



FOSATU photos

May 14, East Rand: 30,000-strong funeral procession protests police murder of black trade-union leader Andries Raditsela. Police attack May Day demonstration in Johannesburg (right).

Black Masses Defiant, Class Battle in the Mines

South Africa State of Siege

JULY 22—On July 20, apartheid führer president P.W. Botha declared a “state of emergency” in 36 black townships and cities in South Africa. The sweeping order includes the heavily industrial Transvaal around Johannesburg, and the Eastern Cape region around the auto center of Port Elizabeth. Henceforth, any member of the state security, police or military has virtually unlimited powers to arrest *anyone* without cause and hold them incommunicado without trial for an indefinite time. Security forces can search and seize property without warrants, seal off any of the areas, impose curfews and censor all news from the specified locations. Violators can be punished by imprisonment for ten years.

This was the first emergency decree by the South African regime since March 1960—a similar order in the aftermath of the Sharpeville massacre of 69 un-

armed black demonstrators led to the arrest of 11,503 people, and the voice of anti-apartheid protest was silenced for a decade. Since the order was imposed at midnight Saturday, security forces have arrested 350 of the most visible opponents of the regime, now being held without charge, and four black people were killed when police opened fire on a crowd of 400 demonstrators in the black township of Tumahole outside Parys, 75 miles south of Johannesburg.

Priests, lawyers, teachers and political activists were said to be among those detained as the police moved in to seize people identified from lists. According to civil rights monitoring groups, police took hostages—one a four-year-old boy—to exchange for activists they could not immediately find. The purpose of the crackdown, as the 23 July *New York Times* reported, “seems to be to arrest everyone deemed capable of

organizing or channeling dissatisfaction with apartheid into protests that may involve attacks on reputed collaborators, as well as labor strikes and boycotts of white-owned shops.”

Police breaking into homes, death squad executions of black school teachers, dumping bodies in the sand dunes along the Indian Ocean, hippo armoured troop carriers rolling through the black townships spreading terror—this is the “free world regime” Ronald Reagan says will be “reformed” through his “constructive engagement.” In Washington, the State Department rushed to endorse Botha’s emergency decree: “The situation has deteriorated to the point that the South African Government felt compelled to institute new measures” (*New York Times*, 21 July). Reagan, while shedding the occasional crocodile tear, supports his South African junior partner’s move to crush the black revolt, scarcely containing his appetite to do it here, e.g., the Philly inferno.

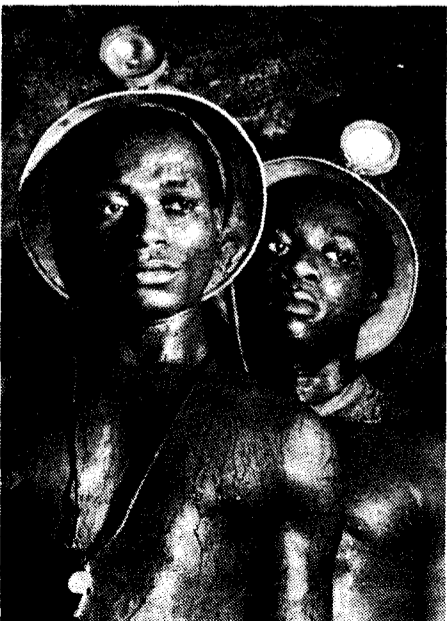
South Africa is driving toward civil war. The current wave of black resistance to apartheid slavery continues to

mount. So does the determination of the white supremacist regime, armed to the teeth, to drown that resistance in blood. Ever since last August when defiant black struggle and the massive boycott of the Indian and “coloured” (mixed race) communities doomed Botha’s “reform” constitution, Pretoria’s brutal repression has claimed more than 500 lives. Now it is gearing up for the massacre of tens of thousands. In the face of this dire threat, now more than ever there must be the strongest international labor-centered protest action against Botha’s state of siege! Longshoremen: don’t handle South African cargo!

Repression and Resistance In the Townships

The East Cape city of Cradock was the site of a massive funeral attended by tens of thousands Saturday, July 20, for Matthew Goniwe and three other leaders of the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front (UDF) whose burned and mutilated bodies were found along

continued on page 2



Margaret Bourke-White



Mark Peters

South African black miners: powerhouse of workers revolution.

**Spartacist League Forum:
Solidarity with MOVE Martyrs**

**Philly Inferno:
Racist Murder!**

SEE PAGE 4

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

the Indian Ocean coastline—victims of the apartheid authorities or their ultrarightist henchmen. In courageous defiance of the apartheid police state, as the coffins were brought to the stadium where the funeral service was held, and later as the coffins were lowered into the earth, mourners unfurled the banner of the nationalist African National Congress, and the banner of the Stalinist South African Communist Party. Both organizations are banned in South Africa and their advocates if captured are frequently hanged.

Under the multitude of "laws" and "emergency regulations" of apartheid repression, funeral processions are one of the few gatherings which blacks may attend and they are regularly and savagely attacked by the police. On July 10, South African police went on a murderous rampage in the black township of Duduza, east of Johannesburg, in which 13 blacks were killed. The anger of Duduza was so intense that Bishop Tutu was rushed in from Johannesburg to lead the funeral procession of 5,000. This preacher of "nonviolence" to those facing, unarmed, apartheid's armoured cars and machine guns earned his Nobel Prize that day as he "saved" a black police informant from the just wrath of the mourners who sought to use this fink's overturned and burning car as a funeral pyre to transport him back to his maker.

One week later Soweto, the teeming black township of two million residents ten miles southeast of Johannesburg, exploded in the largest anti-apartheid protest since its name became synonymous with the black youth revolt against apartheid which swept across South Africa in 1976. As agents of the apartheid regime, black township officials are frequent objects of black anger, and on July 13, more than a hundred black youth were arrested and charged with taking part in an "illegal" demonstration outside the home of Soweto's mayor Edward Kunene. Four days later a hearing for those arrested coincided with a school boycott in 26 cities and towns. In Soweto on July 17, thousands of students boycotted classes, burned

Kunene's home to the ground, commandeered a dozen municipal buses and held a huge rally at the police compound where the hearing was scheduled. In order to disperse this crowd of militant youth, police firing rubber bullets and birdshot and brandishing *sjamboks* (whips) were supplemented with charges by mounted troops.

Meanwhile, in black townships near Port Elizabeth, the Indian Ocean port city and center of South Africa's auto industry, the auto unions have been leading a boycott of white-owned shops, demanding a price freeze on staples, withdrawal of the military from black townships and elimination of puppet local black administrations. After four days, white civil officials called the impact of the boycott, set to last for two months, "desperately urgent" while black organizers said the action had resulted in total suspension of black trade in shops owned or operated by whites.

At the same time thousands of auto workers at GM, Ford and Volkswagen have walked off the job. The exploding black trade-union movement is the critical new factor in the equation. A *New York Times* article (21 July) comparing the present conjuncture with that of the Soweto 1976 revolt noted, "But some commentators contend the scope of present unrest exceeds that of 1976 because it has swept up community groups and black trade unions as well as young blacks."

Superexploitation in the Mines

As the bloody armed fist of apartheid repression strikes out at the black masses in the townships, a mighty giant—the country's strategic black miners—battles apartheid slavery in the mines. The National Union of Mine-workers (NUM), with about 150,000 members among the 550,000 black miners of coal, gold and other metals, is preparing for an industrywide strike. Upon the grinding misery and superexploitation of the miners have risen the giant conglomerates like Anglo American and, indeed, the whole South African industrial economy. Today, gold still accounts for half the foreign exchange crucial to importing the equipment on which the manufacturing sector depends. The South African

Tens of thousands turned funeral in Cradock for four murdered UDF leaders into militant anti-apartheid protest.



Peters/NY Times

bourgeoisie talks about "reform" as the economy stagnates due to the weak internal market, low productivity and the shortage of skilled labor created by the migrant labor system. But that system remains the integral and irrefutable foundation of South African capitalism, and neither the pious wishes of former Anglo American magnate Harry Oppenheimer nor a U.S. Congressional ban on Krugerrands is going to change that.

For more than 20 years the U.S. has claimed to support a UN ban on military hardware to the apartheid regime. But because South Africa is a strategic anti-Soviet ally of the U.S., Washington has seen to it that its racist junior partner has not only become the predominant military power on the continent but has been able to develop its own arms industry so that it is now the sixth largest exporter of military goods in the world. Likewise, Congressional "bans" on loans and investment will change nothing, for capitalist investment, whether from Wall Street, London or Johannesburg, will seek the highest rate of return—which translates directly into sweating superexploited black labor in South Africa.

For Proletarian Internationalism!

The toiling masses of the world see in apartheid an intensified reflection of their own oppression and exploitation, and the red-hot hellholes of South Africa's mines are the compression chambers of brutal apartheid slavery. As long as the struggle in South Africa follows white-vs.-black national lines, the whites will win hands down. But the class principle can prevail. As South African society seethes on the brink of insurgency against apartheid slavery, the combative black union movement has been propelled toward openly political struggle. The strategic power of the black gold miners is key. South

Africa's black proletarians, six million strong, must be the gravediggers of apartheid.

In South Africa the most elementary democratic and national demands—for the right to vote, for the right to live with one's family, for the right to strike, for the right to a decent education for one's children—mandate a fundamental social overturn of apartheid capitalism. By its very compression of social oppression, South Africa is a paradigm of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution: "the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation" (*The Permanent Revolution* [1930]).

South Africa's black miners gave a concrete demonstration of proletarian internationalism last year when, despite their desperate poverty, they sent a generous contribution to the British coal miners engaged in a historic class battle.

The combativity of the oppressed black masses battling savage apartheid repression, particularly the powerful black proletariat, serves as an inspiration to the oppressed throughout the world and, not least importantly, to the strategic black proletariat right here in racist America. It compels *class solidarity*. To give conscious direction and leadership to the common class bond in the struggle against apartheid repression mandates the forging of proletarian internationalist parties in the U.S., in South Africa and internationally, by combating every variant of class-collaborationist popular frontism and nationalism (which in the U.S. and West European labor movements takes the pernicious form of protectionism). For workers revolution—smash apartheid! Forward to the rebirth of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution! ■

The Communist Newspaper

The Third World Congress of the Communist International in 1921 adopted a document on the organization of the revolutionary party, generalizing from the experience of the Bolsheviks, which underlined the importance of the communist press as a party organizer:

The communist newspaper must above all look after the interests of the oppressed struggling workers. It should be our best



TROTSKY

propagandist and agitator, the leading propagandist of the proletarian revolution.

Our paper has the task of collecting the valuable lessons from the work of party members as a whole and of pointing them out to the party comrades as a guide for the continued review and improvement of communist methods of work.... Thus the party press, as every individual newspaper, will be the best organizer of our revolutionary work.

—"Guidelines on the Organizational Structure of Communist Parties, on the Methods and Content of Their Work," adopted at the 24th Session of the Third World Congress (July 1921)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Victory to W-P Steel Strike!

In the first major steel strike in 25 years, 8,200 workers struck Wheeling-Pittsburgh on July 21. Last week W-P arrogantly tore up its contract with the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and cut the hourly wage/benefit package by about *one-third*. Utilizing the legal bludgeon cooked up by Reagan and Congress, W-P followed Continental Airlines' example by filing for bankruptcy in order to dump its contract, and a federal court rubber-stamped the procedure.

But the workers are fed up with making one concession after another. At union meetings held the evening before the strike began, angry steel workers shredded the company's slave "contract" terms. And at a regional union briefing meeting in Steubenville, Ohio 1,000 *WV* supplements, headlined "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win," were snapped up by the strikers.

The parasitic American steel

bosses have milked the industry dry. At Wheeling-Pittsburgh there are virtually no workers left under the age of 40, and the official unemployment rate in Pennsylvania's Mon Valley is 20 percent. The pro-capitalist union leadership has saddled steel workers with decades of no-strike agreements, while industry-wide union standards and bargaining have been dumped and Japanese workers scapegoated for the job-cutting and wage-slashing of the bosses. Even as angry workers walked out, union officials indicated they would accept pay/benefit cuts of \$1.50/hour (*Wall Street Journal*, 21 July).

No givebacks! For mass picket lines to shut the company down tight! Teamsters, railroad workers: hot-cargo W-P steel! And if the company attempts to carry out its threat to start liquidating its assets, workers must seize the plants. Screw the bosses and banks! Victory to the steel workers!

A Tale of Two Strikes

OAKLAND—For the American labor movement, the Reagan years have meant a long string of defeats. A vicious and powerful government is acting on behalf of a ruling class bound and determined to do away with every vestige of the period of New Deal-style class collaboration that has characterized the decades since World War II. Reagan set the stage with the grotesque smashing of PATCO, the air traffic controllers union. If there was any doubt about how far the government is willing to go, the bombing and incineration of MOVE members and their babies in Philadelphia was intended to dispel such doubts.

The bosses' anti-union rampage has been set up and facilitated by a tamed and treacherous labor bureaucracy loyal to the bosses' Democratic Party. They don't know *how* to win strikes. Add to this an uncertain economy and you have an American working class that feels shafted. With strikes at a 40-year low it is not often these days that you see some real class struggle. Yet there is plenty of restlessness at the base, and given half a chance of winning something, workers have on a number of occasions shown no lack of militancy, combativity and determination to strike back at the bosses.

Two recent strikes on the West Coast—both by members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)—exemplify these current contradictions in the American labor movement. In one case, bold action by Columbia River longshoremen and other ILWU waterfront workers resulted in a swift victory over attempted union-busting. In the other, ILWU warehousemen in San Leandro, California were stabbed in the back by the union misleaders and were badly defeated. Same union, different strategies: class struggle vs. class collaboration.

In Vancouver, Washington, up the Columbia River on the Washington/Oregon border, ILWU longshoremen uncovered an attempt by a local barge company to load lumber and construction materials with non-ILWU labor on a Hawaii-bound barge. There have been repeated attempts up and down the Pacific Coast to circumvent ILWU workers and break union standards, and ILWU members in the Columbia River area had clearly had a bellyful of this attempted union-busting. Attempts by ILWU International president Jimmy Herman to negotiate a settlement were rebuffed by the barge company. Herman, a prominent member of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), is an utterly tame and housebroken "progressive" union bureaucrat who is long on talk and short on action.

He even opposed the ten-day labor boycott of South African cargo by San Francisco longshoremen last November, agreeing with the employers that it was an "illegal work stoppage." However, this time the ILWU locals were in no mood for Herman's usual "reasonable compromises" and had a different kind of negotiating in mind.

On Friday morning June 7, a mass picket of some 400 ILWU longshoremen, clerks and walking bosses from six locals up and down the Columbia River

Within minutes, the yard looked like it had been hit by a tornado, with 2x4s, 2x8s and 2x12s scattered all over. By the time police reinforcements had arrived, 15 minutes later, the pickets were marching out, six abreast. "Discipline was tight. 'It was a well organized maneuver,' a Vancouver police officer told the *Portland Oregonian*. 'They had marshalls identified by arm bands. They just moved in, did their thing, and moved out.'"

—*The Dispatcher*, 7 June

Faced with this massive display of union power, the barge company knuck-



The Dispatcher



People's World

1,000 ILWU pickets "trespass" on Columbia Industrial Park June 10 and set scab barge operator straight (above). "Informational picket lines" like this one in front of Kaiser's Oakland headquarters don't win strikes (left).

from Portland to Astoria assembled at the gates of the Columbia Industrial Park dock a mile from Vancouver and marched inside. Local 40 Secretary Larry Clark said, "we were tired of the encroachments on our work. We were tired of fighting by the Marquis of Queensberry rules with one arm tied behind our back, and the other strapped up to the elbow" (*The Dispatcher*, 7 June). After police arrived, the workers withdrew to the gate where they maintained a solid picket line in the driving rain. Reduced picketing continued over the weekend, with no movement by the employer.

Then on Monday morning, June 10 the workers struck their decisive blow. A powerful force of some 1,000 members of all ILWU Columbia River locals including the affiliated Inlandboatmen's Union (IBU) massed again in front of the Columbia River Park where huge stacks of lumber were waiting to be loaded on the barge. This time some of the pickets were equipped with bolt cutters. They formed a disciplined contingent and with Herman at the front marched en masse into the work area, ignoring one lone cop. Even Herman, who is more comfortable on his ass behind a desk, knew a parade when he saw one and doubtless figured he better get in front of this one before it ran over him. Then the workers gave the would-be union-busters a little taste of class struggle:

"The pickets swarmed over the stacks of lumber, cutting the heavy metal straps that held together the 450 bundles which had been formed into 110 hoists.

the-board defeat. After a two-week strike the treacherous union misleaders threw in the towel on June 28, forcing through a settlement that gave Kaiser nearly everything it had originally demanded: a \$1.29 per hour wage *cut*, total elimination of paid sick leave, and the loss of two holidays—cuts that add up to a 14.3 percent pay cut frozen into a *five-year* contract. On top of this the company got a two-tier wage structure with new hires getting \$2.00 per hour less for up to 270 days.

The Local 6 union officers had extended the Kaiser contract until after the ILWU (and the Teamsters) had arrived at a rotten settlement of the Northern California Master Warehouse Contract without a strike. The 154 ILWU workers at Kaiser were left isolated to take on the giant corporation alone. While urging the desperate workers to strike against Kaiser's "final offer" the Local 6 officers assured them in a leaflet, "We know how to bargain realistically. Our record of avoiding strikes speaks for itself." Indeed it does.

Kaiser rejected the union's offer of a three-year wage freeze and the strike was on. Having allowed the company to ship out their important stock during the two-week contract extension, the union officers did not even try to seal off the San Leandro plant with pickets. Instead the main body of pickets were sent to Kaiser's corporate headquarters in downtown Oakland, where their presence was supposed to "embarrass" Kaiser executives into being reasonable to their employees. Then they went to meetings of the Oakland City Council attempting in vain to "confront" Kaiser vice president and city council member Dick Spees (whom the ILWU had supported for election this year as a liberal Democrat "friend of labor").

After two weeks of this kind of worthless screwing around, the officers suddenly recommended acceptance of a complete and utter sellout as "the best settlement under the circumstances." The company's package passed by a narrow 58-55 vote after a stormy two-hour meeting (a number of workers had not been informed of the meeting). Thus the Kaiser workers were defeated not by the police and scabs but *from within* by a treacherous union bureaucracy that used every dirty trick in its arsenal of class collaboration to prevent militant class struggle.

The lesson of these two strikes—one a solid union victory, the other a miserable defeat—is that real victories mean a break from the losing strategy of playing by the bosses' rules. The defeatist misleaders who counsel reliance on the capitalist state and its anti-labor laws and injunctions must be dumped. To fight the racist, anti-union offensive requires a leadership armed with a fighting program of class struggle. Break from the Democrats and Republicans, the partner parties of American capitalism! To hell with the Labor Board, the company courts and their fixed, "Marquis of Queensberry" rules! We need a workers party! For powerful, independent working-class struggle to KO the bosses! ■

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SL Forum: Solidarity with MOVE Martyrs

Philly Inferno: Racist Murder!

May 13, the day eleven black people were bombed and cremated by the government in Philadelphia. Eleven men, women and children, part of the MOVE group, a back-to-nature commune whose members all took the name Africa, were slaughtered. These were human beings—now their bodies are so destroyed that the forensic ghouls can't be sure the hunters actually got all of their quarry, because they can't tell even how many dead bodies there are.

In unleashing on MOVE the kind of treatment normally associated with wars far from home, e.g. napalming the peasants of Indochina, the government—Reagan, Meese, the FBI, the cops—was sending a message to Americans that massive overkill awaits you if you make trouble. The helicopter bombing of the MOVE babies will be a symbol of the Reagan years. The MOVE group—vulnerable in a racist society, targeted for continuing to cry out against the cops' and courts' decimation of their family in 1978—was blown away as a deliberate demonstration of the murderous prerogatives of the capitalist state. Like the people, from ghetto kids to grandmothers, who have been wantonly murdered by New York cops in recent months, the MOVE people were innocent victims of a state looking for excuses to show its firepower to cow the oppressed.

This atrocity must never be forgotten! Ramona Africa and all the MOVE prisoners must be set free! Solidarity with the martyrs is an elementary reflex of human dignity, not to mention socialist morality. Yet there are those who claim to be socialists who nonetheless seek a middle ground between the martyrs and their executioners, who would solidarize with the accidental victims whose houses were burned but not with the people the state deliberately set out to murder. For our part we pledge that the future American workers government will avenge these dead. And we are embittered that there is so little a small Marxist party can do now beyond joining with the MOVE survivors in their righteous anger.

We publish below an edited transcript of a Spartacist public forum held in New York on July 11. Spartacist comrades, transit workers, community college

MOVE supporters LaVerne Sims (at mike) and Louise James, SL's Ed Kartsen at July 11 forum.



students came there to bear witness to our outrage. We came to memorialize MOVE, people we never knew until they were martyred by the state, in our own way, by describing as precisely as we could the reasons behind the holocaust, a blood sacrifice by a depraved system driving toward war. We linked the massacre of MOVE to the 1979 Greensboro massacre in North Carolina, to Bitburg, to the cop reign of terror on the streets of New York.

It is our obligation to etch this racist atrocity into the memory of everyone we can reach, and on behalf of the working class to hold out the promise of proletarian justice. A thousand people should have been there instead of a hundred. Through *WV* we can bring to a few thousands a reflection of this meeting. But there is no way to capture in print the intense political and emotional experience when MOVE supporter LaVerne Sims (see page 6) spoke of MOVE's struggle against injustice, the jailing of their brothers and sisters in 1978, the children these people left behind and the slaughter of those children on Osage Avenue on May 13.

An opponent from a small group, the League for the Revolutionary Party

(LRP), rose in the discussion period to denounce the meeting as "a sham" apparently because it was not a debate of the Marxist views of the SL vs. the philosophy of MOVE. Indeed it was not. It was, like our articles, like the so far non-existent united-front demonstrations in solidarity with MOVE that we want to be involved in, a protest against racist government massacre. The LRPer then refused to yield the floor after his three minutes and had to be dissuaded from further abuse; he again became unruly prior to the summaries. When the meeting was over he left, then incredibly came back in demanding that we uphold his purported honor as a socialist because LaVerne Sims had dared to question why he'd come anyway. He wanted us to have to escort him out, which we did.

What the LRP and its representative display is not simply insensitivity. They are a tiny tail on a reformist left donkey which aims to minimize the Philadelphia massacre and particularly the complicity of Wilson Goode, black Democrat. The reformists see their only hope for influence as tailing Jesse Jackson (who by the way responded to the Philly inferno by asking that black construction firms get contracts for the new housing). So they have pandered to the pervasive and cruel illusion that the advancement of black politicians leads toward freedom for the masses. In Philadelphia after the holocaust, this policy took the form of a token "protest" which became simply an alibi for Goode and an affront to MOVE when a planning meeting debated whether the survivors should be permitted to speak at a demonstration, and if so if they could be told what they should and shouldn't say.

When we first got word of such a demo being planned we contacted MOVE. When MOVE decided not to come out and be degraded we canceled our participation. The organizers, having dispensed with the problem of a MOVE presence, then had the effrontery to appear with eleven mock coffins symbolizing the dead.

We thank the sisters from the MOVE group who did us the honor of coming

up to speak at our meeting on behalf of their slain comrades. We salute their courage and acknowledge our solemn obligation as the revolutionary vanguard to remember the MOVE martyrs and fight to avenge them.

This transcript has been edited for publication in *WV*. All speakers' remarks have been condensed and several contributions to the floor discussion by SL supporters have been eliminated.

Chairman: We have three speakers: Brother Ed Kartsen, a comrade from the SL Central Committee, who was chairman of the November 27, 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization in Washington, D.C. that stopped the Klan. He is also Spartacist candidate in the upcoming New York City elections for Manhattan borough president. The second speaker will be LaVerne Sims, on my right, who is a former member of the MOVE organization from Philadelphia. The third and final speaker prior to discussion will be Brother Gene Herson, who is chairman of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the National Maritime Union, and participated in the efforts of the Spartacist League to mobilize in defense of and to march with MOVE in the canceled May 30 mobilization.

Ed Kartsen

Ed Kartsen: On May 13 an atrocity occurred in Philadelphia. What occurred was in no uncertain terms a legal lynching. It was a bloody racist massacre, and it is now being treated in a very grotesque manner by the ruling class press. I don't know how many people saw the article in the *New York Times* about "forensic science." Grotesque, disgusting, ghoulishly savage: none of these adjectives can possibly describe this article. What the government is doing is going through their hunting bag. They want to find out how many people they actually got in this very well planned out, conscious, willful murder. All the ruling class press in the form of the *New York Times* can talk about is how groovy it is to do examinations and studies of the remains.



Miller/Woodfin Camp

After Philadelphia holocaust, black neighborhood resembles Dresden after WWII firestorm.

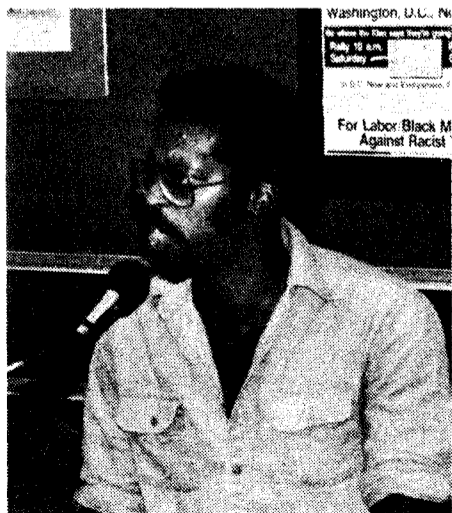
In all, eleven people, including four black children, were deliberately murdered. This was a legal lynching that indicates planning at the top. The bloody traces of Sambor, the police commissioner, and Goode, the mayor, lead directly to Reagan and Meese. The *New York Times* on the 19th of May reported that "the Philadelphia commissioner, Mr. Sambor, said that he and aides met on Saturday, May 11 with local agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to review the strategy and tactics to be used, Mr. Sambor said, 'The FBI found the plan sound.'" Well, the FBI of course ultimately reports to the attorney general, Edwin Meese. Black Democratic Philadelphia mayor Wilson Goode was basically Edwin Meese's Uncle Tom, a black lackey. Mayor Goode sold his black skin to Reagan's racist, labor-hating war when he sold himself to the Democratic Party. Edwin Meese, in speaking before the California "Peace Officers" Association in San Francisco on May 16, praised Wilson Goode as "an example to emulate."

Racist Inferno Was Planned at the Top

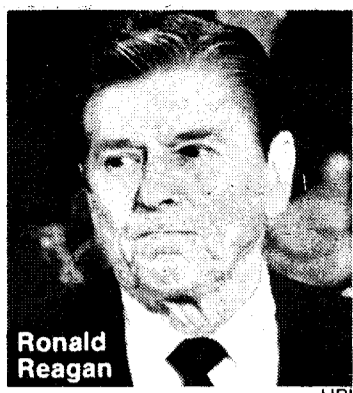
Reagan the Hitler-lover could have been the top cop in all of this. Reagan had just returned from saluting dead members of Hitler's SS death squad in Bitburg, Germany. This was just prior to putting into action the firebombing of Philly. Reagan and Meese have created a terror scare in order to institute what is actually "state-supported terrorism." This includes police-state measures like the FBI's Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines labeling all opponents of the government as outlaws to be shot in the dead of night. National Security Directive 138 authorizes the U.S. military and intelligence forces to carry out unprovoked strikes against what they call "terror targets."

MOVE attacked no one. Left alone, they could have lived their lives. They even offered to surrender days before the bombing if Mayor Goode would guarantee no arrests. Mayor Goode's lame excuse for these murders was little different from Koch's and the black police commissioner in this city when they blew away a black elderly grandmother, Eleanor Bumpurs, in the Bronx. If you don't pay your rent, they blow away your house and along with it the rest of the neighborhood.

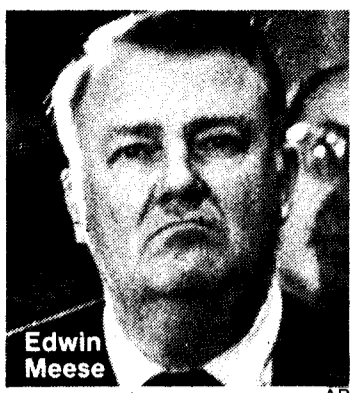
The *Philadelphia Inquirer* of May 17 published a detailed report of how this atrocity was planned. For at least 18 months before this conflagration, the chief of the Philadelphia police department's Bomb Disposal Unit was assigned to study photographic blowups of the rooftop of the MOVE house, supplied by aerial reconnaissance. For weeks and possibly months the police department quietly and secretly tested explosive substances, including the one it eventually used on the lumber structures, in preparation for the MOVE siege. In a Philadelphia neighborhood, cops shot 10,000 rounds of ammunition in 90 minutes. They opened up with machine guns shortly after 6



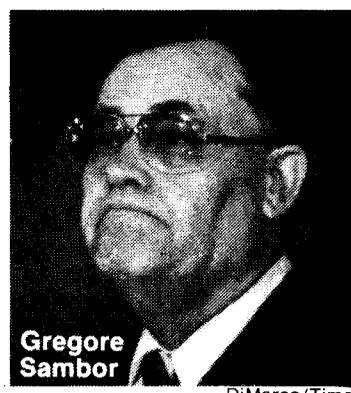
Ed Kartsen: Victorious workers revolution will submit the criminals responsible for the Osage Avenue massacre to revolutionary justice.



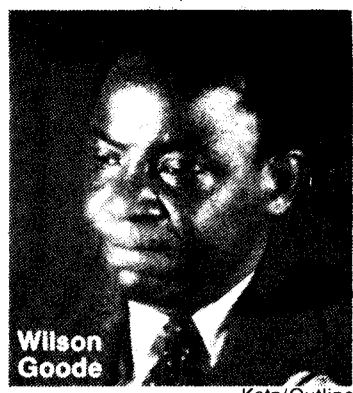
Ronald Reagan



Edwin Meese



Gregore Sambor



Wilson Goode

Architects of state terror, executioners of MOVE.

a.m. May 13th. They used M-50s and M-60s: the M-50 is a .45 caliber submachine gun, and the M-60 is a .72 caliber that can fire 800 rounds a minute, and it is the general purpose machine gun of the U.S. Army.

Before they dropped the bomb, they knew there'd be a fire. *They didn't care because the children were black.* The cops watched. They wanted MOVE burned alive. And they sat for 90 minutes while the house burned, while Osage Avenue burned, while the neighborhood around it burned. And now the *Times* coldly and clinically talks about the search for the remains of the victims of this racist murder as if it were an archeological expedition. This is no more than a bigoted attempt to dehumanize the victims.

The bloody trail goes from Mayor Goode to the police officials, with the shadowy hand of the federal government, particularly the FBI and the Justice Department. It could have very well been Reagan himself. Remember, Reagan's friend Thatcher personally committed the war crime of sinking the Argentine ship, the *Belgrano*. When the working class seizes power in this country, these murderers will get an honest and fast trial, and then they will be shot. We promise that.

The only known survivors are Birdie Africa, who is 13 years old, hospitalized with second-degree burns, and Ramona Johnson Africa, who was imprisoned in lieu of initially \$3.2 million in bail. We demand the immediate dropping of charges against Ramona Africa and all MOVE prisoners!

And what was this "big arms stash" they had? Big arms stash: two shotguns and three pistols, like millions of American homes.

The bombing atrocity in West Philly's black community wasn't the first time American blacks were bombed by the government. As *WV* reports, on the 31st of May in 1921—the decade of a racist mob attack on blacks in St. Louis and the Ku Klux Klan march in Washington—the heart of Tulsa, Oklahoma was devastated by bombs dropped from a police airplane. This was in response to organized efforts on the part of black residents to prevent a lynching by a white mob. In that bombing, 75 people were killed, mostly blacks, and 4,000 blacks were herded into concentration camps. The bombing of Philly's black community was in the same spirit as that 1921 bombing.

The opening shots of the Reagan years were fired in Greensboro, North Carolina in November 1979, when Dixiecrat Carter and anti-communist Democrat Mondale ran things in the White House. The Ku Klux Klan and Nazis murdered five leftist labor and civil rights organizers. The FBI and cops helped plan that massacre just like they helped plan the Birmingham church bombing in 1963 and the assassination of Freedom Riders. These are the same killers that orchestrated the bloody campaign to physically wipe out the Black Panther Party.

Neither the Greensboro massacre nor the Philadelphia bombing will ever be forgotten. A victorious workers revolution will submit the criminals responsible for the Osage Avenue massacre to *revolutionary justice*. They'll be treated fairly, just like American GIs that liberated Hitler's Dachau death camps treated the prison guards who were there: the GIs executed about 122 of

them before they could be stopped, and the liberated prisoners dispatched another 50 with shovels.

This government craves *blood sacrifice*. And it carries out bloody acts on behalf of a single economic group we call the capitalist class. Today, more than a century after the Civil War, capitalist wage slavery must be smashed not only to free black America, but to avenge racist mass murder. Black working people united with *all* union militants must take the lead. Like the members of the Committee for a Fighting TWU, which in New York recently put forward a motion calling for the Transport Workers Union Local 100 to mobilize its members and call on New York City labor to join it in a

refused medical treatment, and jailed overnight a 26-year-old woman seeking an abortion at a Brooklyn clinic. On June 13 a white undercover cop, Lee Van Houten, gunned down 17-year-old black honor student Edmund Perry.

Black workers must lead the struggle in this city to end this cop murder. Black workers must lead labor in demanding the jailing of Van Houten, and the creation of integrated armed workers defense guards to defend the people of Harlem from the marauding racist terrorists in blue.

Black Democrats: Front Men for Reagan's Terrorism

The bombing of Philly was a Reaganite atrocity. It occurred simultaneously



Martyrs' bodies carried from rubble (right). "Forensic science" ghoul study charred fragments of what used to be human beings (below).



protest rally at City Hall to demand a halt to the wanton rampage of intimidation, terror and racist murder by Koch's cops.

Philadelphia has a combative labor movement with a proven capacity to fight. Transport workers and school employee unions have gone on strike in recent years. These unions should have *shut Philly down* over this racist atrocity. Every union worker had better remember what Reagan did to PATCO. For Philly unions to have responded to the bombing by closing the city down would have been a basic act of self-defense.

Just as in this city, it would be a basic act of self-defense for the unions to act to halt the rampage of Koch's killer cops. On September 15, 1983 eleven TA cops brutally beat to death Michael Stewart, the 25-year-old son of a retired transit worker. On October 29, 1984 New York-style SWAT unit cop Stephen Sullivan blew away 67-year-old infirm grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs. On February 7, 1985 10,000 armed cops rallied in the Bronx for the right to commit racist murder. On March 15 a berserk, drunken police sergeant and his two partners committed a homicide hit-and-run in their squad car, murdering a 70-year-old doctor and critically injuring a 72-year-old doorman at 72nd Street and Park Avenue. On March 16 an off-duty cop harassed, beat up,

with revelations that the CIA was behind a car bombing this March in Beirut which took the lives of 80 people. This terror squad was labeled an "anti-terrorist unit." Reagan is also the same psychopathic killer who sacrificed over 200 passengers of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 in a Cold War provocation against the Soviet Union. The Philly bombing is Reagan's gearing up for war by practicing air strikes against the American population. In the July 9 issue of the *New York Times* it is reported that Reagan wants to go to war with Iran, North Korea, Cuba and Nicaragua. Well, Reagan couldn't go to war with Nicaragua in May so maybe he blew away a section of black Philly instead. To Ronald Reagan, South Africa's white-supremacist police state is a "democracy striving for racial equality." He thinks America's dirty war in Vietnam was a "noble mission." He put a wreath on the graves of Nazi mass murderers in Bitburg.

And the Cold War Democratic Party is more afraid of losing Nicaragua to the Communists than they are of the madman Reagan. Reagan alibis racist massacre in South Africa as part of an anti-communist crusade to mobilize the West for war against the Soviet Union. Reagan is fighting to unite the forces of worldwide anti-communism, from Vietnam's Hitler-loving Marshal Ky to

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Philly Inferno...

(continued from page 5)

dictator Somoza's leftover murderers and torturers. Reagan's raving about Nicaragua as a "Communist terrorist arsenal that threatens all of us" makes Hitler's tirades against the Soviet Union in the first years of his invasion of the USSR look relatively sane.

Black Democratic Party mayor Wilson Goode is as guilty as Republican Ronald Reagan and the racist cops for the bombing of black Philly. Before Mayor Goode was allowed to bomb his own city, he was touted as one of the premier black Democrats of the 1980s. He was even one of those interviewed by Mondale to be considered for a vice presidential candidacy. From ex-cop Tom Bradley in Los Angeles to ex-SNCC leader Marion Barry in Washington, black Democrats rule over misery and oppression of black life in America. Today black mayors campaign for Reagan's program of subminimal wages for teenagers. Where there are strikes to be broken, protests over killer cops to be quelched, or KKK

strikebreaking. In Washington, ex-SNCC leader Marion Barry is a cutback king who enforced the expulsion of black students from the University of the District of Columbia. In Detroit "progressive" black mayor Coleman Young responds to 70 percent black youth unemployment with cop nightsticks and pistols, reviving the racist cop terror squads to enforce youth curfews. And now black Democratic mayor Goode bombs black Philly for the Reaganite racist terrorists. When [Chicago's] Harold Washington ran for mayor in the most segregated city in America, he didn't call for busing to break up school segregation. Jesse Jackson went to Norfolk, Virginia where thousands of blacks were marching against segregated schools, where he declared he wasn't for busing, he was just for voter registration.

In the 1960s the black movement was faced with two dead ends: the liberal pacifism of King, and the no less defeatist ideology of Stokely Carmichael and the nationalists. Both failed to see the need to mobilize the power of the unions by challenging the racist, pro-capitalist union bureaucracy and their

ick Douglass issued a historic appeal in March 1863 when he declared: "Men of Color, To Arms!" Douglass argued for black enlistment not only because the war must lead to the abolition of slavery but also because black people fighting for their own freedom would transform the black spirit itself. Douglass tried to complete the war by fighting to win basic economic and political freedom. But that great fight is still to come.

We stand in the revolutionary tradition of Frederick Douglass and John Brown. Today there is no longer a "progressive" wing of the capitalist class, as many of our political opponents believe. Only the mobilization of labor can finish the Civil War. Black and white working-class militants must look for and seize the opportunity to mobilize their fighting strength in a movement for black freedom, which is inseparably tied to the fight for the liberation of labor from capitalist slavery.

The appearance of the Southern civil rights movement with the 1956 Montgomery bus boycott opened a new phase in postwar American history. The movement ended a period of Cold War McCarthyite hysteria. America became polarized along the lines of for or against Jim Crow segregation. This movement must be revived on a labor/black foundation. Black youth, who weren't bound by the anti-communist prejudices of their parents, played a leading role in the civil rights movement. On the Freedom Rides through the South in attempts to implement integration of interstate busing, young activists watched the FBI "observers" stand by while the sheriffs' goons bashed the heads of demonstrators.

As a small political tendency then, we sought to give political leadership to these young black militants. We called for a Freedom Labor Party in an attempt to link the growing level of black struggle to the power of the labor movement. We called for Southern organizing drives. And we called for workers united-front action to prevent federal intervention.

We advanced the slogan for organized, armed self-defense. In a leaflet titled "Organize Black Power!" we pointed the way forward by calling for the defense of black ghettos. This leaflet declared, "every serious responsible working man should exercise his right to own a gun." We organized to raise funds for the Deacons for Defense and Justice, which was an organization of black veterans who defended civil rights demonstrators from Ku Klux Klan terrorists. We lacked the forces at that time to succeed in making the link between the young black militants and the labor movement. As a result, the black movement's future leaders went down the dead-end road of black separatism.

Today a mass black movement can re-emerge, based on united actions directed against Reagan's and the Democrats' racist, anti-communist terror campaign. United actions like the November 27, 1982 demonstration in Washington that united black community organizations and individuals along with trade unionists into a force that halted a Ku Klux Klan march. United actions like the ones that could have taken place to protest the Philadelphia bombing, had the liberal left in the guise of the Socialist Workers Party, Workers World Party and the Communist Party not insulted MOVE members by threatening to censor their own memorial remarks at what was supposed to be their own funeral march.

United actions involving groups like the Malcolm Shabazz mosque, which has taken an interest in the Philadelphia issue. United actions that could mobilize the power of labor, which is capable of smashing any force that opposes it, so long as labor is united around the principles of *class struggle*, defense of the picket line. These actions must be organized responsibly and led by a mass working-class party.

In addition to united-front actions, we are fighting to build a mass party of this kind. Toward that end, Marjorie Stamberg of the Spartacist Party is running for mayor to expose that racist, murdering strikebreaker in City Hall, and I am running for Manhattan borough president against an assortment of yuppies and black Democratic Party sellouts. Everyone in this room can join in this effort by contributing in any way you can. This campaign must be seen as an opportunity that can lead to the advancement of labor/black struggle. It must be seen as an opportunity to advance the struggle to break the stranglehold the Democratic Party and the trade-union misleaders have on the power of the labor movement.

We stand ready at all times to mobilize our strength in united actions against racist terror. The mass power of organized labor, black militants, once broken from the Democratic Party in mass actions, will constitute the kind of invincible force that will avenge the Philly bombing. Legal lynchings must be met with revolutionary class justice. All MOVE prisoners must be freed at once! United actions mobilizing the power of organized labor and minority organizations must be brought to bear to smash racist terrorism. The MOVE members must be avenged. We have to move forward to a mass labor/minority party that can lead the working class to seize power in order to end racist terrorism once and for all.

LaVerne Sims

LaVerne Sims: May 13 massacre in Philadelphia. "Guilt is the agent of plague to this system, and the section is you all's tools to get around you all's disasters"—John Africa. John Africa, a black man, a wise man, a righteous and godly man, a powerful man who presented such a threat to this system they came at him with everything they had. Everything! "What a family we are, when our aim is unbending, committed to stop this intruder of life from sucking the blood of our mom any longer with power no man can stand up against long. What a family we are, when we are



WV Photo
LaVerne Sims: Wilson Goode sold out his ancestors' principles for a promise, a position.

one force united, committed to move the whole world in a hurry, through loyalty true as the word revolution. A word that is now an experience of MOVE"—John Africa. Indeed MOVE had experienced the word revolution. Because as John Africa says, strategic revolution is fitness. To understand revolution you must be sound. Revolution is not a word but an application. It is not war but peace. It does not weaken, it strengthens. Revolution does not cause separation, it generates togetherness. MOVE brothers and sisters were, and are, the most courageous people I know. And they got that courage from strength, from the strength of John Africa, a small man in size but strong as an oak tree unbending.

Ramona Africa was one of the survivors on May 13th, and is being held on \$4 million bail. Thousands of pounds of precious water was released on Ramona for seven hours straight. Thirty thousand rounds of bullets fired at her



Washington Post

27 November 1982: Support by black union locals for call to stop the Klan was key to mobilizing thousands in Washington, D.C.

provocations in black inner cities, it's the black front men for Reagan's racism who get the job done. An overwhelming percentage of black people vote for the Democratic Party. But at bottom the Democratic Party is necessarily a party of racist capitalism, a party of George Wallace, the Dixiecrats and even some open KKKers like California's Tom Metzger.

After Martin Luther King's 1963 speech, "I Have a Dream," young civil rights members, young members of SNCC started wearing buttons: "I Have a Nightmare." And 20 years later, life for the masses of blacks compacted into devastated ghettos has become worse, as capitalism declines into crisis. The bloody atrocity against black Philadelphia is an expression of the living nightmare of government racist terror in the Reagan years. And the Nazi doctor-style examinations of the remains of the victims of this atrocity appear prominently in the newspaper. The majority of black children live below the poverty line. Black teenagers are thrown wholesale onto the streets, where they are the marked targets for racist cops. Black people hover on the edge of survival; the capitalists answer with more cops and racist terror.

Not even an honor student from an elite private school, or a five-year-old black child, or a peaceful black back-to-nature organization is safe. A black man can't walk into Cicero, Illinois or Gravesend, Brooklyn without taking his life into his hands. Meanwhile, the courts and the cops make black lives cheaper, and the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis take their cue.

Martin Luther King was assassinated when he was leading marches in support of striking Memphis garbage men. Today city workers can have their strikes broken by ex-civil rights activists, close companions of Martin Luther King. Atlanta mayor Andrew Young, who lay down in front of a sanitation truck in the 1960s to defend an Atlanta sanitation strike, now runs those trucks for

flunkies. King and the black ministers were committed to the Democratic Party. Carmichael and the black nationalists took the road of black separatism, which ignored the "white" working class. These two dead ends represented by King and Carmichael led to a decade of no significant black struggle. This has encouraged the present racist terror spearheaded by Goode and Reagan's terror-bombing of black Philly.

Malcolm X in a speech in December 1964 said, "If the leaders of the non-violent movement can go into the white community and teach nonviolence, good. I'd go along with that. But as long as I see them teaching nonviolence only in the black community, we can't go along with that. We believe in equality, and equality means that you have to put the same thing over here that you put over there. And if black people alone are going to be the ones who are nonviolent, then it's not fair. We throw ourselves off guard. In fact, we disarm ourselves and make ourselves defenseless."

Finish the Civil War!

The Civil War of 1861-1865 was the first and only American war in which black people clearly had a stake. Over 120 years after, black equality still has to be achieved. It is necessary that a re-emerged black movement demand that the Civil War be finished. In 1861 Union commanders pressed for the arming and training of blacks. Professional soldiers like John C. Fremont, abolitionists like Thomas Wentworth Higginson, fought to accomplish this. Higginson was a friend of the great revolutionary abolitionist John Brown. German American Marxists like Joseph Weydemeyer also fought to put blacks under arms. Lincoln and the War Department wanted to resist the recruitment of blacks. As Foner notes, "blacks themselves initiated much of the action that culminated in abolition and their admission into the armed forces. Thousands of fugitive slaves flooded Union lines."

Ex-slave black revolutionary Freder-

and ultimately a bomb was dropped, killing eleven people, five of them children. Yet the murderers are free.

Moe Africa, who was arrested prior to and leading up to May 13th, is still in jail. But district attorney Ed Rendell issued warrants on Moe and MOVE supporter Kareem Howard, who was also in jail and had been in jail for nearly two years. And Rendell knew this. Those warrants were issued to mayor Joseph Battle of Chester, Pennsylvania, and he in turn along with his goon squad converged on Moe's wife and five children, who he knew were alone and defenseless. Throwing tear gas in on Mary and her children. Trying to provoke another massacre like the one that left eleven people dead in Philadelphia the same day. They had warrants for Moe and Kareem, but arrested Mary and her children instead. They let Mary go, but kept her children. But the next day Mary walked into that shelter and walked away with her children. She had no place to go, though, because they had leveled her home to the ground and destroyed everything she owned.

MOVE Martyrs' Cries Can't Be Silenced

Eleven MOVE members, including five children, went to their death on May 13th because they took a firm stand against this court system and said, "We want our political brothers and sisters released from prison. They are innocent. We know it and we know you know it as well." And MOVE had every god-given right to defend this position. Because the man don't give you your right in defense, not when it's not in his interests. The position MOVE stood firm on, died for, still stands. We are demanding justice be done, that all MOVE political prisoners be freed. They are in jail for a crime they did not commit. The courts know it, the cops know it, the mayor knows it, Philadelphians know it, and we know it.

In 1977 the district attorney, Ed Rendell, the same district attorney, him along with the late judge Fred DiBona and the late inspector George Fenel of civil affairs, conspired to set MOVE up and they did. They took from a criminal case the term number and applied it to a civil case, issuing phony warrants. The city administration headed by former mayor Frank Rizzo acted on those warrants and in turn another eviction turned into mayhem, utter chaos, as a direct result of what these criminals done. The action taken by Rizzo culminated August 8, 1978. A cop was killed that day, by his own comrades. But they blamed it on MOVE. And nine MOVE members were sentenced to from 30 to 100 years. Edwin Malmed was the judge. That confrontation led up to the confrontation May 13th, brutally murdering eleven other MOVE members. MOVE sisters and brothers went to their deaths protesting the injustice perpetrated on them by Ed Rendell, judge Fred DiBona and inspector George Fenel, by issuing those phony warrants to begin with. We are asking any and everybody to join us in this protest, to get our family out of jail.

Mother's Day, May 12th, the system's belief. But May 13th and then there were none. Rhonda Africa is gone. Birdie Africa was Rhonda's son. Birdie was with his mother minutes before, but minutes after he was motherless.

The MOVE sisters and brothers in jail left their children behind, and they will never see their children again. Mayor Wilson Goode, police commissioner Gregore Sambor, fire commissioner William Richmond and managing director Leo Brooks saw to that. They elected, endorsed and sanctioned the dropping of that bomb, and lieutenant Frank Powell was the executioner. When lieutenant Powell dropped that bomb from the helicopter, he wiped those babies from the face of this earth. The act of genocide. For there will be no generation forthcoming. Their lives were snuffed out, literally blown apart. Of five children, only one was intact.



Aftermath of unprovoked assault on MOVE by 600 cops, 8 August 1978. Nine MOVE members are still in jail for trying to defend themselves.

The other four were completely dismembered. All that is left are their arms, their legs, bones, teeth and patches of flesh. Patches of flesh, that's all that's left of them.

Brother Conrad Africa was just an arm and his teeth. They have an adult male with nothing left but a torso. No arms, no legs, not even his head. His head was severed from his body. They laid in pieces in the morgue. Bodies so ruined, so badly charred they still cannot make identification. Still there are parts of those bodies in the rubble somewhere on Osage Avenue. And that's sad. That hurts.

What kind of a thing is this, that calls himself Wilson Goode? He's no damn good at all! This beast knew gasoline was on top of the roof. Yet he ordered a bomb to be dropped. And it makes no difference what kind of device they want to call it. If this scum didn't know enough that even a match dropped on gasoline would have erupted into fire, he's got no business being mayor of no city!

An idiot would have known better. But it wasn't that he didn't know. It was that he *did* know. Because it was premeditated murder. But if it was entry they wanted, they could have got it, because the front door had been kicked open long before the dropping of that bomb. And they knew it.

My sister Louise had only one child, her son Frank Africa. But he's gone now. Shot in the back and cremated in cold blood. Genocide. Murder. On Mother's Day, May 12th, Louise had that one child. But May 13th she was childless. Louise too will never witness a generation to come, because she had no grands.

You know, whenever black folk get any kind of position, they always feel the need to impress on the white man just how unprejudiced they are, and they bend, bow and scrape doing it. But the degradation to follow is selling out their ancestors' principles cheap. Wilson Goode sold out. He sold out his ancestors' principles for a promise, for a position. Sold out for a penny, just to prove to the white man that blacks would be treated no different than the white structure intended. That they would *still* be mistreated. When the mayor took that oath, took office as mayor to serve blacks, Puerto Ricans and whites well, he meant it. He meant he would serve for his master a job well done on blacks, on Puerto Ricans, but for whites. He said, "I'll prove to you, master, just give me my title and I'll play the role. Just 'cause my skin is black means nothing, 'cause my mind is white. I just look black." John Africa says, "An innocent mask will fool only the blind, but the man that can see will cut through all disguises." Wilson Goode can't be trusted. Any time a man will sell out his principles for a dollar, he is to be seen as the traitor he is, regardless of the color he portrays himself to be. He is dangerous, a menace to society. A traitor will stop at nothing, and neither did Wilson Goode. He was bent on bringing MOVE out of that house dead or alive—preferably dead—because of his own personal vendetta, his ego, his pride. He is so ugly with hate, so ugly with arrogance, so vicious and prideful,

in murdering MOVE he also murdered his career, the only thing that meant more to him than his own family. I was taught by John Africa years ago, and I quote: "A just person will ignore his pride and hold on to what is right. An unjust person will ignore what is right, and hold fast to his god-damning pride." Long live John Africa!

It is incidental MOVE members lived on Osage Avenue. For no matter where MOVE lived, MOVE would have still protested the injustice of this corrupt system. MOVE has lived in Chester, Pennsylvania; Utica, New York; Rochester, New York; Richmond, Virginia and Philadelphia. But no matter where MOVE moved, they could not escape the terrorism of the cops and this administration. MOVE moved to the roof of their own home, built bunkers, literally lived up there, but they still could not escape the neighbors' bricks and stones that they threw up at them. Still could not escape the helicopter that flew over them constantly.

And even when they stayed indoors, they were imposed on by the hours and hours of chanting, the incense burning that seeped through the cracks of their walls from the neighbors next door. The reefer smoke that seeped through the windows from the neighbors on the outside. But MOVE members were taught by John Africa not to attack the oppressed, not without provocation, but to attack the oppressor. If MOVE harassed the neighbors of Osage Avenue, it was because MOVE was harassed by the neighbors. If MOVE threatened the neighbors in Osage Avenue, it was because MOVE was threatened by the neighbors first. But they would not arbitrarily attack black folk without provocation. If I were to tell you of the many vicious, brutal beatings, the 600 arrests, the harassment, baby-killers, the MOVE organization has suffered since the inception of MOVE, I would be here till tomorrow.

The bullhorn. The neighbors say when MOVE used a bullhorn it was so loud it woke them up, disturbing them day and night. But I haven't slept a night through since May 13th. My peace has been interrupted forever. But MOVE wasn't loud enough—because nobody heard them. And that's obvious, because they're gone. What people have got to understand is that loud don't

necessarily mean sound. Sound can be as loud as the roaring of thunder or silent as words written on paper. Silent can be just as deadly as the cracking sound of a lightning bolt. Sound means attraction, focus, attention. Loud means what you relate and respond to. Have you ever seen a person that dressed loud? You were attracted to that person by your eyes. A person can dress loud, smell loud, or have a loud reputation. But loud don't mean nothing but attraction, what you relate to and respond to. You think a blind person can't see? They can see with their hands. Just like a deaf-mute hear with their eyes. I didn't know anything before I learned the teaching of John Africa, not a thing. But since I encountered that principle, I have learned a hell of a lot. I'm not very smart educationally, man's education, not his education. But what I know about that principle, I know. But if you think a deaf-mute can't hear, write a deaf mother a note, tell her her baby was raped and killed, and sit back and watch her response. If she can read, you will know she heard what you said by the tears that follow. Because she related and responded to what she heard you say on that paper. When judge Edwin Malmed sentenced my brothers and sisters from 30 to 100 years, it rang loud in my ears. When a judge sentences anybody to the electric chair to be electrocuted until dead, it can bust your eardrums. It can stop your heartbeat. Because no matter what tone he say it in, those words are screaming at you. Turn on your gas and lay down: a silent sound communicating death. On May 13th, when Mayor Goode ordered the dropping of that bomb, it *shook the world*. Because it was heard around the world, communicating, attention-drawing. And it went around the world because everybody related to and responded to it. That's why I'm here, because Gene heard it, Frank heard it, and Joel heard it. That's why you're here, because you all heard that bomb, although you're in New York, you heard it all the way from Philadelphia, because sound don't mean nothing but communication.

Eleven MOVE members on May 13th were murdered by Mayor Wilson Goode's hit men, paid assassins, exterminators of babies, because the neighbors of Osage Avenue went to Mayor Goode to have MOVE removed from the block. Five of the eleven MOVE members were children. Eleven innocent people gone. But the blood from these eleven victims is on the hands of those neighbors and everybody that was involved, and they won't be able to wash it off. What they tried to accomplish backfired. Not only is MOVE family still on Osage Avenue, but their homes were destroyed in the bargain. And when they move into those new homes, they will find out that MOVE is still there. Because our brothers and sisters will be moving in right along with those neighbors. They will have no peace, no sleep, for even while they attempt to sleep, the cries of the babies will wake them up, the screams that can only come

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Reformists' token "protest" May 30—obscene alibi for Goode! Philly's "left" hypocrites show up with eleven mock coffins, after making MOVE survivors unwelcome.

Philly Inferno...

(continued from page 7)

from the excruciating pain they will hear. And it will wake them up and sit them up as the sweat rolls from their brow. They complained to Mr. Goode about MOVE and the bullhorn and had MOVE murdered. But they won't be able to complain to a living soul and have those screams stopped. Not a living soul can make those screams be silent. They pushed for it and they got it. Because the memory of MOVE will ever be present.

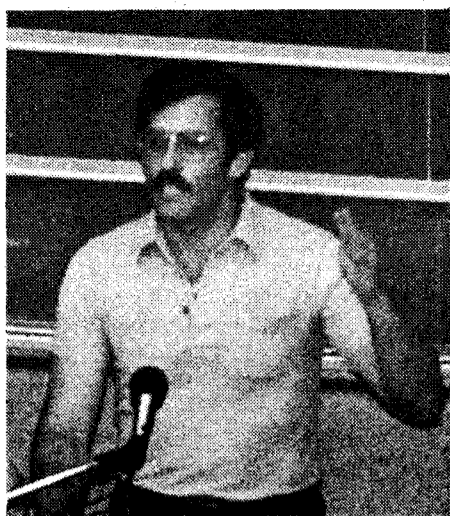
Wilson Goode is not exempt. He too will have no peace, he too will hear the cries. Councilman Lucien Blackwell will have no peace. Councilwoman Joan Spector will have no peace. The 14 ministers who condoned the mayor's murder will have no peace, no sleep. They can go on their knees forever, but they won't be able to pray away their acceptance of such a ludicrous, vicious and brutal attack. Gregore Sambor will have no peace. William Richmond will have no peace. Leo Brooks will have no peace. Lieutenant Frank Powell can forget about peace forever. He will dream of the bomb he released from his hands on those innocent babies, and he will wake up screaming for it to stop.

Every black politician, every black leader, and those blacks who stood around and watched, stood back and did nothing, said nothing, rejoiced, said it met with their approval, will hear the cries of those babies. They will hear every scream. They will be tormented to live in the pits of hell, dark confusion of civilization. There will be no peace in Philadelphia, because they killed the only peace they could have ever hoped to have. But John Africa said, "No matter how clean you are fashioned to be, the dirt in your past is a load none can carry." Long live John Africa!

I'm gonna sum it up here, because my time is out. I want to thank Gene, Frank, Joel and all the Spartacist party members for having me and my sister here, to get a chance to let the people know what is happening in Philadelphia. And if you don't do something about it, you only going to wake up tomorrow and find it happening right here in New York. Because a precedent has been set. And it's got to be stopped right now. Now, you got to stop it! Thank you.

Gene Herson

Gene Herson: It's very difficult to say anything after hearing about an atrocity of such gruesome human barbarism as sister LaVerne has just recounted. There's really no way that words can describe such diabolical acts or convey sufficient outrage. But a way must be found to prevent such inhuman acts



WV Photo

Gene Herson: Reagan will blow away a black to scare a white and if that doesn't work he'll blow away a white.

from ever happening again. A program must be pursued and organized around, to make sure this doesn't happen again. Comrade Kartsen talked about that program, revolutionary integrationism, working-class revolution.

I'd like to describe some of my impressions of when I was in Philadelphia and also combine that with something which deals with that program, namely the power of the working class, the role of the labor movement and the trade unions in the battle against racial oppression and in building a revolutionary party. Because it's only through that kind of organization that we're going to stop this kind of racial atrocities which are organized by the capitalists.

The first time I went down to Philadelphia it was to sell the first article we had, that said "Reagan Bombs Black Babies." Nobody could understand that at the time. It's important to put this in context. Because everybody saw this as a guy named Goode, right? It's a black guy, black mayor, everybody liked this mayor, right? In Philadelphia nobody dared say anything against it, and yet here were these white communists selling a newspaper that said "Reagan Bombs Black Babies." And the thing that really impressed me, well, there were three things. First of all was the polarization in that city. It is *hard*. It is harder than any city I have been in. Black kids would come up to myself or Joel or Ellen selling that newspaper and say, "You're against Reagan? I've never seen a white against Reagan." To them a white meant a racist. That's how hard the society is in Philadelphia. It also conveys the false trust in somebody that's black, because you see they think blacks automatically will protect them from capitalist racism.

Second thing that I noticed down there, this was a week after the bombing, was the lack of concern for MOVE by anybody, including blacks. And when I say that, I mean even if it's one out of ten blacks, I was astounded. Because after

all, they had loudspeakers and bullhorns and garbage on their lawn—which, by the way, was a distortion by the capitalist press. But you've got to know how pervasive it is that it brainwashed even the blacks. Capitalism is powerful, comrades, believe it.

And then there was the site of the bombing, a middle-class neighborhood. You look all around it, manicured lawns, beautiful, painted buildings, the whole area surrounding there. And then you get to Osage. Something worse than—it looks like, in the immediate area, like Dresden after the firebombing. Nothing but piles of bricks. And underneath it are human skulls. Which the Reagan government is putting together like tinker toys, as if this was a little game. These are human beings they're putting back together again, that they took apart. It's a game, in the name of anti-communism. You've got to understand this. If you don't see it, it's hard to believe it.

Labor Must Repel the Message of Intimidation

So I went down after that, a week later. There was a call for a demonstration. I went down to help in the organization of a Spartacist mobilization on the East Coast in solidarity with the MOVE survivors. That's why we were preparing to mobilize, in solidarity, I underscore that, in solidarity with the MOVE survivors. Not the Osage atrocity in general, but the massacre and the incineration of human beings. We wanted to sear into American consciousness the historical significance of what had happened there, this holocaust. Just as we saw the same thing necessary regarding Greensboro. And when I went down there that's when I first met Louise and LaVerne and Gail. And we prepared to mobilize our total efforts on the East Coast, for a march and rally that was called by the Citizens' Committee for Humanity and Justice, for May 30th, to protest this bombing.

And as it turned out, this was organized by some liberals and so-called socialists. However, these people found MOVE distasteful. Now I bring this up because if we are going to fight the racism of capitalism, and this kind of atrocity, any obstacle in our way to destroying that capitalist system has to be exposed and politically destroyed. And the forces there, that found MOVE distasteful, that made MOVE feel unwanted at this demonstration, were the Socialist Workers Party, some liberals called the Consumer Party, and Workers World Party—the Marcyites going under other banners such as the All-Peoples Congress, People's Antiwar Mobilization. The Communist Party didn't even have the nerve to show up there, but they had the same positions. And they made MOVE feel uncomfortable to speak and MOVE did not show up. And we decided not to go, because we were going in solidarity with the victims. We weren't going there to help cover up for Goode.

So there was this continuum, where you have the capitalist system, and you have the Democratic Party, which is part of the capitalist system, and then you have the black Democrats and the trade-union bureaucrats that keep the oppressed and the working class within the capitalist system, and then you have the [left] liberals, the phrase-mongers, the demagogues like Jesse Jackson and so on. And then you end up with, because by now you've got Jesse Jackson pulling in the blacks, to tail the blacks you've got the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party and so on. So you find this massive cover-up for what happened. This is one of the most despicable acts by the political left. And it made graphically clear that the illusions in capitalism, any aspect of capitalism, the Democratic Party, or anything that props it up, have to be exposed. And until that happens racism, racial oppression, working-class exploitation, despicable racist atrocities and

murder and massacres will occur in this country. Believe it. Because Reagan wants to make that clear. *He wants to make it clear that he will blow away a black to scare a white and if that doesn't work he'll blow away a white.* What do you think PATCO was about? He wanted to blow away an entire union. These were white, privileged, skilled workers who backed Reagan. But he wasn't satisfied to parade them around, to say, "You see, I got support of labor." He wanted to make them an *example* because it's an example of capitalist oppression. And he needs that, he needs everybody to knuckle under so he can fight the Russkies. That's what *his program* is. And he will blow away blacks, trade unions, and the blacks will be in the forefront. Believe it. In the name of anti-communism.

This is a situation where Reagan describes terrorists and they're the victims! So he blows away some people. The more he blows them away the more he says that they're terrorists. So who could be more of a victim than these MOVE people? These eleven people, human beings. So once they're incinerated then he calls them terrorists. Meanwhile the ruling class law and order is really the terrorism. Everything is totally reversed. The front page of the *New York Times*, right? You got North Korea's terrorist, meanwhile in South Korea, the allies of the United States, you got a mafioso guy heading up the government, that just blew away the last president. I mean it's ludicrous! They voted—the whole Congress, Democrats, right?—they just voted money, end of the Clark Amendment, give UNITA, the guys who are the escorts of the South African army into Angola, they just voted to give them money. The contras, so-called freedom fighters, are the terrorists; they're giving them money. Look around the world, look around, this is what is happening. And believe me, it's going to be here at home. It is here at home, and it was in Philadelphia. And by the way, this Osage thing was prepared for in March with Operation Cold Turkey. Every black and Hispanic youth was ripped off the streets. Operation Cold Turkey, it was like Operation Zebra in 1974 in San Francisco. Blacks are not safe on the streets and if you're a worker and you



Gralish/Philadelphia Inquirer

Ramona Africa, sole adult MOVE survivor of Osage Avenue inferno. Free Ramona Africa and all MOVE prisoners!

want to fight back you're not safe on the streets. Well, we intend to turn that around.

Blacks cannot and will not be free in capitalist America. That's a statement of fact. No way can unions fight for workers until they are totally independent and freed from the ties to the Democratic Party. That is a statement of fact, it is the truth as I live and breathe. Trade unions are the only mass organizations of the working class in the United States. That is why they are key. But within the workers movement, we must remove our own Judases, the

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leaders of the trade-union movement. And only then can we use those unions, and the blacks can exercise power far beyond their proportions through the trade unions.

As soon as those police were around that house, the transit workers union of Philadelphia could have mobilized and surrounded that house with a black working force that would have made

aftermath of Greensboro the Nazis and Klan tried to march on every major city in this country from San Francisco to Chicago to Detroit to Boston. And it was basically due to the work of the Spartacist League in initiating mass labor/black mobilizations that the fascists were stopped and that they were interdicted in the major urban centers of America, culminating in the very impor-

agree and disagree with. MOVE must be defended. But that doesn't mean that you lie by not saying what your disagreements are with them. A few years ago at your meeting you were attacking the question of black consciousness—you attacked the slogan "black is beautiful" as being anti-white. Yes. You referred to the country of Jamaica and it's in your press, you referred to the country of Jamaica as lumpen, the lumpen capital of the world. And when you're talking about the black community in the past, you emphasize the lumpenness in it.

Chairman: That's time. [LRPer goes right on talking: "Go back a few years ago..."] That's time! Sit down! You will sit down or be sat down. Sit him down. [LRPer, still arguing, finally sits.]

Ed Kartsen: Look, this is a democratic meeting, which means you have a certain time to speak, after which you cooperate and let other people speak. The Spartacist League has a unique position among organizations of allowing political opponents of whatever organization to speak. This gentleman did not identify himself, but he is a political opponent of our organization, part of the liberal left. Their politics are in deep disagreement with our positions on particularly the Soviet Union. We state this openly. MOVE members we talk to candidly. We tell them our disagreements. We recognize the reality of racist America. They recognize the reality of racist America. And we openly and freely discuss both our commonality and our differences. It's something that the liberal left have a great difficulty understanding. Since they primarily conduct themselves by whitewashing the horrors and ugliness of black oppression, at the same time censoring the comments on the part of MOVE members! Of course we have disagreements. We freely discuss them because we want to deal with reality as it is.

Right of Black Self-Defense

This question of Goetz was used by all the liberals as an excuse to disarm the people of this city, to advance the anti-gun laws which keep the racist cops armed and the people of this city unarmed. That's what Goetz was all about! It would have been a lifesaver

that's what they mourned. They think it's too bad that the babies went out with the bath water. And what we were concerned with was the destruction of human life, black babies. Now LaVerne spoke about lost generations, and those babies that don't have a life anymore. And we have the example of Edmund Perry in New York. But it's not simply those who have fallen, and those who have been gunned down, and those who have been murdered by state terrorism. It's a question of a lost generation for all who are made to fear, and live in fear. And understand it—the memory that the government wants to sear into their minds is that they better not step out of line. So this Edmund Perry murder in New York, you know, racist cops have a problem, they can't tell an honor student from a mugger, because if you're black that's enough to be a criminal and be gunned down in the street. And when this happened, I thought, boy, they really got the wrong guy and maybe they're going to blow off some of the heat that's on the Koch administration right now for racist murder after racist murder in the city and hang the cops on this one. No way. Far more important to them to just grind down the black population, you know, that even if you're an honor student, stay home with your goddamn blinds down, don't you dare go for a walk in the park. So we've got a problem, which is victories aren't built out of a sense of hopelessness, which is felt, I think, in the population right now. So what we have to do, as a small party, is try and harness that anger that does exist and channel it politically, so that we can fight to avenge the MOVE martyrs, so that all of us can have a future.

Jim: My name is Jimmy Smith, I work in New York City transit. First of all, I'd like to thank LaVerne and Louise for coming up here, and for continuing to stand up, very courageous. Second of all, I was the one who had the privilege of raising the resolution in our union, the Transport Workers Union in New York City, just a little under a month ago, calling for a massive labor mobilization in New York City at City Hall. When I read it out, mentioning the police rampage in New York City and your situation, other members there



WV indicts Reagan, Goode for murder. To get these articles, send \$1 to Spartacist, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

that bombing impossible. But the leadership of the union wouldn't do it. After the bombing, the transit workers, with the hotel workers, the hospital workers, and the city workers, all predominantly black unions, could have shut that city down. Labor could have said, "You're going to commit a holocaust? A racist massacre?—We're going to shut this city down!" But the leadership isn't there. We must replace that leadership with a revolutionary leadership of the trade unions. The unions must be transformed and then the workers can use those organizations to transform this society. And that's the only way. And it's through those transformed unions and other organizations throughout the working class that we will build a revolutionary working-class party that will fight for revolutionary integrationism, that will abolish the system of exploitation. And I submit to you that until that happens, we must be on guard and mobilize to prevent anything like this ever happening again. Thank you.

Discussion

We Will Not Forget!

Reuben (SL): Some of the speakers spoke to the absence of black outrage in Philadelphia. I think what you're seeing instead is stunned shock, which was the intention on the part of the ruling class in conducting the Philadelphia massacre, just like it was intentional over Greensboro. The message is, if you get out of line in Reagan's America, you're a dead man. Just like the same effect that the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa was supposed to have in that country. And it took the awakening of a massive trade-union movement, and the massive black proletariat, six million strong in that country, to break through the silence, the stunned shock in the aftermath of the Sharpeville massacre. So that today, as in the United States, in South Africa every spark of black resistance the regime is trying to drown in blood. But it takes place against the backdrop of this massive class struggle that's going on there. And in that context Mayor Goode may well contemplate the fate of the black collaborators in the townships.

We must not forget Greensboro, we must not forget Philadelphia. In the

tant mobilization in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982. In the aftermath of Philadelphia, which was more overt and was directly state-supported, state-instituted mass terror, there will be more Philadelphias, unless the Spartacist League and our supporters and the forces that we can mobilize seize the initiative to interdict and stop this kind of holocaust that is going on to prepare this country for the next war with Russia. It took the victory of the first Civil War to begin to avenge the murder of John Brown. It will take the victory of the second civil war, a proletarian class war, to avenge all the fallen martyrs today of racist terror in this country.

LRP Disruption: "This Meeting Is a Sham"

LRP speaker: Yeah, of all the murders that were listed one was left out and it's very clear why, the Goetz murder of the blacks on the subway. Because basically the Spartacist League supported the execution of those blacks. Members of the Spartacist League at the last meeting I attended said that if they were in the same position they would have shot those blacks. They have defended Goetz and his actions. They point out the racist nature of the United States. That's true. This is a racist country and it's whipping up a war fever. But so was Nazi Germany in World War II, that didn't make Nazi Germany okay. The Soviet Union is racist also. It oppresses the minorities. You call yourselves Trotskyists. The first battle between the Trotskyists, who you say you are, and the Soviet Union was over the racial question, national oppression. The racism of the Soviet Union took the form of national oppression through forcing people to be integrated in the Soviet Union, denying all national rights, despite the constitution of the Soviet Union which granted rights to national freedom. In the United States the Spartacists have a position against the right of blacks for national liberation, the right to secede from the nation if they choose, to decide whether they want to stay or leave. You are against that. You attack nationalism. And I want to say, it's really disgusting what you've done at this meeting, because it's a sham. You oppose MOVE politically—now, you can defend someone and disagree with them politically. I think it's necessary to defend people you

U.S. government, the terror-bombers of Vietnam, now makes pre-emptive strike against opposition at home.



Day/Detroit Free Press

had the black community in Philly been armed and organized. This is what we are fighting for. And this is what should be the theme of this talk and the discussion. We are fighting to organize the working class and black people for the right to defend themselves against a fully armed government, which has targeted black people, the working-class movement and leftists for extermination.

Alison (SL): You [the LRP] did not say one word in defense of the MOVE organization that's been martyred in Philadelphia! So people talked a lot tonight about searing the memory of this racist massacre into the minds of the American population! And then you have supposed socialists, like the LRP, like the Socialist Workers Party and others mentioned tonight, who want to commemorate what happened in Philly as the unfortunate destruction of property. That's what they marched for,

simply recognized that yes, this had to be done, and they got up and they argued against the black trade-union bureaucrat who was the one who fought to get this motion squashed. It failed very narrowly. But as soon as we get a chance to fight for it again, we will.

Solidarity with People That Faced Cop Terror

Mary Jo: I'm a supporter of the Committee for a Fighting TWU and I'm working with the Spartacist campaign in the city. You know, in South Africa when the police open fire they don't ask for your party card. You know, they don't ask if you're a supporter of the United Democratic Front or PAC or who you are. They open fire and they open fire against children. And what we're talking about here tonight is a basic act of solidarity with people that faced cop terror. And to my knowledge

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Philly Inferno...

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the Spartacist League is the only group that built a meeting in this city, and *they're* the only ones that contacted me about marching in Philadelphia in solidarity with the MOVE members, to protest this outrage.

Now, the thing is that this was a message, not just to MOVE but to all of us here, and everybody and particularly black America, that if you resist us, you die. And when they started to go after MOVE, when they first came after them in '78 was when that cop got shot. They shot their own, but it doesn't matter, they wanted to lock up all the MOVE members for life for it, because they dared to resist and defend themselves against a police attack.

And they're doing it here in New York. I work out of Pitkin Avenue. Just this past week the cops pulled a 5 a.m. Gestapo raid through the housing projects in that area, and who did they go after? People who jumped turnstiles, people who beat their fare, people who smoked a little dope on the street. They didn't go after the real criminals that are peddling dope out there or anything like that. They wanted to terrorize the population. Because Koch said, "bomb Beirut," and Koch would just as soon bomb black Brooklyn, particularly if anybody has any interest in fighting against the cop terror that's going on in this city. And people are very worked up about it, particularly with the recent death of Edmund Perry. Everybody is very on edge about what's going on here. And the list is *too long*. It's Randy Evans, it's Arthur Miller, it's Eleanor Bumpurs, it's Edmund Perry. And when people saw the headlines of *Workers Vanguard* out at work, Philadelphia was what they wanted to read about. Because they know that's where it ends. And it's been very important for the Committee [in TWU] to have raised the motions for a mobilization of labor power against the cop terror that's going on.

And if you want to talk about Bernhard Goetz, look, a lot of the furor over that was the fact that they don't want people to defend themselves, they want all power in the hands of the cops. And we say self-defense is important. We had a black brother, a transit worker beaten to death by racists in Gravesend. If the brother would have had a piece, he might be here today. Now we're trying to do something to make sure that that never happens again. So the point is Reagan said his list of outlaw nations: Cuba, the Soviet Union, North Korea. Lookit, he's also got his list of outlaw peoples, and it's all of us. He wants to make us outlaws in our own land if we dare to resist his crazy war drive and his attempt to make working people and blacks pay for the crisis of capitalism. And I think people ought to work on this campaign and build this party in order to fight that for once and all.

Chairman: All of the speakers, actually Louise is going to summarize too, all of the speakers would like summary time. [Interjections from LRPer.] I am running this meeting, you shut up! Now I'd like to introduce Louise, who will speak for a few minutes in summary.

Louise James

Louise James: I'd like to thank Gene and Frank over here, Joel and the people who had us come down from Philadelphia to speak with you. My sister LaVerne of course spoke for both herself and me. Just to address for a moment the remarks of this man up here. It's not important whether or not anybody, underscore *anybody*, agrees with the MOVE organization or its doctrine. The only thing that is important is that people rally around the *wrong* of what happened, you see. You see, communism is spelled one way.

Baptist is spelled another way. Christianity is spelled still another way. MOVE is spelled a different way. Africa is spelled one way, America another, *but wrong ain't spelled but one way!* And *that* is what people have to understand. And so when we call upon people to come and stand beside us, in front of us, behind us, we are calling upon the people to stand in back of, in front of, beside the wrong—*push it away!* It would be nice for people to come from New York, I would love to see that happen. But in all honesty, and I consider myself an honest and a fair person, I cannot justifiably blame New York for not coming to Philadelphia when Philadelphians did not rally around what happened. You see, you're not supposed to ever look away from home, because charity begins at home. And when the people in Philadelphia did not find it in their hearts to be charitable enough to come and look at the disaster they themselves had created, then how could I possibly be angry with people from New York? The only thing that we can consider it as, is as a plus, a bonus, you understand that. And we are grateful to people from New York, Chicago, and the people all across this nation who came to the aid of my sister and me. LaVerne and I stood in Philadelphia for the first week and a half after this atrocity and when I tell you



WV Photo

Louise James: The only important thing is that people rally around the *wrong* of what happened.

that we were completely alone, I kid you not. We were completely alone. However, when we left Filthy-delphia, because that is exactly what it is, when we left that place, then we found that the nation was behind us, you see, the nation is watching our backs. LaVerne and I, I'm sure, are on the hit list of Filthy-delphia people. I'm speaking now about Mayor Goode and his administration. But we don't give a good goddamn! Because what we have to do is what we *had* to do on May 13th. That still has to be done and it's gonna get done. And it's gonna get done in spite of the fact that these people are breathing down our necks. Because you better hurry up and believe that the breath coming from Louise James and that coming from LaVerne Sims is enough to *back off* Philadelphia!

Police brutality is nothing new. What we need to understand is how to control it. When the first act of police brutality was allowed, that is when it became mass murder. You see, cancer has got to be *cut out* in its initial stages. You can't put a bandaid over it and expect it to disappear. Because it's not gonna happen. It is simply going to spread, if that little lump is allowed to germinate and fester. And it is no different with police brutality. What had to happen when that first act occurred was for people to get up! Not sit down, I mean get up and *demand* that this should never happen again. And we wouldn't be talking about young Edmund Perry, you see, but you understand that! Because there would be nothing to talk about. I am sorry that I don't have more time to address this issue, however, I am grateful that I had the time that I did have to say what I had to say. But you all

come on out to Philadelphia, because we got a whole lot more to say. I thank you.

Summaries

Organize Black Workers' Power

Gene Herson: Well, as Louise has said. She's a tough act to follow. And Louise can also testify to our many fights and arguments about politics. [Louise: "friendly, friendly"] And believe me, you will not have to be black to be shot at in this country, in the final analysis. All you have to do is be for the right of defending yourself, for the right to organize, for the right to oppose oppression in this country. And that's what, by the way, this campaign, the Spartacist campaign is about. It's not to vote socialism in, it's to *organize* for the right of self-defense, for the working class to organize, and for blacks to be able to use the potential power of the working class to launch a counter-offensive against capitalism. That's what we're about, that's what the Spartacist League is about. It's no coincidence that while Reagan was in Bitburg, shortly afterward you found Osage and the bombing and the massacre of the MOVE people. That when the Ku Klux Klan wanted to march on November 27 in Washington, D.C. Reagan was hosting Botha of South Africa.

The point about MOVE and the massacre of MOVE is that they were blacks that would not eat shit from capitalism. They believed in the right of self-defense. Black Panthers believed in the right of self-defense. Anybody hear of Fred Hampton? Bobby Hutton? Dead blacks in America! Because they stood up, they knew that if they capitulated to capitalist America, they were dead, they would *never* be free. Regardless of their program, the errors, these people were dedicated to fighting for freedom. Well, no black will ever be free in capitalist America. I promise you that. And the nation is waiting and watching. And we aim to build a counteroffensive, we aim to organize the working class and to maximize the power of the most oppressed in this country, which are the blacks. And don't forget what happened to the Japanese in the concentration camps, or what happens in any war against non-whites, such as Vietnam: My Lai, Lieutenant Calley.

This is a racist, capitalist system and the Spartacist League is counterposed to that and we believe in mobilizing the working class against it and it's through that power that blacks and the entire working class will have freedom. And we believe in an international movement. We are speaking from many places. We're talking about Sri Lanka and the oppression of Tamils. We are talking about the oppression of people in Germany. We are talking internationally, not just within the United States. And that is our banner, that's what the Spartacist League stands for.

Edward Kartsen: MOVE members living and dead are to be honored. We honor the MOVE members who came here and spoke. It's an act of courage. It's an act of courage particularly in the face of the fact that close relatives and friends were the immediate victims of bloody government atrocity. If Mayor Koch wasn't physically in Philly, you can be assured his spirit was in the helicopter when that bomb was dropped. All this talk in the papers about forensic investigation mystifies what went on. It was no virgin birth, it was no mystical Virgin Mary, it was no fantasy that went on. MOVE members were people, made up of flesh and blood. That's what they are to us, the Spartacist League. The Nazis had at least the *shame* to hide the murder that went on in the concentration camps! But not the American bourgeoisie, and not the *New York Times*, the primary American bourgeois press. All the

atrocities that's fit to print. Well, we promise, we promise that our work, our successful work will result in avenging this atrocity. This is what we are dedicated to. The power of the working class must be unleashed to stop the racist atrocities carried out by the Ku Klux Klan in white robes and in blue, in the White House or not. We challenge those liberal weak-knees who are begging before the Democratic Party, to finally *stand up* and bring masses to the streets to stop the racist terror! Instead of looking for nit-picking points at meetings in order to justify their own cravings, social-democratic cravings for licking the ass of the Democratic Party.

As MOVE members stated, Goode was primary in all this stuff. He was prominent, he's the black front man, he's the tool of Reaganite terror. He is the prize of what the civil rights movement looked toward as the great hope in America, as black achievement through the Democratic Party. But you know, the liberal left has the same strategy. They tell the same story to black people. While they call the Spartacist League racist for recognizing the reality of horrible racist America, they are preaching the *lie* the Democratic Party has a hope, has a future for black America. Goode was the executioner. But Goode, Powell and *all* of the people who participated in this atrocity must be brought to working-class justice. That is what we are in business about. That is what we are in business to implement. Working-class justice. This country has no future outside of that. It has no future outside of rallying the power of working-class people and black people around the principles of class struggle, to finally achieve justice and the abolition of this decadent system which propagates race-terror in order to prop itself up. We stand for the building of a new civil rights movement. We stand for the building of a new working-class movement. We stand for the culmination of all the forces of the oppressed around the scientific principles of class struggle, to destroy all the decadent crap that capitalist society has propagated. That goes for the Hitler-lovers in the White House. That goes for the Goodes. The building of a working-class party to smash race-terror. Finish the Civil War! This is what the work of the Spartacist League is devoted to. We are for avenging the MOVE members who were murdered, and we honor them.

LaVerne Sims: Just very, very short. We've been in MOVE like over 12 years, and during those 12 years we were at a lot of demonstrations. And we were taught by John Africa that when a person gets up in those demonstrations and they're saying something different than what we're saying, that oftentimes they are plants. And they are planted there to cause dissension among the people who are trying to do what is right. To the [LRP] gentleman up there, you know, I can recognize the signs when I see them. And I feel as if, if you didn't want to come here to participate for right, then you should not have come at all. Because your motive is not in line with ours. I don't know your name, and the reason why I don't know your name is because you did not make yourself available to Louise and myself and to MOVE members when we needed help. Okay? Excuse me one minute, excuse me one minute. I know Joel, and I know Frank, and I know Gene and I know Debbie and I know Rachel and I know Rena. And the reason why I know them is because they were concerned enough to come to our aid and offer their assistance. I really would like to know why *you* are here. More to the point, we had a MOVE brother, so-called, who was in the MOVE organization, calling himself our brother, who turned informant against John Africa. So we already know about people and what they will and won't do. But you will not stop our line of thinking when we can recognize what people are truly trying to do, and the help that they're trying to give us. Thank you. ■

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 12)

with its aircraft carriers and battleships. But to take and hold a country will require armed men, and in preparing their contingency plans, the Pentagon will have to take into account the fact that *more than 200,000 guns have been distributed to the population so far in 1985*. At a ceremony July 13 in front of hundreds of soldiers where the promotions of more than 2,000 officers of the Sandinista People's Army (EPS) were announced, Defense Minister Humberto Ortega declared that:

"Because of its confidence in the people and in order to be better prepared against eventual direct intervention, the Revolution has turned over, in an organized way, 170,000 AKA, G-3 and other automatic rifles; 25,000 mechanical rifles popularly known as 'macho-killers' [M-44s], about 5,000 of them prepared for snipers; 40,000 BZ, PPK, M-23 and M-25 and other semi-automatic rifles and sub-machine guns; and 20,000 hunting weapons of all kinds. The Revolution has handed over more than 200,000 rifles in an organized fashion to its people in order to defend the people's interests."

In addition to mass mobilization into the army and militia, special mobile units, anti-tank and anti-helicopter units and elite special forces units have been created in recent months, said Humberto Ortega, "to make every town in Nicaragua a genuine bastion, a genuine wall, so that an eventual intervention will be met house by house, block by block, street by street."

A message was read to the army ceremony from Father Miguel D'Escoto, Nicaragua's foreign minister and a Maryknoll priest who has been fasting for 12 days now for peace and against the state terrorism of the U.S. government. "I feel a strong desire to go into the hills to fight together with you," he told the soldiers. "This is a Christian desire and a Sandinista desire.... Forward in the battle against aggression." D'Escoto launched his fast not only in protest against the "diabolical aggressor" but also to challenge the church hierarchy. (He was removed by the Vatican from his priestly functions "for the crime of not betraying my people," and Managua's archbishop, Cardinal Obando, has been a standard-bearer of the counterrevolution.) All over Nicaragua, groups of rank-and-file Catholics have joined Padre Miguel's "Christian insurrection," fasting to protest the *contras'* kidnapping of teachers, the attacks on farm cooperatives, the assassination of children.

Noble as it is, this call to conscience will hardly stop the Yankee guns, as Father D'Escoto would be the first to admit. An armed people is key to the defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution. And the Nicaraguan people have real gains to defend. In the field of health: life expectancy has gone from 53 years in 1979 to 60 years today; infant mortality has fallen from 121 six years ago to 44 per 1,000 births in 1985; malnutrition among children has been cut in half, from 68 percent to 35 percent. In education the illiteracy rate has been slashed from 50 percent in 1979 to 13 percent. But above all there was the elimination of Somoza's National Guard, that gang of professional killers who ran the country through sheer terror. Now you can walk the streets day or night, and the police are actually polite—an unheard of thing in this region of banana republics.

Complete, Extend the Revolution!

On June 17, all of Managua gets roaring drunk to celebrate the "Day of Joy"—the night when dictator "Tachito" Somoza fled Nicaragua. For one day, a puppet "caretaker" government desperately tried to organize an "orderly transfer of power." But a mass insurrection surging out of the capital's impoverished eastern barrios frustrated

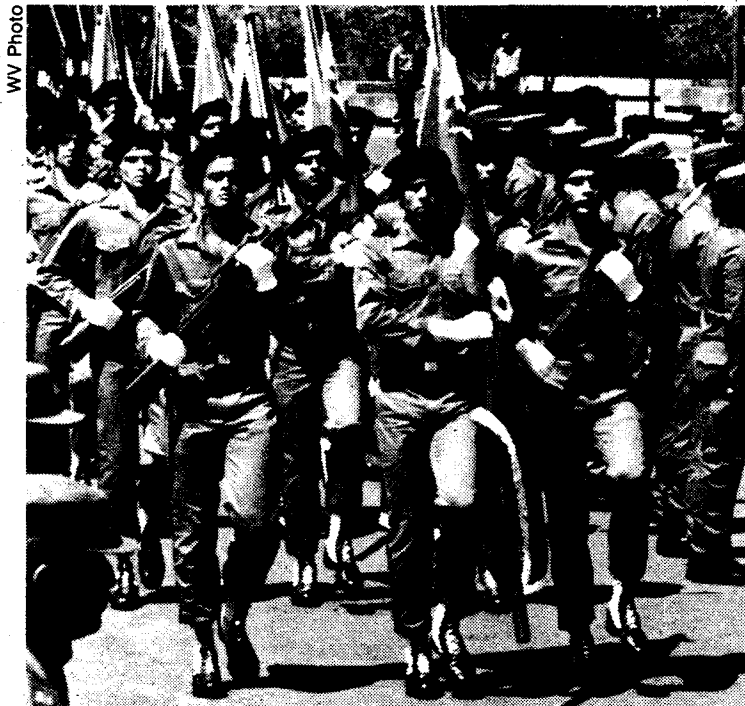
this attempt to realize the State Department's pipe dream of "Somozism without Somoza." By the time the Sandinista troops from the Southern, Northern and Northeastern fronts converged on the capital on July 19, Managua was already in the hands of the insurgents. As the mercenary Guardsmen fled in their Mercedes, Piper Cubs and pirated boats, the destruction of the dictatorship meant the demise of the entire state apparatus of Nicaraguan capitalism.

What replaced it was not "Sandino-Communism," as the Reaganites claim, but a petty-bourgeois bonapartist regime of the radical nationalist Sandinistas. The FSLN regime was based on neither the preservation of bourgeois private property nor establishing the collectivized economy of a proletarian state. From the first days of their

who are prepared to defend the revolution arms in hand?"

But even with this newfound willingness to "listen to the clamor of the people," the Sandinista regime is still trying to maintain its utopian scheme of class conciliation. An article on land reform in the north reports that even with accelerated land distribution this year only 5,000 families will have received land while there are more than 20,000 landless peasants in the region (*Barricada*, 12 July).

The petty-bourgeois Sandinistas have in fact tried to maintain their fiction of a "mixed economy," COSEP to the contrary, as long as their hold on power is not directly threatened. In practice this means propping up the remaining capitalists—hardly the program of Lenin on the eve of the October Revolution when he called for "control



Sandinista army on parade, July 13: Defense Minister Humberto Ortega announced 200,000 guns in the hands of the people.

victory, the comandantes have sought to precariously balance between the forces of imperialism and the domestic bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the mass of working people and the oppressed on the other. This program has since been sanctified in the Sandinista trinity of "mixed economy, political pluralism and nonalignment," a formula which Daniel Ortega repeated once again this July 19. An estimated 54 percent of industry is still in private hands. But neither the Nicaraguan capitalists nor their American senior partners have been much interested lately in Sandinista offers to play the game of class collaboration.

The Sandinista balancing act *cannot last*, and this is already being felt in the countryside. Last month, the agrarian reform ministry (MIDINRA) took over holdings of Enrique Bolaños, head of the COSEP employers association, near Managua, where a land-hungry peasantry has been demanding expropriation of the hacienda owners. On July 16, National Agrarian Reform Day, MIDINRA head Jaime Wheelock distributed titles to the former Bolaños lands in the department of Masaya, as well as to several other farms purchased from their owners. Comandante Wheelock, once head of the "Proletarian Tendency" of the FSLN, vociferously denied COSEP's charges of communism: "Those who say we are enemies of property are wrong. Because it's true we expropriated one, but we have created 870 new landowners."

Wheelock frankly admitted that, "Immediately after the victory the local councils took over practically all the land. And we had to advise them to return the lands... because we didn't want anarchy, we didn't want avalanches."

"Every year, pressures mounted, until now with the trade embargo the people sense that there are no loans, no raw materials, prices are going up, there are shortages of corn, shortages of beans... and they decide they want more land.... So then we asked ourselves, who are we defending in this country? Do we defend one landowner, who is an enemy of the revolution? Or do we defend the people

over the landowners and capitalists by the workers and peasants" ("The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It," September 1917). But as Ronald Reagan ups the voltage, it is becoming harder and harder for the FSLN to walk the high wire without crashing to the ground. And as the local "branch office" bourgeoisie increasingly feels the effects of being cut off from their home offices in the U.S., Bolaños' threats (at a COSEP convention July 17) of "decisive battles" will move from the realm of talk to action.

All the while, the threat of direct U.S. military intervention hangs over the country like an incubus. Tanks are dug in at the approaches to major towns and cities and around key military installations. Military traffic is heavy, revolutionary vigilance around the factories and barrios is stepped up and security measures were heavy in the capital throughout the last week. The shortages and privations are taking their toll on Nicaragua's small working class, but the determination and enthusiasm of the youth who made the revolution is still there. Young soldiers and students and even an old woman in Masaya were cheerful in greeting "American enemies of the CIA." And when a dozen Soviet-made helicopters, including several of the formidable MI-24 gunships, flew in formation over Carlos Fonseca Plaza yesterday, there was a lusty cheer from the crowd.

Nicaragua is in the throes of revolution—what began as a political revolution quickly began to stir up a social revolution as well, which cannot be contained in the straitjacket of Sandinista "pluralism." Peasants demanding land, women who want the right to abortion, workers fed up with the bosses' systematic sabotage and mismanagement by FSLN administrators can't be satisfied by the attempts to appease the capitalists, the church and the White House. And sizable sectors of the middle class in Managua, who want to live like they're in Miami and won't let anything come between them and their Calvin Klein designer jeans, are becoming fed up. Internally, they

have little hope of overthrowing the Sandinistas, so pervasive is the FSLN regime. They have to look to Reagan or else despair, even though an invasion could destroy them as well.

"National leadership, give us the orders" chanted the demonstrators yesterday. This slogan is a consummate expression of a *bonapartist* regime, which places itself *above* the workers and oppressed. But it also expresses the Nicaraguan masses' will to fight, if only someone would point the way. No less than in 1979, when Wheelock ordered peasants to give back the land, the Sandinista leaders are *holding back* revolutionary struggle. A genuinely communist, Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party is needed in Nicaragua to provide the kind of leadership the Bolsheviks gave in 1917. In Nicaragua just as in Russia, if not more so, *internationalism* will be key. A nationalist regime, no matter how radical, cannot revolutionize the working masses against the hostile U.S. puppet regimes which surround Nicaragua on the Central American isthmus.

The touchstone for internationalism in Nicaragua is El Salvador, and El Salvador is the subject almost never mentioned by the Sandinistas. In days of travel only one faded slogan was seen on a wall calling for support to the Salvadoran leftist insurgents. But while Ortega simply told the crowd that Nicaragua has nothing to do with terrorism, one worker interviewed by *Barricada* said, "the Salvadoran patriots should keep on killing Yankees, even if it's used as a pretext to invade us, because we're going to kill them here, too." Hinting at a revolutionary war throughout Central America *after* the U.S. invades, as FSLN leaders occasionally do, is *too late*. An internationalist leadership could have set the whole region aflame with revolution following the triumph in 1979—thus depriving the Yankees of their bases in Honduras and elsewhere which they are now using as a staging ground for attacking Nicaragua.

Managua was crawling with American "friends of Nicaragua" last week. But the "solidarity" milieu has been notably silent at home in the face of the U.S. trade boycott and Congressional votes for "contra" aid. The reason is not hard to find: the Democrats, who previously criticized Reagan's policy as "counterproductive," have swung over to full-fledged support for the administration following Daniel Ortega's trip to Moscow in April. The FSLN has noticed the shift as well: one Sandinista spokesman complained that all the "solidarity" groups ever asked was, "Is Nicaragua getting Soviet aid?" Comandante Bayardo Arce said it's time to stop talking about empty "solidarity" and start talking about a "convergence of interests" in defending the revolution. But they won't have much luck with their fair-weather "nonaligned" friends who boycotted the sixth anniversary (not one head of state or social-democratic luminary attended).

The Spartacist League calls on American workers, minorities, youth and all opponents of imperialism to defend Nicaragua against imperialist aggression. The Spartacus Youth League recently undertook an urgent fund appeal in response to the U.S. trade embargo, saying "Now more than ever Nicaragua needs hard currency for everything from arms to medicine to spare parts." This campaign has had an enthusiastic reception, raising thousands of dollars in the space of a few weeks, every penny of it going to Nicaragua. Spartacist supporters in Nicaragua for the July 19 celebrations found that people loved the SYL button, "Defend Nicaragua! Crush the Contras!" and showed a heartfelt appreciation for acts of genuine solidarity in times when the going gets rough. For our part, as Trotskyists we consider it our revolutionary duty to take a stand for Nicaragua, the No. 1 target of the U.S.' anti-Soviet "anti-terrorist" war drive today. ■

Nicaragua Defies Reagan

MANAGUA, July 20—More than 500,000 people streamed into the Carlos Fonseca Plaza yesterday to celebrate the sixth anniversary of the revolution which toppled a bloody dictatorship that had ruled Nicaragua as its private fiefdom for almost half a century after being installed by the United States. Responding to the speech by Daniel Ortega, president of Nicaragua and leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), the crowd chanted the slogan which can be seen throughout the country: "Nicaragua victoriosa, ni se vende, ni se rinde" (Victorious Nicaragua won't sell out and won't give up). When the threat of a U.S. invasion was mentioned, hundreds of thousands of voices roared back, "No pasarán" (They shall not pass) and "Aquí, allá, el yanqui morirá" (Here, there, the Yankees will die).

The crowd was one of the largest in the Nicaraguan capital since the overthrow of the Somoza dynasty by a popular insurrection led by the FSLN. If the joy of victory was worn down after four years of a terrorist war by the CIA's "contra" mercenaries and brutal economic strangulation culminating in the U.S. trade boycott, the determination to fight to defend their revolution was as clear as ever. But there is a sense of loss of direction in the country. If a U.S. invasion comes, they know what to do. In poor barrios you can see hand-scrawled signs like, "Yankee son of a bitch, we're waiting for you" and "The gringos and the reactionaries will die.



WV Photo
"We Won't Sell Out, We Won't Give Up! Nicaragua Will Be Reagan's Grave!" Half a million Nicaraguans in Managua's Carlos Fonseca Plaza celebrate sixth anniversary of their revolution, July 19.

Nicaragua will be Reagan's grave." But what is to be done now, they ask, except wait?

In recent weeks, Reagan has been escalating his attacks on the Sandinista

regime, accusing Nicaragua of being part of a band of "outlaw terrorist states." On the eve of the July 19 celebrations, Washington delivered a secret diplomatic note to Managua

threatening reprisals against Nicaragua if more U.S. soldiers are killed anywhere in Central America. After reading this insolent note to the crowd gathered in Carlos Fonseca Plaza, Ortega declared: "Nicaragua has neither practiced terrorism, nor supports terrorism, nor has it been involved in any terrorist activity. Who blew up the fuel tanks in Corinto?" he asked rhetorically. The Nicaraguans? "Who mined the Nicaraguan ports? Who bombed Sandino Airport? Who published the CIA murder manual? So who are the terrorists?"

Defend Nicaragua!

Last month the press was full of articles about U.S. preparations for direct military intervention in Central America. According to the *New York Times* (4 June), a leading Pentagon expert "asserted that the Nicaraguan people would rise up in support of an American invasion...." They may be sorely surprised. Speaking to some of the hundreds of thousands who gathered in the plaza to celebrate the victory over Somoza, the FSLN newspaper *Barricada* (20 July) asked peasants from the northern war zone about the claim by a leading U.S. intelligence official that an invasion of Nicaragua would be like "falling off a log." They replied, "Let them try it. Let's see if they have balls like us!"

The Nicaraguan people also have guns. Tiny Nicaragua can never match the firepower of the Yankee colossus
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Support Spartacist Party Campaign!

In Managua, Nicaragua on July 19 Spartacist Party candidate for Mayor of New York Marjorie Stamberg attended a giant rally celebrating the sixth anniversary of the revolution which smashed the Somoza dictatorship. Here in New York City, petitioners for Stamberg and Ed Kartsen, Spartacist candidate for Manhattan Borough President, are bringing the program of working-class internationalism to labor, minorities and the poor, from the streets of Harlem to downtown Brooklyn. Anti-imperialism abroad, they say, means

class struggle at home.

The Stamberg/Kartsen campaign offers a platform of revolutionary struggle for working people who want to fight back against the terrorism of Reagan's America. The bombing of black babies in Philadelphia and the wanton cop terror in New York are a sample of what Reagan (backed by the Democrats, who voted for millions in aid to the CIA's killer "contras") has in store for Nicaragua. The Spartacist candidates say: Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution! For labor political strikes against

imperialist war! And this call is hitting home in NYC. On July 20 a postal letter carrier walked up to one of our petitioners, looked at the name Spartacist and handed him \$5.00. "Send this to Nicaragua," he said, recognizing us as the people raising funds to defend besieged Nicaragua in defiance of Reagan's embargo.

It also takes money to get out the message of the working people's candidates at home. *Capitalist politicians like racist mayor Koch get big bucks from Wall Street, the slumlords and kill-crazy cops. Stamberg/Kartsen depend on you.* Election law requires reporting names of people who contribute over \$99. So because our party does not disclose names of individual contributors, we will not accept donations over \$99. Trade unions and other organizations, however, are more than welcome to donate larger amounts.

If you like what the Stamberg/Kartsen campaign has to say, get involved! Send your contributions to: Spartacist Party Campaign Committee, c/o Box 444, Canal St. Sta., New York, NY 10013. And stop by our campaign headquarters at 41 Warren St. in lower Manhattan, Monday through Thursday, 5-8 p.m. or Saturday, 1-5 p.m., or call (212) 267-1025.



WV Photo

Marjorie Stamberg with members of the Sandinista People's Militia in Managua, July 19. The sign reads: "Victorious Nicaragua Won't Sell Out, Won't Give Up."

Marjorie Stamberg for Mayor

New York City: For the Working People!

Ed Kartsen for Manhattan Borough President

Vote Spartacist