

## Reagan, Cops, Black Mayor—They're the Terrorists

# Philly Inferno: Racist Murder!

"Attention. MOVE. This is America." With this ultimatum, delivered over a cop bullhorn at 5:40 a.m. on May 13, there began the hideous siege and mass murder by firebombing of a black neighborhood in West Philadelphia. At least four black children, seven black men and women burned alive and entire city blocks destroyed in a deliberate firestorm. For the alleged "crime" of being a social nuisance, and without a fig leaf of legality hiding the state's racist terror, MOVE members were incinerated, hundreds were left homeless and without possessions. Watch your ass or *you could be next!*—this was the message to the black people of America, and not just the black people. Black Democrat Philadelphia mayor Wilson Goode vowed, "I would do it again." But this wasn't simply the act of Goode, his city manager, retired two-star general Leo Brooks, and the notoriously racist Philadelphia police department. The bloody tracks of Ronald Reagan's "anti-terrorist" war on blacks, labor and the left are all over West Philadelphia. The grisly Philly firebombing is the symbol of Reagan's America.

"Reagan Bombs Black Babies," we headlined last issue, as the cops turned the neat Osage Avenue neighborhood of black homeowners into a raging inferno. Now as the details of the sinister operation emerge, it is utterly clear that this heinous crime was approved right at the top. Philadelphia police met with the FBI and reviewed strategy and tactics two days before the operation against MOVE began. Daryl "Choke Hold" Gates, chief of the notoriously racist Los Angeles Police Department, hailed the Philadelphia firestorm on the national TV show, "Face the Nation," May 19, saying Mayor Goode was on his short "heroes list." And U.S. attorney general Edwin Meese, speaking before the "California Peace Officers' Association" in San Francisco May 16, praised Wilson Goode's actions as "a good example" to emulate! Meese's praise wasn't for "any particulars" in the case,



The bombing of black America—signature of the Reagan years.

a Justice Department spokesman later claimed. Oh, no?

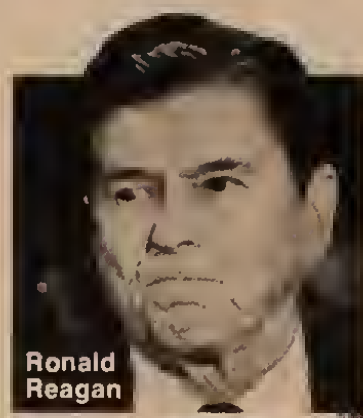
From Reagan's top cop this was no surprise. The people who salute SS graves in Germany brought Bitburg back to Philly with a bang. This was no "firefight," it was a *firestorm*: Dresden in America. What ever happened to the old American saying that "a man's home is his castle"? This was a *deliberate* firebombing—mass murder pure and

simple. There was fighting in row houses in Arnhem, the Netherlands, in 1944, shown in the movie *A Bridge Too Far*. But the German SS corps commander never ordered his flame-throwers to incinerate entire blocks. In fact, when he encountered a makeshift hospital in one local villa, he spared it. But not the Philadelphia Police Department—they're too chicken. In the "Free World," U.S.A., they bomb women

and children, as long as they're black. Just like in Vietnam, they had to destroy the neighborhood in order to "save" it.

This was a willful racist massacre of people with no name (they called themselves "Africa") who had committed no crime. And the American ruling class gets off on it. "Tragedies will occur," smirked Meese (*New York*

*continued on page 10*



Ronald Reagan



Edwin Meese



Gregore Sambor

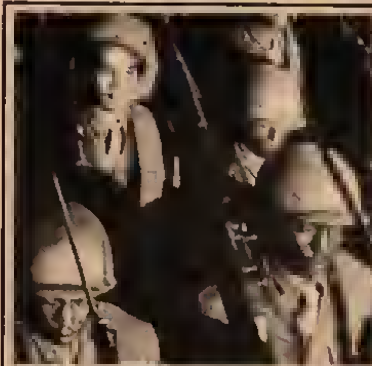


Wilson Goode



## Interracial Sex Ban Jolted in South Africa

SEE PAGE FOUR



## Black Soldiers in the Jim Crow Military

SEE PAGE SIX



## Marcyism: Global Class Collaboration

23 April 1985

WV

To the editors:

I enjoyed the good-humored sparring with the *Internationalist Worker* in the 19 April WV ["Nicaragua: Will the Real State Please Stand Up"]. Two points are not clear to me, however. You refer to "their ultra-objectivist 'global class war' schema." What does this mean? And what are the earmarks of "Global Class War terminology"?

Best,  
David Justice  
Longmeadow, MA

**WV replies:** The tiny Revolutionary Communist League-(Internationalist) [RCL-(I)] defines itself as adherents of the "original" Sam Marcy, who emerged as an oppositionist within the then-revolutionary Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the late 1940s/early '50s calling his political current the "Global Class War Tendency." The common denominator to Marcyism,

which shapes its character as Stalinism of the second mobilization, is loss of confidence in the revolutionary capacity of the working class, in the historical context of the onset of the Cold War.

According to the "GCW" schema the class struggle is summed up by the division of the world into two camps, Soviet and imperialist. Despite its left-sounding label, this Cold War impressionism serves as a "theoretical" justification for tailing Kremlin policies. Marcy notoriously supported Khrushchev's suppression of the Hungarian workers in 1956, against the uprising which was a prototype of the Trotskyists' call for proletarian political revolution to throw off the sellout Stalinist bureaucracy. After he left the SWP, Marcy's Stalinoid Workers World Party (WWP) supported Mao's Red Guards in China, hailed North Korean megalomaniac Kim IlSung, and backed Cuban and Soviet intervention not only in Angola, where they were vital to stopping a CIA-backed South African invasion, but also in Ethiopia where they bolster the bloody nationalist Derg

against Eritrean and Somali minorities seeking national self-determination.

The Stalinists' political program is *global class collaboration*, dreaming of a return to the World War II "grand anti-fascist alliance" with "democratic" U.S. imperialism. Marcy understood this logic from the beginning: his first act as an oppositionist in the SWP was to call for electoral support to the CP-backed "Progressive Party" candidacy of FDR's former vice president, Henry Wallace, in 1948. Today through their myriad front groups—YAWF, PAM, APC, etc.—the Marcyite WWP exists to organize demos for the liberal Democrats. The RCL-(I) has sought to hold on to the leftist veneer of vintage Marcyism. Thus where Workers World was gung-ho for Jesse Jackson's "movement," the more-Marcyite-than-Marcy RCL-(I) offered to support this black Democrat's Rainbow Coalition if only it was big enough.

In the last several years the lines of the "global class war" have repeatedly been drawn in the streets of Washington,

D.C. as the Marcyite WWP has gooned for the Teddy Kennedys to keep El Salvador protests free of any taint of communism. And on 27 November 1982, when the Spartacist League-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stopped KKK racist terrorists from marching near the Capitol, Marcy & Co. set up a line of goons to keep black youths penned up miles away listening to black Democrat Walter Fauntroy at McPherson Square. Though later chagrined at being left out of the action, the RCL-(I) Marcyites of the second mobilization were on the wrong side of that line.

After their 1982 attempt to fuse/enter the WWP was spurned, Marcy's unwanted stepchildren threw all leftist pretense to the wind, seeking affiliation with Ernest Mandel's social-democratized dis-United Secretariat. But since Marcyism is a homegrown American version of Pabloism, the anti-Trotskyist revisionism historically embodied in the USec, it's really no accident that in Cold War II the RCL-(I) ends up wooing Solidarność-loving Mandelites. For more on these ultra-Marcyites, see "Trotskyism vs. 'True' Marcyism," in *Young Spartacus* No. 114, December 1983/January 1984. ■

## Limitations of Bourgeois Legality

17 May 1985

Dear Editor,

While the article of page 2 of *Workers Vanguard* No. 378 [3 May 1985] on Marxists versus FBI Repression explains what the Spartacist League is not, it is not clear on what the SL is. Marxist working-class organization or Marxist propaganda group can cover a wide

range of programs from that of the peaceful and legal ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party to 1917 Bolshevism. Furthermore, while the article raises the question of using legality under a capitalist government, it does not explain the limitations of that legality. In this context, it is important to note what Lenin had to say in regard to bourgeois legality. Writing in 1910

concerning a German Social Democratic Congress, Lenin said,

"The leader of the revisionists, Frank, strongly insisted, like all the Badenites, that although the Minister, von Bodman, had originally denied 'parity of rights' of the Social-Democrats with the other, bourgeois parties he had subsequently retracted this 'affront.' Bebel in his report made the following reply on this point: 'If the minister of a modern state... declares that he does not recognize parity of rights of the Social-Democrats, then he is quite right from his own point of view.' Frank interrupted Bebel with the cry 'outrageous!'"

Lenin went on to add, "Why was Frank so indignant? Because he is thoroughly imbued with faith in bourgeois 'legality,' in bourgeois 'parity of rights,' without understanding the historical limits of this legality, without understanding that all this legality must inevitably be cast to the four winds when the fundamental and cardinal question of the preservation of bourgeois property is affected." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Volume 16, pages 305 and 306.)

Of course in 1910 the Bolsheviks and the then-revolutionary German Social Democrats fought hard to obtain legality and utilized all the legality they could get. At that time in Europe it was easy to understand that governments, constitutions and legal systems could come and go, what was stable was the class rule of the propertied classes which set up governments, constitutions and legal systems to help them rule. That is where the Marxist concept of the armed uprising originated, not in the sense of a small group of conspirators taking power but in the sense of the overwhelming majority of the population led by the workers taking power by force from the small minority which would surrender power no other way.

While Marxists can renounce putschism and terrorism by individuals and small groups, they cannot renounce armed insurrection under any and all circumstances. The armed insurrection is not an agitational slogan today given the relative forces of the revolutionaries and the government and further given the fact that the government has not yet grossly violated the democratic rights of the workers in the manner in which they violated the rights of the Black Panther Party. Therefore, widespread illusions exist as to the government's willingness



WV Photo

**New York City, 30 November 1984—Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee spokesmen announce victory in suit against FBI's sinister Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines.**

to preserve the democratic rights of the workers and oppressed minorities. However, circumstances change and the slogans of a revolutionary party change accordingly.

In conclusion, while Marxists can sometimes win in the courtroom and could conceivably win at the ballot box, unless they can also win in the streets, they will still lose.

Revolutionary greetings,  
Smith  
Washington, D.C. area



TROTSKY

### Nicaragua and the Lessons of Spain

*Writing about the Spanish Civil War, Trotsky set forth the following conditions for the victory of the masses against the armed forces of their exploiters, conditions which retain their urgent relevance in Nicaragua today:*

The conditions for victory of the masses in a civil war against the army of exploiters are very simple in their essence.

1. The fighters of a revolutionary army

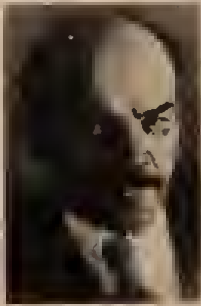
must be clearly aware of the fact that they are fighting for their full social liberation and not for the reestablishment of the old ("democratic") forms of exploitation.

2. The workers and peasants in the rear of the revolutionary army as well as in the rear of the enemy must know and understand the same thing.

3. The propaganda on their own front as well as on the enemy front and in both rears must be completely permeated with the spirit of social revolution. The slogan "First victory, then reforms," is the slogan of all oppressors and exploiters from the Biblical kings down to Stalin.

4. Politics are determined by those classes and strata that participate in the struggle. The revolutionary masses must have a state apparatus that directly and immediately expresses their will. Only the soviets of workers', soldiers', and peasants' deputies can act as such an apparatus.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Lessons of Spain: The Last Warning" (December 1937)



LENIN

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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31 May 1985



## Sabra and Shatila Again

# Shi'ites Massacre Palestinians

In September 1982 a new name for genocidal atrocity entered the world's political vocabulary—Sabra/Shatila. In these sprawling refugee camps in West Beirut hundreds, maybe thousands, of defenseless Palestinians—mainly women, children and old men—were slaughtered by Lebanese Phalange terrorists and the "South Lebanon Army," trained, equipped and directed by the Israeli high command. Now once again Palestinians in Sabra/Shatila are being massacred, only this time by the supposedly anti-Zionist and "anti-imperialist" Muslim Shi'ite Amal.

"It's a horrific tragedy," exclaimed a Palestinian spokesman. The Shi'ite forces are "pulverizing the camps, house by house, with heavy artillery and tank cannon. Dozens of bodies are lying in the streets. They won't let the Red Cross in." Lebanese police estimate that more than 250 Palestinians have been killed and over a thousand wounded, but nobody really knows. The Red Cross says the body count will rise when the rubble is cleared. The wounded and injured are dying for lack of medical attention, especially since the Gaza Hospital in Shatila was smashed by artillery the first day of the Shi'ite attack. Bodies are hanging from the ceiling of the morgue in the American University Hospital because there is no other place to put them all.

A *New York Times* headline runs, "Shiites and P.L.O. Continue Battles," as if both sides were more or less equal and eager to do battle. What in fact is happening is a one-sided massacre. The greatly superior Amal forces, joined by the largely Shi'ite Sixth Brigade of the Lebanese Army, have surrounded the

Shatila, Sabra and Burj al Brajneh camps with tanks, antiaircraft guns, mortars and recoilless rifles mounted on jeeps. The Palestinians are trying to defend themselves mainly with rifles and grenade launchers. Tank shells from the Sixth Brigade smash buildings where the Palestinian defenders are holding out. Amal forces then level the area with bulldozers as the camps are progressively overrun.

Behind the Sabra/Shatila massacres—first by the Israeli Zionists and their local agents, now by the Shi'ites—stands U.S. imperialism, abetted by the treachery of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) nationalist leadership. Remember it was Reagan's Marines who in August 1982 disarmed the Palestinian commandos in West Beirut and took them into exile. And the PLO agreed to this, hoping to gain in exchange Washington's favor. No sooner had the Palestinian commandos been removed from Beirut than their families left behind were slaughtered by order of the most bloodthirsty Zionist war criminal of all, Ariel Sharon.

Now Shi'ite Amal leader Nabih Berri is determined to finish Sharon's work. Contending that the PLO is rebuilding its forces in Lebanon, he declared, "Frankly speaking, we will not allow it" (*New York Times*, 22 May). Arafat claims that Berri has a secret agreement with Israel, and this is certainly possible.

The present massacre of Palestinians by the Shi'ite Amal should come as no surprise to anyone familiar with the squalid communalist feuding of Lebanese politics and not blinded by the self-serving myths of Reaganite anti-Communism or Third Worldist na-

Shatila  
holocaust:  
Palestinian  
woman weeps  
for dead in  
streets of  
refugee camp.



tionalism. The Shi'ite population of southern Lebanon initially welcomed the Israeli invasion in 1982. And in the years previous Amal's main targets were PLO commandos and Lebanese leftists. This, of course, did not prevent the occupying Israeli army from subjecting the Shi'ite Arabs in southern Lebanon to the same reign of terror imposed on the West Bank Palestinians.

Nor did it prevent vicarious Third World nationalist cheerleaders on the left from hailing the Shi'ites and their Druze allies as great "anti-imperialist" fighters when they clashed with the U.S.-backed Phalange regime in late 1983/early 1984. Joining this pro-Shi'ite chorus was the so-called External Tendency (ET), a coterie of embittered and cynical renegades who quit the international Spartacist tendency. The ETs went so far as to claim that the bombing of the Marine headquarters at the Beirut airport in October 1983, presumably by Shi'ite fanatics, was the greatest blow to American imperialism since the 1968 Tet Offensive in Vietnam.

The Tet Offensive was the turning point in the Vietnam War, a world-historic defeat for U.S. imperialism. The victorious Vietnamese Revolution opened the road for revolutionary and

national liberation struggles from southern Africa to Central America. The Shi'ite ascendancy in Lebanon opened the road only to another massacre of Palestinians in Sabra/Shatila. As we wrote when the Shi'ite Amal was about to take over West Beirut last year:

"The myriad ethnic/religious/communal groups in Lebanon...have every one of them been in treacherous, murderous alliance with and against every other one. Let Lebanon be Lebanon and this is what you get."  
—"Reagan's Lebanon Mess,"  
WV No. 348, 17 February 1984

Lebanon is a hellish microcosm of the nationalist/sectarian slaughterhouse that is the Near East today, balkanized and dominated by Western imperialism. The struggle for the democratic rights of all the peoples of the Near East and for the survival and national emancipation of the Palestinians must necessarily bring down the rotten medieval structure of Lebanon, sweep away the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and Ba'athist bonapartists in Syria and shatter the Zionist state. This struggle must place the revolutionary proletariat with its Arab-Hebrew vanguard party at the head of the exploited and oppressed, and can find fulfillment only in a Socialist Federation of the Near East. ■

## Homeless Should Seize Trump City!

New York  
25 May 1985

Dear Editor:

"Homeless Should Seize Trump City!" was the modest demand raised in your article on the desperate housing squeeze in NYC [see "New York City: You Can't Live Here," WV No. 373, 22 February]. It looks like some homeless people agree. On Saturday, May 4, some 400 people, including homeless from some city shelters, rallied outside the Condo King's posh \$200 million Trump Towers building on Fifth Avenue and decided to "rush Trump." Chanting "House the Needy, Not the Greedy" and "Dump Trump," they surged into Trump Towers. When some 50 protesters had got in, Trump's rent-a-cops proceeded to close down the complex, throwing out tourists and rich shoppers in the process. After an hour-long sit-in, the occupiers emerged to be greeted by the rest of the demonstration, ebullient in mood having succeeded in closing Trump. A spirited picket was continued for several hours.

Called by a coalition of tenants associations and groups to aid the homeless, the rally demanded "Stop Displacement!" "Affordable Housing!" and "House the Homeless Now!" Seth Robins, of Met Council (one of the



Donald Trump in his Mondo Condo empire.

largest tenant unions in the country) said the militant demonstrators had chosen Trump Towers (the "Xanadu of conspicuous consumption," as the *New York Times* once described it) to "shut down the primary symbol of city and high real estate collusion."

Comradely,  
Maire Hayes

## Fan Letter from Cornell

Dear Comrades,

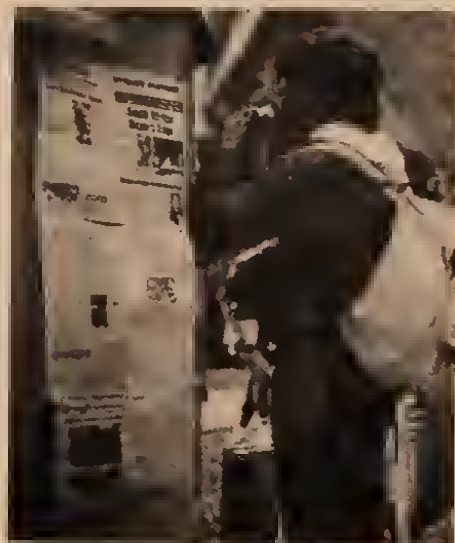
Picked up my first ever *Workers Vanguard* today at the bust-in on Cornell campus, and I fell in love.

Here's my check for 24 issues. Keep up the good spirited communism.

Any chance of getting a copy of the Alexander Cockburn imitation piece? ["Defend the Soundre! *Village Voice's* Cockburn Up a Creek," WV No. 346, 20 January 1984.] I'd sure appreciate a copy.

Thanks for the effort.

J.E.M.  
Ithaca, New York



Young Spartacus

"Karl Marx shanty" at Cornell anti-apartheid sit-in.

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# Smash the Whole Apartheid Slave System!

## Interracial Sex Ban Jolted in South Africa

On April 15 the racist South African apartheid regime announced that it will repeal the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act which make interracial sex and marriage "crimes." These laws, like all the barbaric institutions of apartheid slavery, are concentrated and codified expressions of the chauvinism and racial oppression endemic to the decaying imperialist order. South African racism is unique, for not only does the color line determine who is on top and who is on the bottom—here *an entire people* oppresses and benefits from the exploitation of another. To consolidate the oppression of a people or prepare their extermination, strict separation must be enforced: ties of blood and deep emotion must be cut to delineate what Hitler called the *Herrenvolk* ("master race"). But the inevitability of interracial sex and marriage bonds within a common species is a fundamental challenge to every "master race" dogma, and a profound assertion that all races are equal and indissolubly mixed.

Therefore, it is out of considerations of elementary human decency that we as Marxists hail the repeal of vile measures which seek to regiment and suppress the most deeply felt human emotions. Of course, we fully recognize that this legislative measure does not touch the fundamental question of power in white supremacist South Africa. Nor will it mean that the estimated thousands of mixed couples who have been living in the shadows are now suddenly free of the discrimination, humiliation and racist violence which is inseparable from apartheid. In a recent interview with a handsome interracial couple the *New York Times* (30 April) quotes Sylvia Vollenhoven: "We're not going to go straight out and hold hands in the Wimpy Bar in [Cape Town Afrikaner suburb] Bellville.... [As a mixed couple] you tend to chart a very safe route through life." But it is a good thing when you get the cops out of the bedroom,



Peters/Black Star

Cape Town couple Sylvia Vollenhoven and Bob Sedon, with their son Ryan. Interracial sex and marriage challenge precepts of apartheid.

and in racist South Africa interracial sex and marriage are particularly explosive because they contradict the basic precepts of apartheid.

The repeal of the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts is a calculated political move by the Pretoria regime of President P.W. Botha. His policy has been to make certain cosmetic reforms in the institutions of apartheid which leave intact the white supremacist power structure based on the superexploitation of black labor. Take for example the May 25 announcement that the prohibition of multiracial political parties is to be dropped. How much does such a "reform" mean in a country where the black majority is completely disenfranchised, where "coloureds" (mixed race) and Indians may "vote" only for completely powerless, segregated "parliaments," and where even the leadership of the peaceful,

multiracial anti-apartheid United Democratic Front (UDF) is on trial for treason?

The South African laws forbidding interracial sex and marriage are reviled around the world and by repealing them Botha gives the Reagan administration a sop to justify Washington's pro-apartheid "constructive engagement." At the same time Botha seeks to give credibility to his widely discredited coloured and Indian parliaments. The repeal affects primarily whites and coloureds, as apartheid's brutal and all-sided segregation of blacks minimizes their social interaction with whites. As with his puppet parliaments, Botha's announced repeal of these laws is a continuation of the age-old colonial strategy of divide and conquer. But while not changing the basic fact of white domination and black enslavement upon which apartheid is based, the repeal of these laws challenges its very rationale.

### The Color Bar in America

When American reporters quote Winnie Mandela's rhetorical question, "In what other society do people need to legislate against their own urges?" (*New York Times*, 16 April), they show their short historical memory by implying this is uniquely South African. Not only do the Immorality and Mixed Mar-

riages Acts deserve comparison to the Nazis' 1935 Nuremberg laws, which forbade marriage and sex between Jews and "Aryans"; there is a comparison which is closer, and closer to home: the anti-miscegenation laws of the United States. In 1962, Lerone Bennett, Jr., noted in *Before the Mayflower* that "twenty-two states still forbid interracial marriages." In addition to barring marriages between whites and blacks, California and most of the Western states banned marriages between whites and Asians. The formal elimination of these laws was completed by the Supreme Court only as a result of the civil rights movement, in 1967.

Indeed the tradition regarding "miscegenation" in much of South Africa's history was not as harsh as that of the antebellum American South. In the South African slave society of the 18th century, and even until the middle of this century in the Cape province, the lighter the complexions of those of mixed race and the greater their wealth, the more freely they were allowed to "pass" into white society without too many questions being asked. In the American South the "one drop" rule was widely applied, condemning those with just a "touch of the tarbrush" to servitude.

Already in the American colonial period, Bennett reports that "sensing a deterioration of slavery if the barriers between masters and slaves were dissolved in the equalitarian crucible of sexual intimacy, they [racial purists] sought to stop racial crossing by statute." The first such law, passed in Maryland in 1664, was "aimed at white women who had resisted every effort to inoculate them with the virus of racial pride." This was no accident—there is a deep link between the oppression of women, of classes and of races. White men's sexual access to black women is essentially taken for granted in racist America. But the crime of crimes, the act that sets off the hysterical fury of the Ku Klux Klan and lynch mobs in the South, is the sexual liaison of a white woman and a black man. This crossing of color and class lines (especially in a slaveholding society) above all violates the white woman's subordinate role in patriarchal society as the passive, "pure" bearer of heirs. The central function of the monogamous family, and woman's role within it, is to be literally a transmission belt for the inheritance of private property to the next generation.

Between 1949 and 1971 there were over 17,000 prosecutions under Section 16, the race clause, of the Immorality Act [apartheid South Africa's law making interracial sex a crime]. Subsequent prosecutions would bring the total to over 20,000....

Police officers hiding in the boots [trunks] of cars, in the ceilings of homes, perching up trees—all in the cause of obtaining photographic or other evidence of sex between two people of different colour—became part of the curious heritage of [South Africa].

The practice of police—feeling the warmth of the bed, searching for hairs on the bed linen, confiscating stained sheets, subjecting their suspects to examinations by the District Surgeon—were common knowledge. By the early '70s the tally of 34 morals cases a week in the Johannesburg magistrate's court was regarded as "normal."... [The results of the Immorality Act] have included a string of suicides, countless couples

driven into exile, separation of parents from children, forgery, non-support of children.

Most known suicides have been white men—many of them middle aged platelanders [rural white Afrikaners] threatened with charges under the Act. One of the seven men accused in Excelsior, the Free State town which won notoriety in 1970 as a result of the Immorality Act, committed suicide....

At least one young white woman had her seven-month-old baby removed because it was not white and had the infant used in court to condemn her and her lover because of the dark skin it had inherited. And the very presence of the Immorality Act has left hundreds of black and coloured women bearing children of their white lovers—and quite unable to claim maintenance because they would have to reveal a "criminal" conception.

—*Argus* (Cape Town, South Africa), 16 April 1985

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Eli Weinberg

### South Africa blacks burn pass book, mark of slavery.

The "honor" of white women so assiduously defended by the lynchers is based on the embodiment of private property in slaves defined by the color line.

Capitalist America is a deeply racist society in which gains for black people are all too reversible. The anti-miscegenation laws were already repealed once before, during Reconstruction, the period of democratic gains for blacks won by the Civil War. In the era of Jim Crow reaction which followed, those laws were reinstated, often in harsher form. Indeed, the courts in America are still punishing interracial sex: in Georgia in 1982 Kathy Blackburn, a working-class white woman, had her white son taken away by the court after she had a baby daughter with a black man. It was a chilling punishment for a white woman stepping over the color line. The judge editorialized out of court. "How would you like to have a female relative living with a black man and having a child? I personally am opposed to it" (*New York Times*, 18 February 1982).

### The Nightmare of the "Volk"

A crucial strand in the web of racism which envelops South Africa originates in the embattled history of the Afrikaners, the majority of the South African whites. In the 19th century their Boer ancestors hacked out a piece of Africa for themselves against the more numerous indigenous tribes. In terms of social development, Bibles and guns barely divided one cattle-herding people from the other. After being militarily crushed by British imperialism's war to seize the gold fields at the turn of the century, the Boers were economically driven to the cities. Here they competed with blacks for laboring jobs, while at the same time possessing the white skin privilege of the right to vote.

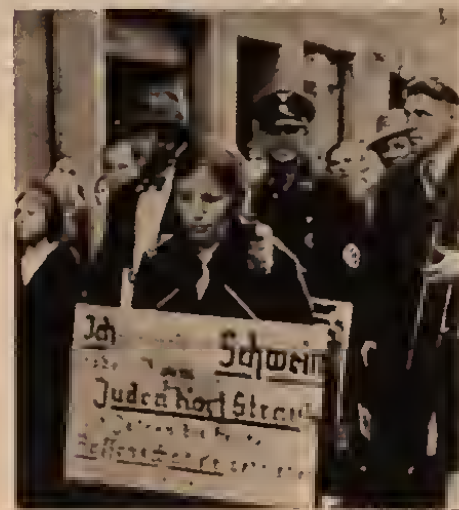
These were the conditions in which the fascistic Afrikaner nationalist movement grew. Coming to power in 1948, the Afrikaner nationalists took charge of a system of segregation whose foundations had been laid block-by-block under the auspices of British imperialism over the preceding decades. The Afrikaners moved quickly to tighten the existing system to totalitarian intensity. Reflected in the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts was a new harshness toward those of mixed race, the coloureds, who are largely descended from unions between white colonials and their Indonesian slaves and indigenous Khoi servants. The previous 1927 Immorality Act which had prohibited intercourse between white and African was amended to prohibit it between whites and all non-whites. The entire population was racially classified. "Questionable cases"

were summoned before official panels to have pencils stuck in their hair (to distinguish a frizz from a curl), the widths of their noses measured, and so on. South Africa's white English "liberals" of the United Party stripe, more pragmatic racists, differed only in affirming that whites had enough "race pride" not to require laws to keep them from "miscegenating."

But, like racists everywhere, the Afrikaner nationalists' war for "purity" was a war against themselves and their own history. In the U.S. slave South, it was said, "there is not an old plantation in which the grandchildren of the owner are not whipped in the field by the overseers" (*Before the Mayflower*). In South Africa, history has really taken revenge. One ardent supporter of passing the Immorality Act, a minister of the sternly Calvinist Afrikaans Dutch Reformed Church (which provided scriptural sanction for the Act) turned out to be one of the first to be prosecuted! He is widely remembered in a couplet: "Beneath those dark and somber britches/Dwelt some dark, uncontrollable itches." Thousands of subsequent prosecutions left a trail of destruction among god-fearing Afrikaner nationalists. A turning point finally came in the rural Afrikaans town of Excelsior, when several leading citizens were implicated and one committed suicide. After that the rate of prosecutions fell off significantly.

Along with all the racist violence and degradation of apartheid, South Africa is by and large a miserably provincial place, lorded over by an Afrikaner version of the Moral Majority: no movies on Sundays; no lying closer than 18 inches to each other by the pool if you're in the misnamed Orange Free State province; the book *Black Beauty* once banned because of its title. In short the concentration of cultural, sexual and racial repression could hardly be more volatile.

No wonder interracial sex has been an essential theme among white South



W.W. Norton

### Nazis parade woman through the streets for "crime" of sex with a Jew.

African writers. André Brink seems fixated on the subject. Alan Paton uses it to show hypocritical racist ideologues with their pants down. J.M. Coetzee lays bare with his grim intensity the relationship of an Afrikaner farm woman with a black foreman. James McClure's hardened detectives trace multiple threads of sexual and interracial antagonism and entanglement in their investigations. Breyten Breytenbach, the best living writer in Afrikaans, first turned against the *volk* in a major way by marrying a Vietnamese woman and emigrating, perforce, to Paris. He was later convicted of returning incognito to South Africa to launch an underground white support group for the struggle to smash apartheid.

The very existence of the coloureds is a constant reminder to the South African racists of the lie of "white supremacy." An Afrikaans scholar, Dr. Hans Heese, himself descended from a mixed family, is being sued left and right for libel by outraged Afrikaners for a book in which he shows that many leading Afrikaner families, including

the Bothas and Treurnichts, are of mixed descent. Several Bothas sit in the South African apartheid regime's cabinet and Andries Treurnicht is head of the Conservative Party, an ultraright split-off from the ruling Nationalists which decries Botha's repeal of the Immorality Act as a sellout of the white man.

Botha now speaks for a Cape-based tendency in Afrikaner nationalism which sees the coloureds as "brown Afrikaners" who must be brought into the fold so they can stand on the white side of the line against the vast majority of 22 million blacks. Today this seems a vain dream, as is shown by the coloureds' massive rejection of Botha's puppet parliament. Further, this repeal of the racial sex bar poses some awkward anomalies for apartheid: In a society where residential areas are segregated by law, where will the legalized mixed couples live? How will children be educated? Treurnicht's ultraright supporters have a point when they ask: How can one allow people of different races to sleep together and have children, how can one integrate more public facilities, without eventually recognizing equal political rights for all in a non-racial South Africa? This is but one expression of the crisis into which Afrikaner nationalism, and white rule generally, have been thrown by the fundamental challenge of rising black power centered in the millions-strong black working class.

### For a Multiracial Working-Class Vanguard Party!

The liberal reformists who support the African National Congress simply dismiss the repeal of the ban on interracial sex and marriage, saying the South African government must show itself "willing" to make basic changes. Dr. Nthato Motlana, a black leader in the township of Soweto, said outright: "We are not interested in the repeal of these laws" (*Sowetan*, 16 April). We recognize the lifting of the bar as a democratic gain to be defended and extended like all others; at the same time we have no illusions that the apartheid state can be pressured into making fundamental changes in its society, which necessarily rests on the enforced segregation of blacks as a superexploited working class.

"In radical black terms," said Sylvia Vollenhoven in an interview last year, "it's a sellout to marry a white because it makes the society look normal." In fact, it exposes the insanity of apartheid. Her decision to marry a white Englishman "was a crisis of conscience between what I hold as a political ideology and my personal life.... I'm still highly suspect," she said (*New York Times*, 12 September 1984). Antagonism to interracial marriages among blacks is in part an expression of the long accumulated and understandable bitterness of blacks toward what Lerone Bennett, Jr. called "the one-way prerogatives of the white male." Much of what interracial sex there is is exacted by the white *baas* from his black female servants, or takes place between white men and black women in

whorehouses on the edge of the bantustans and neighboring black statelets. (A similar pattern exists in the American South.)

As Marxists and revolutionary integrationists we fight for a socialist society in which "race mixing" is the free expression of genuine and all-sided social equality among all peoples. Hostility to interracial sex and marriage politically generalized by black nationalists represents acquiescence in the racist status quo and/or a program for race war.

South Africa is rumbling down the



Cabell/Savanna Morning News

### Kathy Blackburn with daughter. Georgia courts snatched white son (In photo behind).

tracks to civil war with the whites armed to the teeth and determined not to give up anything and defiant blacks determined not to submit any more to the *sjambok* (whip) of apartheid slavery. Insofar as this confrontation takes place solely along race lines it will be a bloody disaster for the oppressed. But the Achilles' heel of apartheid is its absolute dependence on black labor and in South Africa, with its six-million-strong proletariat, the class principle can prevail. Hundreds of thousands of black workers are coming together with a coloured proletariat. Indians and even some courageous whites like martyred union organizer Neil Aggett, in a burgeoning union movement. This development lays the basis for the construction of a multiracial proletarian vanguard party based on the understanding that those who labor must rule.

As proletarian internationalists we fight against all forms of national oppression. Every people has a right to exist but no people has the right to oppress another. If the oppressed are to achieve genuine emancipation in South Africa, a black-centered workers government must struggle to place in its service the technical, scientific and administrative skills of the white population. As for the eventual assimilation of the whites into the far greater black population in a post-apartheid socialist South Africa, that is a possible development which we would in no way oppose. ■

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## Bring the War Home!

# BLACK SOLDIERS IN THE JIM CROW MILITARY

Part One of this article, going up through World War I, appeared in *WV* No. 378, 3 May 1985.

### PART TWO OF TWO

In the movie *A Soldier's Story*, black soldiers at a segregated army base in Louisiana in 1944 are looking forward to a combat assignment: "I hope we get to fight soon, sir. Next they'll have us picking this year's cotton crop," one soldier says. When the order finally comes to ship out, the men pour out of the barracks to celebrate, setting off fireworks and shouting, "Look out, Hitler!" But although many blacks deeply resented their exclusion from combat, a policy that lasted late into the war, there was little black enthusiasm for this "war for democracy" abroad when they were brutally deprived of basic democratic rights at home.

As U.S. entry into World War II approached, American blacks still bitterly remembered the experience of WWI, when the promise of "democracy" for blacks was quickly forgotten after the war in a tide of anti-black riots and racist Klan terror. This time around, blacks refused to put off their grievances "for the duration." Rooseveltian propaganda claiming that the U.S.' intention was to smash the racism of the Nazi "master race" and restore "freedom" to German-occupied Europe rang hollow for blacks who were living under Jim Crow segregation. Nor were they inspired by the cause of British and French colonialism, the enslavers of black Africa. Even anti-Communist liberal historian Wilson Record noted:

"Negroes in the United States were frequently quite apathetic about the issues involved in the European conflict. While they obviously opposed the race superiority doctrines of the Nazi régime and feared their extension, they could not embrace France or Britain as exponents of racial equality. Remembering the experiences of Negroes

during and after World War I, they displayed a justifiable skepticism toward another great crusade for the democratic ideal."

—*The Negro and the Communist Party* (1951)

William Hastie, the first black to be appointed a federal judge, and an adviser to Secretary of War Stimson on black troops (a post he quit in disgust in January 1943), described the mood of black America in late 1941: "One hears with increasing frequency from colored soldiers the sentiment that since they had been called to fight they might just as well do their fighting here and now" (quoted in Richard M. Dalfiume, *Desegregation of the U.S. Armed Forces* [1969]). The same militant mood was reflected in a June 1942 rally of 25,000 blacks at Madison Square Garden called by the March on Washington Movement. The crowd loudly cheered a satirical play in which a black youth appearing before his draft board says:

"Go on! Put me in the army. I ain't no conscientious objector. But I'm starting the fight for democracy beginning at Grand Central Station and right straight on through to Georgia."

This new militancy was buoyed by the rise of the CIO, incorporating blacks for the first time into an integrated and powerful working-class movement. As American imperialism began a rapid war buildup in 1940, black people eagerly awaited the opportunity to work in war industry, and to participate in government-financed training programs set up to overcome the shortage of skilled workers. But in the armed forces as well as in industry blacks were systematically excluded, or assigned to menial roles and rigidly segregated. In the Navy, blacks could enlist only in the all-black messmen's branch. The Marines and Air Corps excluded blacks entirely. In the Army blacks were only allowed to fill the few vacancies in the four regular all-black regiments which had been created after the Civil War. In the fall of 1940, President Roosevelt



Steinheimer/Life

93rd Infantry, on parade at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, summer of 1943—America's first all-black combat division, formed during World War I.

explicitly defended Jim Crow in the military:

"The policy of the War Department is not to intermingle colored and white enlisted personnel in the same regimental organizations. This policy has proven satisfactory over a long period of years, and to make changes would produce situations destructive to the morale and detrimental to the preparation for national defense."

Added to the fact that Jim Crow was now the official policy of the federal government were countless other insults. Thus because of pressure from the Army and Navy, blacks couldn't contribute blood to the Red Cross program because it was not considered the same as "white" blood. This was doubly insulting because the pioneer researcher in blood preservation was Dr. Charles R. Drew, a black, who was also medical director of the Red Cross program. Drew resigned from the Red Cross over its refusal to accept blood from black people.

Moderate black leaders had trouble selling this imperialist war to American blacks, and could only do so by promising some benefits now. Thus arose the "Double V Campaign" ("victory for democracy abroad and at home"), organized by Rooseveltian trade unionist A. Philip Randolph, who on New Year's Day 1941 proposed an "anti-Jim Crow, pro-jobs" march on Washington that July. Randolph soon capitulated to White House pressure, canceling the march in exchange for FDR's sop, a Fair Employment Practices Committee, which did not mention the armed forces, merely promised to end discrimination in industry and had no teeth for enforcement (see "The March on Washington That Wasn't"

*WV* No. 336, 12 August 1983).

The successful CIO organizing strikes of the late '30s coupled with the virtual full employment brought on by the war created the basis for a broad radicalization of labor and blacks. This was reflected in the growth of both the Communist Party (CP) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). But between the Stalinist CP and the Trotskyist SWP there was the dividing line between reform and revolution, which came sharply to the fore over their attitudes toward the March on Washington Movement (MOWM). Prior to Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union on 21 June 1941, the CP denounced the MOWM as a social-patriotic maneuver to build black support for imperialist war. After June 21, the Stalinists flipfopped, becoming rabid social-patriots and denouncing the MOWM for sabotaging the "war effort." Randolph and his supporters were now said to be "aiding the Axis camp" by creating "confusion and dangerous moods in the rank and file of the Negro people" (article by black CP leader James Ford in the July 1943 *Communist*, cited in Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, *The American Communist Party* [1957]).

In contrast, the SWP, whose leaders were jailed under FDR for their courageous opposition to the imperialist war, supported the March on Washington while disagreeing with Randolph's pro-war stance: "essentially it is an action against the system of Jim Crowism that segregates and discriminates against Negroes wherever they go" (*Militant*, 21 June 1941, reproduced in *Fighting Racism in World War II* [1980], a collection of articles from the SWP press documenting the Trotskyists'



Harlem, 1942: March on Washington Movement rally. Signs read, "No Color Line on Assembly Line," and "Abolish the Poll Tax."



consistent support for black struggle during 1939-45). Thus the SWP backed the numerous blacks who refused the draft in World War II. The most famous case was that of Winfred Lynn, brother of noted civil rights lawyer Conrad Lynn, who refused to report for induction in 1942 on the grounds that a 1940 draft law forbade racial discrimination.

## Soldiers, Seamen Defy Racism

Throughout the war, black soldiers repeatedly clashed with Jim Crow in the military. Even before the U.S. entered the hostilities, black anger burst to the surface when 15 black sailors aboard the cruiser USS *Philadelphia* stationed at Long Beach, California took the risky step of writing a protest letter to the *Pittsburgh Courier*, a leading black newspaper. The letter documented the racism of the Navy brass: black sailors were restricted to duty as mess attendants, were given lower pay than whites and denied promotion, and if they talked back they were thrown in the brig on bread and water. The 15 sailors ended their letter with a bitter warning which must have made the Navy Department shudder:

"We, the mess attendants of the *Philadelphia*, are not merely stating these facts because of our own plight. In doing so, we sincerely hope to discourage any other colored boys from joining the Navy and make the same mistake we did.

"All they would become is sea-going bell hops, chambermaids and dishwashers.

"We take it upon ourselves to write this letter, regardless of any action the Naval authorities may take or whatever the consequences may be.

"We only know that it could not possibly surpass the mental cruelty inflicted upon us on this ship."

The Navy immediately arrested all the signers and threw two of them, Shannon Goodwin and Byron Johnson, into prison for a court-martial. Meanwhile a defense movement sprang up, supported by the NAACP, the SWP-supported Workers Relief & WPA Union, and predominantly black labor organizations such as the Building Service Employees. Significantly, solidarity letters from several other ships were sent to FDR and the Secretary of the Navy, corroborating charges of discrimination. But the government stood by its racist policy. And black protest against Jim Crow in the armed forces steadily mounted:

• In August 1941, black draftee Ned Turman witnessed white military police severely beat another black soldier on a bus returning to Fort Bragg, North Carolina. When Turman demanded medical attention for the victim, an MP sergeant coldly refused. The enraged

1948: Black vets return to fight the war at home: "Fox-Hole to Sium... We Want Apartments."

private pulled out a revolver, vowing to "break up you MPs beating us colored soldiers!" When his gun was empty, Turman was shot dead. There followed a night of terror as all 5,000 blacks at Fort Bragg were rounded up and driven out of the camp by MPs armed with sawed-off shotguns. The SWP honored Turman's courageous act of anti-racist defiance:

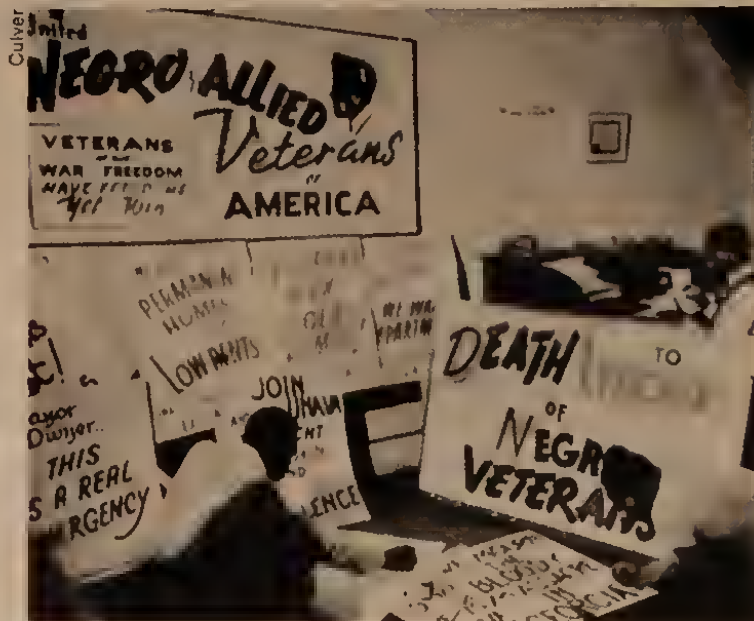
"He did not have a hero's burial, but he joined the long list of fighters for Negro freedom and equality who were not afraid to risk everything, even their lives, in the struggle against oppression."

—*Militant*, 23 August 1941, reprinted in *Fighting Racism in World War II*

Can anyone imagine today's "peaceful, legal" ultrareformist SWP hailing this courageous act?

• That same month, the all-black 94th Battalion, assigned for maneuvers to Camp Robinson in Arkansas (not far from where *A Soldier's Story* was filmed), was marching along the highway when several carloads of white state troopers pulled up and ordered the "niggers" off the road. The troopers shoved the black soldiers into a water-filled ditch; when two white lieutenants protested, they too were roughed up. Some of the black soldiers returned to base and requested ammunition for their guns for protection. Fearing for their lives, 60 black soldiers went AWOL; most eventually turned up at their home base of Fort Custer, Michigan.

• In July 1944, a huge explosion at the Port Chicago ammunition depot in California killed 327 men, mostly black seamen, and wounded hundreds more. The remaining black sailors naturally were reluctant to continue loading ammo without adequate safety measures. The Navy responded by convicting



50 for "mutiny" after a kangaroo court "trial" with only 45 minutes deliberation. The "mutineers" got long prison terms and dishonorable discharges.

• In March 1945, 101 officers of the 477th Bomber Group at Freeman Field, Indiana refused to sign a statement agreeing to be segregated from their own officers club, which many had previously defiantly entered to challenge segregationist policies. They were arrested, but protests forced a dismissal of the charges.

Also in March 1945, a hundred or so black Women's Army Corps (WAC) members staged a sit-down strike at a hospital at Fort Devens, Massachusetts, complaining that they were restricted to kitchen chores while only white WACs were assigned technical duties. All but four were pressured into returning to work, and the four were court-martialed, sentenced to one year hard labor and drummed out of the army with dishonorable discharges. At this point the Communist Party, whose *Daily Worker* would soon be hailing the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, declared (via black CP leader Benjamin Davis, Jr.):

"The U.S. general staff has on many occasions... proved that they deserve the full confidence of the Negro people.... We cannot temporarily stop the war until all questions of discrimination are ironed out."

—quoted in Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, *The American Communist Party*

## Black Soldiers and the Civil Rights Movement

As in previous wars, the American ruling class was at first reluctant to use black soldiers in combat. The bourgeoisie's fears were obvious: as an SWP resolution stated, "no Negro trained to handle a gun would peacefully go back to the old life of discrimination, segregation, disfranchisement and insult, after training in an army where he was treated as an equal with white soldiers" (*Fourth International*, June 1943). But the pressure of manpower requirements, together with protests from black organizations, eventually forced a reversal of policy. In 1942 the Army Air Corps, Marines, Navy and Coast Guard opened their ranks to blacks, and in late 1944 black units began to get combat assignments, notably the 92nd Infantry Division in Italy and the 93rd Division in the Pacific.

All-black flying units were also formed, notably the 99th Pursuit Squadron and the 332nd Fighter Group which participated in campaigns in Italy, France, Germany and the Balkans, earning the Distinguished Unit Citation (Alan M. Osur, *Blacks in the Army Air Forces During World War II* [1977]). The desperate Battle of the Bulge in the winter of 1944-45 caused a severe shortage of infantry replacements and a breakdown of strict segregation, as General Eisenhower reluctantly accepted black volunteers to replace losses in white companies. By August 1945 over one million blacks had served in the armed forces, representing 9

percent of all draftees.

The experience of World War II opened the floodgates of black demands for equality, first of all in the military. President Truman finally issued the order for desegregation of the armed forces in 1948, but the process was not completed until 1954. When Texas Senator and future U.S. president Lyndon Johnson questioned the desegregation move in 1949, Truman's secretary of defense replied that "the practice of segregation is damaging to our country's reputation," and "its practice reduces the efficiency of our military strength." This view was reinforced by an incident during the Korean War, in July 1950, when the all-black 24th Infantry Regiment fled in the face of attack. According to Joseph Goulden's *Korea—The Untold Story of the War* (1982), the prevalent view in the unit was: "Why should we get our asses shot off fighting for a bunch of people who don't give a damn about us as human beings?" Goulden concludes that the experience "pointed up the absurdity of a segregated army and hastened the integration of black troops into units where they were treated the same as other soldiers."

The hundreds of thousands of black soldiers who went through World War II and the Korean War left the service determined to break down Jim Crow barriers. Many who later played a prominent role in the civil rights movement were also inspired by the independence struggles in black Africa. A striking example was Robert F.



Robert F. Williams organized black self-defense against KKK.

Williams, who left the newly integrated Marine Corps in 1955. "When I got out of the Marine Corps, I knew I wanted to go home and join the NAACP. In the Marines I had got a taste of discrimination and had some run-ins that got me into the guardhouse," Williams later wrote in his book *Negroes with Guns* (1962). Leading the local NAACP in Monroe, North Carolina during the integration struggles of the late '50s, Williams played a key role by championing black armed self-defense against Klan and police terror.

A liberating social revolution next door in Cuba also had a great effect on black struggle in the U.S. (Williams took refuge in Havana in 1961 in the face of a massive police manhunt), as did the determined fight of the Vietnamese against American imperialism. Muhammad Ali struck a popular chord when he remarked, "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger." And many returning black Viet vets, like Geronimo Pratt, were attracted to the Black Panther Party in the hopes of achieving black liberation through revolutionary struggle at home. But the Panthers were caught in the nationalist trap, with nothing to offer but heroic gestures and breakfast programs while the cops and feds imprisoned and murdered any Panther leader they couldn't buy off.

The Vietnamese Revolution dealt a

continued on page 8

## THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

## Lynn Case First Legal Test Of Army Jim Crow

On Dec. 8, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, sitting in New York City, will hear the Winfred Lynn case. Arthur Garfield Hays, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, will argue the case and if necessary will carry it to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Lynn case originated in June 1942 when Winfred Lynn, Negro worker at James, La., notified his draft board "that I am ready to serve in any unit of the armed forces of my country which is not segregated by race. Unless I am assured that I can serve in a mixed regiment and that I will not be compelled to serve in a unit undemocratically selected as a Negro group, I will refuse to report for induction."

The Lynn case is thus a part of the struggle of the Negro people to end the Jim Crow system.



Winfred Lynn

accepted Indur makes the test the army's right to return to grounds that methods of his the Draft Act.

The Nation's The Advance People has the Jim Crow's end Navy desecration of Negro soldiers to make the U.S. segregation with the most brutalities and ill and ill. The American Union, the Union for the Colored people.

The Trotskyists refused to dump struggle for black rights during imperialist war.

### New NAACP Pamphlet



## Negro Soldiers Killed In Jersey, Arkansas, Texas

Army Jim Crow Responsible for New Wave Of Violence That Takes Lives of 4 Negroes

By ALBERT PIERCE

A new wave of violence has broken out in the South since the end of World War II. In the last few months, four Negroes have been killed and many more wounded in the South. This is a new wave of violence that is being caused by the Jim Crow system in the South.

The first killing was in Jersey, New Jersey, in the summer of 1944. A Negro soldier was killed by a white soldier. The second killing was in Arkansas, in the fall of 1944. A Negro soldier was killed by a white soldier. The third killing was in Texas, in the winter of 1944. A Negro soldier was killed by a white soldier. The fourth killing was in the South, in the spring of 1945. A Negro soldier was killed by a white soldier.

This is a new wave of violence that is being caused by the Jim Crow system in the South. It is a wave of violence that is being caused by the same forces that caused the lynchings of the 1930s. It is a wave of violence that is being caused by the same forces that caused the segregation of the 1940s. It is a wave of violence that is being caused by the same forces that caused the discrimination of the 1950s.

## Unions Must Come To Defense Of Negro People

An Editorial

The struggle against the Jim Crow system is not only the struggle of the Negro people but also the struggle of the white people. The struggle against the Jim Crow system is a struggle for the liberation of all people. It is a struggle for the liberation of the Negro people and the white people. It is a struggle for the liberation of the people of the South and the people of the North. It is a struggle for the liberation of the people of the United States and the people of the world.



# Black Soldiers...

(continued from page 7)

historic defeat to U.S. imperialism, consummated by the fall (liberation) of Saigon in 1975. But it was the 1968 Tet Offensive that broke the morale of the American army, at the same time that Northern ghettos were burning over cop terror. In response to the assassination of Martin Luther King, there were numerous black protests in the U.S. armed forces. And a couple of months later, 150 black GIs at Fort Hood, Texas refused to leave base for "riot control" duty against antiwar protesters at the Democratic Party convention in Chicago. Pretty soon black soldiers from Germany to Vietnam were giving the "black power" salute.

Perhaps the most spectacular black protests in the armed forces during the

Vietnam War came in October-November 1972. Pent-up frustration over racist attacks exploded aboard the aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk* as it headed for North Vietnam from the Philippines: 21 black sailors charged with "rioting" were flown to the brig at San Diego. And a few days later over 300 sailors, mostly blacks, staged a sitdown on the USS *Constellation* while on a training exercise off the coast of California, protesting racist treatment, and defending six black sailors who had been singled out for discriminatory discharge. When the carrier arrived in port, 122 black sailors and eight white seamen staged a sitdown on the docks, raising clenched fists and refusing to reboard ship.

From colonial times up through the end of formal Jim Crow segregation, the capitalist rulers of America had recourse to black troops only in case of dire necessity. The spectre of "Negroes with guns" stalked not only antebellum

slaveholders, but also those who relied on wage slavery to produce their profits. Yet by the 1960s, black soldiers—who suffered a disproportionate number of casualties in Vietnam—had become the Pentagon's front-line cannon fodder (see "Blacks Hated the Vietnam War," *WV* No. 372, 8 February). This was hardly a deliberate choice by the U.S. imperialists, who know well that a heavily minority army cannot be relied upon for their Third World adventures. Even the 1983 Grenada invasion, which was supposed to be a "walkover," led Marine Corps corporal Alfred Griffin to courageously refuse to fight against his black brothers.

The Spartacist League seeks to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party to fuse opposition to imperialist war and to racial oppression in the army with the proletarian class struggle. Counterposed to the "peace" crawls dominated by pro-Democratic Party social-patriotism and petty-bourgeois pacifism, the SL fought for labor political strikes against the Vietnam War. While defending draft resisters from state repression, the SL opposed the petty-bourgeois "draft resistance strategy" and counterposed the program of revolutionary antiwar and socialist education in the armed forces. And as the reformists followed the liberals in the call to "bring our boys home," the SL forthrightly proclaimed: Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution!

Today, as the warmongers in the White House and Pentagon move toward new imperialist adventures in Central America and ultimately toward world war against the Soviet Union, the American ruling class is still haunted by the "Vietnam syndrome"—the result of the heroic victory of the Vietnamese social revolution over the mightiest and most savage imperial power in history. As Reagan salutes Nazi SS graves in Bitburg and they firebomb a working-class black neighborhood in Philadelphia, they are mobilizing ideologically against the struggles of the oppressed abroad and at home. And the state of the U.S. army, comprised disproportionately of discontented blacks seeking to escape unemployment, has become a concern of the first order for the bosses.

The autobiographical novel *Black Boy* by Richard Wright was such a scathing indictment of racist America that it was banned from military bases

during World War II. In his book, Wright describes how his aging grandfather "sat his days out in his room where his Civil War rifle stood loaded in a corner, where his blue uniform of the Union Army lay neatly folded." Wright continues:

"It was from Granny's conversations, year after year, that the meager details of Grandpa's life came to me. When the



WV Photo

**April 1984: In Union Army uniform, Spartacist Richard Bradley tears down the flag of slavery from San Francisco Civic Center.**

Civil War broke out, he ran off from his master and groped his way through the Confederate lines to the North. He darkly boasted of having killed "mo'n mah fair share of them damn rebels" while enroute to enlist in the Union Army. Militantly resentful of slavery, he joined the Union Army to kill southern whites; he waded in icy streams; slept in mud; suffered, fought... Mustered out, he returned to the South and, during elections, guarded ballot boxes with his army rifle so that Negroes could vote. But when the Negro had been driven from political power, his spirit had been crushed. He was convinced that the war had not really ended, that it would start again."

In the Civil War, black people in arms broke the chains of chattel slavery. But the promise of social equality remains unfulfilled. Richard Wright's grandfather was right: it's time to finish the Civil War, to complete it with proletarian revolution, led by a multiracial vanguard, that goes all the way. ■



Guardian



**Sailors from USS Constellation protest Navy racism during Vietnam War (above). GIs commemorate Martin Luther King's birthday in Long Binh, Vietnam, 1971 (left).**

# Pilots...

(continued from page 12)

striking Machinists at Continental and more recently on the Transport Workers Union strike at Pan Am. The union bureaucrats don't want any acts of workers' unity against the bosses to disrupt their cozy "unity" with the capitalists' representatives in Congress and the White House.

The Pilots Association, like PATCO before the 1981 strike, is one of the most conservative unions in the U.S., whose membership is a part of the labor aristocracy and recruited almost exclusively from the military. The ALPA leadership seemed to think Reagan's anti-labor offensive wouldn't affect their membership if they acted "responsibly." Leaders of the Pilots Association unit at United tried to maintain particularly cozy relations with the

bosses, signing a big concessions agreement in the same year Reagan was busting PATCO; they even made Ferris, an amateur pilot, an "honorary" ALPA member. In the current negotiations they offered to accept two-tier pay as long as new-hires could catch up in eight years.

As the strike got underway, Ferris sent dismissal threats to every United pilot. Every flight crew on layover when the strike began was made incommunicado; not even their families could reach them. The pilots union has been busted at Continental, and United is treating pilots like prisoners of war. ALPA members are quickly learning from Ferris' hardball tactics that nobody, from black babies bombed in Philadelphia to \$100,000-a-year pilots, can escape Reagan's war on minorities and working people.

ALPA members say they want to "stop the Ferris wheel." The key to doing that is making sure those planes stay grounded. For other United employees, honoring the pilots' picket lines is a matter of self-defense. The Association of Flight Attendants has "urged its members to honor the picket lines" but many are filtering through anyway. In contrast, the International Association of Machinists, run by William Winpinger of the Democratic Socialists of America, gave its members "permission" to honor the picket lines—a cowardly abdication of their responsibilities which opens the door to scabbing.

To its credit, ALPA refused to crawl



AP

**PATCO union leaders jailed, 1981. Unchain labor!**

back to work on Ferris' terms. The union wants a guarantee of no reprisals against flight attendants and others who honored the picket lines. This includes some 570 newly trained pilots whom Ferris intended to use as scabs: when they were brought into Chicago, all but four refused to cross ALPA's lines! Meanwhile, however, United is already putting some 200 planes in the air each day (against its normal service of 1,500)—and it won't stop there! Mass picket lines are urgently necessary to win this strike!

Victory to the ALPA Strike! Ground United Airlines—Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross! Break with the Democrats and Republicans—Build a Workers Party! ■

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## Viet Fascists Rampage in Australia, U.S.

SYDNEY, Australia—The reactionary mobilisation against the tenth anniversary of the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution was orchestrated internationally by Reaganite U.S. imperialism, and the fake Labor government of Prime Minister Bob Hawke was in this up to its neck. For two weeks mobs of hundreds of ultrarightist Vietnamese unleashed a bloody campaign of terror in the streets of major Australian cities, targetting representatives of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV) and sections of the Australian labour movement who had opposed their own imperialist government and its U.S. godfather during that long, dirty war. While trade-union leaders played footsie with Hawke and tried to look the other way when their own members' blood was spilled, the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand fought to mobilise the unions to smash these fascist *gusanos* ("worms" in Spanish, a popular term for the despised Cuban counterrevolutionaries).

On April 30 the Sydney cops allowed over 200 of these right-wing scum screaming "Kill the Communists!" to smash up a church hall in Glebe, terrorising the audience and wrecking a film on the life of Ho Chi Minh sponsored by supporters of the Socialist Workers Party. Emboldened by success, this same rightist rabble trashed the Waterside Workers Federation (WWF) hall May 3 in a murderous assault on a Vietnam Moratorium reunion sponsored by the Communist Party. This attack with bricks, knives and other deadly weapons left one retired water-

rather than break with Hawke. When the fascist scum knifed a wharfie [longshoreman], they were assaulting not only one of Australia's most powerful unions, but one which played an honourable role against the imperialist war in Vietnam. The Australian bourgeoisie sent its troops to Vietnam and supplied homegrown torturers for the CIA's mass murder Phoenix program. But maritime workers refused to handle military goods destined for the imperialists, using their organised muscle in solidarity with *our* side: the North Vietnamese forces and the NLF.

Criminally, the bureaucrats did not respond to these murderous provocations by the Viet "worms." Only the Spartacist League sought to mobilise militant, united left and labour action to smash the fascist scum, appealing for a trade union-centred defence guard to protect left meetings on Vietnam. On May 7 the SL successfully held its meeting in Melbourne. The cops sought to open up the forum to the rightists, then later tried to force participants to split into twos and threes and walk a quarter-mile gauntlet through a mob of 200-300 Vietnamese counterrevolutionaries to waiting buses. It was a dangerous situation, but the SL had a disciplined defence guard, and the safety and integrity of the meeting was maintained.

Following the Melbourne meeting, over 100 unionists signed a statement endorsing a trade union-based mobilisation to defend the SL meeting planned for Sydney on May 10. The signers included Victoria Labor Party president



The Age  
**Fascistic terror campaign by frenzied Viet contras against Melbourne Spartacist meeting May 7 honoring Vietnamese Revolution.**

conscious attempt to blame the fascist violence on those who sought to stop the counterrevolutionary terrorists. But Burgmann's line of appeasing the fascists didn't wash on the waterfront.

Seamen, longshoremen and other maritime workers had had enough of these imported fascist thugs; the refusal to defend the Spartacist meeting and avenge the trashing of the wharfie hall did not go down well. The waterfront unions announced they would hold their own meeting on Vietnam. The issue of the WWF *Branch News* that announced the meeting said that the unions, in considering the May 3 attack on the WWF hall, "including the poorly coordinated efforts of the N.S.W./Federal police to ensure the security," had decided "for the unions themselves to arrange another function to which the Vietnamese embassy has been invited to send a representative and at which security would be ensured."

On May 17, under a banner reading "Solidarity with Vietnam," over 250 mainly maritime unionists assembled at the WWF hall. Members and trade-union supporters of the Spartacist League attended in solidarity with this stand against the fascists. SRV counselor Nguyen Ngoc Sinh and union officials addressed the audience. Workers came determined to teach the rightist terrorists a lesson—and were very well prepared. Faced with the iron fist of the working class—and undoubtedly warned off by the government—the fascist punks didn't show. Too bad, because a clash with this strategic core of union power would likely have led to a sharp defeat for these counterrevolutionary thugs and Hawke as well. But as an SL leaflet of May 18 asserted:

"The turnout of hundreds of workers, ready and willing for a fight vindicates our program for disciplined workers' action, against suicidal reliance on the cops, or appeals to a government which is emphatically on the other side."

Deeply chauvinist Australia is off limits to the masses of workers and oppressed in Asia, and to political refugees from right-wing butchers such as the Indonesian dictatorship. But reactionary regimes from Canberra to Washington welcome the Hitler-loving Marshal Kys, the bourgeois collaborators with French and particularly American imperialism and its Australian junior partners, the large landowners, drug traffickers and war profiteers. The fascist scum demonstrating in the streets of Australia and the U.S. are not immigrants seeking economic betterment, or even "boat people," but the officer corps run out by the Vietnamese Revolution because they were vicious warlords and U.S. puppets. Indeed, the decent, hard-working Asian pop-

ulation has a life-or-death interest in stopping these counterrevolutionaries—if not crushed hard and fast, they could easily trigger murderous "yellow peril" racism against all Asians.

The rightist terrorists seem to have the idea that the U.S. and Australia are Saigon and they still have a licence to assault and murder communists on sight. But these fascist puppets are widely reviled; the U.S. government sent lots of soldiers to die to keep these people in power, and among Vietnam veterans and anyone else who saw them at close hand their corruption and utter cowardice are legendary. On May 22 in Oakland a couple hundred of these puppets were demonstrating outside an SWP forum on Vietnam, incredibly chanting: "Get Out of America—Go Home!" A scruffy Vietnam vet passing by screamed, "I lost my leg because you people wouldn't fight." The Viet puppets don't know what country they're in.

No less bloody than their Australian counterparts, Viet worms in the U.S. are responsible for several grisly murders, including that of Edward Cooperman, a California physics professor known for his courageous efforts to use his scientific knowledge to aid in reconstructing war-ravaged Vietnam, as well as the murder of Vietnamese patriot Pham Thi Luu and the critical wounding of her husband Nguyen Van Luy in San Francisco. On April 28 a rightist mob of 200 thugs attacked the offices of the American Socialist Workers Party in San Jose, California, where an educational conference on the Vietnam War had taken place the day before. The cops refused to arrest a single one of the attackers and then escorted one of the thugs into the office to look for "communists from Vietnam" after the SWPers were forced to leave!

We wrote ten years ago, in the wake of the liberation of Saigon, when the American bourgeoisie raised a hue and cry on behalf of the Indochinese war criminals who were fleeing the victorious revolution:

"From Bangkok to Paris to New York, wherever this fleeing pack of poisonous rats goes, they will become a center of the most dangerous and vicious anti-



**Saigon 1968: Top cop of imperialist puppet regime murders Viet Cong "suspect." Now these butchers try to transplant their anti-communist terror into the U.S. and Australia.**

side worker badly injured. One *gusano* rag openly boasted that every person who "exterminates a communist" is a hero. In Melbourne on May 4, one thousand rightist scum attacked a similar meeting—and three nights later the fascists unsuccessfully sought to break up a Vietnam forum of the SL/ANZ.

On May 10 the outraged Vietnamese foreign minister Nguyen Co Thach charged the Hawke government with encouraging the violence. On March 4 a Vietnamese attaché was assaulted outside Parliament House in broad daylight, but no arrests were made. Minutes before the rightist terrorists struck at the WWF hall, the Commonwealth police deployed to protect Vietnamese embassy personnel, as well as the local cops, simply disappeared. Meanwhile, 22 students from Vietnam attending university in Canberra were the targets of a concerted terror and intimidation campaign. The whole thing stank of government provocation.

Hawke is using crazed Vietnamese mercenaries to intimidate leftists and impose the dominance of the virulently anti-communist, pro-CIA wing of the labour movement. And the "lefts," with a few exceptions, were prepared to eat it

George Crawford; Kurdish and Turkish leftists volunteered for the guard. In particular, the SL got a favourable response from seamen, longshoremen, painters and dockers, and shipyard workers. The bureaucrats responded with a wall of hostility, sabotage and intimidation of unionists who had endorsed. A meeting of the New South Wales (NSW) Labor Council on May 9 refused to even discuss the SL proposal or even mention the attack on the Waterside Workers' hall. Reluctantly and with great bitterness, the Spartacist League decided to cancel its Sydney forum saluting the tenth anniversary of the liberation of Vietnam. The SL then issued a leaflet to maritime workers blasting the bureaucrats' gutless treachery.

Desperate to cover up their own treachery, a spokesman from the Combined Unions Against Racism, which is nominally supported by the left trade-union bureaucrats, went on government radio to slander the Spartacist League. Meredith Burgmann lied when she asserted that the SL had called its meetings after the *gusano* violence began, as a "political stunt." The deadly slander was a declaration of "open season" on the Spartacists, and a



Australasian Spartacist  
**Vietnamese government official addresses a well-defended trade-union meeting. Fascists didn't show.**

communist activity. Worse than the *gusanos* who left Cuba, 'our allies' will be used by the CIA for the dirtiest of tricks against communists, labor and blacks. Socialists and the labor movement must demand: No Asylum for Indochinese War Criminals!"

—WW No. 68, 9 May 1975

In defending the triumph of social revolution in Indochina, the workers movement internationally must firmly put the imprint of its proletarian boots on the necks of these defeated émigré counterrevolutionaries whenever they raise their bloody heads. ■



# Philly Inferno...

(continued from page 1)

Times, 18 May). But it's not just the present gang in Washington. The opening shots of the Reagan years were fired in Greensboro, North Carolina in November 1979, under Democrats Carter and Mondale, when KKK and Nazi killers murdered five leftists, labor and civil rights organizers. The feds and cops were up to their necks in planning and carrying out that massacre, as they were up to their necks in the Birmingham church bombing and the assassination of Freedom Riders during the civil rights movement, not to mention the subsequent orchestrated campaign to physically wipe out the Black Panthers. Today the Greensboro massacre is not forgotten, and the Philly inferno will not be forgotten, next week or next year. The firebombing of West Philadelphia rivals Nazi war crimes. A victorious workers revolution will submit the criminals responsible for the Osage Avenue massacre to revolutionary justice, after a fair trial of course. (But then, we recall that at the liberation of Dachau, American GIs executed 122 SS prison guards on the spot, and newly-liberated concentration camp inmates dispatched another 50 with shovels.)

The egotism of this state is incredible. They're into burnouts, against the weirdo "Symbionese Liberation Army" (an operation overseen by Meese) and more recently various neo-Nazi fascist outfits who happened to cross the feds. Anyone who tells the state to go to hell is liable to be blown away, like the Mormon fundamentalist in Utah a few years back who refused to send his kids to public school and was shot down by the state police. "That'll Teach the Singer Children," the *New York Times* (21 January 1979) ironically editorialized about that cold-blooded murder. This state demands blood sacrifice, like some Aztec god. It's enough to turn you into a raving anarchist. (In fact, when Lenin wrote *State and Revolution* at the height of the 1917 Russian Revolution, the staid social democrats did accuse him of anarchism.) But the state rules on behalf of one class, the capitalist class, and more than a century after the Civil War it's capitalist wage slavery that must be smashed to free black America.

Black working people must take the lead to break with the Democrats and fight for a freedom-labor party based on a class-struggle program to place the organized power of the unions firmly behind the just demands of the ghetto masses for liberation. And Philadelphia has a combative labor movement with a proven capacity to fight: transit workers and school employee unions have repeatedly gone on strike in recent years. The unions, particularly those with large black memberships, should have shut down Philly over this racist atrocity. After all, they're high on the government's hit list.



As cops burn down West Philly blocks, horrified residents cry out, "Murderers! Assassins! Arsonists!"

Wilson Goode and the firebombing of West Philadelphia are the ultimate proof that the black Democratic mayors are the front men for Reagan's war on black people. In the 1960s as the ghettos burned with black rage and frustration, black mayors were installed in many of America's big cities to put out the fires. But LBJ's firemen are now Reagan's arsonists. It is left to the communists to give organized expression to the felt outrage of the black people in the face of this bloody cop massacre and to fight for the elementary right of black self-defense against the racist terrorists.

## Murder and Lies

In the aftermath of the West Philly massacre, Goode held thrice-daily press conferences, piling lie upon lie in hopes that the enormity of his crime would be buried under an avalanche of hysteria about MOVE. "We cannot permit any terrorist group or any revolutionary group... to hold a whole neighborhood or a whole city hostage," he said. Some "terrorists"! MOVE grew out of a local commune, whose murky politics, variously described as "back-to-nature" and "anarchist," are nothing but an inchoate cry of despair for the future of black people in racist America. They attacked no one, and just sat in their ramshackle commune waiting for the holocaust to hit. They even offered to surrender days earlier, if the mayor would guarantee no arrests. But a surrender wasn't wanted. The rulers just burned them alive... for using a loudspeaker at 3 a.m. and violating the city sanitary code.

Goode said MOVE was an "urban guerrilla group bent on absolute destruction." The "evidence"? The mayor could only cite housing code violations and unpaid utility bills. If you don't pay your rent, they blow you away like Bronx black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs. If you don't pay the gas bill, they blow your house away—and the rest of the neighborhood for good measure. The only known survivors are Birdie Africa, 13, hospitalized with second-degree burns, and Ramona Johnson Africa, 30, imprisoned in lieu

of \$3.2 million bail. The charges? "Conspiracy to riot" (by sitting in her house?) and "disorderly conduct." Drop the charges against Ramona Johnson Africa and all the MOVE prisoners!

In the hours and days after the firebombing, Goode and police commissioner Sambor claimed MOVE had a massive arsenal in the house, including machine guns and semiautomatic weapons. What the press luridly called their "cache" of weapons turned out to be one rifle, two shotguns and three pistols—millions of American homes have as much. Explaining why police held back firefighters as the blaze spread, city manager Brooks said they feared sniper fire from people hiding in the "labyrinth of tunnels" around the house. No tunnels were found in the rubble.

The *Philadelphia Inquirer* (17 May) published a detailed report showing that:

"For at least 18 months before the 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 lumber structures in preparation for the Siege MOVE."

*Inquirer* photographer William Steinmetz, who hid across the street from the MOVE house next to the police command post, reported that explosives were used soon after the cops first opened fire. "The house's windows were blown out when police set off explosives below ground level near the MOVE compound. The charges also blew the skylight out on the home next door," he said (*Inquirer*, 19 May). But the bourgeois press has buried any mention of this use of explosives, and portrays MOVE as initiating the one-way "firefight."

As the assault began, water cannon poured 1,000 gallons a minute to break up the front of the house and the cops opened up with M-16s, shotguns, heavy carbines and sniper rifles. In a black residential neighborhood they let off 10,000 rounds in the span of 90 minutes. A *Philadelphia Inquirer* reporter, Bo Terry, who was present on 62nd Street during the siege, told *WV* the police Stake Out (SWAT) team opened up with machine guns shortly after 6 a.m. Monday morning:

"They had M-50s and M-60s. On Osage Avenue southside, and also on Pine Street in the rear. They had automatic weapons there. The M-16s and everything, they were on rooftops; they were in basements of homes, on both sides of the street. There was an awful lot of rapid fire coming from that street. 'Cause we were looking right down the street; all we could hear was brrp-brrp-brrp-brrp, it was going like a mile a minute."

The M-50 is a .45 calibre submachine gun and the M-60 (7.62 calibre at 800 rounds/minute) is the general purpose machine gun of the U.S. army. There are additional reports of even heavier calibre weapons being fired from the police command post across Osage

Avenue.

From the moment they dropped the bomb, Goode and Sambor have been claiming that MOVE incinerated themselves and the neighborhood, that it wasn't even a bomb at all. Commissioner Sambor repeatedly claimed there was a "23 minute delay between the bombing and the fire," and that MOVE "started or assisted the fire" by spreading gasoline on adjacent rooftops. Yet millions saw on television the helicopter drop a satchel charge, the explosion and immediate fireball. The "entry device," as they say in Reaganspeak, was a bomb composed of two pounds of Tovex TR-2, a high explosive manufactured by Du Pont for use in underground mining. They knew there would be a fire—they didn't care because the babies in that house were black.

The cops wanted to burn MOVE alive and they sat and watched for 90 minutes while Osage Avenue was in flames. Firemen were ordered to cease the use of water cannon, which were (safely) positioned in the next street. Jerry Africa, a spokesman for MOVE, reported that commune members tried to surrender after the bombing and ensuing fire, but "panicked and ran back into their burning building when police fired shots over their heads" (*Chicago Tribune*, 22 May). As cars melted from the heat blocks away, and the fire spread through 60 homes, Goode waited until every last man, woman and child in the MOVE house was burned alive, most apparently huddled in the basement. LaVerne Africa, the aunt of one of the men who died in the fire, described:

"The police went to MOVE, MOVE never went out of its house to the police.... Don't you think we're right to defend ourselves?"

"This is mass murder... burn 11 people to death?"

"When I think about it, and I try not to think, but when I try to sleep I can't help thinking about the screams that must have come out of that house. Those babies. Can you imagine the pain? Burn to death? You know, I'm going to make sure Mayor Goode hears those screams, I'll talk about it till he does. Burn babies? For some political ass games? Kill babies?"

—Village Voice, 28 May

## Reagan's "Anti-Terrorism" Means War on Blacks

The eviction operation was "perfect, except for the fire," said Goode. The mayor says that approximately 20 minutes before the cops dropped it, they told him they were going to use a "percussion explosive" to blow a hole in the bunker on the roof. Still, Goode insists he takes "full responsibility" for the bombing; that is, he'd rather be seen as a mass murderer than a chump. What emerges is a picture of a conscious, planned operation designed to make sure that nobody got out of that house alive. Here America's racist rulers take a page from their terrorist murder manuals for the CIA "contras" in Nicaragua, who as guard dogs of the Somoza dictatorship mercilessly bombed their own cities. From the crazed anti-Soviet crusaders in the White House bunker, the message is: *West Philly was perfect*. It was their program for black America. And their black flunkies in City Hall do the dirty work.

From Goode's diatribes against "urban guerrillas" to Meese's congratulations, what happened on Osage Avenue has all the earmarks of a COINTELPRO-type operation straight out of Washington. Last issue we asked, "Where is the hand of Edwin Meese... in this affair?" Turns out he was pulling the strings. As the *New York Times* (19 May) reported, "Mr. Sambor said he and his aides met on Saturday, May 11, with local agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to review the strategy and tactics to be used. 'The F.B.I. found the plan sound,' Mr. Sambor said." And City Council member Lucien Blackwell commented:

"I think the mayor sat down with all the responsible parties, the district councilman, the district senator, the district



Kill-crazy L.A. police upstaged by firebombing Philly cops.



# 31 May 1921: The Day They Bombed Blacks in Tulsa

The grotesque bombing of West Philadelphia and the deliberate firestorm that followed was *not* the first time blacks in an American city were bombed by "their" government. On 31 May 1921 the heart of black Tulsa, Oklahoma was obliterated by police bombs dropped from commandeered private planes. A white mob, out to lynch a 19-year-old black man, Dick Rowland, accused of attacking a white woman, had invaded the segregated black community of Tulsa. According to the *Boston Globe Magazine* (13 March 1983), "Armed blacks, seeking to protect Rowland, also showed up." So police dropped dynamite from the air, killing at least 75, mostly blacks;

more than 4,000 black people were thrown into concentration camps, and the black business district, known as "the Negro's Wall Street" was permanently erased.

The racist police bombing of Tulsa came on the heels of massive racist terror against blacks in East St. Louis, Chicago, Washington, Harlem and other cities across the North after World War I, as demobilized white soldiers were set against blacks by the bourgeoisie. John Reed, the radical journalist become Communist, spoke to the Second Congress of the Communist International in Petrograd, July 1920, on the self-defense organized by blacks and the job of the young



Beryl Ford

American Communist Party:

"In all these fights the Negroes showed for the first time in history that they are armed and splendidly organized and are not at all afraid of the whites....

"The Negroes who returned home from the war have set up associations everywhere for self-defense and to fight against the white supporters of lynch law....

"The Communists must not stand

aloof from the Negro movement which demands their social and political equality and at the moment, at a time of the rapid growth of racial consciousness, is spreading rapidly among Negroes. The Communists must use this movement to expose the lie of bourgeois equality and emphasize the necessity of the social revolution which will not only liberate all workers from servitude but is also the only way to free the enslaved Negro people."

state representative, the district attorney, FBI agents, the secret service, the managing director, the city solicitor, to make out a plan pursuing this very serious city problem.... I believe a lot of planning went into that decision."

—*Daily Pennsylvanian*, 17 May

The Osage Avenue massacre was no aberration. From the Los Angeles Police Department's "Blue Thunder" attack helicopters and hattering-ram



UPI

1978: Delbert Africa under the jackboot of "Philadelphia Stake-Out" SWAT team, as 55-day siege of MOVE ends with assault by an army of 600 cops.

tanks to New York's stun-gun "torture precincts," the rulers justify the growing paramilitarization of the cops in the name of "war on terrorism." To regiment the American people for nuclear Armageddon with the Soviet Union, Reagan and Meese have created a "terrorism" scare in order to institute real "state-supported terrorism" at home. This includes sweeping police state measures like the new FBI Security/Terrorism Guidelines which label all opponents of the government outlaws to be shot down in the dead of night; and the "shoot-first" National Security Directive 138 which unleashes U.S. military and intelligence forces to carry out unprovoked "strikes" against "terrorist" targets. There are also the police state military "exercises," such as the martial law atmosphere surrounding last year's Democratic National Convention in San Francisco and the "free world" Olympics in Los Angeles.

As for Wilson Goode, one high-schooler remarked, "What kind of mayor would do something that would kill children and burn down the houses of people that voted for him?" LaVerne Africa knows what kind: "You know, he is worse than [former police chief and then mayor Frank] Rizzo? Rizzo hated MOVE and never tried to pretend he didn't.... We knew Rizzo wouldn't dare

to bomb MOVE. We didn't know Wilson Goode.... You know, people defend him—because he's black.... Had that been a white mayor they would've been outraged." That's right, Wilson Goode is in there to do what notorious racist Rizzo never could. (His 1978 assault on MOVE where 600 cops moved in, again without any legal pretext of criminal charges, evoked widespread sympathy for the group—nine MOVE members are still in jail for defending themselves against the cops.) Now with hundreds of people burned out of their homes, the mayor is talking in penny-ante terms about money to rebuild, while Pennsylvania Republican governor Thornburgh refuses to declare the fire-ravaged blocks a disaster area. Homes it took a lifetime to pay for have been wiped out—the government should give each displaced family a million bucks just for openers!

Before he allowed his own city to be bombed, Mayor Wilson Goode was touted as one of the premier black Democrats of the 1980s. He even rated a meeting with Walter Mondale last year, as a possible vice presidential candidate. From ex-cop "Uncle" Tom Bradley in Los Angeles, to ex-SNCC leader Marion Barry in Washington, D.C., black Democratic mayors preside over the misery and oppression that is the reality of life in black America. The poverty program pork barrels are long gone—today the black mayors campaign for Reagan's program of a sub-minimum wage for teenagers. And where there are strikes to be broken, protests over killer cops to be quashed, or the KKK wants its "right" to do some provocative nightriding in the heart of the black inner cities, it's these black front men for Reagan racism who get the job.

We communists say black Democrat Wilson Goode is as guilty as Republican Ronald Reagan and the racist cops for the murder of eleven blacks, women and children alike. The liberals now apologize for this calculated obliteration of a black neighborhood—to do otherwise requires a break from the whole myth of the "new black power" at the voting booth, organized through the Democratic Party of George Wallace and Jesse Jackson. That is why we are now witnessing the obscene spectacle of the black establishment supporting Goode amid the screams of black babies. Harlem's *Amsterdam News* (25 May) headlined, "MOVE was White Man's Idea," talking of MOVE's "confrontations... with the law" (a hunger strike!); and the *City Sun* (22-28 May) calls Goode "The Man in the Middle."

It's not only cynical Democratic Party vote hustlers like Jesse Jackson

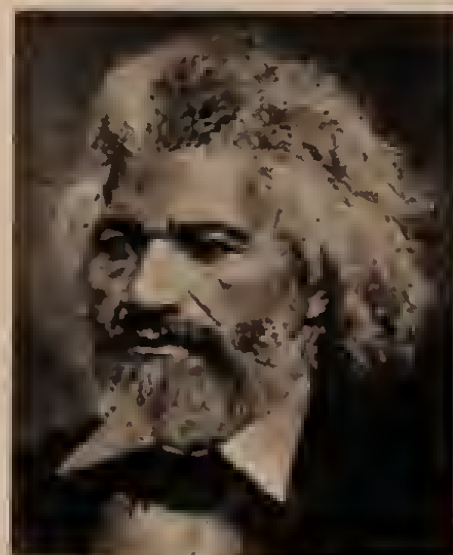
who have maintained a deafening silence or rallied to the side of Wilson Goode. The groveling reformists of the Communist Party call for "a federal investigation" into the firebombing—that is, for the criminal Edwin Meese to investigate the crime! Demanding the resignations of police chief Sambor, city manager Brooks, and fire chief Richmond, they let Mayor Wilson "I'd do it again" Goode off the hook. Progressive Labor was one of the few groups not blinded by loyalty to black Democrats. But while calling a protest against Goode's massacre May 18, these stupid sectarians kept it a private affair, refusing a united front offer from the Spartacist League. The SL initiated and led the Labor/Black Mobilization which brought out 5,000 people and stopped the KKK from marching in the nation's capital on 27 November 1982, an anti-racist victory which stands in sharp contrast to the defeats and sellouts which black people have en-

dured in recent years. As in Washington, PL prefers waving flags on the sidelines to leading genuine mass struggle in this country.

The Osage Avenue massacre was supposed to be a message to anybody who gets "out of line" in Reagan's America—blacks will get the Philly treatment, labor will get the PATCO treatment, and everyone, not least the Marxists, will get the "terrorist" treatment. But you can fight the terrorists in City Hall and the White House and win. Black people do have social power: they are concentrated in some of the key sections of the American proletariat, constituting its most militant layer. But to unlock this power means breaking the capitalist two-party stranglehold, fighting for a workers party to mobilize labor and oppressed blacks in revolutionary struggle against this racist, capitalist system. Avenge the Philly inferno—For black freedom through socialist revolution! ■



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Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Smash U.S. War Moves!

# DEFEND



## Donate Dollars! Crush the Contras!

*Class-conscious workers and youth: defend the Nicaraguan Revolution!* The Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League, has undertaken a fund-raising campaign for the urgent defense of Nicaragua. Facing Reagan's trade embargo and renewed threats from Washington of direct military intervention, forced to fight the CIA's "contras," thrust into economic chaos aggravated by the continued conciliation of private property (the "mixed economy"), Nicaragua is fighting for its life against massive U.S. attempts to starve it into submission. The Nicaraguan people are in desperate

need of dollars now.

Reagan's embargo against "Sandino-Communism" may actually push Nicaragua onto the "Cuban road." He pounds the table, demanding an end to the dictatorship of the "Committee of 535" (read: U.S. Congress) while the Democratic Party has gone along with the embargo and is full of new threats after Daniel Ortega's trip to Moscow. As Jeane Kirkpatrick—fond of "moderately authoritarian" dictators—and the Moonies' ultraright sect are raising funds for the contra terrorists, the pro-Democratic Party "solidarity" milieu tries to duck the issue. You can take a stand:

donate now and generously to the Student Committee to Defend Nicaragua. Every penny donated goes to Nicaragua; the SYL has assumed all administrative expenses. We urge *Workers Vanguard* readers to make their checks payable to the Student Committee and mail to: SYL, Box 3118 Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008. Below we reprint the text of the SYL leaflet announcing the fund drive for Nicaragua:

The U.S. trade embargo against Sandinista Nicaragua is an act of war. An invasion may be the next step. The Nicaraguan masses have courageously vowed that if the U.S. does invade, they will fight to the last man, woman and child. Here in the United States we have a special responsibility to take a side in defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution. And that means with material aid as well as anti-imperialist protests. *Nicaragua needs dollars, now, and you can help.*

The Spartacus Youth League, a socialist organization dedicated to winning youth to the side of the world working class, has initiated a fund drive to aid the urgent defense of Nicaragua. The U.S. rulers, in their insane plunge toward anti-Soviet World War III, want to use students, young workers and ghetto youth for cannon fodder. Today, it's to make Nicaragua "safe" for Somoza-style dictatorship, for the sort of brutal regime which existed before the revolution. At "home" they're using black neighborhoods as target practice for their counterinsurgency techniques—that's the meaning of the Philadelphia bombing. It's no accident, either, that Reagan signed the embargo into law en route to Germany where he saluted Hitler's SS at Bitburg: Nazis have a place in his "free world."

Reagan & Co. want to dictate to the rest of the world what kind of governments, what kind of societies can exist. Desperately impoverished, under the constant threat of U.S. invasion, forced into war with the CIA's contras and now faced with the embargo, the Nicaraguan people have made great sacrifices to defend their revolution! We say: defend, complete, extend the revolution! Crush the contras—those international terrorists who specialize in assassination, sabotage, rape, torture and all the other CIA-style "methods." Now more than ever Nicaragua needs hard currency for everything from arms to medicine to spare parts. Your "anti-contra"bution is urgently necessary—give generously!

## Smash "Two-Tier" Takeaways!

# No More PATCOs— Victory to United Pilots!

CHICAGO, May 25—Last night United Airlines chairman Richard Ferris ripped up a tentative agreement with the striking Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA). Now Ferris is demanding "super-seniority" for scabs as a condition for signing any contract. UAL's ultimatum was clear: they want to gut the union by firing higher seniority pilots and implementing a vicious two-tier pay system. And if the union-busters get away with it against the elite union at the nation's largest airline, then no one is safe. It's high time labor rolled back the PATCO defeat—and to do it the unions are going to have to stop scabbing on each other and fight together against the bosses. Picket lines mean don't cross!

UAL's two-tier pay proposal is

unprecedented in scope: new-hires will make about half the current pay levels and would have to fly for 20 years to catch up to veteran pilots. Two-tier wage scales are spreading from one industry to another as union leaders cave in to the capitalists' givebacks drive. Even the powerful Teamsters are saddled with it. The bosses use these pay systems to break the unions from within by pitting workers against each other. ALPA spokesman John Leroy told *WV* that the two-tier wage scale would give UAL the incentive to get rid of the higher seniority pilots. And with a corps of lower paid, rookie pilots, you can forget about safety when flying the "friendly skies of United."

Ferris claims this union-busting giveback is necessary because United

Chicago:  
Pilots picket  
O'Hare, May 18.



Airlines is hurting in today's "competitive climate." Those are strange words coming from the second-biggest airline in the world (behind the Soviet Union's Aeroflot), one which made a half-billion dollar profit last year and which recently offered to gobble up Pan Am's Pacific routes for a cool \$750 million! United Airlines isn't in trouble, and everyone knows it. But the labor movement is, and that's why Ferris thinks he can get away with this rip-off. The capitalists have been pounding labor since 1981, when Reagan smashed the PATCO air controllers strike while the AFL-CIO

bureaucrats refused to implement the obvious and necessary act of labor solidarity: shutting down the airports.

In this period the airline companies have reaped enormous concessions; ALPA estimates its own givebacks to United alone have been worth some \$360 million. In an industry where the formation of a single industrial union is a crying necessity, the companies have been able to pick off one union at a time, counting on the misleaders of the other unions to enforce a backstabbing scab policy. In the past, ALPA scabbed on

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