ANALYSIS

Anatomy of Howard's Winning Race

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Charles Howard, United Nations correspondent, is the father of Joseph Howard, who was successful last week in his bid for a seat on the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City. Mr. Howard returned from New York two weeks before the election to take part in the final stages of the campaign.)

By CHARLES P. HOWARD
UN and
Foreign Correspondent

UNITED NATIONS, Nov. 8 — The struggle for human progress is the struggle for power between classes of society. The struggle is a continuing one.

It is now possible to divide the struggle into eras. This week's election of Attorney Joseph C. Howard of Baltimore to the Judiciary, at the level of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City, marks the end of one era in the struggle of black people in the United Stats for human progress, equal justice and human dignity, and the beginning of another.

As a part of its service to the public, the AFRO-AMERICAN has asked this columnist to analyze the election of Mr. Howard for its readers. It serves a useful purpose, at this period in our history to go back and review, at least some of the steps taken by those who have gone before us in their search for solutions to our common problems.

By so doing, it may enable us to place this election in its proper perspective and enable us to recognize its significance.

Contrary to general propaganda, the black man has always resisted accepting the inferior status assigned him by the Western white man. His resistance has extended from his arrival on the slave ships in African waters down until today.

The real history of that resistance has remained an unwritten, untaught, blacked-out, lied-out-of-existence, record of struggle of one class of society against another class of society.

The methods of resistance were many and varied. Some captured slaves on slave ships jumped overboard and died, choosing death to the status of slaves.

Some others mutinied, killed their captors and brought the ships into Central and South American ports and set up free societies in the communities of their adoption.

Others, after being sold into slavery organized mutinies. Over 300 so-called mutinies, more properly named "revolutions" are recorded.

All the time the white man of the South was telling the world how contented and happy slaves were and how they loved their masters.

However, if you want to know really what was going on, you need only to study the minutes of the various Southern Legislatures to discover that these bodies spent more than two-thirds of their budgets and more time trying to devise methods to thwart "slave revolts."

Bringing to an end the slave era was a vicious, murderous Civil War which only came to a successful conclusion upon the entry of black fighting men on the side of the friends, the Union Army.

Following this the black man was thrown out into a sea of hostility, minus the "forty acres and a mule" it was promised him. Propertyless, penniless, virtually no education and few friends, he landed in this place, propaganda-wise called "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

Certainly, it was not that to him then, and just to keep the record straight, it is not that to him now.

Into that predicament and "with that equipment," better said, "without equipment" he set about to make a place for himself and his, and those who should come after him.

Now wonder there came into existence almost as many methods for solving problems as there were individuals trying to solve them.

But they persisted in their search for justice, freedom, equality and human dignity, the struggle for power of one class of society against another class of society.

About this time and following these events "methods of salvation" began to jell and proponents and opponents of certain methods and techniques began to take sides.

Notable among the viewpoints was the one proposed by Booker T. Washington which culminated in the famous "five fingers on the hand speech."

Washington was immediately challenged by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. Washington proposed that on all matters economic the white man and the black man could work together as one, but on matters purely social they could be as the fingers of the hand, separate.

DuBois opposed this view and came forward with his famous "Talented Tenth" theory.

Property defining the exact position of these two theories is not nearly so important as understanding that the black man was beginning to define the course of his own future. Black men began to discuss the merits of the thinking of black men, but the white man's views remained the philosophy that had to be satisfied.

Meanwhile the white politician began to compete, though ever so slightly for the support of the black man. With the black man leaning almost exclusively to the Republicans, with the Republicans doing virtually nothing for the black man.

The Republicans felt that they need not do anything for the black man as the Republican Party was the party of Lincoln. Lincoln had freed the slaves, hadn't he? Hence no black man could ever vote against the party of "Father Abraham."

In 1932, after more than 75 years of faithful devotion to the Republican Party and very little progress toward equal justice and human dignity, the black man left the Republican party, announcing that he was gone forever. It is significant to note that until this day the black man has not returned to the Republican party in any significant numbers.

But we were still in search of "white leadership" that would take us to our desired goals, never looking "within ourselves" for leadership of our class in this society.

In 1932 we entered the Democratic Party camp, marking the beginning of "class action" against conditions which we disapproved. In Franklin Delano Roosevelt we found what we thought was the leadership of a political party that had some concern for the plight of our segment of this society.

Under Roosevelt as a class we made some economic progress and slight political gains.

Under President Truman we did not particularly lose ground, we actually gained theoretically some bettering of our "class position" in the armed services.

At least a beginning was made against the tragic plight of the black serviceman in the Armed Services of the country, that is, in some branches.

Under President Kennedy and President Johnson we made, in comparison with the past, considerable progress individually; a black man in the President's Cabinet, a place on the Supreme Court of the United States, and a mayor of Washington, D.C. but these were all appointments.

These were all recognition of individuals, and white men were the donors.

Chafing under their "class status" in this society, during this period 1966 to date, young black men and women extended the Black Student Revolution which began in the 1950's into what became known as the "Black Power Movement." This movement has all but swept aside the traditional "Colored Leadership."

During 1967 Carl B. Stokes and Richard Hatcher, both black men, were elected mayors respectively of Cleveland, Ohio and Gary, Ind.

Both are major American cities. This was the beginning in a major way of our looking "inward" for leadership to lead to an improvement of our class position.

However, prior to this point, we have continued to look for "white leadership" to give us improvement in our 'class position" or at least to give us major assistance. And this is where the campaign by the black citizens of Baltimore differs from all the rest.

This was indeed a people's campaign in the truest sense of the word. They chose to run Attorney Joseph C. Howard chief of the Trial Section of the States Attorney's Office for a judgeship on the Supreme Bench.

The term is for 15 years and the salary is $30,500 per year. But most important, the Supreme Bench is the most important "policy making body" in all of Maryland.

The uniqueness of the campaign lay in the fact that the black men and women of Baltimore decided to rely upon their own forces, within their own society to put their candidate over and they did.

First, they put together into one political force the "middle class" and the "grass roots" forces under black leadership.

To this they added the black clergy and the black professional forces. They were prepared to finance their own campaign with their own money.

They drew upon the Political Science Department of Morgan State College, a black educational institution, for statistical and scientific data. Also, the Head of the Urban Studies Institute of Morgan State College came forward with facts and data in the field of Sociology.

Lawyers and doctors' wives and wives of other civic leaders worked in the campaign headquarters and at the polls as well as rallying the membership in their various clubs.

The leader of the Community Action Centers organized 30 community action groups to work with "grassroots" leaders and organizations.

All of this was under the "Campaign Management" of a black lawyer, 26 years old, named Larry Gibson, whose "political management savvy... would make even Jim Farley look to his laurels.

However, most uniquely and most significantly was the support given this campaign and Mr. Howard personally by the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspaper. AFRO support was 100 percent from the very beginning.

Their editorial policy and their news columns spent no time apologizing for their stand back of Mr. Howard.

They spent no time trying to appear "objective."

They were for Joe Howard for a judgeship on the Supreme Bench from the beginning and they were for nobody else. Never have any of us seen the black press support a black candidate so magnificently and so completely.

If any other group were to be singled out it would have to be the black clergy. Their support was superb. Their pulpits resounded with their urging of their congregations to "stand together." From the beginning there was never a faltering from that theme.

It seemed that every force, or every group, almost every individual seemed to feel that this was his or her campaign and indeed it was.

Under this leadership, a force of some 2,500 campaign workers, about 300 were young whites, manned the polls on Election Day.

When the final count was made, Judge-elect Howard had not only won, he had led the ticket. Actually he had gotten more votes than the mayor had gotten in his last campaign.

The final results showed Judge-elect Howard had 114,253 votes, his nearest competitor, sitting Judge Robert I. Hammerman, had 106,418 votes. Sen. Paul Dolf, son-in-law of Baltimore's political boss, Jack Pollock, ran third in the four-man contest, thus unseating sitting Judge Thomas J. Kenney, who had 92,691 votes.

Surely this election of Joe Howard as Judge was a "self-help" project that can serve as a national pattern.

By this project Baltimore's black citizens have pointed the way to selecting and electing a member of their own class for leadership in their constant search for equal justice and human dignity.

Thus a new era has been brought into existence. The next step is for the extension of the practice into every state in the Union.

This pattern of developing leadership from our own class can give us a combined force that must be taken into consideration and bargained with nationally, rather than a divided, impotent group, that Richard Nixon and those like him can write off as inconsequential.

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—Russell blames

(Continued from Page 26)

the municipal attorney his most perplexing challenge in memory.

"Its legal study is, as a discipline, embryonic. Its civil and criminal implications are far from fully defined. Precedents are most notable for their absence.

"For the lawyer... the "Black Evolution has escaped the traditional and logical process of enforcing human and constitutional rights and formulating social welfare programs.

"Previously our thinking to issues of government vis

-Man 71

(Continued from Page 26)

to kill him. I was afraid he would kill me.

"I was afraid so I ran away. Then I got to thinking and I came back and turned myself in and brought the gun with me."

Parker was pronounced dead on arrival at University Hospital at 8:15 p.m. of two gunshot wounds of the back.

-Elkins

(Continued from Page 26)

was acknowledged as "modest."

Dr. Elkins scored discrimination in fraternities and sororities by saying that "this University has taken steps to encourage all organizations, including fraternities and sororities, to admit members on the basis of individual merit."

It was pointed out in the statement that the state school requires local control over selection so that racist national policies by the exclusive clubs could not hamper the local chapters.

"The policies and practices of fraternities and sororities are currently under consideration by the membership and by officials of the University, and it is expected that any shortcomings which may exist will be corrected," Dr. Elkins stated.

The University of Maryland will "give attention to the special problem" of more black professors according to Dr. Elkins. The faculty at the College Park institution has been almost all-white for several years.

The University president also stated that housing advertisement in the school's housing office must pledge acceptance of every race.

could be largely restricted a vis black Americans.

"But with the public and individual safety and property now awash in the turbulence of discontent, whole new legal battlegrounds have been opened.

"In the field of criminal justice we are hard pressed to apply the natural law of due process to the unnatural aberrations of mob violence.

"New concepts being devised for positive governmental action strain established legal restrictions, testing our flexibility and willingness to improvise.

"Civil liability is asserted by victims against municapalities on the basis of antiquated state laws which no longer fit the situation. The cry for voluntary indemnification is perhaps honorable but at the same time misdirected.

"As lawyers we are trained to construct our analysis of related problems around a consistent and objective characterization of the facts.

"The basic fact of civil disturbance is its social cause. The 'Establishment' has too long victimized the black man by ignoring that fact and casting his problem in that light which is convenient for the moment.

"As those whose advice and decision making is often ultimately entrusted with the rationalization of municipal thought, we have the opportunity, indeed the responsibility, to build a framework for the city's response to these new challenges.

"The purposes of my address, therefore, is not to postulate answers, but to encourage the kind of thinking which will produce them.

"The format of our seminar is civil disturbance: before, during and after. This becomes in our practice:

"I. The establishment of municipal government before disorder as a viable and cohesive force for racial peace and progress.

"II. The administration of the government during disorder as a conservator of the peace.

"III. The protection and guidance of the government after disorder in litigation and indemnification.

"First, let us briefly, but objectively, state the problem.

"The dilemma of racial injustice has gnawed on the national conscience and sapped the strength of our society since its founding.

"It is now clear that history has handed our generation the task of solving it. For most blacks the American melting pot has not worked. Differences in color, culture and circumstances have stubbornly blocked the process of amalgamation that worked relatively well for other minority groups.

"Years of slavery yieled to constitutional citizen status, but not to equality of political, social or economic opportunity.

"And now after 100 years of limbo and lip service, the enlightenment of the 1950's and 1960's has produced legal freedom, public desegregation and rapidly rising, but largely unfulfilled, expectations for a better life.

"When in the middle 1960's, the new laws, programs and liberal exhortations had peaked, so had the frustration and bitterness of underprivileged Americans.

"Tangible progress, though now apparent, was too little and too late. Rioting now expresses that frustration, and the reason is easily visible for those who will see.

"This society has, if not wholly deliberately, at least systematically by its institutions disassociated 10 percent of its population, and they have in turn lost the reason to abide by its rules.

"The capacity and incentive to react to public problems has been both the genius and the failing of our democratic government.

"The concept of freely elected officials, in turn continually accountable to the electorate, is designed to induce both acknowledgement and remedy of the weaknesses in the life of the community.

"But the weaknesses here in question attend, for the most part, only this situation of a small and historically politically important minority.

"On the other hand their alleviation taxes and inconveniences the large and politically controlling majority.

"Thus, our freely elected official often finds himself constrained, where he believes that the stated interests of the majority and minority clash, to ignore the latter.

"I believe that, in a simplified fashion, it a this formula which has in the past most retarded efforts by municipal government to assist the black man's progress.

"While the increasing concentration of urban black voting power is today causing officialdom to resauge the political exigencies, the temporary advantage which this may work for the minority groups fails to represent the statesmanship which is due the entire public for their trust and which is required to produce fair, honest and workable solutions to our pressing problems.

"Hence, we as leaders in the legal, public and governmental community, must have the courage to recognize — and cause our associates to recognize — two things.

"First, there is a difference between democratic responsibility and political expediency.

"Second, it requires only a modicum of intellect to perceive that in the long run of this case the interest of the majority and minority do not clash at all, but are instead mutual prerequisites to the health of our society.

"Of those who doubt this proposition, it is only necessary to inquire whether the current recipe for violence, hatred and alienation is in the interests of anyone — save perhaps those few who thrive upon it.

"The only real prevention of violence, the only real law and order, will emanate from balanced participation in society, and not from the power of its police.

"It is fundamental the fabric of this nation that ours is not a government of laws imposed on men, but of laws respected by men.

"Against this background, the basic facts of cause and effect in civil disturbance are crystallized. The effect is criminal. Let us make no mistake that whatever sociologists' euphemism is employed to described it, rioting as criminal and is to be condemned.

"No treatment of criminal conduct is complete, however, without recognition of the cause, and where that conduct is in substantial part identifiable as the manifestation of a social ill which can be remedied, a society which ignores that fact asks to be plagued with the crime.

"It is through the consistent application of this analysis that city governments should provide direction to their decisional process.

"It is not only that society is indebted to black Americans, but that it is indebted to itself, to erase its fragmentation.

"We have the nature'

CPHA opens member drive

Mayor Thomas J. D'Alesandro 3rd has proclaimed November as Citizens Planning and Housing Association Membership Month.

Honorary chairman of the membership drive, the mayor in his proclamation urged citizens to support the 27-year-old citizens group, the largest and broadest-based such organization in the city.

The CPHA program for the coming year includes a vacant house survey, a neighborhood program designed to help citizens improve their environment, a community inventory and an education program in independent schools directed at a better understanding of the problems of the city.

human and economic resources which will in time extend the promise of America, to our black citizens if only the arbitrary restraints on our willingness to facilitate their inclusion can be removed.

"Let us, therefore, renew our commitment to social progress so that violence need never again serve as a medium of expression for human frustration.

"This is the method of prevention, and city attorneys may directly promote its implementation through the channeling, molding, inhibition and inspiration of governmental actions.

"While I have great hope for the future, I think it overly optimistic to close the file on civil disorder. here we are treating the manifestation and not the ill.

"If we are to be consistent in our analysis that this is criminal conduct then let us enforce law and order, but let us also complete the equation with due process.

"A respected lawyer once admonished his thoroughly frustrated assistant that finding the solution to the most complex issues is initially dependent upon a willingness to comprehend them. Today I have proposed no resolutions, but I have proposed a basis for reasoning.

"If you conclude that it is wrong, reject it. But if you reject it, do so with a willingness to replace it. The time for floundering is past."

DEC. 5,6,7

The Essex Community College Theatre presents Sean O'Casey's "Juno and the Paycock," in the auditorium of the Instruction and Administration Building, 8:30 p.m.

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