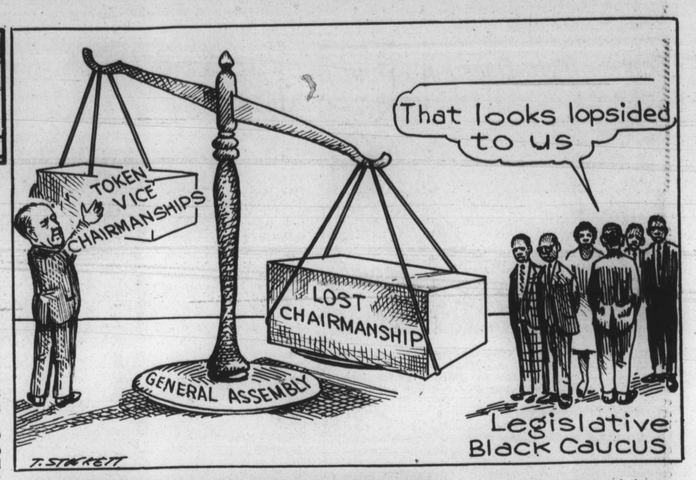
Baltimore Afro-American

Founded August 1892 by John H. Murphy Sr., 1840-1922. Published every Tuesday and Saturday by the AFRO-AMERICAN CO. of Baltimore City, Inc. Carl Murphy (1889-1967). Editor-Publisher (1922-1967).



General Assembly jockeying

It is an old adage that to the victor belongs the spoils. To the victor in a landslide election victory comes the power to call the shots.

Mayor William Donald Schaefer reportedly told the members of the Legislative Black Caucus that if they did not support his primary election effort they would be wasting their time coming to see him after he became governor.

Schaefer is not a very forgiving politician. Del. Larry Young was the first black appointed to chair a standing committee in the House of Delegates, the House Environmental Matters Committee. He has served as a leader on health care issues in the state and nation and was generally acknowledged as a good chairman.

Young is said to be losing his committee chairmanship because he was on the wrong team in the gubernatorial primary. He was a strong Sachs/Mitchell supporter and he made that campaign synonymous with his own.

With the impending loss of his committee chairmanship almost asssured, Larry Young is no longer the central issue. All attempts by the Black Caucus to salvage Young's chairmanship were to no avail.

Caucus members reportedly called on persons thought to have influence with Schaefer but there was no reprieve. Schaefer's selection for Speaker of the House of Delegates, Clayton Mitchell has offered, according to sources, vice chairmanships of two standing committees to Dels. Howard Rawlings and Elijah Cummings.

Sen. Decatur Trotter objected to the Mitchell proposal because he felt it was losing ground in terms of black leadership positions. He and the other members of the caucus which he chairs have suggested that the caucus members might abstain from voting for the new speaker.

In an earlier editorial the AFRO stated that a loss of a chairmanship without equal compensation would be unacceptable. The way that things are going prior to the opening of the General Assembly, the question that must be asked is: **WHAT WILL BLACKS GET OUT OF ALL THE MANEUVERING?**

The incoming governor has received substantial black support during his campaigns and several black political figures are supposed to have his ear. Consequently the new governor and his agents in the General Assembly **should be able to offer more to the black community than a reduction of influence in the Assembly.**

It took about 300 years for a black person to reach the leadership of a standing committee of the General Assembly, and the loss of such a position with compensation is a step back for the black community. **SUCH A STEP BACKWARD IS NOT ACCEPTABLE.**

Liberty Medical center

With the reopening of the Liberty Heights Ave. buildin that once housed Provident Hospital a new chapter in health care in this city has opened. The center results from the purchase of Provident Hospital by Lutheran Hospital and the takeover stirred intense feelings, especially in the black community.

The emotion has cooled but the questions remain. Will the new medical facility offer comprehensive care comparable to what was offered by the two separate facilities?

Questions remain about the highly successful programs that formerly operated at the Liberty Heights facility and more importantly, will the new facility be as responsive to the needs and concerns of the surrounding community as Provident Hospital was?

Members of the community are concerned about how much medical training the new facility will offer? Provident Hospital trained a large number of medical professionals and it is hoped that that tradition will be continued at the new facility.

There are also concerns about the number of black department heads there will be at the new facility.

The community is hopeful that the new facility will be a great asset and optimism is the key word. After the grand opening and a full introduction of Liberty Medical Center to the Baltimore Community, it is hoped that all the questions will be answered affirmatively.

Anthony Armstrong

A view from Japan

Most black Americans have a very limited view of Japan. Where there is a view, it usually is of Japanese cars, electronic equipment, and the aura of the Japanese as efficient, hard working people, with round faces and slanting eyes.

So, when the Japanese Prime Minister, Yasuhiro Nakasone, made certain insensitive comments about a drag on U.S. education, that he attributed to the weak performance of black Americans, his statements produced little or no reaction, in much of the black community.

Black Americans generally don't have much of any view of the Japanese; and when we have an opinion it usually grows out of a combined perception of the multitudes of peoples we know as the "Oriental."

Yet, the Japanese, the Chinese, the Koreans, though all Oriental, are very different people with very different cultural backgrounds, and very different current interest.

The Japanese, in particular, have developed a rapacious appetite for the world's raw materials; this the result of being an island people who must import a great many things.

This strategic fact of Japanese life is made more important by the size of the Japanese population.

With an island almost totally void of natural resources and a population among the largest in the world, the tendency to survive at all cost has earned the Japanese a reputation of being rather one-sided in their international trade practices.

As to Japanese attitudes about black Americans, if Nakasone's comments are indicative of Japanese man-on-the-street feelings then race relations, among Japanese, are also one-sided. In all fairness, most Japanese have never seen a real live black man.

Their attitudes about us usually come from other people, mostly American business people who travel to that far off country. Given this, many Japanese must be getting a very narrow and negative set of views of us as lazy, unproductive, violent people.

Those Japanese who do travel widely and are part of the managerial class may have more accurate information about black Americans, and if this is so then those Japanese probably know that we are not all the ugly things some other Americans might paint us to be.

Yet, if the Japanese have much of any point of view of black Americans it is most likely from the perspective of how we might be useful in advancing their singular goal of survival in a world where their industrial competitors see them as greedy, and as a threat to the continued survival of those competitors.

The Japanese tends to take a far longer view of things than do most Americans. Thus while we are busy watching quarterly sales and profit figures, the Japanese are looking at the impact of their decisions over the period of decades.

They can see, using this long range approach, that the future of their survival hinges on developing good relations with those parts of the world that will be able to provide the raw materials they will need well into the 20th century.

In that respect the Japanese must develop and maintain excellent relations with the world's black people. This because it is in the black world, places like Africa and the Caribbean Basin, that so much of the world's raw materials are found.

This also means developing better relations with the world's most sophisticated black man—the North American black man.

The Japanese see black Americans, and black people throughout the world as a sort of buffer between themselves and whites. Their feeling is that white people can not always be trusted to continue and enhance Japanese national interest, particularly in the areas of brokering raw materials for them.

At present, vast amounts of those raw materials come out of Africa, through white middle men, and then on to the Japanese. The Japanese feel uneasy about such a dependency.

With their huge financial clout they are beginning now and with a vengeance to restructure many of their relationships with white middle men.

The goal is to be able to go directly to the source of things they need, to keep their manufacturing, and thus export based economy, healthy and growing. This means relating directly with blacks in Africa, and by way of cultural connection, American blacks.

Here in America, and especially in big cities with large black populations, the Japanese increasingly see black Americans as a counter to the growing influence of Korean merchants.

They theorize, and correctly so, that to blunt the growth of Korean businesses they must win over the black consumers and black small business people who now provide a huge and regular cash flow to Korean merchants.

To do this the Japanese are willing to do something the Koreans seems most reluctant to do—train black people to run their own small neighborhood stores. In addition, they hope that all or most of these new small merchants will turn to them when buying equipment and other needed items.

And so the view from the Japanese is one of their self interest. This is to be expected. They know that they must be able to deal effectively with blacks all over the world, because it is in those black nations that so much of what they must have is found.

They feel that they need to build a cadre of black business people, in America, in order to have the base on which they can continue their economic growth. These viewpoints don't squarely address the issue of how the Japanese see blacks, in any social contexts.

However, simple pragmatism is driving them to find ways to build bridges to us. Given our buying power and a growing friction with the Oriental merchants that most blacks now deal with, the Japanese think that they can go far toward strengthening their objectives by winning over blacks to their side.

Necessity is the mother of invention, and the Japanese find it necessary to protect their viability against forces they see as potentially harmful. If dealing with and helping blacks also helps the Japanese, then so be it.

As to their views of us as people, that will only change through involvements. For now the view is "we need black Americans." The situation provides interesting possibilities.

Letters

Change of command

"Kudos," are to be extended to both, the University of Maryland, and, Dr. Slaughter, for, expeditiously making the "change" in command!! i.e. **ALL** that I ask, is that **BOTH**, the rank and file, public, and, the various booster groups, and, alumni, albeit black, or, white, give "Flaky" a **REAL** chance, to infuse his program.

I, can readily assure you, without a shadow of a doubt, the Maryland program **WILL** be in the top ten, not only basketball-wise, but, the academics, also!! (to wit; check out Mr. Thompson, and, the Georgetown program — from scratch to the absolute pinnacle of success!! — NCAA champions!!)

As a graduate of Dunbar (56) ("maroon and gold forever"!) I am bursting with pride, that one of our esteem alumni has "gone to the mountain"!!

HENRY BIAS

(Yes — I am related to Lenny!!!)

Cress theory of racism

By Robert A. Gordon, Ph.D.

Last September 6, 1986, I had the opportunity to appear on the TV program "Square Off" with the psychiatrist Francis Cress Welsing, M.D., where we tried, not very successfully, to discuss some recent findings from research by Dr. Linda Gottfredson and me.

That research found black-white differences in certain crime rates as well as of persisting black-white inequalities in occupational success.

Although such differences may be larger in the case of blacks and whites, in principal they are simply but one instance of differences that are common to racial/ethnic comparisons generally.

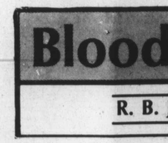
Our findings run counter to prevailing doctrine, but the results ought to be considered on their scientific merits rather than being dismissed as racist propaganda.

If the research results are correct, the problems still facing blacks and whites in our society are relatively unfamiliar and complex ones. Those problems can easily be neglected and, indeed, worsened if solutions are judged merely by their popularity, rather than by their actual promise of future success.

On the occasion of my TV appearance, I learned of Dr. Welsing's "Cress Theory of Racism" and received from her a 15-page pamphlet describing her theory.

Since then, she has outlined the Cress Theory once again in the September 20 issue of this newspaper. Let us use Dr. Welsing's theory as an example of how

Continued on page 5



Bloodnotes

R. B. Jones

Honoring veterans

It was painful for me to watch the Veterans Day ceremonies and vignettes on the television news. I could hardly bear to watch the scenes of vets crying at the Vietnam Memorial and placing revered objects against the black marble wall.

There were salutes and flags and the usual insincere ceremonies arranged by Reagan Administration officials. They laid wreaths and spouted pompous words about the defense of freedom at the same time they were setting the stage for American entry into another brushfire war in a tropical country.

Only this time the battles will be fought much closer to home in the steamy rain forests of Central America.

The thing that made a mockery of this year's Veterans' Day is the fact that President Ronald Reagan laid a wreath at a German Military cemetery last year with the same kind of solemnity, pomp and circumstance that was displayed in honoring this country's war dead.

Are SS troops, the elite fighting men of the Nazi war machine, the same as American war dead in Vietnam? Some of the people of Vietnam may feel that way and some of the people in Central America may feel that way if the present foreign policy course is followed. I doubt that very many Americans feel that way now.

In the confused and expedience oriented world that President Reagan stumbles through, everything is a movie prop or a script cliche' always at the ready.

A dead Nazi and a dead American killed in Korea or Vietnam are merely symbols to be used when they can further the political goals of the President.

The 241 dead Marines in Lebanon are a key example. Reagan stationed them in that war-torn country in 1983 in a state of limbo without a clear mission or sufficient numbers and firepower to adequately protect themselves.

When they were killed in a manner similar to the way that a number of Americans were killed at the U.S. Embassy in Lebanon previously, all he could offer was a speech hailing them as heroes.

Heroes rescue lives and defend principles, yet Reagan never could explain what those 241 Marines were rescuing or defending when they were blown up in their sleep.

What was Reagan honoring in that German cemetery? He called the soldiers buried there victims of Nazism, yet they were the ones who carried the guns and committed the war crimes.

One of the main points made at the Nuremburg War Crimes Trials after World War II is that the soldier's individual conscience outweighs his duty to obey his superiors.

The men buried at Bitburg Cemetery had the option to follow their consciences despite the harsh penalties for obeying the consciences. There were people in the Nazi domain who defied the genocidal dictates of Hitler. There were people of conscience who risked all to prevent crimes against humanity.

What Reagan does not understand is that morality is not as pliable as political party platforms. Morality is not as obscure as the language of presidential press conferences. Great moral issues endure like hard, unrelenting diamonds, covered though they may be with mud or pounded though they may be by falling rocks. They endure.

The first moral fact is that unless a war is one of national liberation from colonialism or neocolonialism, it is almost always a war started by a privileged class of society fought by the unprivileged class for the benefit of the privileged class.

The second moral fact is that war does not solve provlems but rather transforms them into different kinds of problems. Europe fought over colonial spoils for nearly five centuries with shifting alliances. They only stopped when the perceived Soviet threat became too great and they formed NATO to contain Soviet expansion.

The third moral fact is that war distorts individuals and nations bringing out the cruelty, intolerance and hate in people. War is a monstrous activity and it sanctions monstrous behavior.

Continued on page 5

Samuel L. Banks

Separate and unequal

The recent refusal of the United States Supreme Court to consider the appeal of the NAACP in the Norfolk, Virginia school case has fateful, disquieting and malodorous implications for 40 million black Americans.

The Norfolk City public schools, for the time being, will be permitted to end busing in 10 elementary schools and return black students to largely black neighborhood schools.

The Herculean and sacrificial efforts that black Norfolkians have made, over three decades, for high quality desegregated education have been dashed by the irrational self-serving and reaction any action of the Norfolk School Board.

It is patently and incontrovertibly clear that the educational palliatives and tranquilizers offered Norfolk's black community will do little to repair the racial breach and sense of distrust and betrayal which have been exacerbated by the school board's ignominious retreat from equal educational opportunity for all students.

The decision of Dr. Gene Carter, Norfolk's first black school superintendent, to offer multicultural educational programs, field trips and interracial school assemblies will do little to abate the educational and psychological harm inflicted on black children in forcing them to return to their segregated schools and neighborhoods.

In their former desegregated schools, black and white students were able to learn together in a pluralistic setting and acquire invaluable lessons in terms of interracial understanding, respect and cooperation.

Even more tragic, given the orderly and effective movement of desegregation, following a turbulent era in 1959 when Norfolk closed its schools rather than to obey the law of the land, no rational, logical, truthful and believable reason has been given by the Norfolk City School Board.

The board chaired by Thomas Johnson, and Dr. Gene Carter, school superintendent, for returning the black students back to their rigidly segregated and poor neighborhoods.

It is demonstrably clear, in view of past socio-economic deprivations and the poverty of their parents, that they have been programmed for failure.

It, too, must be understood that desegregated schooling cannot be achieved in the Norfolk Public Schools, as is true of most of the 15,000 school districts in our nation, if the vehicle of busing is not utilized.

Housing patterns in Norfolk, as is true in Baltimore and throughout much of our nation, are highly segregated. The reluctance, if not downright hostility of the Reagan administration, to enforce the 1968 Fair Housing Act has resulted in increased racial isolation and ethnic-racial sequestration throughout the United States.

The most painful, perplexing and ominous aspect of the Norfolk school case is that the three black members of the seven member school board supported the white majority in returning the black elementary students to separate and unequal educational opportunity.

This point, to be sure, in spite of the brilliance and adroitness of the legal arguments of Richmond attorney and city councilman Henry March in his legal arguments before federal district and appellate courts, was persuasive and dominant for the white majority.

It is to the immense and inspirational credit of Norfolk's black community that they have resolved to work in solidarity to undo a lamentable and grievous educational wrong inflicted on their children by the school board and white municipal leadership.

Norfolk's black leadership led by the, Norfolk Branch, NAACP, Citizens for Quality Education, the ***Norfolk Journal and Guide***, and civic and religious groups understands full well that the Norfolk school decision to return selected black elementary students, primarily from large public housing projects, is a political decision and not an educational decision.

Black Norfolkians are to be commended in their collective resolve and determination to guarantee their children and posterity equal educational opportunity.

How ironic and searing it is that the 36,000 students, a majority of whom are black, in the Norfolk City Public Schools with its first black Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Gene Carter, three black members on the seven member school board, two Black members on the seven member city council and a black population of 35 percent are experiencing a palpable and flagrant return to segregated and unequal education.

The paramount issue, as I have often indicated in this column, is not that black youngsters are not able to learn in all-black or predominantly black school settings, but that the requisite and essential human and monetary resources will not obtain in the long run.

This historical record in Norfolk and elsewhere in our nation provides copious and graphic evidence of this fact.

Finally, the Norfolk school case, with the assistance of the Reagan Administration, provides tangible evidence of a blatant effort to retrench, retard and, in time, eliminate the movement toward equity and excellence for all in our nation's public schools.

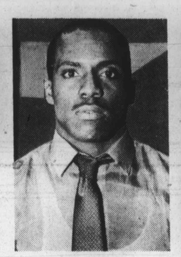
The efforts, too, in Oklahoma City, Okla. is also reflective of retreat on equal educational opportunity.

As black citizens we must be unyielding and unwavering in our collective efforts to resist, by every moral, political and legal means at our disposal, a return to separate and unequal education. We have, indeed, come too far to turn back in our historic quest, past and present, for socio-economic justice and educational equality and opportunity.

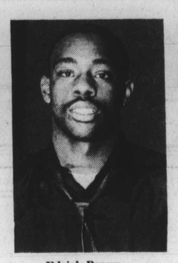
—AFRO SURVEY—

How do you feel about Coach Wade leaving Dunbar?

Stephen Johnson



Mike Barnes



Edrick Brown

Eka Thomas

Asked at Dunbar High School on Tuesday, the question to the man and woman in the street for this week was "What are your feelings about Coach Bob Wade going to the U of MD?"

Stephen Johnson, 17, student, "I was shocked when I first heard, because he always seemed to be pro Dunbar. I think the team will still be able to produce a good team this year because Coach Wade instilled confidence in everyone that they can still win as a team with or without him."

Mike Barnes, 17, student, "It was a great shock to me because I heard the rumors of Mr. Wade leaving. Coach Wade was a major part of the team and a major cause for our success. I wish him the best of luck. I feel that he will really be missed."

Edrick Brown, 17, student, "I was upset. After I thought about it, I was happy for him. I feel that this is something that he always wanted to do. He made me realize that education was more important than sports."

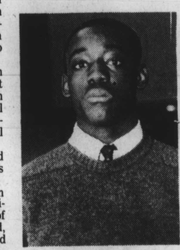
Eka Thomas, 15, student, "I didn't believe it. It was hard for me. I knew him as a friend, coach, and as a teacher. I think that the next head coach will not be able to handle the players like Coach Wade did. Coach Wade encouraged me to work hard and never quit."

Mark Carrington, 17, student, "I was shocked and upset at first. He did what he had to do for his family and himself. He always said that he wanted to coach on the college level and that he could not pass up the chance. I feel that our next head coach will be able to produce a good team if the players get the Junior Varsity Coach to move up to Varsity."

Towanda Barney, 19, student, "I was happy for Coach Wade and sorry for Dunbar. I feel that by him leaving Dunbar the athletes will lose their moral. I think he should have waited until the football season was over. I also feel that by him leaving, the football team didn't play as well. I wonder who is going to be able to fill Coach Wade's shoes."

Marcella James, 17, student, "I was shocked. I feel that he belongs at Dunbar and not at the University of Maryland. He was a good coach and a major part of Dunbar. I was so used to seeing him here that I'm going to miss himand miss seeing his face. I don't think that any coach will be able to fill his shoes."

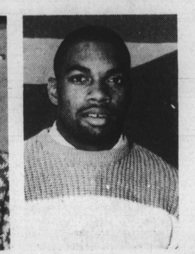
Nathan Ayers, 17, student, "I still didn't believe it until it really happened. I'm a senior so it really didn't have too much of an effect on me because I know what I have to do to get in college. I feel that Coach Wade could have been a big help in the development of the underclassmen. I feel that if the next head coach is Mister Leonard Brown, he will be just as good as Coach Wade."



Mark Carrington

Towanda Barney

Marcella James



Nathan Ayers

Max Johnson

Political Viewpoint

The current stir in the ranks of Black Caucus members in Maryland General Assembly over the known Gov.-elect Donald Schaefer's support of the Eastern Shore's Del. R. Clayton Mitchell as House Speaker poses an early headache for the strongwilled new state executive.

Back of the whole thing really is a clash of the Schaefer versus Caucus policies, in this matter. The new governor long has had the working rule of you-are-either-for-me-or-you're-against-me.

A majority of Caucus members want Del. Larry Young to retain his post as chairman of the House's Environmental Matters Committee—lone black head of a committee in that body. Mitchell poses a removal.

Schaefer, meanwhile, remembers quite vividly that Young strongly opposed his candidacy in favor of the Sachs-Mitchell race in the prifnary campaign. Coupled with this is an "understanding" with the Eastern Shore's Mitchell.

Close sources have it that Mitchell was the Schaefer first choice for his running mate in the lieutenant governor spot—because he wanted a strong conservative balance to his ticket to please voters of both persuasions.

But—Attorney General Sachs pulled an unexpected move at the time, and named retiring Congressman Parren Mitchell as his running mate in the governor race.

Viewing this move against the planned bid for stronger conservatism, the Schaefer camp did an about switch. They decided more appeal to the Jewish voter was vastly more important.

Thus, came the selection of Senate President Melvin Steinberg, a highly respected Baltimore County lawmaker. The Schaefer-Steinberg ticket, of course, won, but the Mitchell matter and buggy Eastern Shore placation remained.

Hence, the Schaefer-backed House Speaker Mitchell nomination—and the resulting Black Caucus disruption. A situation, if not satisfactorily remedied, will greatly diminish that group's effectiveness in Assembly matters.

A bloc black vote can make the difference on key issues in both the House and Senate. Unity, in this light, is a necessity.

Back of all of this, it should be remembered, is that the Schaefer backers were early and quite prominent among influential black leaders in the Baltimore area. They had a "Black Citizens For Schaefer" downtown event before he officially announced his candidacy.

Sen. Clarence Blount (41st), veteran of that upper body since '71 and in the past session the first black to serve as Senate majority leader, has long been a Schaefer supporter. He has some allies in this respect in the Caucus.

Oldest member service-wise in the Assembly and Black Caucus is Sen. Troy Brailey (40th), a staunch labor spokesman successful with much desirable legislation in that category, who won election in '66 to the House, and moved up a session ago to the upper chamber.

Meanwhile, Del. Young has publicily stated he wants very much to retain his committee chairmanship, but is doubtful. Reportedly looming as his successor is Del. Nathaniel Oaks (41st), a member of the Blount team in that district.

Should this occur, the extent to which it will placate disgruntled Young supporters remains to be seen, despite the Caucus' need for unity. Also, should the Oaks selection be made, it will undoubtedly point up again the Schaefer arm and the you-are-either-for-me-or-against-me stance.

—Cress theory

Continued from page 4

one might go about judging an explanation of racial problems on its merits.

According to Dr. Welsing's parallel theory of racism, as presented in her pamphlet, whites are pained to discover that they "lack color" and so feel deeply inferior to the normally colored peoples of the world, who outnumber whites.

Whites' sense of inferiority arouses hostility toward colored peoples, and toward blacks most of all, because blacks have the greatest potential for producing the desired melanin.

Unfortunately for whites, according to Dr. Welsing, they realize that melanin-producing genes are dominant and that whites will consequently experience "genetic annihilation" if they mate with blacks to obtain the desired coloration and thus overcome their abnormality.

White coloration is a form of albinism, Dr. Welsing claims, which appears in individuals when they inherit two rare recessive genes, one from each parent. Hence, not having color, in her view and supposedly also in the view of whites, is an abnormal condition, confirmed by the worldwide minority status of whites and the supposed recessiveness of the genes causing whiteness.

The craving of whites for color and their dread of genetic annihilation leave whites in a state of inner conflict, produced by repressed envy and fear. This supposed conflict accounts for the complex behavior pattern known as "racism," according to Dr. Welsing, because whites need to control and oppress blacks in order to ease their own minds.

The classic demonstration of that psychological need in whites, according to Dr. Welsing, was the Southern pattern of lynching and castrating black males, often for allegedly looking at a white female.

Underemployment of blacks, she contends, is simply "a continuation by other means, of the lynching and castration of the black male," which leads, in turn, to "epidemic levels of prison incarceration of black males."

Is there then any basis for the Cress Theory? As evidence that whites really do desire colored skin, in her pamphlet Dr. Welsing observes that whites sun themselves to achieve tanning and she attributes to white women a longing for babies fathered by black men, based on wishes for a black baby expressed by white females during intercourse with black males.

But Dr. Welsing fails to consider that these forms of behavior may have other explanations. Tanned skin is often equated with healthiness, youth, and the outdoor life. And wishing for a black baby when making love with a black man may be no different than wishing for a blonde baby when making love with a blonde man.

In either case, such a wish need signify nothing more than affection toward that particular man. How representative of blacks and whites as a whole such small numbers of interracial pairs would be is a routine scientific question that Dr. Welsing never seems to consider.

Indeed, in her AFRO-AMERICAN article, Dr. Welsing mentions exactly the opposite wish as further evidence for her theory. There, she maintained that, if asked, whites will say that they prefer that their children not be colored.

(This preference for one's own color, at least, would be consistent with what psychiatrists view as "healthy narcissism.") No matter what whites say, apparently, Dr. Welsing manages to interpret it as support for her theory.

By far the most perplexing part of Dr. Welsing's theory, however, is her assertion that genes for black pigmentation are genetically dominant over genes for white coloration, and that knowledge of that dominance plays a key role in shaping the attitudes of whites toward blacks.

Second, according to these respected sources, Dr. Welsing is completely mistaken. Genes for skin color in either direction are not dominant. Moreover, I can find no evidence that anyone except Dr. Welsing ever thought that they were dominant for blackness.

—Bloodnotes

Continued from page 4

America has created the contras in Central America, a group of men who fight wars for a living. They are mercenaries and not freedom fighters as Reagan frequently and dishonestly describes them.

As the war against Nicaragua drags on, much of the promise of the Sandinista revolution will be lost because the country will be on a permanent war footing. A war culture will feature military discipline and a decline in rights and freedoms enjoyed by the people. A protracted war will create for the contras, zones in their country where the contras will rule by force of arms.

A defeated contra army inside the borders of Honduras and Costa Rica would create havoc in those countries, plunging them into war. The contras would be men who only knew war as a livelihood and war makes men into monsters without restraint.

America's proxy war against the Sandinistas will eventually harm this country and devastate her client states, Honduras and Costa Rica. Another defeat for America would undermine the morale of the country. After the stalemate in Korea and the defeat in Vietnam, a loss in Central America would be crushing.

One of the sadder aspects of this year's Veterans' Day ceremonies was the number of Vietnam veterans who talked about their not being allowed to win the war by the politicians.

That is a comforting myth similar to the one circulated in Germany after World War I that said that the German Army was never defeated, but the politicians capitulated.

America lost the Vietnam War. Myths of invincible military machines only lead to other senseless wars. If America's aim in the war was to prevent the reunification of Vietnam it was defeated. If the aim was to halt the spread of communism, America was defeated. Whatever the intent of America's entry into that war, it was defeated.

When the people of this country realize that more than its 58,000 troops died in that conflict, it will be on the road to understanding war. Millions of Vietnamese were killed and tons upon tons of toxic chemicals were dumped into Vietnam's environment.

Vietnamese people will be dying from the effects of that war for years to come. Regardless of the anguish that U.S. veterans feel at that monument in Washington, D.C., the anguish of the Vietnamese people is greater. Their land was poisoned and their earth torn up by a greater bombing attack than the entire Second World War contained. Millions of their relatives and friends were killed.

America must learn from that war the simple fact that there are people around the world willing to pay any price to defeat imperialism. America must also learn that in the long t[illegible] it can no longer win [illegible]m.

I look [illegible] when veterans c[illegible] and drug [illegible] monuments [illegible] took it.

NOV 1986