperor by other intellectuals while draping him in clothing of his own suiting. It is a game of conjure and revelation, and those who seek from intellectuals

practical solutions to problems such as drug abuse, teenage pregnancy, or unemployment will be simply disappointed. But discourse to intrigue the intellectual is one of invention and criticism. Wright's statement as a good literary critic has pointed out sounds very much like Henry James' description of the lack of resources that Nathaniel Hawthorne had to work with as a writer during the 1930's, 40's and 50's. Hawthorne as a creative writer found it necessary to invent an American history and an America itself. Wright, as an Afro-American intellectual is faced with the task of inventing a Black America. The intellectual's work is all the more compelling for the intellectual by his existence tells us that the human mind, delighting in the creation of discourse and the creation of devising and revising does work which is important in and of itself for no other reason for being than its ability to do so.

Mohamed El-Hodiri

Professor, Economics Department, University of Kansas

I don't have to, but I may say just one word of comment about the previous speaker. I have this friend who works, actually works for a living who insists on introducing me as his ineffectual friend. Certainly you will get even a smaller amount of numbers from this speaker than from the former one. You will also get less erudition than you got early on.

What I would like to address is black economic concerns and then, black economists' concerns, and then, if there's anything to be done about them. There certainly are black economic concerns. There's obviously unemployment. It's high and it is rising. There's the fact that blacks own a very small share of the national wealth. There is also the fact that blacks own or contribute a much larger share to consumption than to savings. For example, something that is not really a black concern is inflation. If you have no money, why would you worry about the fact that the value of money is going down? I have my own theory about the way inflation was beaten back. In fact, there is theorizing going on as to how inflation started. It started by the Lyndon Johnson anti-poverty program which redistributed income to people who did not have any money before and so they entered the market. Furthermore, these people who were producing some and consuming none began consuming, so you've got inflation. Someone must have said that to President Reagan because what he did is he reversed the process and that's how inflation was eradicated. Certainly, obviously, not all blacks are poor, not

all blacks are unemployed. There is in fact an emerging affluent black community. It does not live in black areas. It does not talk black language. It does not do black things. Furthermore, they presume to educate other blacks as to how they should clean their act. For example, a certain black economist associated at a certain Hoover Institution wrote in a certain magazine that there's no need for redistribution of wealth. The market will do it. Well, a more recent thing came about from a certain acquaintance of mine who teaches at Harvard. He said also that, along the same lines, it is only the blacks fault that they are poor. It is because they are not working hard enough to raise their standards. Well, I know that an amount of self-hate is essential. I know that. I mean, it is healthy and it is pretty good. It can propel you. But it is not only by your work that you become rich or you improve your economic conditions. If you look objectively at all the wealth of the fortunes that are made in this country you will find that there are probably three sources of this. One is that you have had money to start with, then you build on it. Two: You are lucky. Three: You are a thug. That is it. If you have these things, and I could mention the specific names and families, if you have any of this and the markets institutions work to help you, you will prosper. If you have the best functioning market in the world with free competition, with no barriers to entry, with nothing going on to stop you from improving yourself and you have nothing to start with, there is no way you're going to make it. So then, what is the agenda for economic black

leadership? Well, it doesn't mean that blacks should abandon the fight for a more equitable distribution of wealth. They have made a lot of that wealth historically, but even if you ignore history, this country is too big to be run as a police state. You've got to have consent of everybody. Now if people despair of having their chance it is not going to work. So, for their own selfish interests, everybody in this country, people have got to have equal opportunity. I'm not saying that people should have equal results of everything, but there has to be equal opportunity. A kid that does not eat grows up to be stupid--there's no way around it. If you don't eat you become stupid. That's all. It's a psychological fact. People have to have a chance. Well that cannot be done by free-wheeling market institutions. That has to be done by society.

The redistribution of wealth is top on the agenda. Also one shouldn't neglect that people have to start helping themselves--there is no question about that. A lot of healthy programs that were instituted did not work. Why? Because they were run by beaurocracies. If people are involved in running these programs, then they will work a lot better because they have a stake in them. I'm essentially quoting a letter that Alfred Marshall, one great economist, wrote to a friend of his in 1877. I just happened on it this morning. He wrote exactly these words--that if you want to help people, they've got to be involved in the administration of the projects.

Marshall, if you don't know, is the capitalist. He's not a socialist.

One other thing that's mentioned is that people should teach themselves to think in terms of the long-run rather than the short-run. That is, "I have to postpone my pleasures". Here too, I get very uneasy because if you are thinking of the next meal you cannot think in terms months in advance. Certainly one could plant these values in their children and do things like that, but when they are hungry they cannot do much about it.

John Gaston , Professor of Minority Studies, Wichita State U.

The children are our future, teach them well, show them the way. Show them all the beauty that they possess in society. Give them a sense of pride. Loving yourself is the greatest love of all. What I hope to do, very briefly, is to simply throw out some things and hope to stimulate discussion. Some things we might deal with and hopefully in the process of our discussions later on we can deal with some of these things in more depth. I think, to begin with, we have to accept as a given that maintaining and nurturing a family is difficult even under the most ideal conditions. As it relates to leadership,

pertaining to the Black family. I look at it something like this: it's the demonstrated ability to motivate the family unit in a positive direction which will result in the physical, spiritual, psychological and educational growth of the family members. And by family I mean talking about, of course, the primary social unit which manufactures the mirror in which we see ourselves and the window in which we view and interpret the world. Also, the fact that the family is the primary unit, I will make the assertion that we cannot afford to leave to other insitutions such as education and religious institutions the responsibility for doing some things that the family should do in terms of getting members started in the right direction. Again, I'm just throwing out some things I hope we can deal with in a little more depth later on.

To look at some of the areas of concern and many of these have been addressed by earlier speakers. There are a number of things that I think become very important that we have to consider. What we're trying to do of course is to prepare the members of the family to move out into broader society and be effective in order to compete with other persons that they're going to come into contact with. I, very briefly, list three things to get us started in that direction. First of all, we have to understand, at least from my perspective, the uniqueness of the Black family, the Black culture, that we operate on a philosophical view-concept of we, instead of I. I think that's very critical. The I tends to reflect more

the European philosophy for, as the black family we're dealing more with "we," and that's very critical in terms of how kids are taught and what kinds of information they come in contact with, how they internalize that and what kind of conclusions they reach as a result of it. To begin with, the development of a positive sense of self, one of the things that we seem to have gotten away from is a study of black history. Now maybe this is one of those embarrassing areas we don't want to deal with because we've "gone beyond that now really". So, maybe that's one of those areas. But what we find is that it is important for the child to understand where he or she is in the midst of this thing that we call the world, a society in which they operate. To know what the possibilities are, if people like me have done these kinds of things, then maybe I can do it too. That becomes very critical. One of the things I am seeing with young students is that they don't know their history. They know very little. In fact, interestingly, we know more about other peoples' histories than we do about our own. That says something also, okay. Okay, another is a sense of direction as mentioned earlier also. We have those but very unrealistic views and ideas about how to reach them. The question of how do I get there from here, that becomes very critical. Students do not understand that aspect of it. Somewhere that has been left out along the way. One of my major areas of concern and one I think is very critical. Something that all of us have in common. A mastery of the language. The development of effective communication skills; reading, writing, listening, verbal-oral. If you do not read you can't

write. If you cannot write you have very limited possibilities. That becomes very important. Whether it be fair or not we have to understand, realize and accept the fact that people are going to make judgements about our intelligence based on how we sound. And I find some very intelligent young people who have difficulty manipulating the language, therefore they are categorized. People make some judgements about them because of that. The question becomes then, how do we create an environment in which we can foster the effective development of the language. What kinds of things can we do to move kids in that direction? Well, one of the things we can go back to the economics that have been mentioned and again just throwing out some things to get things started here. As we approach the Christmas season, what kinds of gifts will we be buying Children? And based on those kinds of gifts, what kinds of actions, reactions are we expecting to come out of that? If we buy a boy a football or a basketball and all the little brother can do is shoot baskets then we have to look at, where did that start? Not that footballs in themselves or basketballs in themselves are bad because we know that is not the case but it is how they are used--what message we are sending to the kids based on that. My view, my approach becomes one basically of understanding the problem is half the answer so if we can get a sense of what the problems are then we begin to move into the direction of getting the answers. Along with that, we also have thing of conditioning children at a very early age to be consumers only. When you buy a 2-month-old kid a pair of 35-dollar sneakers what are you doing? I mean, where do you go from there? How does this kid maintain this appetite as he or she grows? That

becomes very critical. We are very good at consuming, the question becomes, you know, how do we build an economic base? You cannot build simply by being consumers. Couple of other points I'm going to make and then I'm going to stop. A part, I think, of approaching, dealing with some of the problems, is again, getting a sense of where we are at this point and where do we need to go from there. I think also you must start with where people are and with, I have a major concern with young black males because that is the critical element as I see it in the future of black people. If the brothers don't make it we got some serious problems. We see the women are already going on, getting more education, okay, they're getting educated and they're saying, where can I find a man that I can sit down and hold an intelligent conversation with? Those kinds of things. That becomes very critical. The people who have the most difficulty with the language seems to be the black males, alright. So that becomes something that we have to address. Now, one of the areas we have to look at and I think sometimes black professionals have taken a back seat just because of pressures that we find ourselves under. Black males are now being increased in their use of capital. Particularly as it applies to sports. That is, the capital. You can turn on television and see Alabama, five black basketball players. Alabama, Mississippi, black basketball players, black football players, on one level that's very positive, but on the other level those people are there not because people have changed their attitudes necessarily but because there is some money

on putting a little black face out there and so we have gone back in a sense in terms of where we were years ago. Alright, now, if we can start with where the kids are and broaden their horizons beyond simply playing basketball, but, let's think about being sportscasters. Every sportscaster in America ought to be black based on as many of us as there are in athletics. Okay, what about promotions. See, we don't think about the promotion aspects. Why are there no black manufacturers of basketballs? You know, we play with them. We use them. But we don't make any of them. Alright. So, what I'm suggesting is, this must start at a very early age to orient the kids in that direction. And I think from that we get some positive things. Final comment. Wayne Noble says "Power is the ability to define reality and have others accept your definition as if it were their own." Okay, then we get another definition, Ron Caranga says that power is the ability to define the agenda and if you're not on it, you cancel it.

Barbara Sabol

Ain't he great. We are now going to have some responses from the humanities perspective and we'll proceed just as on the program with Professor Pennington and then Professor Royster.

DORTHY. PENNINGTON

Professor of African Studies and Communication Studies, U. of Kansas

As someone who is defined as being a humanist, I have the unenviable task of having to try to pull this together and talk about it from the humanities perspective as well as to try to set forth some guidelines of my own before the discussion might go, so I'll give that a try.

I think that you're noticing as I am there is something very obvious thus far in the program. To my recollection, all during the first session, nothing was mentioned about the black church. That's one observation. The other is that the very person who was to have brought the black church perspective to this panel was absent for legitimate reasons. So let me say that the thesis of my argument will be the fact that we have truly arrived and I'll tell you how I'll get there in just a moment.

What I'd like to do would be to point out what some of the discussants have said and then to try to highlight how I would act to those as a humanist very briefly and then to give something of a broad definition of what I think leadership is based upon what has gone forth so far today. I'll start with Professor Gerald Early. His notion of intellectual leadership I found to be very striking because I went back to what W.E.B. DuBois talked about, that is the notion of the talented tenth. And I think it is a very legitimate question to ask whether or not intellectual leaders will ever be able to lead the masses of black people. If you look back into history and historically we can do that, you can see that those people who did do a good job of leadership that we remember have been people who

are able to combine the masses on that level with intelligentsia if you please. I'm thinking particularly of Marcus Garvey, we remember him, I'm thinking of Martin Luther King, Jr. surely we remember him, if you are Islamic you remember Elijah Mohammed and more recently we remember Jesse Jackson. It seems to me that these leaders have had that broker capability of being able to bridge the two gaps so that perhaps intellectual leaders will never be able to lead the masses of black people. That's something for further discussion. For the second presenter, Professor El-Hodiri, again I refer back to the program and how these presentations were juxtaposed. We have a presenter on religion who should have been here but we understand why he wasn't but that point of view could have been represented compared to or even contrasted with that of an economist. Sometimes within the tradition of black community those have been contradictory. The economic way as an action-oriented form of leadership contrasted with the religious form of leadership. But at any rate, what I want to respond to is a very provocative thought left by the second speaker and that was that indeed Blacks should not abandon the search for an economic redistribution to use his terms, economic hope, economic prosperity. Now, there was an assumption, according to him, governing that, the assumption is that all Blacks would have equal opportunity. Again, I think something very important needs to be added to that from the point of view of historical black leadership and that is the assumption that those leaders like Martin Luther King, like Marcus Garvey, like Jesse Jackson, have also operated under a second assumption and that is the assumption that there

is hope. Once hope dies then the action tends to be very very nil if any. And so we need to look at how these historical leaders have done something that seemingly has been overlooked and that is to have instilled a sense of hope in the black masses. There is support for that.

Thirdly, to respond to Professor Gaston's comments, one of them in particular I think will be provocative and I do hope that we discuss this later on. And that was whether or not, if the family is the primary unit in society and we can believe that it is, whether or not religious institutions and others can or cannot assume.....has arrived is that anytime that black intellectuals can come to a conference and omit the significant role played by the church in our history then we have truly arrived so that was my thesis earlier. Now let me try to pull together what I see as being a conceptual view of leadership from the humanities perspective based upon what I've heard so far today. It seems to me that one way to talk about leadership, to also think in terms of who the followers are. I mean leadership just does not take place in a vacuum. So we have the question of what are the goals that both leaders and followers can agree upon and what kinds of situations propel people to leadership and that's a way of thinking about it now. I have outlined very briefly three specific tasks for leaders, I think, from a humanities perspective. One is to serve as brokers or to translate if you will either by directiveness or by example the gap that has been mentioned in both sessions between aspiration and accomplishment. Maybe the leaders ought to need to be translators or brokers. I think the concept

of role model does get at that. Secondly, I think leaders have the unenviable task of balancing the tension between what the ethics of government owes Blacks perceptually and self-sufficiency as an economist would talk about self-sufficiency because I see that as being pitted against the notion of the humanitarian, the religious base, and I think a real leader has to face those two tensions because they aren't going to go away. Thirdly, given all the depressing statistics that we've heard today, lest we go away and like the ostrich, bury our heads in the sand, I think that the one dimension that gets us out of that potential is to look again at the historic Black leadership phenomenon and that has been hope and belief. Belief in the future, belief that there is possibility and I think with retaining that hope that again action will soon follow. Thank you.

Phillip Royster

Professor, Kansas State University, Professor of English

My name is Philip Royster. I'm from Kansas State University where I teach in the English Department and I'm also coordinating the development of an ethnic studies program. I'm a little bit nervous. I'm used to talking to lots of people but most of them are usually white. Also they are a lot younger than I am. So you bear with me. I want to begin by looking at Dr. Early's comments. I really appreciated his comments because I think they challenge us in several ways.

First of all, he began with a very witty, I think, and distinctive look at what does leadership mean, excuse me, what does intellectual mean, the term, and I think he arrived at a notion that I would summarize that being an intellectual

you have to be a philosopher. And I think I pretty much like that. I think I would include more people in the category than philosophers but I think certainly that intellectual thinking is a philosophical endeavor. It's really a question about the nature of the world we live in and what do very, very simple things mean. The wonderful thing about being an intellectual is not that you're so smart but that you're so stupid. Intellectuals recognize how stupid they all are. How slowly we are to perceive the experience. How far behind we are of reality. Many problems we do have. One of the problems, for instance, I think we really have not paid enough careful attention to; we place the family at the center of our society and I think the family is indeed at the center. But it is a squalid center. It is a squalid center. One of the things that I think intellectuals are willing to look at is the squalor at the center of the American family. What happens in an American family where males and females are committed to values that see each other as objects and that's what I find at the center of the Black family. Black males are extremely chauvinistic and bent upon dominating Black females. And they don't mind saying that in public. Black females are extremely chauvinistic and bent upon dominating Black males. They don't mind saying that in public. Now I used to think when we went back to West Africa that it was somehow perfect there. I go back to West Africa a lot because I'm a master drummer. But it wasn't really perfect there either. We can look as you know, but these things fall apart and learn that we have a long African as well as European

history of the battle of the sexes, our families are going to continue to disintegrate. As long as we treat each other as the enemy and don't learn how we are projecting our own inner psychological perspectives on to our mates, our families are going to continue to disintegrate because women are not going to become less independent. They are going to become more independent. And that is good. And the more independent women become, the less they're going to remain in relationships with males who they don't like to begin with and who don't like them. Another thing that Dr. Early talked about which I found of profound significance is the issue of the character of American thought. That's a difficult issue for us because we're all part of that. We're all dressed in the uniforms of the bourgeoisie, we hold the values of the bourgeoisie and so he has brought, I think, an extremely pertinent issue to us because it means that we have to learn to begin to criticize ourselves first. It's not the black masses that's the problem, it's the Black leadership that is the problem. Part of that problem is connected with the church. Our church is an evolution of a slaves' institution. It has many important elements to it, for example, the church has helped us to survive. But as I walked out of a church in Junction City one Sunday, the minister asked me, "What do you think of the black church and the Black minister?" And I told him that I think there are many positive things that you do

but you don't know who Shango is. Okay, you don't know how to dance and sing and play the drums of your fathers' music and as long as you own a slaveowner's religion you will never be free. That's a problem. It's not only a problem of Christianity it is a problem of Islam too, because Islam belongs to the religion of a people who enslaved us before Christians enslaved us and are still carrying on a slave trade in this world.

Alright. It takes the intellectuals who are brave enough to say that because now many people want to hear that. I'm not saying that we have to abandon the religions we have. I don't know how you could do that. But I think we must consider what those religions really are. They were never designed to liberate us. They are not liberating us. Religions of people who are free work to liberate them and they work to liberate them now.

I want to go on to Dr. El Hodiri's comments which I think also were very stimulating. His comment about the redistribution of wealth of society is extremely important. It really calls into question everything that the neo-conservatives are saying. Essentially what they are saying is cooperate with the system and do the best you can in it. At least that's what I hear. His comment is about the nature of the political system itself. You will never redistribute the wealth in this country with the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. Okay. Those parties are both designed to fulfill the interests of the bourgeoisie, right. We are here to make sure that they get their money. That's all we're functionally here for. You can do whatever

you want on your own time but your function is to make sure those people get their money. And when we face that and really face that, then maybe we'll create an alternative. One of the things, for instance, that the neo-conservatives, at least so far I haven't heard talk about today is what do you do with an alternative political system? One that fits your world view and your values, at least the world view you say you are about. The Democrats and Republicans are never going to redistribute any wealth in this country. But they will ask you to wait long enough so that they can take enough of it.

Then I want to go back to Dr. Gaston's remarks which I think are very important that's pointed out in that song of George Vincent's that he quoted. I think that we need to take a look when we're looking at the family as I started out with. The question to be considered more seriously is the pathology of the Black family as it is so-called. I hate that term, but I think that the term forces us to look at it. Many of the pathologies exist in the Black family. Alice Walker, I think a woman who wants to be an intellectual, has her latest novel, The Color Purple has many, many strengths and it has many, many weaknesses. One of the strengths of that novel is that the novel does unfold a level of enmity within the Black family of exploitation that is phenomenal and it goes both ways. The main character of that novel, Celie, is just as emotionally dependent at the end of that novel, though on a lesbian rather than on a heterosexual male. but she's just as dependent. She's a person who's been

battered and beaten and raped and violated for years. And a lot of women like to hear that because they want their story told and a lot of men don't like to hear that because they don't want their story told. But the reality of it is that both of them are equally as guilty. Celie is as equally as guilty for staying in that relationship and allowing those people to use her and won't use some of those terms that some, one brighter name, Trudy A. Harris says that she acted like she was a bale of cotton with a puss. Excuse me for being realistic with you. But she's just as guilty as he is and neither sexes want to face that. We don't want to believe that we're cooperating in our own misery and breeding our own misery. And then handing that misery down to our children. So, yes, I'm interested in the Black family but I'm not interested in romantic looks at the Black family. I get enough romance on television. I want some realistic looks at the family. Let's look at its strength. Let's also look at its weaknesses. Let's look at how interested we are in making sure that each member of that family is indeed free, individual, unique, has his or her own integrity and ability to achieve his or her own goals without the exploitation of anyone else within the family. Thank You

Barbara Sabol

This day was intended to be a day to provoke thought, stimulate new ideas and I think if I were to give an evaluation at this point, this has certainly happened. There's an Ethiopian proverb that says, "A coward sweats in water". There are no cowards in this room. We have put some ideas, some concepts on the

table that I think all of us need to think about, debate and dialogue about and we'll have additional opportunity as the day goes on to do that. And I know you're all sitting on the edge of your seats. Mr. Richards wants to ask a question, make a statement. We are not going to do that now. Instead I am going to introduce a person who indeed falls into that category of providing leadership. The honorable JoAnne Collins, Councilwoman from Kansas City, Missouri, has a long and distinguished contribution to government and as well for your information for those who do not know, she also has an affiliation with the University, the Emily Taylor Women's Resource Center Advisory Board is one of those. Having been a native of Kansas City, Missouri, I've had the pleasure of following Councilwoman Collin's career over the years and have been able to personally observe her contributions to the Kansas City community and to others as well. She has a long list of organizations to which she belongs, political organizations, civic organizations, any place there's an opportunity to contribute, she indeed does that. This afternoon she is going to bring us remarks on values and leadership so I'd ask you to join with me in welcoming the Honorable JoAnne Collins as our luncheon speaker.

JOANNE M. COLLINS

Councilwoman at Large, 34d District, Kansas City, Mo.

Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. It's a pleasure to be in Lawrence today; it's a pleasure to be in Kansas. Although I was born in Kansas City, Missouri, before the doctor got to my mother and myself we were in Kansas City, Kansas. I spent the first 23 years of my life in Kansas City, Kansas so I do have some credibility for being here. Besides the present affiliation that I presently hold with the University of Kansas I spent a couple of years here back in the early '50's and I've looked over this audience and it's safe for me to say that those were the days of Wilt the Stilt and I think that most of you probably remember him. But, you see, when I do that now to students they say, "Who's Wilt the Stilt?" But, you know, on Mississippi Street or Massachusetts Street, I greeted Wilt his first semester here. Of course, being 6'1", I recognized that he needed a dancing partner and one or two times the two of us struggled to commence dancing within the foyer of the Kappa House on campus, that's been over a quarter of a century ago.

I'm impressed that I'm surrounded by the Secretary of the Department of Health in the state of Kansas, and the Chancellor's been with you and some professors from the campus and all these Harvard graduates and Ph.D.'s and these about to get their Ph.D.'s and, in fact, one over here writing her 20 minute response from a humanities perspective and I challenged her. She, like the press reporter from the Kansas City Times or Star, which ever one he works for, who asked, "What are you going to say?" Well, I said, I look over my audience and

find out if I could say what I prepared to say last night and then I'll change my examples based on where I think they've been this morning and where I think they would like to go this afternoon. But Deborah says, "What are you going to say?" and I said, you'll react when you hear it. I guess that's leadership, isn't it?

This is indeed a worthwhile forum for dealing with the numerous incremental units that ultimately make each of us what we are. Personally, I'm happy to be a part of this effort and hope that I can add a small bit of information which just may provide a ray of hope for all of us and maybe even for me. Permit me to state that as an individual I am unwavering in my belief that good will always prevail in the majority of circumstances because the substance that holds everything together is the values we ascribe to and how they impact upon the decisions we make throughout the continuum of our society. Personally, my approach in this day of value-reassessment, sociological and geo-political realignments and nuclear uncertainty is completely encompassed in a statement I read and I can't remember from what context and probably Deborah will tell us, but it goes like this: "If I knew the world would be destroyed tomorrow I would still plant my apple tree today...", "you've heard it. I feel this way because I'm so appreciative of life and freedom. And for one who have traveled in seven countries across this world I appreciate the freedom that I have with the political system in these United States even though I work hard daily for even more freedoms.

Therefore, in everything that I attempt to do, I find myself celebrating life as something that exists beyond my mortality and this something is very good. Good for all of us. Moreover, to the degree that I can touch someone's life and share my values with them, hopefully the sparks that we set off just might ignite the fires of the souls which may invariably move us from talking about our problems like we have been doing this morning to position a problem-resolution which I'm sure you're going to do in the next two hours this afternoon.

When I read the Associated Press release about the forum you were sponsoring today I was somewhat perplexed about discussing the status of blacks in the state and in the nation. But recognizing this is Kansas, I knew you were going to take the lead role, whether the funding came in or not. To be sure this debate ought to occur on the status of blacks, however, it should be so comprehensive that it includes a discussion about blacks all over this world. For what its worth it is my contention that there is very little difference in the problems faced by blacks whether they live in San Francisco, St. Louis or Sierra Leone. There may be a difference in the shades of gray but in all probability there isn't enough distortion to call any substantial deviation when focusing on group problems. To touch on some of the "problems", that we are dealing with daily, that you are dealing with daily. Poverty, unemployment, teenage pregnancy, drug and alcohol abuse, school dropouts

and high infant mortality, crime, divorce rates. You know these aren't traditional or exclusive problems of blacks only. These are people problems. To the degree that racism influences these problems I'm willing to consider them today as black problems as particularly as they affect the black community throughout this country.

But beyond that, they are human problems. Therefore, answers to these problems must be found in an individual's or a society's values leadership continuum. It goes beyond symposiums and support groups. Its more individuals role models and leadership skill development within the black community.

Allow me to structure a model as a point of departure. The good old U.S.A. is my model. Ideally, our nation can and has met diverse problems including most of this in this room. Additionally, just as many of us have benefitted, many others, too many, have fallen through the cracks without the benefit of a safety net. Despite the fact of some losses, by and large our nation provides a rather comprehensive and decently balanced lifestyle--for most of us. Maybe too comfortable, for some our so-called leaders. There is more than we can do for those who fall through the cracks. But first, the recognized and critical leaders of our society must be willing to access those who have previously been unwanted. The previously unwanted must accept the challenges of society and bring their initiatives to the society in such a fashion that society becomes inclusive rather than exclusive. Then, and only then, is my belief,

will we as a nation become what we are capable of being and particularly as leaders of the black community.

As you know, the strength of our country is not in Washington, D.C., it starts with our smallest unit, the family, the neighborhood, the community, our city, county, state and regionally. A good program that I like to promote for us in Missouri and Kansas City, specifically, as teaching parents, making parents again our teachers. Parents as teachers before they get to, even Day Care.

If we are ever able to understand and deal with the status of our community we must have some reasonable guidelines. First we have to recognize that America is a nation primarily white-oriented and white-directed. And it is influenced rather reluctantly by black input, to the degree that America refuses to recognize its white rule and exclusivity, it must be prepared to accept distortions and bottlenecks as people attempt to work out their joint destinies in a marginally flexible social system. America must understand its racism even in the late 1980's. How many of you know that 53% of all black people in these United States live in our nations 100th largest cities? This means that we the remaining 47% of our group is dispersed over the remaining land mass of this nation. We can draw at least two conclusions from this information. Most of American cities are predominantly white and almost all the issues facing blacks occur in predominantly urban cities. There is one other point that I'd like to make, that is this, whites in their

normal and usual settings are taught that they're intellectually superior to all other people. Most of them learn their lesson well. Unfortunately when they actually live out their teaching in reality they violate most of existing laws of this country regarding equitable treatment of all people. Could it really be that we have created a society full of contradictions?

Attitudinal change cannot be legislated but it can be taught and it can be learned. As an individual I have been somewhat fortunate in dealing with many of the contradictions which I have faced. The greatest benefit I have is the values I received throughout my life as they were taught within my church, specifically, the African-Methodist Episcopal Zion Church or as it is generally called, the Freedom Church. And some of us better known members of my church, Frederick Douglass, for you historians, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Paul Roberson and many other distinguished black Americans. Simply put, my values are nothing more substantial than those found by most practicing Christians.

Many of you here are familiar with most and all of my total system, value system, I don't really know why I'm here doing this keynote luncheon speech. My actual style is a composite, you have me doing this to the press so I'll have to change my style tomorrow I guess. A composite of the personal study of the bishopry of my church and for those of you in case you don't know, a bishop in the AME Zion Church is a consummate politician....subsequently church politics just may be a higher art than any elected office, well, in the AME Zion Church I'll let the rest of you hang out there.

When I was elected to the city council about three years after that before I really hit the national thing and the regional elected activity, I was known as the councilwoman that dealt with preachers, police, pimps, prostitutes, and in recent years I've added physicians to it. And I'll tell you that the politics of all of them are the same and I would suggest to you that I'd rather in those days have dealt with the pimps and prostitutes than to deal with the preachers, the police and the physicians.

There is one other component of my being and that impacts on my value leadership and that is my blackness. This is how I understand myself. Basically, maybe like you are, we are two distinct people in one. W.E.B. DuBois said it best and probably first--"one forever feels their twoness--an American, a Negro, two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings, two warring ideas in one dark body, where dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder." Now, for me, these are not contradictory or inconsistent positions. You see I was educated white and I live black. Again, there are no inconsistencies. Yes, I went to an all black school, the curriculum was white-directed. And there is no inconsistency simply because as a result of simply living in America, in Kansas City, Kansas, in Kansas City, Missouri, at that time, I know, understand, and can interpret the nuances from both societies with greater facility than most "white leaders" and "black leaders". As an elected politician this provides me a better framework to work from but then some of my contemporaries. I feel that my political duality equips me to get a solution on most problems with far fewer frustration

and less pressure than many of my peers. I'm comfortable with the way I operate within my value system and I'm also just as content with my leadership style which is very unorthodox. Unorthodox as it is I do subscribe to informal leadership and as I gave in my opening comments in respect to the individuals who sponsor the symposium. For those individuals who know me and how I operate in Kansas City believes that I very much respect the individuals who really run the show because I love the planners, the strategies, those quote unquote baseboard people because those are the individuals who have all the creative ideas. I don't have any createve ideas. I'm a good implementer. My husband is one of those that has a lot of ideas, you can't implement much of it but when you recognize that that's where your expertise lies that's where you can benefit and contribute the most. And I've heard many individuals say "What do you mean by informal leadership?" Sure in all of your textbooks there is a chapter on informal leadership, but I want to know, I will respect the person elected to the office, the president, the treasurer, the secretary, but I want to know who really runs the show. I learned a long time ago and this came from Kansas, I was in the office of a Kansas Senator a long time ago, before Dole, and I asked, "What was the map on the wall and all those different-colored head pins in the map?" And this was a think-tank session and individuals came to give the report to students indicated there. We can't tell you the names of those individuals, JoAnne, but we can tell you what schools and whose children will be the elected officials some ten years in the future. Well I left that Washington, D.C.

office very frustrated when I came back to Kansas because I thought, my mother taught me that I am to get out and learn about the issues, I am to check the candidates that I vote for and voting was a very important thing in my house, secondary to going to church. And I realized then, I said, no one's going to tell me who I'm going to elect in some ten years when I become an adult and I'm gonna make it an individual commitment to make sure that the process of elections is free to my people, free to me and free to the individuals in which I serve. The choice cannot be made in Washington, D.C. of who we will elect, in Kansas or Missouri or anywhere else.

There is a uniqueness on being black in America. This uniqueness can operate in such a fashion that the results produced from an initiative may be good or bad depending on the orientation of the initiator. If a black pressures from society from a totally black perspective then in all probability, the response generated will be one of accommodation based on shame, guilt and the desire to purge one's conscience. Unfortunately an indecision from this rationale quite likely may result in polarization, a token economic fund or an unsatisfactory quick fix. However, if the initiator approaches the situation from the point of view of effective, logical synthesis of their blackness and whiteness, there is a greater likelihood of decision being appropriate, balanced and comprehensive for the total society. So as we debate the issues that blacks are confronted with today, what really can we suggest? To that nebulous entity we call society, let us suggest that we be about the job of glorifying humanity rather than destroying it. If we can glorify humanity we will find that we can serve the ball in the proper

court and that is at the individual level which is the final analysis, it's where the ultimate solution can be found. It is imperative that we encourage individual responsibility and self-approval at the earliest age possible. No person who has responsibility and self-approval will allow themselves to be impoverished or unemployed for too long a period of time. If we teach our sons not to ask for the sex experience as well as teaching our daughters to say no to the offer, or vice-versa, we most certainly will reduce teenage pregnancy statistics. When we convince people that they are worthwhile they won't have any need to alter their consciousness or their minds with alcohol or drugs. Worthwhile people respect themselves, subsequently they are less likely to harm or perpetrate crimes on others. When you love and express that love by communicating with your loved one, we would have less divorce, runaways, homeless, and certainly less mental stress. Today's by-words of self-esteem and pleasure, self-pleasure, self-esteem legendary. Pleasure is kind of new. Some of us have too much time and we don't have the ability to structure what we do with our leisure time. Even more so with our children. And speaking of the children, one of my special jobs in Kansas City as Chair of the Mayor's Council on Youth Development. There was a beautiful young black woman from Cleveland, Ohio, who gave us a presentation at our youth seminar a few weeks ago, her name is Janice Hale. She has written the book called Black Children, their Roots, Culture and Learning Style that many of you are probably familiar with and I suggest it to you. She stated, "Black people need

to be educated for struggle by instructing them concerning the following reality: who they are, who the enemy is, what is the enemy doing to them, what to struggle for, what form of struggle must we take."

That's the end of the printed speech. I just want to encourage each and every one of you to make sure that of all the holidays that you celebrate in the next twelve months that Martin Luther King Day becomes the holiday of our community and the cities and rural areas in which you live. That, ladies and gentlemen is the celebration. That is probably the only holiday that we really should be celebrating unless you do the Christmas spirit and Easter in the way it should be rather than the economic and those other political days that we serve. I would suggest to you that you not be about the business of being very quiet and taking vacation just to take vacation, but that everybody around you, day by day, work experience associations also recognizing what Martin Luther King celebration is and what that day means for all of us in the Black community. But those of us who have worked with women and are beginning to find ourselves having to work with Black women even more in our leadership in the community, particularly in Kansas City. We had a seminar just a few days ago, Kansas City to Kenya, and you could have it Lawrence to Liberia and I think maybe we as Blacks, men and women, can provide the leadership that's necessary to prove to this society, particularly in this United States, the USA, that we can turn it around and set it up right. Now, that was said partially, a very poor quote from a very famous Black woman. But okay Black men, worldwide leadership, let us

Black women and Black men get together and let's turn this country upside down in relation to making it right for our community and the society as a whole. Thank you Very much.

Barbara Sabol

If you had any questions about why this Missourian was coming to talk to these Kansans, you don't now, do you? That's right. Thank you very much for those very stimulating remarks. We're going to now turn it over to Deborah Dandridge to respond to the remarks from a humanities perspective. Deborah has already described the fact that she is working on that dissertation and we're very much appreciative that she has taken time away from that task to be with us this afternoon to present the humanist perspective.

Deborah Dandridge, Doctoral Candidate, Dept. of History, U. of Kansas

Thank you very much Secretary Sabol. Distinguished panelists, distinguished audience, I just want to share with you an interpretation of my view of how Black leadership over time has been presented. It is fully supportive of the councilwoman's presentation.

Historically the belief that race nor color determined one's intellectual or physical capabilities has served as the guiding principal of Black leadership. During the 2½ centuries of chartered slavery and the persistence of the color line for more than 3½ centuries Black leaders have upheld the value of the freedom and equality for all of Americans and in this struggle against this nation's racial restrictions on the

family, on education, economics, religion and civil rights of its citizenry. We have a situation, for instance, when racial division has threatened to disrupt the Northern Abolitionists Movement, Frederick Douglas suggested the particular importance of Black leadership values, in particular those of freedom and equality. And he related it to the experience, the particular experience of Blacks and their representatives. "He who has endured the cruel pangs of slavery is the man to advocate liberty. It is evident that we must be our own representatives and advocates. Not distinguishing from, but in connection with white friend. And the grand struggle for liberty and equality now waging, it is essential that there be authors, writers, editors, orators, all of these, in the capacity so that our most permanent good can be rendered to our calls." After the Civil War these values were immediately translated into a legislative manner by our elected Southern Black representatives who, unlike their white colleagues, focused all their energies on the problems, for instance, protecting the civil rights of the national black community on the national level. Civil rights and educational issues on the state level and focus on the accessibility of social services to all people on the local level. Today these values of freedom and liberation continue to dominate Black legislative concerns, social welfare, and, of course, the continuing battle for protection of civil and voting rights of Blacks. In the process, the national Black community has developed a value of leadership that has reflected its unique condition of expression, its unique historical experience.

And that is that. It means that liberty and freedom have emanated from our own particular kinds of oppression. To overcome Jim Crow, Black organizations and Black leaders have proposed all of these programs of racial uplift. These programs of racial uplift have demanded that those who had acquired special skills had overcome all the barriers of racism. That they be responsible for the majority. In that sense, there is, as opposed to the dominant society of focus on individual achievement, Black leadership is historically focused upon the collectivism. It is not good enough for one of us to make it. And in order for us to battle against the obstacles of color, all of us have to make it. So the leadership in the Black community has demanded that there be a unified presentation. When the women decided to organize in 1897, they made the point that they had fought all this time saying that Black women were not immoral with Jack Jones' presentation, we've got to come together not in terms of our individual success. We've got to come together in terms of an army of organized people. And as a result of this, this has always been a tradition, so the sense of collectivism versus that of individualism, this is, I think, of a particular unique focus of Black leadership. In addition to this tradition of collectivism Black leadership has generally emphasized the moral and social principles of this society, overglorifying, or even considering to acknowledging materialistic advancements. It was not the technology that we celebrate or we recognize. But its how they have influenced our lives as human beings. That's the value

of it. That's the importance of it. And in terms of just how we judge each other as well as society, Dr. King has mentioned that it was a part of his dream, "Some day people would not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character." All these things have been well represented by the councilwoman's presentation. She focused, for instance, on freedom, I think very important to her. She recognized it from a world standpoint, that it was a very particular experience that Blacks here and it was still very important to her as a value. In terms of the collectivism, she talked about the need that we can't just focus on ourselves here in Lawrence, Kansas, or in this particular area--we've got to focus on the entire world. And this is that we are responsible for everyone. And she clearly demonstrated that. In terms of individual leadership, she talked about how this collectivism must be carried out and that is a responsibility of the leaders. Perhaps more importantly, she focused on the problems that we face as a people of color, as a human problem. And she well translated that into certain concerns and she talked about glorifying humanity that she gets in touching someone. That's important. That's what helps you evaluate. It makes no difference how much money we can achieve, how many jobs we can have, it is the context in which it occurs. It is the value and that motivates and that encourages the kind of achievement we wish to deal with. She focused on the church as being a part of her inspiration and the values playing a very direct role in the Black community in general. She also focused on the sense that this responsibility of Blacks in

addressing this issue of let's say racism or a particular problem, is one in which that has been imposed from the outside. Although we have today focused on our responsibility, the ultimate responsibility lies with outside. We are facing the problem not because we created the problem of race but because others did. So it means that our leaders are people like councilwoman Collins, she is unique among all leaders in the world because she knows both the Black world and the white world. She says, "I was educated white, I think and I live Black." There are unique people. There are no white leaders that can say that. We had to cross both worlds and that means a particular kind of insight, a particular kind of consideration. She focuses on good will. We know to survive that's a value, that compromise is important, that good will is the ultimate goal. That's the human value, and becomes undoubtedly her guiding light. This reflects as she talked about DuBois's statement about the ever sense of twoness. Some academic historians have focused on Black leaders as marginal people because they have one foot in one world and one foot in the other. I think they are superior people. They are not marginal people. So as a result of that I think this two-front war that she illustrates in her presentation as well in her political life is very important and it is a particular challenge to Black leaders.

Barbara Sabol

I think we may have inspired the councilwoman to talk to us some more. I tell you this has been an extraordinary experience for me all day today and I hope you're feeling the same and in fact I don't even have to hope it. I can feel that

you 're feeling the same. It's great for all of us. Let me just use this time to tell you again thank you for coming to Kansas and when we do this again, and we will, you must come back.

No conference happens. It takes leadership to make it happen, and it takes just plain hard work. I'd like now to call on Jake Gordon to make a special presentation.

Jacob Gordon

I'm going to make two presentations to two beautiful ladies. The first one is Sylvia Sanders. Sylvia is our first Black Rhodes Scholar nominee at the University of Kansas. She is the daughter of Professor and Mrs. Robert Sanders of Lawrence, Kansas. My second presentation goes to a lady that I met here 15 years ago when I first came to the University of Kansas to develop the African Studies Department. She worked with me when I met her at that time and somehow we kind of broke relations and she went to Topeka as a special assistant to Governor Collins. She became so great I couldn't stop her. She kept on going. But I said to myself that one day we would come together again and so we have come together again after 15 years. I think by now you know whom I am talking about. Two days ago the Black Faculty and Staff Council had a general meeting and they gave me permission to go ahead and present this lady whatever I deem fit. Is Mrs. Joanne Hurst here? It's really a great pleasure to present this plaque to you, Joanne. It came from the entire Black Faculty and Staff Council.

We realize that it is difficult to pull us together and you know what I mean by pulling us together. From West Kansas to East Kansas--and she has done it. She has done it, there is no question about that. So it is that I present this to you Joanne in recognition of an outstanding contribution to the Black Leadership Kansas Program 1985 from the Black Faculty and Staff Council at the University of Kansas, December 5, 1985. So after 15 years we have come back together.

Barbara Sabol

Thank you very much Joanne. We all love you. Now being the tough moderator that I have had to be with this group today, let me tell you that this is not an easy group to moderate. I'm going to have to call on Joanne for some assistance here but I do want to keep us moving on the program. All of you have issues and ideas and concerns that you've wanted to discuss. I think the group sessions are going to give us another opportunity.

Editorial

Two group sessions: Educational Leadership Consortium and Legislative Leadership were convened. Several issues were discussed in these groups. Group leaders were selected to present the consensus of the groups at the closing plenary session.

Barbara Sabol

We thank the University of Kansas, the Chancellor and the Black Faculty and Staff Council for their participation. All the panelists, the presenters have done an extraordinary

job of giving us food for thought. But food for thought, just as food for our bodies, has to be digested, assimilated and then something has to happen and I hope what we will talk about before we leave here at 3:30 is the issue of what will happen next. Now, what I'm going to do is to ask--I'm trying to think which one will talk the fastest--maybe I'd better go to Bernice. Once somebody's been in the legislature it's hard so I think I'll go to Bernice and ask her to give the report from the group that discussed the leadership consortium with the institutions of higher learning and then immediately following that we'll move to Billy. We'll talk about the results of the discussions on legislative issues and then I'll have a few other remarks to make. Bernice.

Bernice Hutcherson

Thank you Barbara. I sort of got hooked into this but that's all right. I've gotten hooked into many things in my many years of working in this state. In our group, as usual when we come together, we found indeed we were not all persons from institutions of higher learning. I've seen times in the past when that became a problem for us. It did not today. We came together as a group of concerned Black leaders in our own right, and ultimately you know we have some hot, tough, intellectual and down right homey discussions, but out of that I think something good has come. Recognition first of all, that as leaders we can do something in this state. A recognition that whatever our particular position is, that we can join

ourselves together and share with people all over this state. The benefit of our various expertise, we committed ourselves. I think some of us older ones were a little embarrassed as one of the younger ones in the group said, "I will pick on this responsibility to get this done, I love it." But I think that we have willingly come together, we are willing to set up small groups of persons who have like expertise. Have those persons meet together, have those persons put to pen and paper like something else we don't like to do very much but we have learned we must do more and more, put to paper those ideas that we want to share. And then, through some media, communicate that to the people of this state. You know, I'm just crazy enough to believe we can do it. And I'm willing to volunteer my time and a little bit of my money to see that it gets done. I thank you very much and my group that I have covered the basics of what we actually came up with.

Billy McCray

One of the things that we proposed is that we quickly think in terms of how quickly we can make up a petition. That we draw up a petition and that we somehow get that petition out to the attendees of this conference and then hope that they would in turn take that petition and get ten additional names on it for the purpose of generating a lot of names to bring forth to the necessary persons, of course, that would probably be the Governor, the appropriate governmental body, for structuring a governmental body of our own. Seemed like in our discussion we found out that, because of the load that the Civil Rights Commission has, because of the many entities

that has been added to it, like the aged and the physically handicapped, etc., that maybe that organization is not looking at Black people as it did when it was first organized and put together. And as a result maybe we ought to have an organization of our own and we thought that maybe this would be something that we could do legislatively. At least get some action, get some reaction and get something like that started. That's one of the proposals that we presented. Another proposal that we thought about is that since we have you as a captive group today that we should take up some money. Gilbert Parks said, "The proof of the pudding is in the eating." We talk about a lot of things that we're going to do, but when you start putting some dollars and cents into a kitty or into a pool and start trusting each other just enough for just a very small amount of money--\$10, \$15, \$20. Whatever you want to give. Well, we're probably going to ask today that you give about \$5. There's about 60 of us here. We're talking about \$300. That's going to take care of the writing, drawing up of petitions and the mailing. And I don't know, we're going to prevail upon Dr. Gordon to get one of his staff people to go ahead and hopefully be able to get that out to us and then we go ahead and get all of this organized and ready and get it out to the appropriate persons and that person will take it to a legislative committee or to the Governor and make sure the presentation is made. That has to be done. A third thing that we thought we would do and I think it's important that

you do it. Bill Richards brought this out very vividly and very clearly--that you don't get too much done in the legislature unless you have somebody up there keeping you informed, keeping tab on what you want, and now we're talking about a lobbyist and a lobbyist (that's not a bad name) nothing wrong about that word lobbyist. We're talking about hiring somebody to take care of our special interests which is going to be the drawing up and the organizing and the making up of the committee. We're talking about somebody that assures us that this gets done, somebody who hopefully knows the process, someone who has no qualms about going around to the legislative committees and the leadership, talking to them about putting it together. Now these are legislative proposals to come out of our group.

So, those are the three proposals. We're talking about a petition. This petition will be drawn up, it will have your names because every one of you needs to sign something or we'll have your name on the list, you will be sent a petition. You will be asked to get ten names. You will be asked to mail that particular petition package back to the appropriate person. The second thing of course is that eagerly, of course, I'll have somebody ask for 5 or 10 bucks, right here on the spot. You'll give it I'm sure because we're serious about this thing today. When I planned, one of the things that happened was that Dr. Broadnax came and set the tone I knew we were going to have a good meeting and I think he even talked about money

too. So that's something we just have to do. And then, of course, the third thing is to think in terms of this same committee. Getting together or talking, or perhaps even through communication or maybe formalizing what we would call a sub-committee or an executive committee today to do the legislative type work that we would have. So that's what we have, Barbara. Thank you.

Barbara Sabol

You did good. You did good. I think each of the groups has set out some actions that can be taken. I'd like to say to the group who worked in the university consortium, and that is, those of us who are out in the field developing services, delivering services, teaching or whatever it is, we rely very heavily on those of you who are teaching our young adults and who are doing the research to give us guidance so that as we develop policies, as we do our thing, we can use the kind of information that you are developing to structure services and programs that are in the best interests of the black community. Let me try to re-cap a little bit before we leave.

I'd like to start with the notion that he who learns teaches and he who teaches learns. And there should be nobody who leaves here today without knowing something, feeling differently about something than they did when they came. We have done an extraordinary amount of sharing. Let's don't put a period on it at 3:30. We have the whole evening. Use this opportunity

to have dinner with one another, carry on the kinds of conversations that have been going on all day. The assumption was, and I think it was one assumption in which we could agree--children are our ultimate resource and I'm not sure who said it now, but somebody said if we don't save them we have nothing to save. So if we accept that premise, that should give us the motivation, the reinforcement to make the kinds of action that we've talked about. The other idea that I'd like to lay on the table again comes from an African proverb and it says, "A cow must graze where he is tied." And I think what we have to do is to take the kind of information, enthusiasm, the kind of support that we've gotten from each other and untie. We can go places we have not gone before. And we could do it if we address the problem that I think almost every speaker brought up and that is the problem of the inner enemy. As Dr. Broadnax said, that inner enemy is hard to attack. It requires sacrifice. It means getting up and doing things that we may not want to do but are necessary that we do. It may mean tutoring young people. It may mean meeting with the teachers. It may be participating with teachers and designing things for young black people that are important. It may mean taking a day off work and going to the legislature and sitting in on a session. It may mean taking off work to be a conferee to testify on issues that are important to us. It may mean taking some money out of our pockets, but if we are to realistically

deal with that inner enemy, those are the kinds of things that we really must do. We can no longer rely on blaming everything on the outer enemy. There are system changes that must be made and we heard all kinds of suggestions that perhaps we need to give attention to and we need to have dialogue and debate on. But while we do that we must continue to struggle with this inner enemy. What I'd like to do now is see if there is one thought out there that somebody would like to place before us before I make one final statement and adjourn us for the day.

It's a message that we've all heard before. We must be buyers, we must be sellers as well as buyers and so we do have to look at both sides of the coin.

There are some house-keeping tasks that I have to do now. Mrs. Hurst will be letting you out the door. I advise you to leave your evaluations with her. The evaluation forms are in your blue package. If for some reason you don't have one, don't try to get out the door. Just raise your hand and we will bring it to you, but she is going to be standing at the door to collect them as you leave. Senator McCray made a request in his presentation for \$5 or \$10--he said \$5, he's gone down--so you can leave that with the Senator before you go. Again, let me tell you that this has been an extraordinary--an incredible experience. It cannot stop here. The purpose of this conference was a call to action. So wherever we are and whatever we're doing we have to look for those things that

we can do individually. What we must continue is our collective effort to address some of the very serious problems that we have talked about today. Please give yourselves a round of applause.

Conference adjourned promptly.