After the overthrow of the Somoza government in Nicaragua, one of our colleagues here in Sacramento, John McFadden, was invited by the new government to work on the campaign to eliminate illiteracy. Our local papers have been quite remiss in reporting any positive events going on in Nicaragua, so we asked John if we could reproduce parts of his and Georgia McFadden's monthly letters for the BFSA Journal. What follows are some excerpts from their letters plus translations by Georgia of three articles.

Letter 1 — September 12, 1979

On July 19 the people of Nicaragua won their independence from one of the cruelest, bloodiest and most greedy dictators in the modern world. His name is Anastasio Somoza. By the end of July I had made contact with a central American friend who knows people in Nicaragua and soon I was on the jet south from Mexico where we had spent the summer. On August 16 we crossed the border into Nicaragua and started to see firsthand some of the history which the people had made there. We were in Esteli on August 19th. A small description of that visit might give you a feel for what is going on in the country.

We are visiting some nuns there and were teaching ex-prostitutes a trade, so they would have an alternative source of income. The nuns had also been given a huge downtown building by the new leadership. They are so trusted that their only mandate for the building is "use it for the people." The nuns were also involved in training the block committees which handle emergency food distribution and other self help projects. We were surprised that nuns were so trusted and accepted by the new leadership. We found out that the reason is simple. The nuns are proven revolutionaries who had been helping the anti-Somoza people throughout the struggle, to the point of risking their lives by hiding and transporting wounded Sandinista soldiers and organizing support for the Sandinistas among the townspeople. We saw this kind of church-person involvement throughout the country. We also saw the rebuilding taking place. Somoza used planes and artillery to destroy civilian areas. You could easily see the enthusiasm and happiness about all the new things going on. You could tell that the people felt they had won the victory.

The next day I was able to get an interview with Fernando Cardinal, a Jesuit priest who was also a very important leader and problem solver during the process which led to the victory over Somoza. Fernando is now in charge of the adult literacy campaign. The task is to teach 650,000 Nicaraguans to read and write during the next 12 months. The literacy "team" interviewed me after that, and invited me to be one of the six people who will be in charge of the entire campaign from development of materials to training of teachers to supervision of the educational process.

I did not ask for a salary, but only for techo y alim­mentos (roof and food) because Nicaragua will be desperately poor for the next 18 months until the new crops have a chance to grow and be sold. I told the education people that I would contact my friends in the U.S. and ask you to send a little something so we could take care of our other expenses.

Letter 2, November 1, 1979

The literacy campaign has changed its name from "campaign" to "crusade," and the place where I work has been reaptized: Complejo Civico Camilo Ortega Saavedra (one of the martyrs of the revolution). Camilo is dead but his brother, Humberto, is head of the Army and another brother, Daniel, is one of the 5 members of the "Reconstruction Committee" (roughly the same powers as the president in the U.S.). Their mother still goes to Mass every day in the very poor parish where she raised her family.

We have been here for just 30 days and we have seen small changes like the ones above, and bigger ones like the nationalization of the gold mines. The government will buy the mines for the full price the companies claimed on their income tax returns during Somoza's time. Naturally, the corruption then was such that they cheated—now they are paying back the Nicaraguan people by having to use their own estimates as the selling price.

Another important change is the return to normalcy of the Army. When I was here in August the recently victorious Army was everywhere and armed to the teeth. Now there is no danger in the streets so the Army is reducing its numbers. The usual Army figure you see is the Traffic Control person, superbly trained (in Panama) and helpful. The contrast to the unhelpful, seeking and harassing police in most Latin countries is striking. An example from close to home: I lent the car to a fellow literacy worker to pick up his friend at the airport. On the way he had an accident which left a pedestrian injured and our car damaged. When the traffic police arrived they were extremely helpful to both the pedestrian and our friend. Before the Revolution my friend would have faced the nightmare of spending time in jail, paying huge bribes, and very likely having the car confiscated (stolen) for the personal use of the police. As it was—no hassle at all!

The literacy crusade is on its way. This weekend is the first training session and on Monday begins the pilot project to test the first 5 units of the text. More details on the crusade next month but for now, suffice to say, there is news in the paper, on TV and the radio every day.

As they say here, "Raise Production; Wipe out the Counterrevolution!"
Letter 3 — December 1, 1980

Dear Companeros:

I forgot to say what a “companero” or a “companera” is in my last letter, so here goes. The dictionary translates it as “companion,” “partner,” or “mater.” None of those translations get at the way it is really used here. It is an equalizing word used in addressing everyone from prince to pauper, from heads of state to shoe shine boys. It implies respect for everyone and, depending on the context, more than a little warmth and affection. Instead of “hey you” or “waitress,” we say here “companero” or “companera.” In these letters it has lots of warmth and affection.

While the revolutionary armed struggle was going on, word started to be used as a form of address among the soldiers, only they shortened it to “compa.” Now you see articles in the paper about the “compas” and you know they are talking about the army. A linguistic footnote to all is that “compa” is grammatically as feminine as it is masculine. A large percent of the armed combat troops on the revolutionary side were women, and that might have had something to do with the creation of a brand new word which is also non-sexist.

I also promised more details on the literacy campaign. The staff has expanded to about 40. I am one of the six people working full time on teacher training, which includes figuring out logistics and supervision as well as the actual training of the literacy workers.

Here is the system. We have a pilot program going which involves a three day training session followed by tryouts of the literacy materials. This week (Dec. 1) we start the first part of the “real thing” which is called a “multiplication process.” The 80 people we personally train this month will teach 280 more how to do the training. The 280 will teach 25 people each during early March and we will finally have our teaching staff of 7,000.

My role in all of this is to be a jack of all trades in the administrative side of the literacy campaign to be launched in Nicaragua this coming March.

Political Fact

Fernando explained to us that thus the literacy campaign is conceived as a political act.

Illiteracy is important to maintain structures which favor exploitation. Illiterate people are objects, not subjects, of their destiny. They lack political consciousness. They also are not conscious that they are part of a society with rights and responsibilities. To be politically unaware is to facilitate the oppression and exploitation on the part of the dominant class.

In countries with repressive regimes there exists a vicious circle: the majority of the population is illiterate, their political consciousness is very little, there is enormous oppression, very little social pressure for change, all the power is in the hands of a few.

Proof of this is that countries in Latin America with repressive regimes, although in better economic con-
ditions than Nicaragua, have not realized a true literacy campaign.

The only country in Latin America which successfully realized a literacy campaign was Cuba in 1961.

National Campaign

From a political viewpoint, the literacy campaign has to recognize the fact that there are two goals: the fact of learning how to read with its social dynamics, while at the same time, attempting the act of “conscientization.”

It is in this sense that Fernando Cardenal explained the two goals of the national campaign emphasizing that everyone in the country has to participate. Some teaching literacy and others learning how to read and write.

The Duty to Teach Reading

Just as every person has human rights, it is only just that those who were privileged to be born with the opportunity of learning to read and write, now have the opportunity of righting this basic social debt which they owe the rest of the Nicaraguans.

Age, sex, occupation, social class, education, region, etc. will be no obstacles for participating in this first push of mobilization designed to engage all Nicaraguans.

Those who know how to read and write must teach. If it is a question of getting off work, other companions must do the work so that they can leave and teach. If it is a woman at home, she can form small groups of other women and workers in the neighborhood and teach them to read, or she can take care of the children in the area so that the neighbor who is the teacher can volunteer for the campaign and be free to leave when it is necessary. If it is a farmer, they can encourage their companions who do not know how to read and write so that they will join the campaign. Thus everyone — from whatever level — can find a way to cooperate.

Steps of the Campaign

With blind faith in the capacity and will of the Nicaraguan people for this second war of liberation, the organizing committee is now embarking on the first level of work.

The enthusiastic technical team is preparing the project and studying the method which they will select to realize the technical aspect of the campaign. Up to this time, in order not to be starting at zero, they have collected all the methods and experiences of attempts at literacy which have been done in the past in Nicaragua.

For this first step two censuses will be done in order to know exactly the level of illiteracy in our country. The first will be done on a Ministry level. The second will be done with the help of local organizations so that not even one person will escape who, perhaps because of embarrassment of now knowing how to read, has not been counted in the previous census.

The second step of the campaign will start the beginning of October. It will consist of preparing those who will teach through a series of conferences which will be given across the country. It is estimated that 130,000 teachers will be needed.

During all this time, through different modes of communication, the proper environment will be prepared in which all of the Nicaraguan population will be enticed to participate in the campaign which will commence in March.

The month of March was chosen for several logical reasons: it is the end of the school year so that the enormous and qualified force of students and teachers can be utilized; the date is also convenient for the agricultural population. March will also permit more time for preparation since the campaign expects to extend as far as the Atlantic Coast and teach reading and writing in Miskito, Zunon, etc.

Once the social problem of illiteracy is eradicated, the organizing committee will be converted into a department of Ministry of Education for Adults. The idea is that no one remains solely at the level of knowing how to read or write, but that all — even the oldest — can go to the University if they so desire.

Structure

The person in charge for the government is the Minister of Education, Carlos Tünnerman. The government will utilize as its instrument the National Commission for Alphabetization (CNA), which is composed of representatives of the INRA, social welfare, Minister of Culture, Popular Sandinista Army, the Church, etc.; as well as other organizations with a popular base in Nicaragua such as ANDEN, AMPRONAC, CDS, ATC., etc.

The CNA will be the actual mover of the campaign because its composition realizes that only with the collaboration of the proletariat can there be a true campaign.

The national structure will also assume another form on the departmental level which will be designated by the name of Departmental Commission for Alphabetization (CDA). Under this will be local commissions of Comarca, de Valle, etc., until every political administrative division of Nicaragua has been reached.

Pilot Project

The Popular Sandinista Army asked that the month of September not go by without having organized a campaign to reach those who had marched in the military campaign and who do not know how to read and write. The organizers actually did not want to get ahead of the commitment to the national campaign, but decided to accept the request of the Army in the spirit of it being a special case which would serve as a pilot project.

Certain Success

The final words by Cardenal in explaining the nature of the campaign were: “We are certain that this will be one of the principle successes of the Revolution. It will be one of the first successes of the Revolution. From a national viewpoint, the people will be introduced to a world of conscious and dynamic politics of the Revolution. And from an international viewpoint we will be able to show the world again the capacity of our people, that despite the sad economic situation, that we continue to be a heroic people and that with our own will, we will be Nicaraguans.”

“We know that it will cost a fortune. We have already made concrete petitions for international help and the response has been very enthusiastic although we have not committed ourselves to anything yet. We have such faith in our own people that we will experience another fight for liberation. Just as when it was said it was impossible to fight against Somoza’s guardsmen, it was the will of the
Nicaraguan people, with the vanguard of the FSLN, that fought the National Guard and won."

"One more time the people of Nicaragua will put down the gauntlet and shout again the old and wise saying: to will is power, and if the people will, the people can."

Letter 4 — January 1, 1980 — Ano de la Alfabetizacion
A Happy New Year to all of our family and friends at home and in foreign lands!

Here in Nicaragua the New Year signals a pledge of austerity rather than the traditional prospero ano nuevo (prosperous new year). More than 40 years of tyranny and poverty under Somoza is difficult to overcome in less than 6 mos. of freedom under the Revolutionary Sandinista Government. As a nun explained to me in Esteli: "We're machines, we don't know how to think, how to plan, how to act. We were cowed and led like cattle for so long under Tachito. We don't know what it's like to be free. We have to learn. We have to be taught. It will take a long time. But we will do it! We fought for our freedom and we will fight to stay free."

The economic help to alleviate the morass caused by the genocidal war perpetrated by Somoza and his national guard — plus Somoza's theft of the National Treasury when he fled — has been answered by the international community in a manner probably not equaled since the reconstruction of Europe after WWII. Tally's of donations appear on a monthly basis in one or the other of the national dailies. However, the totals always come in a good bit short of the projected need. This is taking into consideration that the Revolutionary Government is attempting to build a nation in which all of its citizens will reap the benefits of the NEW NICARAGUA. This means massive outlays in health, housing, public works, energy, education and relief services.

As of December the war relief effort was burdened with the additional needs of the population on the Atlantic Coast. Unseasonable rains caused five major rivers to overflow, flooding huge areas, leaving some 5,000 people homeless and destitute. The Revolutionary Government has promised them food, clothing and medical assistance for five months. This area of Nicaragua under Somoza was totally ignored in so far as services are concerned. During Somoza's time his interest was exploiting the rich mineral deposits, stripping the forests, and violating the international laws for protection of endangered species by harvesting the giant turtles for export. The Revolutionary Government is committed to linking this coast with the major population centers on the Pacific side of the country.

In education there are three distinct fronts in action: maintaining and improving existing schools, building new schools where educational needs have never been met, and, of course, the alphabetization crusade. The latter is what we know best. The pressures of preparing for the beginning of the crusade in March are tremendous.

There are exciting experiments underway to explore the possibilities of exploiting the thermal energy from the 20 volcanos which dot the country. Given the international energy scene you can appreciate the government's commitment to this undertaking despite the obvious immediate needs of medicine, housing, public transport, etc.

Letter 5 — February 1, 1980

Mariana had a birthday last month — she was 33. Her eldest is 18 — her youngest, 2; she has 4 more in between. A year ago her husband abandoned them for the umpteenth time. (His style is several families & Mariana has prevented more by meeting the woman with children in two, marriage picture & certificate in hand, and the simple counsel: don't!) Since his first excursions when the oldest children were babies Mariana has had to work for their needs. For many years she made tortillas and sold them on the street corner. On rare occasions when he showed and left money she would make baho (a popular national dish) and sell it to her neighbors. For the past 3 years she has washed clothes for the Salesian Fathers in a neighboring Barrio.

Mariana was born in Honduras, one of 10 children. Her father came to Nicaragua to work on a finca when Mariana was 8 years old. She grew up on Somoto, came to Managua after she was married. During the past 4 months, Mariana has told me the story of their survival during the war.

Her hatred of Somoza is so great she had no hesitation in hiding Sandinistas in the house. The safest method was to put them in the shower and when the guard came searching they were just a member of the family bathing. They hid guns in holes under the flooring; they had "inflammatory" books and pamphlets hidden in the ceiling. During the day when the older children were in school Mariana would have 6 yr. old Roger stand guard while a Sandinista neighbor taught her how to use a rifle. They were all well schooled on how to pile the furniture on top of the beds and seek shelter under them during attacks.

Nicarao (the barrio where she lives) has the distinction of being one of the few places in Managua where the Guard did not penetrate during the Insurrection. The reason was that the people decided it was worth risking their lives in order to be free. When the Guard tried to enter they were met with barricades, rocks, a few guns and children who walked up to them and threw homemade contact bombs from distances of 5-10 feet. The price to the Guard was too high so they tried to starve and bomb them into submission.

By the end of the siege everyone had fled except 5 families and a few young boys. Mariana and her 6 children were part of that "army" which defended Nicarao. Their lowest point was a period of 6 weeks with no contact from the FSLN. With no light, no water, little food they were ready to abandon their post. They were meeting to discuss the safest routes for leaving when they heard the whir of a plane. It was the FSLN with supplies and provisions! Nicarao was spared the desecration of the Guard — they never entered.

Many people died in Nicarao for that freedom. One of the promises of the Revolution to the people of Nicarao is that by the end of 1980 everyone will have enough to eat, decent medical care, the freedom to be safe to go out at night, not pay bribes, to get a job, and to read and write. The last promise is why we are here and Mariana's story shows why we take the job so seriously.
In trying to synthesize what has been done by the Ministry of Education during the past year — in the balance of what is being done for the enormous National Alphabetization Crusade “Heroes and Martyrs for the Liberation of Nicaragua” — we realize that it is nothing short of the reconstruction of the total educational system.

In an evaluation made by the Ministry during August it was revealed that the losses occasioned by the dictatorship during the war totaled more than 33,000,000 Cordobas, specifically in the destruction of buildings, laboratories, libraries, and mobile schools.

As a result of this evaluation a new educational system was put into effect, with a non-formal course of conscientization at the reinstitution of the school year which commenced on September 17th.

However, in order to put into practice a new educational system it was necessary to have a restructuring of the Ministry, creating new Vice-Ministers of Planning and Political Education, and of School Administration. With these it is hoped that education will truly respond to the interests of the people. There were also created new technical departments such as Development of Human Resources, Learning Programs, Pre-School Education, Special Education, Esthetical Education, etc. There has also been developed a provisional curriculum.

The immediate task was reconstruction of the institutes and schools which were damaged during the war and this occasioned the restoration of 62 schools across the country. This, along with the campaign of "no more children sitting on the floor," was the intention of seeing every child with their own desk so that the Ministry distributed 12,260 desks throughout the different departments of the country.

However, without a doubt, the most important thing realized has been the democratization of teaching at every level. It was also decided to discontinue charging for public schools which reckoned with a loss of some 15,000,000 Cordobas and this in light of an increase in enrollment of some 100,000 students.

Tuition at the National University of Nicaragua was reduced to 68 Cordobas along with a planned increment of 13,000 students the first semester and 24,000 the second. Both of these avenues are oriented to a more democratic system. The UNAN was also strengthened by turning over to the State all of its back bills as well as having transferred to its jurisdiction the National School of Nursing, the National School of Agriculture and Husbandry, and the National Center of Education and Science.

The Ministry of Education was effective in proposing a project for the creation of a national system of training and proficiency in education, half of which was funded and staffed through the auspices of the United Nations. The total cost estimated to complete this project is 61,171,000 Cordobas.

One of the important things the Ministry accomplished was the publication of the following pamphlets: The National Reconstruction Program, the Basic Statutes of the Republic, The Statutes of Human Rights, and various other works, as well as posters of the National flag, the great seal of the country, etc.

Pre-School Education

Pre-school education is one of the pre-eminent goals programmed by the Popular Sandinist Revolution. There actually exist 152 pre-school centers but 95% of them are private and it is for this reason that the training of 230 teachers to work in 30 pre-school pilot projects is planned. The first is the "Camilo Ortega Saavedra Center" which will be inaugurated soon.

The Ministry of Education has also developed a training course for special education... directed mostly to those children and youth who have suffered severe traumas as a result of the barbaric repression of the past.

Where, without a doubt, the force of a revolutionary presence in the educational system has been most felt is in primary education where there is in actual attendance 500,000 children in the country. The educational personnel have been restructured and the Revolutionary Junta has incorporated 27 schools in Managua alone into the public school system as well as naming 560 new professors.

One has to take into account the valiant support given by the Cuban teachers who number 2,000 strong and form the "Augusto Cesar Sandino contingent." They are actually working in the most remote rural areas. Their labors in concrete numbers account for: 620 new schools founded and they are teaching 50,000 Nicaraguan children.

Secondary Education

Besides the nationalization of 9 private institutes there has been funded and amplified seven basic schools in the country. Two of which stand out are located in Monimbo and Rio Blanco. The educational services have also been enlarged, teachers' salaries which were in arrears have been paid, and there has been established a new Center to oversee the supervision of institutes.

One of the most important democratic gestures has been the participation of the teachers, parents and students in determining who would be named directors at the various institutes in the country.

Physical Education

A marathon was held which was called "Torch of Liberty" and ran the length of the country. It was organized as the first National Athletic Championship in Nicaragua Libre. Nicaraguans also participated in the First International Children's Olympics held in Colombia.

This is besides the alphabetization crusade and its preparations which with grassroots participation promises to eliminate the ignorance inherited from the dictatorship. These are the first tasks realized by the Ministry of Education which is always conscious of the philosophy of the Junta for the National Reconstruction Government and that of our political-military vanguard, the National Sandinist Liberation Front.
Editorial, February 3, 1980

ALPHABETIZATION IN THE SANDINIST POPULAR ARMY IS GUARANTEE OF THE REVOLUTION

Alphabetization, according to Paulo Freire, is only possible in a real manner in a country which is undergoing a revolutionary process.

We Nicaraguans are not able to see the Great National Alphabetization Crusade in a formal manner, in its exterior aspects. For us it is not just the simple act of learning and teaching reading and writing. It is infinitely more. For the Sandinist Popular Revolution alphabeticizing is to politicize, to conscientize, to integrate more profoundly than yesterday into the revolutionary process hundreds of thousands of citizens who have lived in darkness, far from the knowledge of science, of the latest technology, or art, philosophy, intellectual development and deprived of the most rudimentary knowledge of the world which surrounds them.

For this reason Paulo Freire says that alphabetization is possible in a real manner only in a country which is undergoing a revolutionary process. Within the Revolution, alphabetization is a radical measure and fundamentally a political act. Because the thousands and thousands of persons who will teach reading and writing will themselves, through the Crusade, discover a new world in which they can assimilate and comprehend the fundamental reasons of our Revolution: that of justice, comradeship, solidarity, respect for human dignity, the defense of the rights and interests of workers, the reason for the obligations which we must assume as revolutionaries and as Nicaraguans. And afterwards these thousands and thousands of Nicaraguans will never again be able to be deceived by exploiters, opportunists, pseudo-revolutionaries, or counter-revolutionaries. For these thousands of Nicaraguans it will be more than just waking up. it will be a new birth and their becoming owners of a new world.

This past February 1st, the Alphabetization Crusade for the Popular Sandinist Army was inaugurated across the country.

Taking into account the strategic importance of the EPS, alphabetization, education, political preparation in its innermost reaches is of utmost urgency. Our army, the principal, strategic bulwark for the defense of our people, should continually fight to be the best Army, with true military cells, and even more, with true political-military cells.

Four hundred combatants of the Popular Sandinist Army have assumed the task of alphabeticizing 3,000 of their comrades. We do not doubt but that the task will be completed with exactitude.

The content of the book which the 400 alphabeticizers will use is nothing short of a veritable political tract. At the same time that the comrades will be learning to read and write they will learn about our heroes, the significance of the FSLN for the Revolution, what the base organizations are, the character of democracy, the popular and anti-imperialist nature of the Popular Sandinist Revolution, the necessity of raising production and crushing the counter-revolution, the Agrarian Reform, what the EPS signifies for our Revolution, what the obligations of a Sandinist soldier are, and the importance of defending the National Alphabetization Crusade.

In this manner, on the 1st of February, the Popular Sandinist Army has taken the lead for our Government and our people in the task of liberating themselves from darkness, backwardness, and ignorance.

Comrades of the EPS: Clenched Fist! Open Book!
We won in the insurrection . . .
We will win in the alphabetization!

I believe at least two lessons can be drawn from the above. First, Dr. McFadden was asked to participate in this social action not because he is an operant conditioner — he is not. Nor is he the only educator available for such work. He was invited to work presumably because of the political relationship he had with the forces for social change in Nicaragua.

Thus, those of us in BFSA who have any desire to engage in meaningful social action such as the eradication of illiteracy might well consider the necessity of a pre-requisite political relationship. For example, when the MPLA assumed state power in Angola and sought someone to establish a school system for the entire country, I am told that they invited Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. (Brazil and Angola are both Portuguese speaking). Despite the fact that Brazil is full of operant conditioners, they chose someone who is not. The reason is straightforward. Freire had distinguished himself by being concerned with the problems of liberation (in his text, The Pedagogy of the Oppressed) while, apparently, operant conditioners had not!

Surely none of us doubt that Freire and McFadden will be successful in their tasks, even though they may well have never read Science and Human Behavior. Most of us do feel, however, that in the long run, a science of behavior—operant conditioning— will be more efficient and more successful. Most of us feel it contains the material from which we can organize a society that need not regress in the post-revolutionary decades when the revolutionary motivation begins to diminish. The question is how do we put ourselves in a position to be called upon to offer our knowledge as were Drs. McFadden and Freire. I would suggest that it means extending our affiliation beyond ABA. We need contact with organizations that will someday have the power and the desire to make the kind of changes with which we are concerned.

This raises the second lesson. Suppose for a moment you, as a card-carrying operant conditioner, lived in Nicaragua under Somoza. You look around and see starvation, torture and illiteracy. What do you do? Do you go to the prisons to help rehabilitate the inmates? Do you get a job in the school system and use PSI? Or do you join services with the Sandinistas? I believe it is clear that until the Somoza dictatorship was physically removed, very little progress for the people of Nicaragua was possible. In the tasks to be done there is an inevitable question of sequence.

What of the U.S.? How much can operant conditioners really do to better the lot of people until macro-contingencies (national and foreign policies) dictated by the oil companies, the
"defense" industries, the banks, and other monopolies are eliminated? Are we making progress in society or losing ground to conclusive control exerted by a small sector of the populace whose contingencies of reinforcement differ markedly from the vast majority of people?

A colleague, Murray Work, has pointed out that as long as the total output of production increases — which it has for decades and is expected to continue — and the rate of inflation is greater than the rate of wage increase, what we have is merely the re-distribution of wealth. This re-distribution has been going on for some time now and it is not difficult to see who is gaining and who is losing.

Can we seriously afford to be concerned with our classes and clients? Or must we, as I believe, raise the level of our political priorities?

TUESDAY, MAY 27, 1980

PLAN TO ATTEND

BFSA

TIONAL