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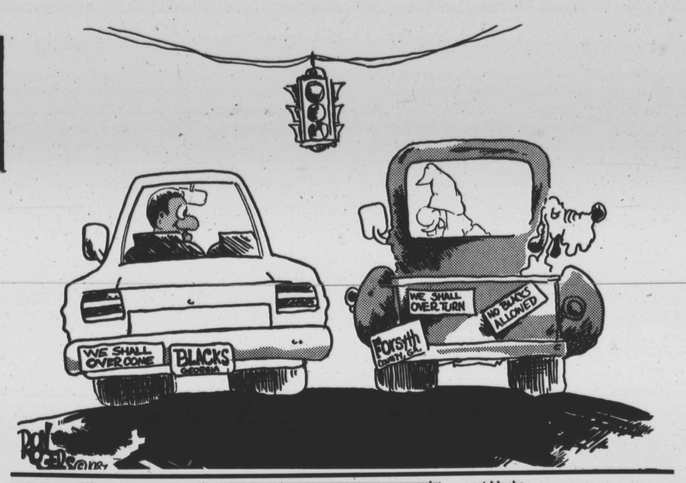

Black History Month

Once again Black History month is here and it is still too often marked in too casual a manner in many places. Black History Month is designed to be a time for a special emphasis on the contributions of people of African descent to the building of the United States and world civilization.

Unfortunately Black History Month is too often relegated to a dry recitation of dates, facts and biographies of the thumbnail variety.

The teaching of history is done best when events and personalities are placed in context. It is not enough to teach children about Martin Luther King, Jr. He must be placed in a context.

His father was a civil rights activist. E. D. Nixon of Montgomery Alabama and Mrs. Rosa Parks who provided the impetus for the bus boycott that propelled King into international fame are both long time civil rights activists.

Just as history of black people in this country is part of a flow of events that began in ancient Africa, Black History Month should merely be the highlight of a year long dedication to the study of black history.

When Carter G. Woodson established the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1915 and he established Negro History Week in 1926 he was placing the study of black life and history on the same academic footing as other historical studies although the larger society has yet to acknowledge his work and its validity.

That's why it's important that the black community celebrate Black History month to the best of its ability.

Vacancies in the Fourth

Tradition has usually prevailed in the Baltimore City Council when a vacancy has arisen. The standard procedure has been for the outgoing member to name whom he or she wanted to succeed to the post.

Councilmanic courtesy usually was the order of the day and the remaining member from the district nominated the hand-picked successor and the rest of the council, not wanting to meddle in another district's business, routinely approved the person.

Something threw the process out of sync in the Fourth District, Councilman Mfume left for Congress in January and Councilman Mitchell left in the same month to occupy his seat in the state senate leaving the district with only one representative.

Both departing members announced their preferences for successors. Mfume named Sheila Dixon — Smith and Mitchell named John Jeffries as successor, but Councilwoman Agnes Welch decided that another process was needed.

She has named a panel to interview candidates and make a final set of recommendations to her. The question is why has there been a break with tradition at this particular time?

Are some power-brokers attempting to make strategic moves to enhance the chances of their candidates in the '87 municipal elections.

Is this scenario an attempt by some power brokers to pack the delegation in their favor? Whatever the reason, the Fourth District goes without adequate representation and the already volatile district is subjected to intense in-fighting over what is usually a routine matter.

The current process is not any more democratic than the traditional way, yet it is more drawn out and time consuming. The people of the Fourth District deserve representation and they deserve it now.

Embry out of race

Informed sources have indicated that former school board president and former housing commissioner Robert Embry is not going to enter the mayor's race after all.

Although he never officially filed it was known in political circles that Embry was considering the effort. It would have been a very difficult race for him to run, competing with a popular state's attorney Kurt Schmoke and an incumbent mayor Clarence "Du" Burns.

Embry would also have faced charges that he was trying to exploit a perceived split in the black community while capitalizing on the tendency of white voters in this city not to vote for a black candidate no matter how qualified.

The deciding factor is supposed to have been a poll showing that Embry could not win.

With Embry out of the picture and no other white candidate on the horizon yet, Baltimore may be spared the kind of race-baiting campaign that is taking place in Chicago and issues of racial loyalty and disunity in the black community will be deemphasized as the remaining candidates are appraised on their abilities and their vision of what a beleagured Baltimore will be in the future.

Baltimore is a city that faces an uncertain future and the next mayor must begin preparing Charm City for the 21st century.

LETTERS

Footdragging in the 4th

After reading Councilwoman Agnes Welch's revelation about appointing an advisory panel to select candidates to fill the vacant seats in the 4th Councilmanic District, I could have been knocked over with a feather.

It appears to me that she is trying to dupe the public and the news media by pretending to be statesmanlike in the selection process.

Everyone knows that she is controlled by a political power broker and must appoint the candidates that he selects. The appointment of a panel is a farce because it will be stacked with people loyal to that power broker.

It is foolish for Mrs. Welch to try to deceive the public in believing that the process will be fair. It is unconscionable to give hope to aspirants by having them submit resume's and be interviewed.

It would be understandable if she made her selections according to her political alliances, but to deceive the public by pretending she is being fair is wrong.

Hopefully, Mrs. Welch and her newly appointed council persons will go down in defeat in the next fair public election.

DONALD WATTS

The unknown benefactor

On January 26 at the Giant Supermarket on Hillen Rd. between 5 p.m. and 6 p.m., I got on the No. 44 bus, going West on Belvedere Ave.

I had two heavy grocery bags, which, with much difficulty, I put on the bus. A lady helped me with them, then gave me her seat. That night, I really needed that help, I had never needed it before.

In fact, I would not have needed it a month ago.

I had not adequately thanked this lady at the time—I wish to now. I also wish to tell you that I am a 79-year-old white man.

STANLEY DUSMAN

Oliver Tambo

A day before his visit with Secretary of State George P. Shultz last week, Oliver Tambo, the head of the African National Congress met with members of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Throughout the one-hour meeting, the resolve of the 69-year-old leader of South Africa's largest black opposition movement was clear. The ANC will continue to press for the liberation of South African blacks utilizing whatever means necessary,

Often the means has meant violence. But it was not always that way.

The organization was founded in 1912 as a multi-racial group similar to the NAACP in its position of a non-violent pursuit of equality. The nature of its early days was much like the civil rights movement in America.

But over the decades, with talking brokering no change, and frustration rising to a boiling point, the ANC's practice of polite diplomatic negotiations evolved dramatically into a strident policy of "armed struggle," which the organization lives under today.

That policy naturally met with disfavor in the government in Pretoria, which branded the ANC's leader, Nelson Mandela, was thrown into prison where he has remained for 25 years.

Despite his confinement and the banning of his organization, the ANC remains strong and a respected symbol of resistance among most black South Africans. It also remains a literal thorn in the side of the South African government.

Today, Tambo and the ANC continue to orchestrate the fight for freedom from their place of exile in Lusaka, Zambia.

And the government of Pretoria has continued its harassment of the Mandela Family, banning his wife Winnie to the government established homelands. She and others have refused to live where the government is forcing them to be.

Until the meeting last week between Shultz and Tambo, the U.S. had officially ignored the presence of the ANC as a legitimate force in the South African struggle.

The Reagan Administration suggests it would feel more comfortable with the ANC and would work with its leaders toward a solution only they would renounce violence.

Short of that, the Administration has opted for the past six years to pursue a policy of "constructive engagement" with the South African government which has used partheid as its official means of murdering hundreds of innocent blacks.

Visiting the U.S. last summer and facing jail when he returned to his home, Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, related chilling tales of the beatings and killings of families as they slept. He spoke in particular of a night time police raid on a village in which a seven-year-old boy was shot to death.

In a remorseless explanation of their horrendous act, police told the child's distraught father the boy had been mistaken for a dog.

Coming here to meet with the Secretary of State, Tambo seemed filled with optimism for the struggle's success. He hoped to convince the U.S. that the ANC has taken the role it has because talk has not worked.

He hoped to convince the U.S. to use its influence in the world to persuade European countries to join it in instituting stronger economic sanctions against South Africa.

Tambo let his appeal for understanding and help from this Administration turn on American history. He pointed out the similarity between the struggle he now undergoes and the one that brought America its independence. After all, the American Revolution occured when "constructive engagement" with the British failed.

There is a resolve on behalf of Oliver Tambo and the ANC to see their struggle through to the end. Their use of violence only balances the sides. As long as Pretoria uses violence to preserve its racist system of apartheid, the response will continue to be in kind. Renunciation of violence by the ANC should parallel renunciation of violence by the South African government.

Bloodnotes

R. B. Jones

Black History Month

I have always wondered why people hate history. When I was in school I could not get enough of the subject and fellow students who could not deal with the subject questioned my sanity because I sometimes read history books for recreation.

Of course I countered that I could not understand how some of them read nothing or read romance novels with love affairs that in no way approximated our realities. They countered that I was unromantic and would never know how to woo a woman properly.

I resigned myself to reading my books and living out my days as a lonely bookworm. In later years I read sex manuals, but by that time my female junior high classmates were long gone.

After Booker T. they scattered to such remote and exotic locations as Western High School while I went to that holy shrine Douglass.

Still my love of history persisted. To me it was a surefire way of finding out how the world came to be in the sad and dangerous condition it was in. History showed me the causes of the world's problems.

My ninth grade history teacher, Mrs. Naomi Hardy, always said for every historical event there was an immediate cause and an underlying cause. She taught us not to see historical events in isolation and out of context. Although she is deceased now I remembered vividly what she said.

In later years, when I became a teacher of social studies, I began to understand why students hate history so often. People don't hate history, they hate the way history is taught.

If students are forced to learn isolated names, dates and places for written memory tests, they will be turned off. If history can be put in a context so that they will see how it has affected the world they live in then the subject will be less distasteful.

Once when I worked for the Cultural Arts Program of the city I received a memo to teach students about the Bicentennial in my drama class.

Since the vast majority of black people in this country were slaves in 1776, I taught the students about slavery from what capture was like in Africa through what life was like on plantations.

I was accused by some parents and others of teaching racism because their children were very upset about what happened to their ancestors.

Considering what happened to African people during slavery, I would have been worried if the children had not been upset.

I had the children lay in spaces equivalent to the area that slaves had in the holds of the slaveships. I read slave narratives to the class and they recoiled in horror at the mistreatment of slave children the same age as them.

They learned about a young Harriet Tubman who at seven or eight had to sit on the steps of the slave mansion on call to care for her mistress's baby.

If she fell alseep during the night and allowed the white baby's crying to awaken her mistress she got a savage whipping.

In class, we discussed Africa and what it was like before slavery and before the continent was colonized. Things began to happen.

The students who were thought to be only semi-civilized by some people in the program began to cut out articles out of the newspaper concerning Africa and bring them to class to share.

A couple of the students wanted African names when only a few weeks before they laughed at the mention of Africa and referred to Africans as uncivilized, thanks to American TV.

They not only learned about the horrors of our enslavement, but they also learned about our continual resistance to that enslavement.

Black History Month is a time to emphasize our history more than it usually is emphasized. It is imperative that we reiterate the fact that we did not ever stop resisting our oppression.

From the treks from the interior to the coasts to the slave pens on the beaches to the slave ships to the plantations, we fought back. Sometimes outnumbered and usually outgunned, we struck fear into the oppressors' heart every step of the way.

If we slept fitfully thinking about freedom, the slavemaster also slept fitfully worried about the torch, the knife or strong black hands around his throat while he lay in bed.

There were the maroons, groups of runaway slaves who lived free in remote areas organizing themselves into communities. They lived by raiding nearby plantations and growing their own food.

They appeared throughout this hemisphere in America, Jamaica, where they were strong enough to force the British to sign and honor a treaty with them, and Central South America.

There was Toussaint L'Overture, the slave who led Haiti to victory against France, England and Spain, all world powers at the time. Haiti was free from 1791 until the U.S. occupied it in the early part of the 30th Century.

Hollywood made a movie about Spartacus's revolt against Rome which was nowhere near as successful as the Haitian revolution, but the story of Toussaint L'Overture is unmade. It's our fault of course. We could make it.

There was Harriet Tubman. She led slaves to freedom, became a nurse and was the first woman in U.S. history to lead Army units into battle when she led a raid in South Carolina during the civil war that captured prisoners and enemy provisions but did not suffer casualties of any significance.

She was denied a war service pension although she was a scout, spy and nurse during the war.

Perhaps the figure who embodied resistance most compellingly was Prophet Nat Turner, In 1831 he and six men led a slave rebellion that killed 55 whites. He spared neither sex no age and though his rebellion was curshed after a couple of days, he eluded capture for months.

After Nat Turner no slaveholders ever slept soundly again. Some whites were so shaken that they would flee into the woods in the middle of the night at the slightest strange sound.

Nat brought home the concept you reap what you sow.

Black History Month should provide inspiration because it features stories of triumph over terrible adversity. It must be a time when we learn that we have fought to preserve our humanity in the most abject conditions.

Black History Month should be a time when we recognize our long heritage of opposition to oppression.

G. James Fleming

Japanese worth imitating

The USA, in the 1980s, is a country tearing its hair out haranguing the Japanese because their works are too productive, because they export superior goods, because they are more effective managers, and because they are better world salesmen.

What has brought our country to this suppliant and unfavorable competitive position? Is it because we Americans have been, historically, too greedy, taking out of the economy but not putting back enough (reaping without replanting)?

Is it that our boasted diversification has built huge profits for some entrepreneurs and speculators but has taken the actual producers out of ownership?

Is it that both organized labor and organized management have taken too big a bite out of the gifts of land, sea and air?

Is it that our educational systems have let us down and have not sent forth the men and women needed to man our once miracle-like and gigantic economic power that led the world?

The answers have all been given, from the White House, to Congress, to the neighborhood bar.

No one has said seriously enough, however, "Let's imitate the best of the Japanese," Nor, have we the nation asked, seriously, enough, "Is there anything in the Japanese system that is worth imitating?"

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While the USA, in general, is tearing its hair out in desperation and rage against the Japanese, black Americans have been doing the same thing, against Japanese and other Asians, who have dared to set up business in black neighborhoods. In some places actual warfare has been declared against these latest explorers and exploiters.

Blacks have gone one step further. Recently, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, in a visit to Tokyo, took time out berating, petitioning, begging Japanese corporate magnates to give more opportunity to black workers in the industries owned or run by these Japanese in the USA.

My grandmother would call that scenario "disgusting," almost "hat in hand." Instead, blacks should be imitating the Japanese. The Jesse Jacksons, in Japan, should be representing black American business, negotiating, selling, trading, offering some things — even some one thing - that black Americans produce for the world market.

Of course, Japanese enterprises in the USA must be held to observe the five employment practices now enforced by law and/or union agreements in most American jurisdictions. It is a question, however, of whether or not blacks are paying so much attention to the negatives of the society that they are not giving "equal time" or needed emphasis to the positive — at least to imitating the Japanese and their fellow Asians.

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Such search, such adapting or adopting would lead to hard work, for which there seems to be no substitute and for which Asians have a dedication and commitment that stand out in little shops as well as in giant corporations (Those competitive black enterprises that have reached the topmost rungs also exude this dedication).

Quest for education (and ever more education for their "talented tenth") is another hallmark of the Japanese, undergirded by zealous parental encouragement of learning by word, deed and discipline.

Imagination is another of the tools that can be imitated. The modern day Japanese leadership has shown the capacity to see, by mind and spirit, that which may not yet exist in reality. Not just day-dreaming but planning, putting two and two together, weighing all the pros and cons, networking, organizing.

Sacrifice is another of the virtues of those who succeed, as individuals or as peoples. They save and conserve and conserve for a future day — a future goal. They go the second mile, or the seventh. They invest in the future generations.

Those are some of the qualities worth initating from the Japanese. Instead of waging warfare against their success, their habits are worth imitating.

AFRO SURVEY

How should Black History Month be celebrated?

Richard White

George Hamilton

Nicole Talley

Theodore Peters

This week the question to the man and woman in the street is, "How should Black History Month be celebrated?"

Richard White, 29, electronic assembler, "Festivities would be nice. Commemorative articles in newspapers concerning great black leaders would help. There should be television and radio programs, school programs, exhibits in museums, etc."

George Hamilton, 46, bus driver, "I would like to see old movies and history of the black people shown. This is to show young people what we as a race had to go through. The young people take for granted — things are owed to them — with all that we had to go through — they should strive for excellence."

Nicole Talley, 21, student, "With everybody all races—teaching other races what we know and have experienced—this is one way. This will promote understanding. Also this should be taught to the young blacks killing each other — so they can see we've all been through the same thing and to get along with other blacks."

Theodore Peters, 71, retired, "To let the young boys know what we've been doing all this time. Things that they don't know anything about. Tell them the ways we have led — that's not being told."

Demetria Shands, 23, nursing assistant, "Well, I would like to see more documentaries on black history. This is to show the contribution we have made to this society. A lot of young people don't know what we have done to build this country. There should be seminars on programs being done to benefit the black community."

Mary Allen, 65, retired, "I think it should be celebrated by remembering all great black men in history. With all due respect to Martin Luther King, we have to go farther back and remember those that came before him. We should instill pride in our young people about all we have overcame through the years."

Dawn Womack, 27, hair stylist, "I would like to see it celebrate 365 days. We as blacks have alot of homework to do. We can't just use one month, that's not enough time."

Bonita Allen, 22, sales clerk, "I think people should read. Libraries should have special programs. This is so young people can learn about what we have accomplished as a people."

Demetria Shands

Mary Allen

Dawn Womack

Bonita Allen

Anthony Armstrong

Jungle Talk, Part II

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The views and opinions expressed in this column are those of the author, an employee on the staff of Mayor Clarence "Du" Burns, and in no way reflect the position of the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers.)

Prologue: First, secure yourself against defeat; then make for ways to defeat the enemy.

When we left you last week, the council of elders had just come together to discuss the abrupt arrival of a strange and new "animal", in the jungle. If you'll recall, this never-seen-before phenomenon was huge; and in addition to that, it had the letters C-A-T-E-R-P-I-L-L-A-R spelled out in bold letters across its back.

Bertie, Regene's favorite lioness, had undertaken a secret reconnaissance mission, and had learned that a man sat upon the back of this puzzling yellow gargantuan.

Rushing back to inform the assembled members of the jungle council, Bertie is stopped by the son of Hector, the Cheetah. He tells her to hold her tongue, and to say nothing to the elders about what she's seen.

The young Cheetah, speaking wisely, convinces Bertie of the wisdom of his point of view. Yet, as valid as his comments are, they still do not answer the questions, "what is this thing," and "what do we do about it? whatever it may be." The story of suspense and revelation resumes here.

The big yellow thing with Caterpillar across its back turns out to be a bulldozer, the man on top of it only the first of many men the jungle animals would soon see. They are in the jungle to begin to clear the land, for a major building project that will require stripping hundreds of acres of jungle habitat.

The animals discover this in the most brutal way - they see, as time goes on, not one but dozens of metal yellow machines. They are ripping and tearing the land, knocking down the trees, poisoning the streams; later, the men set dynamite traps that blow holes so big even the elephants fall into them.

By now every animal is terrified, their very survival at stake. Alone, the Mamba snake is helpless; for, the heavy metal tracks of the death tool break her fangs when she tries to bite them. Broad Wing has, by now, flown off to a high place.

Marmi, the monkey, has quickly gone over to the other side, and is now making jokes for all the men around the night campfire. Hector has run off, ever further, as the destruction around his home becomes increasingly complete. So afraid is he, he has forgotten that his young son is not with him.

The Coalacanth fish, after shaking his head and saying "I told you so," swims off hoping not ever to be seen again by man. Regene, now old and not as bold as in past times, simply turns around and around, in a total state of confusion.

The whole jungle community is fast coming apart; and, more importantly, there is no animal around who can put it back together or even organize a ordered retreat.

All special in their own regard, none of the animals is, however, enough to mount any defense against what's going on - at least, that is, by themselves. As he turns in a frenzy, Regene, almost miraculously, begins to have a vision.

He is a no longer physically strong, but there is nothing weak about his still brilliant mind. He thinks, "we can save ourselves, we must save ourselves." How, but how do we do it)

Then it hits him. Eureka. Alone, we're nothing, together we are the most formidable force in this jungle. We know ourselves and we know our land; and we know who our enemy is. All I need do is clarify, for all the animals, what our goal must be.

By now the confusion has ended. Regene knows exactly what to do and why it must be done. Furthermore, he knows he is the one animal who can lead the others to success, to survival. His initial reactive response now long gone, Regene begins to build a plan that can work to save himself and the other animals.

The plan is based on making everyone see the same danger, the same solutions for solving it, and the same animal as their leader. He will be their leader because he, better than all the rest, knows how to lead. He knows Marmi and the fish might not return to fight, but the others he is certain will join the fray.

He sets his plan. He is determined to tell the animals the truth, but only at that time when the truth will do them some good. In such situations there is no point in giving animals (or people) more information than they need to complete their specific task.

Regene has decided he will fight the men and their bulldozer on the land, on the sea, and in the air. He might not be able to kill them all, but he can certainly make their project so difficult that they will abandon it.

As his first order, he sends out a butterfly to find Hector, and to bring him back. To do so he uses the lever of guilt. Regene knows that he can make Hector feel so bad about leaving his son, that Hector will not be able to live with himself as a brave Cheetah, or die as an honorable one.

Hector returns. Regene orders him to track down and kill Marmi. Marmi is a traitor, and cannot be allowed to live on. Hector finds him where Regene knew he would be, with the enemy - making them laugh, being their lacky. He lures Marmi with the promise of even more fame, this time from another group of men. Hector kills Marmi.

The other animals hear of this, and of Regene's edict - either fight or die. Since they all know they will die anyway, given the destruction the bulldozer is creating; they all determine it's better to die fighting for their homes than to die running away from them.

They decide to be led by one of them who knows what he's doing, than to trust their fate to fate wrapped in something that glitters but is not gold.

They accept that all the animals will not fight with them, but they know they have enough, who will fight, to win. They know their goal is to stay alive. They will accomplish this by acting in their own self interest, which means acting together under one experienced leader.

Now, people aren't animals, not in the sense of a lion or a eagle. Yet, people can learn a great deal from those lowly things, that populate this earth. Animals kill traitors; people can't go around doing that, but we can single out the traitors and make them pay. We have a Regene, we need now to hear his jungle talk.

AFRO welcomes letters

The AFRO welcomes letters from its readers. Letters should be brief and must bear the writer's name and address. All letters will be given consideration for publication.

Max Obnoxious

Political Viewpoint

Noticeably accelerated activities over the weekend of Clarence "Du" Burns, historically taking reins as Baltimore's first black mayor, and Kurt Schmoke, state's attorney, campaigning to win the mayoralty in the fall elections, prompt some early contrasting attentions.

Surface-wise, both would appear to be ambitiously pressing forward in their respective roles, each with little if any public notice of the other.

"Race," says Burns. "I see no race. I'm in, and I'm just going to do the best I can for this city to stay in."

Schmoke has said repeatedly, "I will be campaigning on the issues. . ." council presidency, first of his race here to be so elected. Schmoke of course, won city votes to his present office.

So, both are widely known as honorable public officials. Outlook would seem, them, to project a clean campaign insofar as personalities are concerned.

Should Robert Embry, former school board head, stop an announced pondering and enter the campaign, or another Democratic candidate, rises, the current clean picture may or may not change.

Best laid programmings in major political campaigns are flexible, should unforeseen situations arise.

Of essence at this point, however, are objective scenaries now being portrayed along with their possible debits and credits—again all objective sightings.

Mayor Burns was sworn in office with an impressive array of support from the state's two U.S. senators, former city and state lawmakers and Gov. William Donald Schaefer, all with whom he has worked closely and cooperatively for years.

There were representatives of major black and white business interests, the city's top black political organizations, along with an outpouring of general citizenry.

The two senators, both Baltimoreans who have risen over the years from lower elective offices, would appear to assure Burns of a whopping bulk of the Greek and Polish votes. The former lawmakers are still strong political leaders in the Italian community.

Also, he has launched a campaign to alleviate pressing problems of the city's poor, with an Outreach and Community Services agency. It's headed by the Rev. Wendell Phillips, former General Assembly chairman of the city delegation, who ran second to Kweisi Mfume in the past 7th D. congressional election.

But — there stands two stumbling debits for Burns, one of which could overshadow to a marked diminishing degree much of his virtually built-in support.

Just when citizens here are increasingly aroused over substandard educational requirements, he chose to direct closing of two libraries in black areas, initiating a still unresolved, highly publicized protesting furor.

Secondly, he has created somehow a surrounding aura of lack of progressive administrative capabilities among, principally, some elements of the city's black professional, semi-professional and generally young Turks.

State's Attorney Schmoke, opposing side of this objective scenario, portrays a far less impressive stronghold airing so far publicly, but of considerable strength, nonetheless.

The Young Turks, representing a larger segment of the black community than might be readily ascertained, are firmly in his corner.

He is exhibiting qualities that are again attracting substantial numbers of white supporters in interracial voter blocs.

Debits, however, would appear realistically to balance at this period whatever the Schmoke advantages openly seen.

First and foremost, there is the announced shortage of campaign funds deemed necessary for a winning Schmoke mayoral bid.

A series of affairs are being scheduled to this end, the public is being told, with some as low as $5 and $10 a person.

Politically, campaign affairs carried to such extent are generally looked upon as begging projects, revealing quite forcibly weaknesses of the affected candidate.

At question also objectively — and yet to be addressed by Schmoke — is how he proposes to correct issues he raises if elected, when he has neither the ear of the city's two congressional senators nor that of the governor.

Debits and credits for Mayor Burns and State's Attorney Schmoke could be carried quite further, even at this early campaign stage.

Final judgments, of course, will depend on the ear of the listener. Objectively, though, there persists the same specter that arose when this whole campaign jumped into being.

Quite simply — it's popularity versus the establishments.

FEB 1987