

History Making Productions Presents:

Breakthrough: 1978-1994

Teacher Materials

Lesson Plan & Answer Key

- *Learning Through Media* -

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INTRO

We here at History Making Productions hope that the *Philadelphia: The Great Experiment* series can enrich your classroom teaching in a way that is exciting for your students and not too time-consuming for you. Here's how it works.

For each 25-minute episode you will find:

BEFORE

Attention grabbing "hooks" to stimulate student interest

Images and/or documents from the film along with suggested discussion questions to prepare students to view the episode

Vocabulary lists to teach unfamiliar terms

Essential questions to help you frame the lesson

DURING

Note-taking sheets to keep your students focused as they view the episode

Suggested stopping points to maximize student interest and understanding

AFTER

Follow-up lessons based on content from the episode

Class activities based on the webisodes that accompany each episode, along with webisode worksheets that require information gathering, exploration of primary sources, and critical analysis

Lessons based on primary sources relevant to the episode

Suggestions for topics that can be explored more fully using our Shortcuts, brief interviews with experts that are available on the *historyofphilly.com* website.

List of relevant Common Core Standards

A set of five quiz questions based on the note taking sheet.

BREAKTHROUGH: 1978-1994

BEFORE

(Preparing for and showing the episode should take approximately one 50-minute class period.)

To stimulate interest, show the Introductory PowerPoint in which photos of Philadelphia from the 1970s are juxtaposed with images of present day city. What do students notice about the differences between the city today and the city depicted in the photos? Have them make predictions about how these changes came about.

Words before watching:

These are terms that are used in the episode and on the note sheet. It will be helpful to review any unfamiliar terms with students or to distribute the **vocabulary list** to students.

- Scourge - a curse or menace
- Anarchistic - characterized by a lack of laws and/or government
- Status quo - the current situation, especially regarding social or political issues
- Enigma - a person or thing that is mysterious, puzzling, or difficult to understand
- Resolve (noun) - firm determination to do something
- Squalor - a state of being extremely dirty and unpleasant, especially as a result of poverty or neglect
- Satchel - a rectangular bag, usually made of leather or cloth and provided with a shoulder strap

Wondering before watching

These are the essential questions that permeate the episode. You may choose to present them before and/or after watching.

- Where are the lines between art, self-expression, and vandalism?
- How does racial solidarity influence politics and identity? What are the limits to commonality based on race?
- What challenges faced urban centers like Philadelphia in the late twentieth century? How have those challenges been addressed?

Work while watching:

Students will fill out a **note-taking sheet** that, once filled out, will provide an outline of the episode.

(17:00) Before proceeding, make sure that students have a sense of the following: What was MOVE? What did they believe in, where did they live, how did they behave? What were relations like with neighbors? With police? What options did the neighbors, police, and Mayor Goode have in their efforts to tame MOVE's actions?

AFTER

(Approximately one class period)

Discussion after watching

- Why do you think the Anti-Graffiti Network succeeded as well as it did?
- Are people better represented when members of their own race are elected to office?
- In what way was the city's confrontation with MOVE like a war (*note the terminology used in that section of the note sheet*).
- Was the MOVE bombing inevitable? Who should be held responsible for the way events unfolded?
- Using the completed note-taking sheets, generate a list of the major challenges faced by Philadelphia in the early 1990s. Which should be considered most significant? What has improved, stayed the same, or gotten worse in the 21st century?
- What did former mayor and governor Ed Rendell mean when he said, "Philadelphia was on the verge of becoming Detroit without the automobiles"?
- Toward the end of the film, artist and activist Lily Yeh says of Philadelphia in the 1970s, "*It's forgotten, it's forsaken, it's bleak, but it contains the seed ready for transformation, and that is the space of freedom.*" Use evidence from the film to either support or contradict this statement.
- The title of this film is "Breakthrough"; why is this an appropriate title for the episode? What are other fitting titles?
- Refer to essential questions.

Activity after watching

Share the following six statements made in the film about graffiti and ask students to choose, and then be ready to explain, the one with which they most strongly agree. If space permits, write or print each quotation on a different piece of paper and have students move to the one they most agree with. After sharing ideas with others in their self-selected group, conduct a whole class discussion.

"Underneath it, it's sheltering a rebirth of the community."

"It's not vandalism for it's own sake, it's not purely anarchistic. It contains within it a kernel of protest."

"Lock 'em all up. Lock 'em all up."

"It's disgusting"

"In graffiti, there are messages. There are images. And there is color. There is a rawness and energy there. I see it as destructive, but I also see it as something alive."

"In the mid '80s, graffiti in Philadelphia was nothing short of a social epidemic."

Activity after watching—primary sources (approximately two class periods)

NOTE: Brief, clear, objective summaries of the events surrounding the MOVE bombing can be found at Temple University Libraries website and at slate.com

In the immediate aftermath of the MOVE bombing, local newspapers were full of news articles, images, letters to the editor, editorials, and commentaries that attempted to assess blame for the MOVE tragedy. Some people argued that MOVE had brought the police action on themselves. As an Osage Avenue neighbor states in *Breakthrough*, "Believe it or not, I think you have to kill all of them." Others, however, thought that city officials should be held accountable for the deaths of innocent people and the destruction of a neighborhood. The following activity will give students the opportunity to find evidence supporting both sides and to then form their own opinions on the controversy.

Depending on class size and time available, distribute any of the following newspaper clippings to students:

Daily News Letters to the editor, 5/24/1985

Inquirer Block captain, news article, 5/16/1985

Inquirer commentary, 10/23/1985

Inquirer editorial, 5/19/1985

Inquirer image

Inquirer Letters to the editor, 5/19/1985

Inquirer Letters to the editor, 5/19/1985 part 2

Inquirer Neighbors' views, news article, 5/19/1985

Inquirer Neighbors' views, news article, 5/19/1985 part 2

Inquirer Neighbors' views, news article, 5/19/1985 part 3

Inquirer MOVE's letter, news article, 5/20/1985

Inquirer MOVE's letter, news article, 5/20/1985 part 2

New York Times images, 5/19/1985 Note: The *New York Times* incorrectly calls the group "Move" rather than "MOVE".

New York Times Sorting out, news article, 5/19/1985

New York Times Sorting out, news article, 5/19/1985 part 2

New York Times Sorting out, news article, 5/19/1985 part 3

Tribune Black clergy support mayor, news article, 5/17/1985

Tribune Letters to the editor, 5/28/1985

Tribune editorial, 5/31/1985

Tribune commentary, 5/24/1985

Tribune commentary, 5/28/1985

Tribune Demonstrator 'MOVE', news article, 5/31/1985

Tribune Demonstrator 'MOVE', news article, 5/31/1985 part 2

Also distribute Post-It Notes or index cards (you may want to color code these by category (news articles, images, letters to the editor, editorials, commentaries). As students work their way through the sources, they should write down evidence that supports the argument that the confrontation was mostly MOVE's fault or that it was mostly the government's fault (e.g. the police, the mayor, etc.). They can either write out entire quotations or summarize points that are made.

Then, after a given amount of time has passed or a required number of clippings have been read, have students post their findings on either walls of the classroom or sides of a bulletin board or black/whiteboard designated as "MOVE's fault" and "Government's fault".

Give students time to read each other's Post-it Notes or index cards. You may want to have them write in their notebooks three or four of the most compelling pieces evidence they find on either side of the wall.

Then, lead a discussion about the information they have gathered. Encourage students to use specific evidence that they or their classmates found in the reading. In addition to assessing blame between MOVE and the government, have them explore who within the government should be held most at fault. Ask which types of sources were most trustworthy, most interesting, most informative etc.

To conclude the lesson, have students compare their own opinions to the conclusions reached in 1986 by the Philadelphia Special Investigation Commission (known as the MOVE Commission). *The MOVE Commission's findings* can be read aloud in class or assigned for homework.

Activity After Watching-primary sources (approximately one class period)

NOTE: *If you have not previously used political cartoons in your class, this [Cartoon Analysis Checklist](#) may help you to lead this lesson.*

Show students the following cartoons that were drawn in the aftermath of the MOVE bombing and during the MOVE Commission hearings:

Daily News, Signe, 10/23/1985

Imar cartoon

Inquirer, Auth, 5/19/1985

Inquirer, Auth, 11/1/1985

Ask students to analyze the perspective of the cartoonist. Which cartoon best resonates with their own opinion about the MOVE bombing? What techniques were used by the cartoonists to convey their viewpoints (e.g. symbolism, irony, caricature)? Point out that knowing how to draw well would not have been necessary to create some of the cartoons, whereas others took quite a bit of skill.

Then, have students create their own cartoons, either about the MOVE bombing or about another current, controversial issue. They should write the message they are trying to convey with their cartoon on the back of their paper and then hang it in the classroom above a lined piece of paper. Once all the cartoons are hanging, have students circulate among the cartoons and attempt to figure out the messages that their peers have tried to communicate. They should write their ideas on the lined paper hanging beneath the cartoons. To conclude the lesson, students can compare their intended message with the interpretations of their peers and then, either aloud or in writing, reflect on how well their intended message was transmitted.

Activity After Watching—primary sources (approximately one class period)

Below you will find transcripts from the MOVE Commission hearings that focus on the experience of the Osage Avenue neighbors. If time allows, it may be interesting and worthwhile to have students read or even reenact some or all of the proceedings. Ask students how their exposure to the content of the hearings changed or shaped their understanding of the events leading to the MOVE bombing.

Inquirer MOVE Commission transcript
Inquirer MOVE Commission transcript part 2
Inquirer MOVE Commission transcript part 3
Inquirer MOVE Commission transcript part 4

Activity after watching—shortcuts

If you and your students want to pursue topics introduced in "Breakthrough", you can use the Shortcuts to get information from the experts on a variety of topics. A list of Shortcuts follows.

Graffiti/Murals

- Anti-Graffiti Network with Daryl McCray
- Graffiti Writing to Me with Daryl McCray
- Murals with Sharon Holt
- What Art Does with Lily Yeh

MOVE

- John Africa with Ramona Africa
- Lynne Abraham with Ramona Africa
- Survivors of the 1985 MOVE Bombing with Craig McCoy
- The Move Commission with Craig McCoy
- The Move Commission with Craig McCoy
- Wilson Goode with Craig McCoy

Urban Decline

- Deindustrialization with Sharon Holt

Key Ideas and Details

Grade 6-8

- Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of the source distinct from prior knowledge or opinions.
- Identify key concepts in a text's description of a process related to history/social studies(e.g., how a bill becomes law, how interests rates are raised or lowered).

Grade 9-10

- Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text
- Analyze in detail a series of events described in a text; determine whether earlier events caused later ones or simply preceded them.

Grade 11-12

- Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary that makes clear the relationship among the key details and ideas
- Evaluate various explanations for actions or events and determine which explanation best accords with the textual evidence, acknowledging where the text leaves matters uncertain

Craft and Structure

Grade 6-8

- Identify aspects of a text that reveal an author's point of view or purpose (e.g., loaded language inclusion or avoidance of particular facts).

Grade 9-10

- Analyze how a text uses structure to emphasize key points or advance an explanation or analysis

Grade 11-12

- Evaluate authors' differing points of view on the same historical event or issue by assessing the author's claims, reasoning, and evidence.

Integration of Knowledge and Ideas

Grade 6-8

- Integrate visual information (e.g. in charts, graphs, photographs, videos, or maps) with other information in print and digital texts)
- Distinguish among fact, opinion, and reasoned judgment in a text.
- Analyze the relationship between a primary and secondary source on the same topic.

Grade 9-10

- Assess the extent to which the reasoning and evidence in a text support the author's claims. - Compare and contrast treatments of the same topic in several primary and secondary sources

Grade 11-12

- Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g. visually, quantitatively, as well as in words) in order to address a question or solve a problem
- Evaluate an authors's premises,claims, and evidence by corroborating or challenging them with other information
- Integrate information from diverse sources, both primary and secondary, into a coherent understanding of an event, noting discrepancies among sources.



Breakthrough: Vocabulary List

- Scourge - a curse or menace
- Anarchistic - characterized by a lack of laws and/or government
- Status quo – the current situation, especially regarding social or political issues
- Enigma – a person or thing that is mysterious, puzzling, or difficult to understand
- Resolve (noun) – firm determination to do something
- Squalor - a state of being extremely dirty and unpleasant, especially as a result of poverty or neglect
- Satchel - a rectangular bag, usually made of leather or cloth and provided with a shoulder strap



Breakthrough: 1975-1994

Fill this in as you watch. Sentences in italics are direct quotations from the episode.

I. Graffiti/Black Politics

1. According to Jane Golden, some of the kids were writing on walls because they wanted a sense of **reputation**.

2. Graffiti was both a **symbol** and a *scourge* of youthful **energy**.

3. What was graffiti about for Daryl "Cornbread" McCray?

Escaping the pressures of the ghetto life; getting a name as many places as you possibly can.

4. Why was Philadelphia an *enigma* to African Americans according to Bernadine Hawes?

It was not unlike the South; segregation existed but the lines were not as clear in Philadelphia as in the South.

5. What were the two main goals of the Black Political Forum?

To register black voters and to promote black candidates for office

6. In 1979, Bill **Green** was elected **mayor** of Philadelphia. W. Wilson

Goode served as his **managing director**.

7. Goode defeated **Frank Rizzo** in the mayoral race of 1983

becoming the city's first **African American mayor**.

8. According to Tufuku Zuberi, Goode *empathized* with **the experiences of African Americans**.

9. Tim Spencer formed the Anti-Graffiti Network that hired graffiti writers to **clean graffiti covered walls**. Jane Golden became the leader of the **Mural Arts Program**.

II. Development (10:25)

1. What was Mayor Rizzo's major transportation project that that improved life in Philadelphia? **Connecting the Reading and Pennsylvania Railroads which involved building a commuter tunnel and launching Regional Rail service.**

2. Philadelphia had been controlled by leaders of **banks** ; during the 1980s, their place was taken by **developers**.

3. According to the "Gentlemen's Agreement", no building in Philadelphia could be **taller than William Penn's hat atop City Hall**. The first buildings to break the agreement were **Liberty Place 1 & 2**.

III. MOVE (15:02)

1. Following a 1978 **shootout** and the imprisonment of **9** of their members, the radical back-to-nature group, MOVE, **intensifies** the group's resolve. Relations with their Osage Avenue neighbors **disintegrate**.
2. To get **publicity** for their imprisoned members, MOVE decided to **start making a lot of noise**.
3. MOVE built a **bunker** on top of their house; neighbors were evacuated as the **police** prepared for **battle**.
4. The fire department **bombards** the house with water; then police shoot more than **10,000** rounds of **ammunition**, but MOVE **returns fire**.
5. On May, 1985, a police **helicopter** dropped a satchel of C-4 explosives onto the MOVE house. The fire department **let the fire burn**.
6. **11** people including **5** children died in the fire: **3** city blocks were destroyed and more than **60** homes.

IV. Urban Challenges (21:07)

1. List challenges facing the city in the early 1990s:

Crime, homelessness, drugs, racism, paranoia, fear, loss of 400, 000 residents since 1960, crack epidemic, national recession, rising murder rate, mafia wars, financial crisis (260 million dollar deficit), jobs fleeing city at record pace, losing manufacturing base.

2. "It's forgotten, it's forsaken, it's bleak, but it contains the **seed** ready for **transformation** and that is the space of **freedom**."

What Have We Learned From MOVE Tragedy?

Your coverage of the Osage Avenue confrontation with MOVE was commendable.

After reading and listening to all the criticism of Mayor Goode and Commissioners Gregore Sambor and William Richmond, I would like to say I think they handled the matter as well as, or perhaps better than any other public officials could have handled it. Obviously no one had any idea of the extent to which the occupants of that house had fortified themselves.

The conditions at that house, as reported in news media, would have been intolerable in any neighborhood, and the residents are to be commended for keeping their cool all these months while appealing to the city to do something. It is sincerely hoped that our city has now learned a lesson for the second time in seven years, and will pass legislation, if that is what is needed, to preclude the possibility of any terroristic group of people ever creating such conditions to the disruption of the tranquility of any neighborhood.

It is unfortunate that children had to lose their lives in this incident, but adults there had more than ample time to respond to the pleas of city officials and outside negotiators, and at least send out the children.

A. Romelli
Philadelphia

Bad Judgment

No foreign enemy has ever dropped a bomb on the City of Philadelphia. But Mayor Wilson Goode authorized such an attack in the MOVE confrontation, which resulted in 11 deaths, including four children, and the destruction by fire of about 60 homes. Surely, a better way could have been found to get rid of a radical group.

The mayor said that if he had known that explosives existed in the MOVE compound, he would never have permitted any police. But he should have known if he really was in command of the situation.

When police filed an affidavit in Common Pleas Court for an arrest and search warrant, they specifically stated there was probable cause to believe the MOVE compound contained "explosives and incendiary materials". Surely Police Commissioner Gregore Sambor must have known about the affidavit if he was on top of the



Sambor

situation. Did he fail to tell the mayor?

Mayor Goode's excuses do not detract from the fact that he used bad judgment. This citizen has little faith in the objectivity of the panel to be appointed by the mayor to investigate the disaster; a more appropriate investigation can be made by Congress.

Calvin Mills
Philadelphia

The Landlady's Fault?

To the Rev. C. Hamilton Robinson, who said someone needs to go to jail about Osage Avenue being burned down. You're damn



James

right, and that person is Louise James because she let those MOVE people have that house, and therefore, started a breeding ground for all of this trouble.

The city should pay her for her house and run her out of town with the rest of the MOVE people.

Mrs. A.K. Williams
Camden

A Prayer

Good God, who watches over all, save us from what the white man has done to our children in the recent bombing of MOVE members. Good God, who raised up the sea and make the storm to thunder, protect and save us from what the white men have done to us. Good God, grant us freedom from police brutality rampant in Philadelphia.

Melva Rooney
West Philadelphia

Warning to Blacks?

What happened on Osage Avenue has signaled the dawn of a new day in the United States for black people. If you black people don't live and act the way the system decrees, you will be annihilated!

We, the black people of this world, are under attack by the white people of this world, and black people have been chosen by the white power structure to commit heinous crimes against their own people.

It is true that we may not concur with MOVE's lifestyle, but does that warrant death? Does that warrant death by fire? Does that warrant murdering children? Those who longed to have MOVE destroyed lost their homes in the process. They were lucky.

They reaped what they sowed.

If a white mayor had done such a horrendous deed to blacks, blacks would have rioted in the streets, looted, and attacked whites, but they support a mayor who is obsequious to the diabolical white power structure.

Hartmut Milchgiesser
Philadelphia

Kudos for Goode

Overall, Mayor Goode must be given the proper credit. Following the MOVE crisis, he took complete charge. The mayor took full responsibility for everything that happened. He also arranged for all of the burned-out homes to be rebuilt, and for those families left homeless, to be given alternative housing until they could move back into their homes.

Mayor Goode, I commend you on your actions following the crisis, and for your willingness to accept the blame for what happened. I deplore the manner in which the city's actions were planned and carried out. Until you clear up all of the questions in the minds of a great many people, doubts will always exist as to whether the mayor of Philadelphia handled properly one of the biggest crises to hit the city in a long time!"

Barry Emas
Philadelphia



Goode

Critical of Stone

I am black, and damn sick of Chuck Stone playing blacks and whites against each other.

MOVE people were threatening to kill white people, and they were shooting at them to prove it. When they dropped a bomb on the house to blow off the roof to smoke them out, the MOVE people continued to fire at them. It was unfortunate that people got killed, but the MOVE people wanted it that way.

The police and firemen did the best they could. And nobody can do better than that.

Andrew Caine
Philadelphia

Is it true that any mail that comes addressed to "God Almighty", c/o The Phila. Daily News, is automatically put on Chuck Stone's desk?

Thomas John Glacken
Philadelphia

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The Philadelphia Inquirer / MYRNA LUDWIG

Clifford Bond, block captain of 6200 Osage Avenue, says that although he doesn't agree with all the tactics police used, 'it was their job to help us'

Block leader says he'd act same way again

By Marc Kaufman
Inquirer Staff Writer

"They came in and did what was necessary," said Clifford Bond, block captain of the 6200 Osage Avenue Residents Association, as he wearily rubbed his head.

"I might not agree with all the tactics the police used, and I certainly believe that they waited too long to save our homes," he said. "But we were people who needed help with a problem beyond our control, and it was their job to help us. . . . And now the problem is finally gone, and we can start building again."

Bond was speaking yesterday in the temporary shelter in the basement of the St. Carthage Catholic Church three blocks from his former home, surrounded by similar homeless neighbors.

He had heard a lot of criticism in the last few days, some of it very angry. People had said that he and his group pushed the city too hard, bringing on the confrontation that killed at least 11 MOVE members and devastated their neighborhood.

But Bond, a fourth-grade teacher in West Philadelphia, had a message for those critics: "There is nothing that I wouldn't

"People have to understand what MOVE was doing to our neighborhood. People can't lose track of the fact that MOVE dictated all this. . . ."

do the same again.

"People have to understand what MOVE was doing to our neighborhood. People can't lose track of the fact that MOVE dictated all this, that MOVE said many times that if they were pushed out of the street, then the neighborhood would burn. The city made mistakes, but at least they were trying — belatedly — to right a wrong."

"But the most important question now is not what happened earlier in the week. The big question now is, where do we go from here? And how do we end the suffering of this block?"

It was two weeks ago that Bond, block captain for the last two years, and about 50 residents of the 6200 block of Osage Avenue called a news conference to tell

how intolerable their lives had become and to plead with the city to do something. That meeting led to widespread media coverage and was soon followed by a series of interviews of block residents by the district attorney's office. Those interviews then led to the issuing of warrants and Monday's confrontation.

The events of the last two weeks have been very public, but the trauma the block has experienced over the last two years has been private. And it is that shared trauma, Bond said, that molded the residents of Osage Avenue into a surprisingly cohesive group — even now that they have been so scattered.

"Until you've walked in our shoes, I say you don't know what it's like to live with MOVE," he said. "We know, and that has brought us together like never before. And even though there isn't a 6200 block of Osage left, I say we are still a unified block, and I am still their block captain."

Bond and another block leader, Howard Nichols, have spent much of the last few days either at St. Carthage or at the nearby Cobbs Creek Recreation Center, where a variety of city and private agen-

"One thing we learned during this whole thing is that we must speak up. . . . We will make sure that the homes they build for us are good. . . ."

cies set up tables to help residents with housing, Social Security and welfare problems. Bond is also planning to travel to Washington today to talk on local television shows there and, he said, to try to get the attention of Congress.

According to Bond, the fact that most of his neighbors now live outside the neighborhood — at a Temple University dorm in North Philadelphia — is one of the most upsetting aspects of their homelessness. Why, he asked, didn't the city find a place in West Philadelphia where they could live? Why didn't they find a place near where almost everyone who'd been on the block will quickly return when, and if, they can?

"One thing we learned during this whole thing is that we must speak up and fight for ourselves,"

he said. "And we will continue to do that now. We will make sure that the homes they build for us are good, and that our people are treated well while we wait. We will never again sit by."

As part of their continuing activism, Bond and several of his former neighbors went to the West Philadelphia office of the city Welfare Department yesterday to complain about the way that people from their block had to wait for hours to get the \$100 emergency payment promised to them. They also had learned, to their surprise, that burned-out residents who had incomes above a certain level were being denied food stamps — even though they had just lost everything.

As another part of that activism, the neighbors said, they are suing the city. The suit, filed in Common Pleas Court yesterday afternoon, accuses the city of unnecessarily destroying the neighborhood.

"We always said we would support the city if they came in, and we did support that action," Nichols said. "But there are so many other ways they could have done it. They didn't have to bomb our neighborhood."

MOVE brought on the confrontation

By Claude Lewis
Inquirer Editorial Board

It's good to be back in the newspaper business for many reasons. And it is especially good to be back in time to discuss some of the events connected with the Philadelphia Special Investigation Commission into the handling of the Osage Avenue confrontation with MOVE on May 13, 1985.

Up to now, the hearings have been fascinating, informative, thoroughly professional and in many ways profoundly disturbing. What has bothered me most has been the perception that Philadelphia is on trial. I am well aware that that has not been the intent or purpose of the fact-finding panel. But it has been its effect.

What seems to have been lost is the fact that MOVE, not the mayor, created the circumstances leading to the death of a sizable portion of a West Philadelphia community. But the hearings seem to place the mayor and other city officials on trial for their decision-making.

No matter what the outcome or findings, it must be understood that MOVE cast itself in the role of the villain. It was MOVE that created the worst kind of carnage, calamity and chaos ever seen in Philadelphia.

After several years of ineffectiveness on the part of at least three city administrations, the Goode administration finally faced MOVE head-on. It had to be done. If one more week, indeed, one more day had passed without some attempt to extinguish MOVE's fierce fanaticism, the perception that the city had become totally impotent in dealing with a terrorist organization would have been proper. Other groups, looking on, might well decide as MOVE did, that Philadelphia is peculiarly vulnerable to urban terrorism. Indeed, Philadelphia might yet become the stopping-off point for any number of groups hoping to flex their ideological muscles against "the system."

That children perished in the medley of firepower on Osage Avenue on May 13 was tragic and unnecessary. There was no need for that to have happened. There was, as the hearings have already pointed out, ineptness, incompetence, insensitivity and inconsistency involved. The result was a disastrous performance by the police and the administration.



But as poorly as the city performed, MOVE's performance over several years was far worse; its members polluted a proud community and denied freedom and peace to their neighbors who, as the hearings revealed, were on the verge of taking the law unto themselves. Some had decided that if the city, crippled by bureaucracy, with its thousands of police officers and firefighters and hundreds of "officials," was incapable of handling 13 people barricaded

in a house, the neighbors would handle it themselves. After all, what had they to lose?

If the hearings have established anything to date, it was what nearly everyone suspected; Mayor Goode was not in charge of his city on May 13, 1985. At least a portion of Philadelphia was given over to local military forces. Police Commissioner Gregore Sambor, perhaps by default, took charge.

I have been supportive of Mayor Goode. But in dealing with MOVE, he was nearly a total failure. Had Sambor's plan worked, Goode would have been a hero. But the ill-conceived plan missed by a mile. It destroyed the lives of 11 people — four children among them — and turned 61 homes in the area into cinders, ash and rubble. Mayor Goode's admitted "hands-off" policy led MOVE to believe it could function with impunity — and it did.

In clear view, the organization constructed what is now being called a bunker on the rooftop of its compound. MOVE members imported weapons, disturbed neighborhood tranquility, assaulted neighbors, bombarded the area with profanity and generally caused a consistent disturbance in the lives of many people.

Perhaps Mayor Goode's major contribution to the MOVE controversy was his call, before the investigating panel, for a federal and state "team" to handle or assist in urban terrorism that may well be above the capacity of a city obliged to respect the rule of law and the rights of individuals no matter how different they or their lifestyles may be.

An even greater tragedy is nearly certain to follow if the nation fails to understand that May 13, 1985, in Philadelphia was not necessarily an aberration stemming from an abdication of responsibility on the part of local government. On the West Coast, several years ago, the Symbionese Liberation Army, as misguided as MOVE, demonstrated terroristic tactics that ended in a phantasmagoria of death and destruction. It seems the nation learned little or nothing from that sad event.

Now we have experienced the MOVE fiasco. With terrorism on the rise throughout the world, there's no reason to believe it won't grow within the United States. Federal, state and city officials had better get together, to determine how to contain this new evil before it devours us all.

The Philadelphia Inquirer

An Independent Newspaper

Published Every Morning by Philadelphia Newspapers, Inc.
400 N. Broad Street, P.O. Box 8263, Philadelphia, Pa. 19101

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President

EUGENE L. ROBERTS JR.
Executive Editor

EDWIN GUTHMAN
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Sunday, May 19, 1985

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Police-command failure worsened MOVE crisis

When all is said and done, the city's response to the outrageous MOVE provocation must be characterized as a tragic failure.

After six days, enough is now known about Monday's tragedy to render some judgments. The most unpleasant yet inescapable conclusion based on all available evidence is that Police Commission Gregore J. Sambor's plan to drop an explosive charge on the MOVE house was incredibly ill-conceived and that Mayor Goode and Managing Director Leo Brooks, presented with it on short notice, were ill-advised to have OK'd it. That fateful decision, compounded by other misjudgments, places a heavy burden of responsibility on the mayor and his men for the inferno in which seven MOVE adults and four children died and 53 homes were destroyed.

Nevertheless, primary blame for the violent confrontation belongs squarely on the MOVE anarchists. They rejected negotiation. Their obsession with destruction spawned it all.

Long before Monday, officials waited too long to act. For more than one year they dithered as MOVE strongly fortified an urban rowhouse. Next, police intelligence failed to reveal the degree of fortifications and how the fortress might be penetrated.

Mayor Goode insists that his team's plan to evict MOVE was artful, but its failure is as starkly evident as the devastation in West Philadelphia. In the end police dropped a bomb on a rowhouse that they believed contained both munitions and children.

The most irresponsible aspect of that decision is that Commissioner

Sambor had explosives tested for weeks for possible use against MOVE, but he never informed his superiors until the heat of battle. If more minds than Mr. Sambor's had concentrated on proper advance planning, it stands to reason that they would have ruled out the bomb. Instead, the decision to bomb was improvised on the spot, then hastily affirmed by an under-informed mayor under terrible pressures.

The agonizingly slow response by firefighters also remains inexplicable. Granted that firefighters must not be exposed to snipers, there has been no adequate explanation for making no attempt to fight the fire until it was raging out of control.

Mayor Goode pledges to appoint an investigative commission. Clearly one is needed. To be credible the commission must be small, impeccably independent and composed both of experienced law-enforcement professionals and credible civilians.

No matter what the commission concludes, however, it is all too clear that in planning for the confrontation Commissioner Sambor did not inform his superiors that among their options would be the choice of dropping an explosive charge from the air — an unconventional option in such a standoff — and that the mayor was not informed until 17 minutes before the bomb was dropped. That was irresponsibility of the highest order. It was a failure of command, not of the brave police officers who put their lives on the line. That failure must be faced and action must be taken to ensure that nothing remotely like this disaster ever occurs again.

6212 Edith and
Shirleen
Benson6214 Occupant
unknown6216 Ernest
and Virginia
Sanders

6218 Gerald Redd

6220 Sadie Brissett

6222 Occupant
unknown6224 The Devore
family6226 Anna and
Lorraine
Nesbitt6228 William
Alston6230 Occupant
unknown6232 Occupant
unknown6234 Alfred and
Margaret
Lane6236 Occupant
unknown6238 Alfred and
Ernestine
Grice

6240 Bunice Burch

6242 Occupant
unknown6244 John and
Rose Stokes

6246 Connie Wines

6248 Olaitan and
Adeola Odeniyi,
Stephanie Edmonson6250 Theodore and
Marie Price6252 The King
family6254 The Gamble
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The Foskey
family 6213Occupant
unknown 6215Bennett and
Marguerite
Walker 6217

Vacant 6219

MOVE 6221Regina Phillips, Vance
Perry and Gary
Winfield 6223Chastine and
Lucille Green 6225Earl and
Jesse Jackson 6227Occupant
unknown 6229Mattie Coles
and Nannie
Chainey 6231Earl and
Cassandra
Carter 6233

Harry Smeck 6235

The Williams
family 6237Frank and
Eva Lewis 6239Thomas and
Betty Mapp 6241Samuel and
Yvette
Mattaway 6243Robert and
Gwendoylen
Ford 62456214 The Renfrow
and Alexander
families6216 Amanda
Dorsey6218 Earl and
Pearl Watkins6220 The Rice
family

6222 Ruby Scott

6224 Elaine Dotson

6226 Louise Cephus

6228 Inez and
Howard
Nichols

6230 Hazel Howard

6232 The
Robinson
family6234 Gerald
Wayne
Renfrow6236 Occupant
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Camara and Mary
Kinning6240 Clifford and
Lorraine Bond6242 Occupant
unknown6244 James and
Hazel Taylor6246 Kermit and
Elizabeth Bostic6248 Johnnie and
Janet Thomas6250 Oris Thomas
and Darlene Smith6252 Occupant
unknown6254 Anne and
Sandra Lee6256 Barbara
Welburn

A spectrum of reactions to MOVE

To the Editor:

Without any question, Philadelphia has a clear responsibility to help the homeless victims of the MOVE disaster. This responsibility, in fact, extends beyond the needs of the 60 homeless families. Dozens of other families in the immediate neighborhood have been emotionally, and perhaps financially, devastated by the destruction of their neighborhood. We owe those people a lot, also.

However, when The Inquirer urged recently in an editorial that our "paramount responsibility" should be these innocent victims, you missed the broader point. When you urged that people not "become preoccupied with details of the disaster, and fixing blame," you also missed the point.

Every Philadelphian — not just the victims in West Philadelphia — is seriously affected by this disaster. This city *must* be preoccupied with the details of this disaster, and with properly assessing blame. And The Inquirer does not help when it suggests that "if blame is to be assessed, MOVE must be at the top of the list." That is simplistic rhetoric.

The entire city of Philadelphia — not just the victims of the fire in West Philadelphia — made international headlines during this disaster. It will take months and years for the image of a burning Philadelphia neighborhood to be erased from people's minds. Businesses thinking of expanding in our city, or locating here, may simply look elsewhere.

We darned well better identify the "who, what, when and why" of virtually every major decision leading up to this disaster or risk *having it happen again*. That's our challenge. That should be our "paramount responsibility." And, rather than sidestepping this responsibility, The Inquirer should be leading the way.

Thacher Longstreth
City Council

Philadelphia.

(Mr. Longstreth is an at-large member of City Council.)

Traumatic

To the Editor:

I am compelled to voice my opinion regarding the MOVE episode.

Yes, it is traumatic for those residents who lost their homes — their very neighborhood. A sense of neighborhood is very precious in Philadelphia, and we all grieve for these newly homeless.

On the other hand, I would gladly kick the Joan Specters in their shins for "calling for an investigation." This is an all-too-obvious bid for political attention. It disgusts me.

Mayor Goode et al. have been honest with this city. They deserve our support.

All this talk and interviewing and repeating scenes on television (shades of *Saturday Night Live*) obscures the *real* issue — no matter how devastating, how traumatic, how unbelievable, these people live!

Homes can be rebuilt, and belongings can be repurchased — and once this is done, those people will continue to live with all their loved ones.

I am one Philadelphian who thanks God that no firefighters or police officers died.

And I grieve for the dead MOVE members. Such a waste — but Mayor Goode said it, "We can't allow any group to hold a city hostage."

E.C. Guenther

Philadelphia.

Resign

To the Editor:

If nothing else, the tragic events of the last several days have shown that Mayor Goode is a magnificent politician. By responding quickly to the unintended victims of Osage Avenue and the MOVE fiasco by promising to rebuild their homes, and by remaining accessible to the media, he managed to deflect and deflate public outcry against

stupid, vicious and morally, if not legally, criminal act.

The lack of public outrage is puzzling and worrisome. The mayor's and police commissioner's statement that no one could have predicted a fire would start from a bomb dropped on a bunker that was possibly filled with explosives is an insult to anyone who's ever played with firecrackers. Their insistence that they would follow the same course of action again is a blatant political attempt to avoid liability. This statement alone, and Mayor Goode's assertion that all "revolutionaries" will be handled similarly is revolting and cynical.

Why has the public not demanded the resignations of Mr. Goode and Mr. Sambor? Perhaps we're still in shock, but perhaps it's because he's made such generous promises to "make whole" the victims of Osage Avenue.

Mr. Goode's statement that he accepts full responsibility for the paramilitary action is empty, since it lacks remorse for the MOVE victims who have been characterized now as the enemy. His facile promise to rebuild Osage is empty, since what was lost cannot be replaced. Mr. Goode and Mr. Sambor owe us their jobs, and they should return them to us immediately to save this city further disgrace, heartache and embarrassment.

Tony Errichetti

Philadelphia.

They asked for it

To the Editor:

Like so many others, I sat Monday evening and watched the news reports as 60 homes were burned in the effort to oust a handful of criminals. And then came the blame game. It's a very popular pastime. Everyone can play, and it doesn't require too much thinking.

Our police and firefighting forces performed heroically. They are not to blame. And although the mayor cannot be totally blamed for the tragic turn

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of events, I am forced to wonder why action wasn't taken sooner.

One of Mayor Goode's own comments was that he had known for as long as a year that there would be no peaceful settlement; that MOVE members wanted a violent confrontation. If he knew that, was it wise to wait another year to deal with the problem? Another year for MOVE to make plans, another year for MOVE members to arm themselves, another year for them to fortify their homes and terrorize their neighbors?

The mayor had said that he had no legal cause to intervene. Does that mean that if my neighbor decides to run up and down on my rooftop in the middle of the night there's nothing I can do about it? Or that, if he turns his home into a combination battle station and garbage dump with unsanitary conditions and an outward show of arms and a desire to use them, I still have no legal course of action?

We have bent over backward in this country to protect the rights of the criminal, and yet the rights of victims and law-abiding citizens are grossly neglected.

But the most important point to be made is to place the blame squarely where it belongs, and that is on the MOVE members themselves. They terrorized their neighborhood, they defied and scoffed at the law, they armed and fortified themselves, they threatened confrontation, they refused every effort of negotiation and, finally, they began the shooting. The MOVE people got what they were looking for.

Earl Weldon

Philadelphia.

Massacre

To the Editor:

I have not heard a soul express concern about the MOVE people.

What occurred was a massacre. Yes, MOVE's behavior was provocative, and probably against the law. (I do not have enough information to make this judgment. It is difficult to distill the objective truth from what one hears from government officials and from the media.)

But, as a rule, people who break the law in this country are not burned to death, their children with them.

Our system of democracy is theoretically set up to tolerate differences in beliefs, values and lifestyles. Certainly, if someone's way of life imposes on others it

must be dealt with. But by murder?

I have liked Mayor Goode, because he is likeable, because he is not a Rizzo and because in some important ways he has been a good mayor. And because he is black — I think it is vitally important to have black elected officials. I want to continue to like and support Mayor Goode, but I don't know any more.

Paula Eckardt Strock

Philadelphia.

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On Mother's Day 1984, a year before their street would be incinerated, a group of neighbors met with members of MOVE to try to reach a solution. There had been complaints about the dog kennel that was cutting off the ability of people to get to their garages through the back alley. There had been complaints about the slats covering all the windows.

They met in front of the home at 6221 Osage. They were not this time, or ever, invited into the house. Several members of MOVE were there, including Mo Africa, Frankie Africa, Conrad Africa and Ramona Africa.

The residents stated their complaints — not in the hope of getting MOVE to change completely, but in the hope that the group might give a little more respect to the needs of others.

After they spoke, members of MOVE responded. Not with any compromises, but with the jarring, insulting, enraged rhetoric that would tear the neighborhood apart. They spoke of their spiritual leader, John Africa, in terms that residents at the meeting had difficulty understanding.

"They told us that John Africa taught this and John Africa taught that, and that we were living all wrong," Inez Nichols said. "We came away believing that they didn't care what we thought, one way or the other."

Theodore Price, 49, 6250 Pine St.:
It seemed like they just created a new type of profanity.

During the summer of 1984 it happened at almost any hour, and it continued for hours and hours.

When members of MOVE wielded the bullhorn or shouted through a loudspeaker system, there was no pre-set quitting time.

As far as Kimberly Foskey could tell, it all "depended on the weather."

The hotter it was and the more uncomfortable everyone in the neighborhood was, the longer the MOVE harangue continued.

Margaret Lane would be in the back of her house at 6234 Pine St. and would hear it.

Nadine Foskey, returning from work at the Printer's Place in Center City, could hear it from several blocks away as she walked back to her home.

Members of MOVE were working the bullhorn again, their angry, obscene and indecipherable words piercing the air for hours on end.

Some, like Margaret Lane, were amazed at the MOVE members' energy: How could any group, radical or not, use the bullhorn for as many hours, nonstop, as they did?

"You have to give some credit to those adults," she said. "They had some kind of energy."

But of all the things MOVE members did, it was the bullhorn that got to people in the neighborhood the

most, creating an unbearable psychological torture that caused people to change sleeping habits and turn up the TV full volume to try to drown out the screaming epithets.

"They blocked off the alley — just like a police blockade," said Theodore Price. "When they got on the loudspeakers and they used to say, 'You niggers are going to do what MOVE tells you to do.'"

There were other raging threats as well.

Marguerite Walker remembered one in particular: "On the loudspeaker, Conrad [Africa] used to shout that he was a rapist. He would get on there and say that he used to go into people's houses through their skylights and rape young virgins."

And Yvette Renfrow remembered a threat too, one that she couldn't bring herself to say but had to write down:

"F— you and your family. They don't mean nothing to me."

Carrie Foskey, the woman who was so fond of cooking for her friends in the neighborhood, had to go to sleep during the day because the MOVE bullhorn usually kept her up all night. Her daughter Kimberly, worn down by the screaming taunts, just announced one day, "I can't take it anymore."

"We could handle the stink, the smell, the cats and dogs," Kimberly said. "But the bullhorn..." But she didn't leave.

Pearl Watkins, who lived across the street from the MOVE house on Osage, was a religious woman. And the things she heard MOVE members shout made her shudder.

"It attacked me in a way, just to hear it. I prayed about it. I talked to the Lord and asked for some change. I asked him, 'How could these people become like this?'"

The neighbors groped for a compromise — anything to stop the non-stop stream emanating from the MOVE house hour after hour.

When, one day last year, MOVE members announced over the bullhorn that they were planning to stay on the bullhorn for the next 24 hours straight, Se' Kou Camara, 33, who lived at 6238 Osage, had had enough.

He went to the MOVE house, angry, but trying to be as fair as possible. He offered them what he thought was a fair deal:

Just use the bullhorn six hours a day.

But they didn't listen.

Oris Thomas, 6250 Osage:

We were there first. This was our neighborhood, our community, our home. We were prisoners in our own homes — physically and mentally... day in and day out.

MOVE won. The city won. We lost.

Last summer, members of MOVE announced that Aug. 8 — the sixth anniversary of the police raid of a MOVE house in Powelton Village that resulted in the shooting death of police Officer James Ramp — would be a day of confrontation.

Hundreds of police officers and firefighters flocked to Osage Avenue in anticipation of violence that day. Residents of the neighborhood were evacuated.

There was no showdown between MOVE and the police that day.

But according to neighbors, Lloyd Wilson, who lived next to the MOVE house, was assaulted and punched in the face by Frank Africa.

The next day, Wilson and his family left the neighborhood.

On another night during the summer, Nathan Foskey, a handicapped man who walked with the aid of a cane, went down the steps of his home and came face to face with MOVE member Mo Africa. So angry, so frustrated, so beaten down, Foskey raised his cane in anger as if to hit him but then held back at the last second.

For his daughter, Nadine Foskey, the two incidents marked the beginning of the end of the neighborhood. When friends of hers such as the Wilsons decided to pack it in and leave, when her father got so angry that he was ready to hit someone, Nadine Foskey began to realize that it was over.

She said she had no physical fear of MOVE. Instead, she said, "When people started dropping off and saying they could no longer take it, that's when I really felt threatened."

In February, Bennett Walker Jr. was washing his car in front of his house when several MOVE members pulled up to their house in a truck. They began to saw some wood. The sawdust began to get onto Walker's car. He asked the MOVE people to move their truck elsewhere. Immediately, his mother said, he was attacked and beaten to the ground.

On March 1, Rachelle and Wayne Marshall, who had rented the house at 6223 Osage for nearly a decade, moved out.

During the year before, Wayne had gotten into a fight with MOVE members over a parking spot.

Rachelle Marshall was next door, in her aunt's dining room, when the fight occurred.

"It was a nice day out, and there was a lot of kids out there. We heard the noise and we thought it was just kids playing. Then it got louder, and somebody came to the door and said it was my husband..."

"By the time I got out, he had knocked a couple of the men out, so the men were laying on the ground..."

"One of the women had run in the [MOVE] house. One of the women was holding him on the ground... biting him on his cheek..."

"She had such a tight grip on his face he couldn't get it loose without her getting a bite out of his cheek..."

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Marshall was taken to the hospital by police for treatment to his cheek, and afterward, the neighborhood was never the same.

"I really wasn't too afraid being

there till after my husband got hurt, but after that I was always afraid. ... I just felt better about going out and working than staying home. ... You couldn't relax there."

No one could. And no one would, unless something was done to remove MOVE from the neighborhood.

For 2½ years, residents had gone to city officials in the hopes of getting something done.

They had followed official channels and their manner had hardly been pushy or zealous. And each time they saw someone from the city, the response had been the same: There was nothing the city could or would do.

On one occasion last year, Inez Nichols remembered, they saw Mayor Goode personally.

"He told us to have patience and everything would be taken care of," Nichols said.

But the residents had no patience left. With people getting beaten up by MOVE members, they decided to band together and go public about what was happening, venting their complaints at an emotional May 1 news conference. But many of them said they could feel, in the backs of their minds, a sense of inevitable doom.

"Things got tense," said Amanda Dorsey, who had lived on Osage Avenue for 28 years. "I just knew something was going to happen. The Lord only knew what. I didn't know."

Margaret Lane, 6234 Pine St.:

I passed a policeman by the barricades [last Sunday night]. And then I got to my front door and there was a policeman on my front door. I said good evening, and he said good evening and I put my key in the door and I went in.

I had just made it into the kitchen when the doorbell rang. And there were these two white policemen. One of them was a captain and one of them was lieutenant or something. They said, "You know, you are the last person to be vacated on this block."

I told them I wasn't leaving anyway, not at all. And oh, I went off about it. I was pretty mad. I've been here for 29 years and I've worked hard for what I've got, and I'm not going to let some small militant group move me out of my house.

They were very nice. But then they said that if I didn't go too, they would have to arrest me, and I decided that I have never been in jail yet and I didn't want to go now. So I went.

First, I went upstairs, though. I was going to a funeral the next day for my dear friend, so I went upstairs. But then the police called me downstairs and said I was out of time. So I couldn't get anything. I just left the house with this. That's it. A bag of curlers. Just this dumb little bag with nothing but curlers in it.

The thing that really gets to me is that when I left they said, they specifically said, "I promise you, Miss, that you'll be back in your house within 24 hours." That's what really hurts. They sounded so sincere.

So I sat there all night long [on the porch of her sister's house on Walnut Street]. I couldn't sleep. I just sat there. And then all of a sudden I heard this [MOVE] bullhorn and they said, "The city of Philadelphia will never forget this evening."

Elaine Dotson packed carefully. James Taylor Sr. took with him a uniform for work, two pairs of undershorts, three pairs of socks, a pair of work shoes, deodorant and a bottle of Jovan musk cologne.

"I get bottles of that stuff every Christmas, birthday and anniversary," he said. "It's all they [his family] knows to give me."

Evacuated from their homes by the police on Sunday night, most residents spent the next 24 hours glued to television sets, trying to get some inkling of what would happen and when they would be able to return.

Only one home on the 6200 block of Osage Avenue was fully occupied after the police evacuation, the home belonging to MOVE members, and, in the final hours before a shootout with the police, they broadcast their final series of diatribes.

The sounds of the bullhorn had echoed across Osage Avenue all day Sunday, a coarse counterpoint to the feelings of Earl Watkins, who had gone to church with a special prayer. "When I went to church, I prayed for MOVE, because I knew that something was coming," he said.

The voices over the bullhorn changed — now male, now female — and each assaulted anyone listening with an angry tirade. It kept up, on into the darkness, long after the last of the neighborhood's other residents were gone and only the police were there to listen. The neighbors never heard MOVE's last harangue:

Wilson Goode is a motherf—ing phony just like all you other goddamn phonies, and that's why we're going to fight you motherf—ers.

All you cops out there. All you motherf—ing sharpshooters. ...

You're supposed to be a goddamn sharpshooter. You're supposed to be a motherf—ing expert assassin. But you couldn't assassinate nobody, could you, motherf—er? You couldn't kill nobody, could you, motherf—er?

And you know why? Because MOVE is right and you motherf—ers is wrong ...

Y'all can't come and violate the MOVE organization and think y'all can walk away with it and not feel the penalty of the violation. See, you motherf—ers been beating on MOVE people and killing MOVE babies for 17 years and locking us up when you know we ain't guilty, been persecuting this family for 17 goddamn years.

Y'all think you can just come in here and kill MOVE people, but, see, you crazy motherf—ing cops thought the same thing in '78. You motherf—ers went down there with that goddamn [Mayor Frank] Rizzo thinking y'all was gonna storm our house and

wipe everybody the f— out. But what the f— happened?

MOVE is alive, MOVE is strong.

Delbert is strong. Janeen is strong. Tiffany is strong. Whitby's strong. All the MOVE members that was in the house is strong and alive. But that goddamn Ramp, that motherf—er that came in here to try to kill MOVE and bury it, and he's dead because he believed in the bullet and that motherf—er was shot down by his own cops' bullet.

We want to make that clear, see? We've been telling you our position. Our position is we want our people out of jail because they are innocent. They've been in jail for seven years, separated from their kids — for seven goddamn years. ...

Y'all can forget about Philadelphia. Hear? Because John Africa is going to turn this motherf—er into a goddamn ghost town. You'll never get any goddamn business in this motherf—er. 'Cause, see, MOVE ain't going a goddamn place, MOVE ain't going no goddamn where.

I tell you what: If you motherf—ers do kill everybody in this house it ain't going to stop the MOVE organization, because you motherf—ers don't know what you're looking at.

MOVE ain't what you see in this goddamn house. I tell you what. All you motherf—ers can sit back and hallucinate about how it's going to be when this confrontation is over. But y'all ain't got no idea how it's going to be, because Philadelphia ain't going to never be the same again.

Monday morning, at 5:58, police and members of MOVE started trading the first of 10,000 rounds of ammunition.

Every several seconds, crackles and whistling ricochets broke the eerie, haunting silence.

The shooting lasted for two hours. At 8 in the morning, police stalemated,

shook their heads and tried to figure out what to do, or what their superiors would come up with.

They, and the world, would find out 9½ hours later, at 5:27 p.m.

That was when police dropped the bomb on 6221 Osage. A fire flared, subsided, then flared again a few minutes later, and began its methodical march from house to house. The heat was so searing the fire had no trouble leaping across Osage Avenue to take out the facing houses or across the alley to destroy the Pine Street row.

Fifty-three homes were destroyed, eight others gutted.

As for the neighborhood, the description was easy:

There was nothing left.

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Marguerite Walker, 6217 Osage:

We paid the house off two years ago. But it's not the house so much that I will miss. We lost a daughter in September. She was a chemist at Rohm & Haas. And all her wedding pictures were there. That was the one thing that was dearest to me. We had everything there. And that's been the hardest part, because we really haven't gotten over that yet, and everything that we had that was dearest to her, that is all gone.

First you lose her and then the house is gone. I don't know what else.

It was the washer-dryer that Jesse Mae Jackson bought at Strawbridge & Clothier. And the first report card that Virginia Sanders' daughter, Trina, ever got in the school.

It was the cat, Mittens, that belonged to Milton Williams' family. And the treasured family Bible that sat on an oval wooden table near the front door of the family room in the home of Edith Benson.

It was the VCR that belonged to James Taylor Sr. And the mantelpiece photographs that decorated the

home of Hazel Taylor. And the basement full of tools that Bennett Walker had been adding to and adding to for more than 20 years.

Some people had gathered these items just recently and never got to use them. Others had spent a lifetime collecting them.

But it didn't really matter.

Because everything was gone.

For some residents of the 6200 blocks of Pine and Osage, just being alive today is reason enough for hope.

"I'm victorious," said Nadine Foskey. "I'm alive."

But not everyone felt the same way.

There was the pain of losing something you could never recover.

"If my house had been the only one standing [after the fire], I would have liked to have picked it up and put it in the middle of Park Avenue," said Ernestine Grice. "To me, my house was worth \$500 million. Now, you asked me, and I'm telling you."

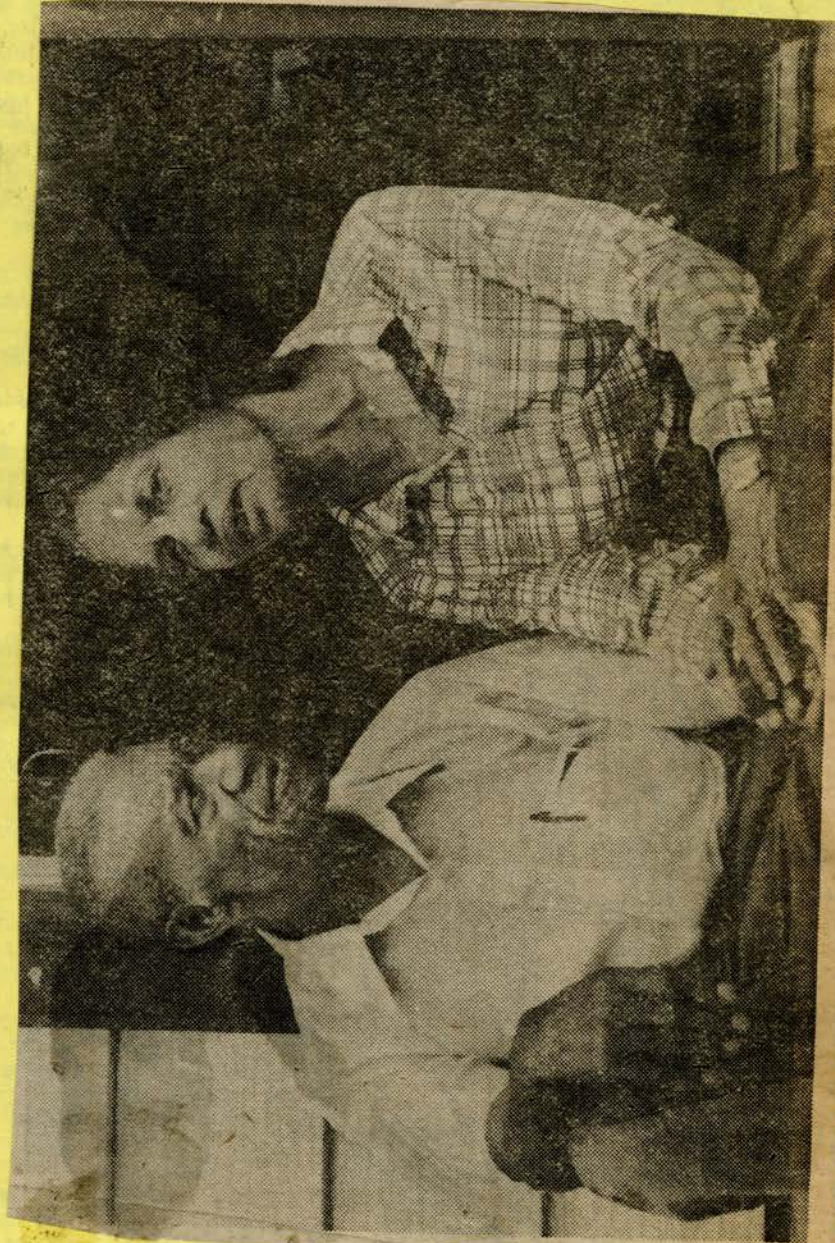
And there was the pain of feeling lost.

"I feel like a little child that's been forced to leave home," said 51-year-old Johnnie Thomas, who lived on Osage Avenue for 22 years.

"I feel like a stranger in Philadelphia, because no one can understand the circumstances. You really have to be going through these things to really understand.

"It's like I'm pining for my house, you know?" he said, his voice breaking. "I want my house."

Contributing to this article were staff writers George Anastasia, Chris Conway, Russell E. Eshleman Jr., Susan FitzGerald, Suzanne Gordon, Eric Harrison, Anemona Hartocollis, Terry E. Johnson, Gerald B. Jordan, Marc Kaufman, David Lieber, Sandra Long, Howard Manly, Ellen O'Brien, Maida Odom, Michael Vitez and Vanessa Williams.



The Philadelphia Inquirer / SHARON J. WOHLMUTH
Earl and Pearl Watkins lost their home of nearly 30 years; Earl's 2,500-record collection is gone

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The text of MOVE's letter

Mayor Goode yesterday released a letter that city officials received from MOVE members Saturday, May 11, two days before the bombing at the group's house at 6221 Osage Ave.

The four-page, hand-printed letter vowed to repel any attack by police on the MOVE house and was delivered to a police officer stationed a block from the house on the morning of May 11. The letter was signed by Ramona Africa, who is one of two known survivors of the fire that destroyed the MOVE house and the surrounding Osage Avenue neighborhood last Monday night.

The text of the letter was released after Goode was questioned about it yesterday on CBS-TV's *Face The Nation*. Here is the text of the letter:

TAKE THIS TO YOUR PEOPLE

If yall think yall gone come in here and surprise us you are wrong. Thanks to the strategy of John Africa we are prepared for anything. We know that yall would like us to think that long as the block aint evacuated we aint got to worry about no raid so that yall can catch us off guard. M. aint never off guard! We know you people will try to raid this house by commin thru the walls on either side of the house and catch us off guard by allowin them people on the block to go about their business like nothin aint happenin. We know about the plastic explosives yall can

use to knock down walls to attempt to raid us swiftly and cleanly before any of the neighbors can get hurt. That is a f—in pipe dream. The raid will not be swift and it will not be clean. The strategy of John Africa prepared us for anything yall come with, we will not be caught by surprise. To quote John Africa the coordinator, quote — surprises only work when you succeed in surprisin somebody, end quote — LONG LIVE THE COORDINATOR!

You can not surprise MOVE. When yall come in here tryin to surprise us we gone leave you where you stand and the surprise gone be on yall. It dont matter how yall come — thru the walls, thru the floor, in the basement, thru the windows or anyplace else, we aint gone be surprised, you are. Yall can plan all yall want to but finally yall got to come in here. To quote John Africa the coordinator, quote — officials makin plans is like a scientist makin experiments, they dont know how its gone come out. Super cops who come into an explosive situation and gain the community's trust are like the scientist in the community who have gained the community's trust til the laboratory blow up and the community catch fire, end quote. Long live the coordinator!

In 1978 a lot of plans were made to raid MOVE swiftly and cleanly but a

lot of cops got f—ed up and the plans were a mess.

We are sendin this note to you because we could not send this message over our P.A. system until it is repaired, however we want to make it clear that any surprise attack on this house like yall intended to pull on Aug. 8th last year will end in not only you planners gettin f—ed up but a whole lot of these neighbors gettin f—ed up. We dont give a dam whether you come thru the walls or come thru the ceilin long as you get the elderly and the infants out the neighborhood. When that is done you can come any way you want to come but if you try to pull some surprise while these people are still in the community we are goin to leave yall where you stand, cause yall to get a lot of people hurt and use the example to show how dangerous you politicians are and all you super cops with all your super plans are.

Any body who think they gon jump on MOVE, wipe us out an leave an example of a well organize plan is out they god damn min. When you come here it aint gone be swift and clean it's gone be a mess MOVE gone see to that.

And the example that is left will be in MOVE's favor.

If MOVE go down, not only w everybody in this block go down, the knee joints of America will break

and the body of America will soon fall and we mean it.

MOVE aint goin down without leavin the example of power with people and leavin you people with the example of a god dam failure. We aint gone f— around, if them mutha f—ers try anything next door we gone burn 'em the f— out, if they succeed in commin thru the walls they are goin to find smoke, gas, fire

and bullets.

Before we let you mutha f—s make an example of us we will burn this mutha f—in house down and burn you up with us. We know about all those odorless chemicals yall can put thru walls to paralyze people or put people to sleep, or even kill people but we got detectors, we got canaries, and we got seorians (possibly a reference to saurians, which are

lizards), if that detector shows signs of foreign odor in the basement or any other part of this house, if any of our canaries drop dead or if any of our seorians begin to vomit or wheeze, we are goin to burn that god dam house down next door and burn them mutha f—s up in it.

Ramona Africa
Minister of Communications
for the MOVE org.

IS GONE BE ON YALL. IT DONT MATTER HOW YALL
COME- THRU THE WALLS, THRU THE FLOOR IN THE
BASEMENT, THRU THE WINDOWS OR ANY-
PLACE ELSE, WE AINT GONE BE SURPRISED, YOU
ARE. YALL CAN PLAN ALL YALL WANT TO BUT
FINALLY YALL GOT TO COME IN HERE. TO QUOTE
JOHN AFRICA THE COORDINATOR, QUOTE- OFFICIALS
MAKIN PLANS IS LIKE A SCIENTIST MAKIN EXPER-
IMENTS, THEY DONT KNOW HOW ITS GONE COME
OUT, SUPER COPS WHO COME INTO AN EXPLOSIVE
SITUATION AND GAIN THE COMMUNITY'S TRUST ARE
LIKE THE SCIENTIST IN THE COMMUNITY WHO
HAVE GAINED THE COMMUNITY'S TRUST TIL THE

Philadelphia

Inquirer

5/20/8

There were no other reports of weapons being found yesterday. Police said a gun tripod was recovered in the houses, but no gun was found with it.

While the digging was going on, crowds of Sunday onlookers ebbed and flowed on 62d Street, a half-block east of the cordoned-off 6200 block of Osage Avenue. The people watched as investigators picked and combed through the twisted rubble of old porch awnings, refrigerators and bricks.

Some came dressed in Sunday church finery — the girls in cotton dresses and puffed sleeves, the mothers in pastel suits and matching hats. Many came with old Brownie cameras, Instamatics and 35mm cameras flung around their necks.

"This is something you want to show years from now," said Terry Boas, 26, who was there from Haver-town, Delaware County, with her sister to snap photos of the devastated blocks.

"It's a new camera, and I'm testing it out," said the sister, Ann Marie Miller, 25, of Upper Darby. "I want to come back and take a picture again when all these houses are [rebuilt]."

For an hour, the sisters stood on 62d Street, behind the yellow police barricades.

The chief tourist attraction was

the shivering jaws of a front-end loader that dumped the rubble into waiting trucks. Investigators had already sifted through the debris with rakes and by hand before the loader picked it up and put it on a truck to be taken to two city disposal sites. There, the rubble was to be separated according to the houses it had come from.

"I didn't want to come down to see it until now," said Maria Delbridge of West Philadelphia. "I didn't want to deal with this. This is devastating to me. Think of the children! ... MOVE really won this one. They've become immortal."

At 4:10 p.m., police again closed the street.

They said they had received complaints from residents about the "circus-like" atmosphere.

The mayor spent part of his day in church, as he always does on Sunday.

Goode, accompanied by several plainclothes police officers, attended worship at the First Baptist Church of Paschall, in the 2100 block of South 71st Street, where he is chairman of deacons.

Also contributing to this article were staff writers Mary Jane Fine, Anemona Hartocollis, Vernon Loeb, Howard Manley, Matthew Purdy, Richard V. Sabatini and Fawn Vrazo.

Not far from St. Carthage, police, firefighters and federal agents continued the dull, dirty task of digging through the rubble of the burned-out houses until 7:20 p.m.

Yesterday's search concentrated on the flattened remains of row-houses at 6219 Osage Ave. and 6217 Osage Ave., the two houses immediately east of the MOVE fortress.

Police said one goal of the search was to find the service revolver of police Officer Bennett Walker, who lived at 6217 Osage St. Late in the afternoon, police Capt. Matt Veasey said the revolver had been recovered.

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TECHNICAL CENTER

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The Week of May 5: Residents of 6221 Osage Avenue fortified the building and constructed a reinforced bunker on its roof.



Monday, May 13, 5:35 A.M.: The police surrounded the building and asked those inside to leave peaceably. The occupants refused. Police water cannons opened up.

5:50 A.M.: As the water poured on the building, gunfire came from inside. Police fired back.



5:27 P.M.: A police helicopter dropped an explosive device on the roof, to destroy the bunker. Flames rose after the blast.



6:15 P.M.: The blaze spread and was not contained for six hours. Fifty-three homes were destroyed, 8 were damaged.



Aftermath: Seven adults and four children in the besieged building died. Two hundred and fifty people were left homeless.

FORUM: Who — or What — Was at Fault in Philadelphia Raid

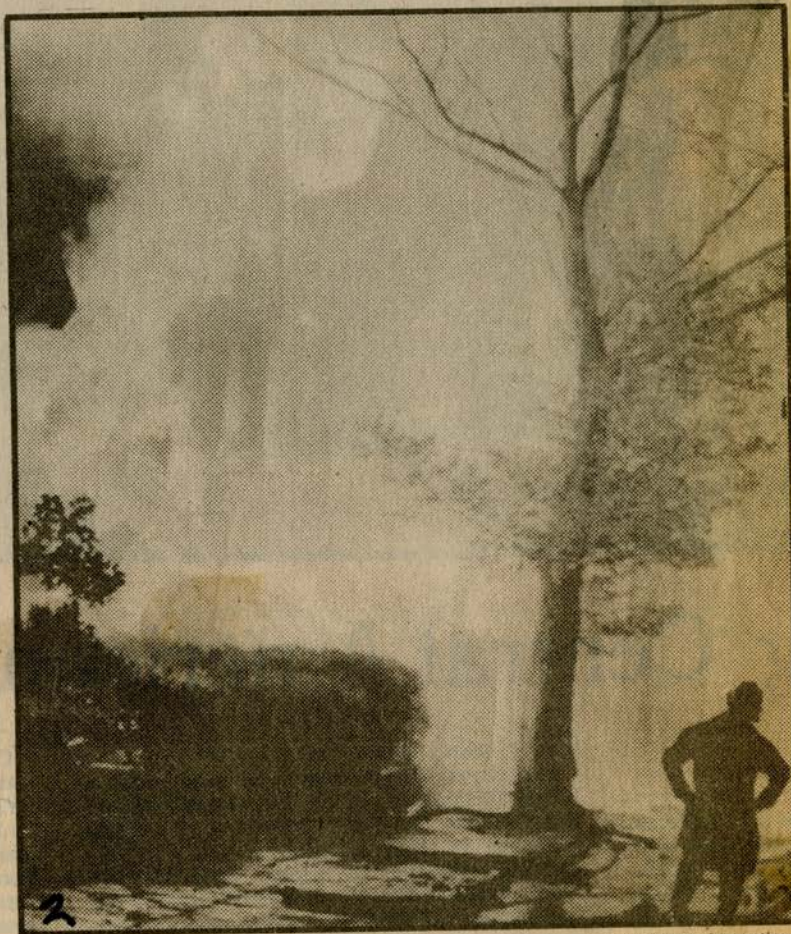
Sorting Out the Causes and Consequences of a Disaster

In the aftermath of one of the worst disasters in Philadelphia's history — a fire that destroyed two blocks of a mostly black neighborhood after the police dropped a bomb on a rooftop — many blacks asserted that it never would have happened in a white neighborhood.

Mayor W. Wilson Goode, who is black, said that he was "devastated," but that the bombing had been "the proper thing to do" to end an armed siege. The fire began Monday afternoon after police dropped explosives from a helicopter onto a row house. Their target was a pillbox manned by armed members of a radical group called Move.

Some officials speculated that Move followers, who were said to have begun shooting when threatened with eviction, had set the fire. By week's end, 11 bodies, including those of four children, had been recovered from Move's charred fortress.

Robert Pear, a reporter in the Washington bureau of The New York Times, questioned police chiefs and other law-enforcement specialists about the Philadelphia department's performance. Following are excerpts from those interviews.



Fireman watching row houses burning in West Philadelphia.

United Press International



Associated Press

A woman confronting a plainclothes police officer near a house destroyed by fire.

We Can't Blame Police Force

We had a compounding of tragedy: an inability to communicate; an inability to get hostage negotiators, who are very talented people, into the right position; a real danger for the whole neighborhood, and, at least by normal standards, a thoroughly unreasonable cult-like group that was armed to the teeth.

From what little I know about it, we can't blame the Philadelphia police.

The police had no conceivable way of knowing what was inside the place. In a situation like that, there are very few options open to the police. We certainly do not allow the use of disabling gases other than tearing agents or you run into problems under the Geneva convention.

We have got a problem of technique and a problem of technology. The police don't have the quality of technology that I think is needed to end some of these incidents.

A lot more analysis has got to be done in terms of what is available—the technological options—and what is acceptable within the mores of society. You may be able to save a lot of lives. We must enter into a dialogue on what are the available technologies, and what in God's name can be used so that ultimately we save lives.

And a lot more understanding has got to be given to the police.

We can't just scream foul play every time anything happens where the outcome is adverse. I can assure you the police are hardly happy when it turns out very badly.

—Robert H. Kupperman, senior associate at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies.

The police were being shot at. They lost their better judgment, their cool. They should have considered the presence of children in the building. The children, like hostages, were not free to leave.

The dropping of the bomb was intentional, but there was no intention to hurt the neighbors. The police didn't do anything that they thought was improper. Nevertheless, they were negligent because they did not consider all the possible consequences.

In an urban neighborhood, it is inappropriate to use this kind of massive force, which is intended for a wartime situation.

—Jerome H. Skolnick, sociologist and professor of law at the University of California, Berkeley.

4 They Lost Their Cool

It was a mistake.

I say that with hindsight. It was also an extremely difficult situation for the police. I know of no comparable situation.

Obviously the police were very frustrated, and they are really not very well trained to deal with this sort of extreme situation.

I think there were alternatives that they should have considered. One would have been starving these people out even if it took a matter of weeks. Another would have been to use a tank or a battering ram.

We Need the Facts

6 We now desperately need to engage in an examination of the circumstances and the facts. We need to resist the temptation to jump to conclusions.

We cannot know what the alternatives were until we know what the factual circumstances were. At this moment, we are all shooting in the dark, and what an ineluctable temptation it is to shoot from the hip. Believe me, I am not an apologist for any police chief or mayor in this country. But this is a great time to scream, "Stop the music, let's get the facts."

You need a whole history of this event — the relations between Move and the neighbors, Move and the police. Then you need a minute-by-minute analysis of what led up to this denouement.

What flash points were there in the decision process? What was the Police Commissioner thinking? What was the Mayor thinking? What kind of information did the

Associated Press

have? Why did they move on May 13 and not on April 20 or Dec. 15? How many shots were fired? By whom? What were the criminal records of the people involved? What precipitated the fire?

We should all learn a lesson from Socrates, and undertake a tortured search for the truth here.

— Anthony V. Bouza, Police Chief of Minneapolis and former Bronx borough commander in the New York City Police Department.

Mayor W. Wilson Goode discussing the devastation.



New York Times
News of the Week -
5/19/85

I'm certain that Mayor Goode would not have ordered this operation if he knew that a city block was going to be devastated. The question is: Could they reasonably have known that a city block would be devastated and could they reasonably have acted to prevent it? On these two points, I don't think I know the answers.

—James Q. Wilson, professor of government at Harvard University.

It Was Madness

8 Trying to drop a bomb on the roof of a building in a crowded neighborhood to get people out was madness.

What I don't know, and what I would like to know, is the range of alternatives that were available, including leaving them in there.

I recognize that it's easy in retrospect to say that something else should have been done. But there certainly were more sensible alternatives.

Police departments have to develop contingency plans so that people do not have to make rapid decisions under great pressure without any planning.

If the situation is as unusual as a bunker on a roof, you have to be prepared to take a little bit of time. If you don't have contingency plans, you can't take grave risks to life and property without having thought through a rather complete list of alternative actions.

Philip B. Heymann, former Assistant Attorney General, now professor at Harvard Law School, where he directs the Center for Criminal Justice.

More Groups Are Armed

Clearly, to drop a bomb is shocking. That's an extreme form of action. There's a need, a clear need, on the part of local police to learn more about how to effectively handle entrenched, fanatically different groups when they step over the line, especially when they are known to be accumulating large amounts of arms. The Aryan Nations, some things going on with the Klan, the Move group and others seem to be signaling a new problem for police departments.

We'll be dealing with people who are entrenched, hostile, organized, disciplined and, in some instances, willing to die, in violent confrontation with the police. We need to know more about the mental predilections of individuals participating in these groups, and the group psychology, so that we can find ways to counter them.

—Hubert Williams, police director in Newark, N.J., from 1974 to last month, now president of the Police Foundation, a research organization.

Who Started the Fire?

The facts aren't all in yet. We need to know the nature of the explosive device, whether or not gasoline was on the roof, whether the inhabitants of the building started the fire, whether the explosive device started the fire, what precautions had been taken to prevent a possible fire from spreading to other buildings.

Whenever you have a complicated mission like this the problem is almost never technological. The problem is almost always planning, training and communication. It is the human factor that is almost always the problem.

Black clergy support Mayor's actions on MOVE

By Barbara Faggins
(Tribune Staff Writer)

The Black Clergy of Philadelphia and Vicinity, the guardian of the Black community in the Delaware Valley, publicly announced its support of Mayor Wilson Goode's handling of the MOVE confrontation at the site of the disaster yesterday (May 16).

"We feel the mayor had a difficult decision to make. He did the only thing he could do," explained the Rev. William B. Moore, first vice president of the Black ministers, following a press conference at 62nd Street and Osage

Avenue.

"We look at how fortified was the facility...many more lives would have been lost. There was no way they could predict all the tragedy that happened," said Reverend Moore of the incident which escalated from a standoff into a firestorm that cost the lives of 11 persons and possibly more on Monday.

The charred bodies of four children and seven adults were discovered under debris by a team of investigators in the aftermath of a decision by city officials to drop an explosive device

on a bunker-type structure on the roof of MOVE headquarters, 6221 Osage Ave. Monday (May 13). The explosion, which ignited chemical substances in the house, not only caused fatalities but caused 240 people to lose their homes and life possessions in the fire.

"Our community has been severely wounded in body and spirit, and we must begin the process of healing and wholeness immediately. While the tragedy of the last few days is too fresh to be easily brushed aside, we cannot allow ourselves to wallow in self-

pity while our people are out of doors and suffering," stated the clergy in a prepared release.

In response to the crisis that looms in the wake of the aftermath, the clergy have declared Sunday (May 19) as Cobb Creek Community Emergency Fund Day. They are urging all churches and religious organizations to help provide relief for the victims of the fire.

In addition, Reverend Moore said pastors of the interdenominational ministerial association

will be available to "help them in terms of their psychological adjustments that have to be met."

Also, there will be daily free family-style breakfasts and dinners for the duration of the emergency at the Haven House 624 S. 62nd St. Free clothing will also be available. Volunteers are needed to sort out clothing and to help with handling food. Donations should be made by checks payable to the Cobbs Creek Community Emergency Fund and sent to Berean Savings Bank.

Philadelphia
Tribune
5-28-85

Reader's Viewpoint

MOVE siege continues to draw comment

To The Editor:

I am writing in behalf of the MOVE incident that occurred on Monday, May 17th on the 6200 block of Osage St. This will always be a day to remember. I no longer live in Philadelphia, although it had been my home for some 30 years. In my opinion I think what happen that day could have been avoided.

I do not think MOVE was given an opportunity to negotiate with the police. Even though there could have been a number of criminals held up in the MOVE complex, I think those innocent children should have been spared. I am a nurse and I am taught to save life not take it. As a child growing up, I was taught that America was the land of the free, freedom to speak, freedom to live as one choose. Maybe MOVE people don't bathe or comb their hair the way most people do, but they aren't on drugs the way most of those other cults are today. You have people that bathe and comb their hair every day and they commit crimes.

I don't think people should be judged by the way they look or live. As for those residents that lost their homes to the fire. I can feel no remorse for them. I think they were very selfish and deserved all the heartache they have received. They speak of

Shame to Blacks

To The Editor:

Hitler would have loved Mayor Goode's tactics in murdering members of his own race. The mayor says that he is totally responsible for what has happened but we are responsible for his irresponsible acts just a few days ago.

Driven by political aims, he thoughtlessly allowed the MOVE catastrophe to happen. For a long time he knew what he planned to do but had to justify it by allowing the situation to evolve to a point of no return.

I want the world to see what happens when people with Hitler's mentality are allowed to eject their evil onto the innocent. Mayor Goode has brought shame not only to Black people in this city but to all the constituents whom he represents. Also, smeared the name of this city by an act which can only be condemned by us.

Walter Strawbridge

brotherhood. They don't know the meaning of those words.

I want to say to all those Osage street residents to search your hearts for forgiveness. While you are crying and suffering your losses, THINK, you can build more homes. You can buy more furniture, but you can't give those who perished in that deliberate set fire life again. GOD suffered for all mankind. May he have mercy on our souls.

Jane Flynn

Very Angry

To The Editor:

(A letter to the Mayor)

Subj: Your Decision Regarding Move Situation; Opinion on

1. I'm very angry over the MOVE situation that happen last Monday, 13 May 1985. I believe the action taken was too excessive on residential neighborhood. These Black Brothers and Sisters and children didn't commit any felonies that warranted that action.

2. My honest opinion with others believed that you were used (Set-Up) in making this decision. Commissioner Sabor and Fire Commissioner Richardson plotted with others influential citizen.

3. When Black Citizen is MASS GENOCIDE they can be no excuse or rationale for this action. Whites believe in brute force when confronted with OTHER RACES besides their own.

4. Mr. Mayor I'm suggesting that you begin to administrate your position, rather than others.

Anthony L. McLean

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5-31-85

Why bomb the MOVE house?

The questions keep coming

Phila.
Tribune
5-31-85

The nagging question remains: Why did police drop a bomb on the MOVE rowhouse on Osage Avenue May 13?

TV reporters have replayed the siege over and over; radio broadcasters have discussed it with their listeners; newspapers have analyzed the siege, the bombing and its fiery aftermath and Mayor Goode and his police and fire commissioners have defended their actions over and over again. And after all that explanation, the question remains: Why did they drop a bomb on a rowhouse with people inside?

Pollsters say many people support the mayor's actions in moving against MOVE. Many individuals, interviewed by *Tribune* reporters, other media staff and members of national news teams, have placed the blame for the fire and the catastrophe it caused on MOVE and MOVE alone.

But many other people, here and across the country, have questioned the wisdom, even the sanity of the decision to drop a bomb on a rowhouse. Why did they drop a bomb?

In a courtroom, when it can be shown that the person who strikes a match in a danger zone knew or should have known that flammable substances were nearby, and that a catastrophic fire could result, that person is held responsible for any injuries, deaths or property damage that occurs.

It has been reported before that the police planned to use their "explosive device" for some time before the siege. It is crystal clear that the Philadelphia police knew, or should have known, that gasoline and kerosene containers and lots of wood and debris were on the roof of the MOVE house. Those containers, empty or full, presented an obvious danger of explosion and fire. They were in plain view; TV and newspaper cameras photographed them before the bomb was dropped. Police helicopter teams flew over the house many times during the May 13 siege, and Lt. Frank Powell, who actually dropped the bomb, reported later that he "probably (knew) that roof better than my own back yard."

Why did he drop a bomb then, and why did Police Commissioner Gregore Sambor authorize him to drop it? As the information comes out about what actually was known about MOVE's threats to burn the house down, and about what police knew or should have known

about the contents of the house and the roof, the claim that Sambor was unaware that a huge fire would result become less and less credible.

The decision to let the fire burn as a way of getting rid of the pillboxes on MOVE's roof, and of forcing MOVE to flee the house is also increasingly suspect. The authorities had listening devices to tell them that MOVE had retired to the basement; why couldn't the heavily armored special weapons personnel get onto the roof and break in while MOVE was otherwise occupied?

The reports of firemen being held back by sharpshooters and of police hampering firefighters' efforts because smoke obscured their vision put the story in an even more damning light. Nowhere in those reports is there any hint of concern for the human lives being consumed along with the neighborhood, for the four children among the besieged, for the idea that these children deserved to live just as much as the police and firefighters who took oaths to protect them.

There has been no satisfactory answer, and the answers that are being given only cast more doubt on the actions of the people in direct command of the forces trying to dislodge MOVE, Gregore Sambor and managing Director Leo Brooks.

The MOVE house was surrounded by hundreds of policemen. And despite all the reports of MOVE firepower, no machine guns were found on the scene, and few other weapons were recovered. To the contrary, what emerges is a picture of a house fortified with logs that surveillance teams had probably watched being carried in, in which seven separate adults barricaded themselves with four children, attempting to answer the fire of a huge force of sharpshooters armed with automatic weapons, tear gas and explosives.

There was no reason to drop a bomb on such a house in a residential neighborhood, especially after the other residents had been evacuated.

It is said that a person reveals important things about his character in moments of extreme tension. In this particular moment, Sambor revealed an appalling deficiency in sensitivity and judgment, and there is just no other way to put it.

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All-Peoples Congress condemns

action on MOVE ^(ND)

The All-People Congress condemns the police assault and bombing in West Philadelphia on Monday, May 12 that has literally razed a Black neighborhood, burning more than 60 homes and causing unknown casualties, as a totally unjustified criminal and racist act of war against the Black community.

This massive military intrusion by the police in Philadelphia, complete with bombs and forced evidence causing carnage and destruction without regard for the lives, homes and belongings, of people is the very same thing that the U.S. military is infamous for doing in the third world countries like Grenada and Lebanon, or in Nicaragua where the

U.S. government is conducting a dirty war to overthrow the Sandinista government. The only difference is that the third world country in this instance is the Black community of West Philadelphia. Steve Harmon, a resident of the area, noted the analogy between the actions of the police in his neighborhood and the U.S. military abroad when he remarked to a reporter while watching home after home go up in flames, "Drop a bomb on a residential area? I never in my life heard of that. It's like Vietnam!"

What is the justification for this brazen exposition of force and violence by the police? What possible reason could there be for bombing a residential neigh-

borhood and burning it down? Did the police do all of this damage solely for what crime? Because there had been complaints about their lifestyles. Surely, if the members of MOVE were white and rich, they could live however, and wherever they wanted without harassment.

There are some who felt that the lifestyle of MOVE members created a health hazard, a nuisance to the neighborhood. Even if that was true, health officials and no army of police, could have simply quarantined the area. When is the last time the army or police dropped a bomb on any one of hundreds of multi-million dollar chemical, waste disposal and weapons manufacturing

corporations that pollute rivers, lakes and the air above, creating a deadly health hazard for millions. Is the neighborhood in West Philadelphia where MOVE members lived better now that it was burned to the ground? The truth is that the police had no concern for the health of the residents of that community or any other Black or poor community. No excuse can conceal the racism behind the police violence in West Philadelphia. The police have had a racist vendetta against MOVE ever since their last assault on the group's home in 1978.

The fact of the matter is that the police in Philadelphia do just about anything that they want because anyone that lives there

can tell you that Philadelphia is a police city. It was that way under racist Frank Rizzo and it remains that way today. The power of the police in Philadelphia is such that they need no consultation with the mayor or any other elected officials in employing any and all tactics and forced to achieve their goal which is to suppress the Black and third world communities. With unemployment, poverty, hunger and homelessness on the rise, the police, for some years now, have been developing all sorts of diabolical and deadly tactics to suppress urban unrest. The police of West Philadelphia gave us a glimpse of what the police have in store for the poor if they can

get away with it.

Philadelphia, like most major cities, is really run by the police in an alliance with the banks and the big real estate interests. In fact, many people understandably feel that one of the motives behind the police bombing was to destroy the neighborhood in order to force Black people to make room for luxury housing for the rich and affluent.

Mayors come and go but the police and big businesses are here to stay. The All Peoples Congress demand an end to racist police violence once and for all. Furthermore, we demand new homes and monetary compensation for the victims of the police bombing. We demand justice and compensation for the members of MOVE as well. The people of Philadelphia needs jobs and human needs not police terror.

(The All-People Congress is based at 19 West 21St. St. New York, N.Y.)

Philadelphia
Tribune
5-24-83

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South African native 'appalled' by action

The shock has not worn off. I still shudder at the thought that Mayor Goode sanctioned the bombing of the MOVE house, killing men, women and children. I find his action appalling, reprehensible and unconscionable. I can find no moral justification for his action. It is difficult to conceive any sane and reasonable man sanctioning such action, irrespective of whether most polls, we are told, support the Mayor. I wonder whether there would have been such overwhelming support if the victims had been white. In fact, I wonder whether Police Commissioner Sambor would have sought such sanction, and if he did, whether Mayor Goode would have granted it.

Yes, I do not like stench. Yes, I do not like rats. Yes, I do not like people who use foul language, and yes, I do not like people who insult me or other people, but that does not give me, the Mayor or anyone the right to kill them. How could Mayor Goode walk the streets of Philadelphia, counsel and morally justify to kids who shoot and kill each other, that killing is morally wrong and evil, when he sanctions the very thing he counsels kids against? In fact, I think kids would have a better argument, for whatever it is worth, if they said, at least we kill people our own ages, and not

women and little babies, like you do.

For Mayor Goode to have sanctioned the dropping of a bomb on the MOVE house is one of the most dastardly and inhuman acts he could have done, and to now wonder whether the MOVE people set the place on fire is to beg the issue. What bomb does the Mayor know, once dropped on a house, will go from room to room asking, "Anyone in this room? Are there women and children in this house?" If there is any such bomb, it would be the first of its kind. It is the only time in peacetime, anywhere in the world that I can remember a bomb being dropped purposely and consciously in the center of a populated city to get people to move.

I can find no legal or moral basis for his action and the dubious legal semantics used to justify his action, should have been superseded by his own moral code. When the legal law comes into conflict with a higher law-moral law—then I believe one has the moral right to violate the legal law in order to have it changed, as long as one is prepared to suffer the consequences as Dr. Martin Luther King did. Legal laws are made by men like Mayor Goode, and made for all kinds of reasons. South Africa has legal laws which justify and help entrench white domination through the system of apartheid. The South in this country had laws which helped to entrench and enforce segregation. Thus, whatever law it is that the Mayor mentioned, he could have ignored that law and found some other means, to move those people. As chief executive of that city, he has undercut his own force of moral persuasion with young criminals.

What do the words "City of Brotherly love" mean? Are they just hollow words echoed and uttered when boasting about the city, or do they really have any meaning, Mr. Mayor? I have heard you support the pickets in

front of the South African Embassy in Washington, D.C. and Consulate in New York, because of that country's treatment of Blacks, especially the killings by the police. How could you morally point a finger at South Africa, when you sanction the killing of men, women and especially children in your city?

Can anyone imagine the uproar there would have been had that bombing been sanctioned by former Mayor Rizzo, President Reagan, Mayor Koch in New York or Governor Wallace in Alabama? There is absolutely no reason why Mayor Goode should be held to a different standard than a different standard at all.

Admitted, the Mayor has taken the weight for the police. However, I have a sneaky feeling there is more to this than meets the eye, and sooner or later we will find out; but for now since the Mayor did accept the blame or rather admitted he gave the sanction, his actions granting that sanction to bomb the MOVE place was reprehensible, and there can be no justification for the action-legal, moral or otherwise.

(Dr. Stephen M. Mokone is Black, from Soweto, Johannesburg, South Africa. He attended the University of Pennsylvania.)

Philadelphia
Tribune
5/28/85
"Op Ed"

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Demonstrators 'MOVE' on

Philadelphia
Tribune
5-31-85

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City Hall

By Irv Randolph
(Tribune Staff Writer)

The Goode Administration received the strongest public condemnation of its handling of the MOVE crisis yesterday when about 70 people protested at City Hall.

The protest was called by the Citizens Committee for Humanity and Justice, an ad-hoc group formed on May 13, the day of the MOVE confrontation. The confrontation that occurred between MOVE and police on the 6200 block of Osage Avenue, a Black working class community, left 11 people dead, including four children. About 61 homes on the 6200 blocks of Osage Avenue and Pine Street were destroyed or damaged, and 250 people were made homeless by a fire that occurred shortly after the city dropped a bomb on the fortified MOVE house on Osage Avenue.

The protesters marched down Broad Street from Progress Plaza at Broad and Oxford to City Hall, carrying 11 cardboard coffins and banners that read "Osage was an Outrage! Justice, Not Bombs" and "Community Problem, Bombs Away, Feel Better?"

They chanted "No More Bombs" and, in mockery of Mayor W. Wilson Goode's often-stated campaign statement, asked, "Can



Protestors march past the Arch Street Methodist Church at Broad and Arch streets Thursday (May 30) en route to a City Hall rally criticizing the City's action against MOVE. — Steve Webb photo

...e? Can you help me?
church on Sunday and
a bomb on Monday."

Absent from the march were the traditional civil rights groups. Those who participated included people who referred to themselves as grassroots leaders in the Black community, or socialists.

"We oppose brutality! We want a more human solution to problems that take place in our city," said Shafik Abu-Tahir, a committee coordinator.

Another committee member, Lenore Friedlander, said, "Clearly, these measures would not have taken place in a white community."

She added that the confrontation was "more than a tragedy. It was a criminal act, and the people responsible have to be brought back to justice."

The committee states in a position paper that the group "condemns the militaristic decision of city officials to bomb a house in a residential neighborhood. This action was illegal, immoral, unconstitutional and unjustified."

Sorita Sanchez, poet and English professor at Temple University, addressed the group, saying the MOVE confrontation showed that "if you don't conform, they

(Continued on Page 6)

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Protesters demand officials' suspensions

(Continued from Page 1)

will remove you." She told the crowd not to blame Goode, and that he was "just a tool in the matter." She added that the city can't rebuild houses, "but you can't rebuild homes or lives."

The committee calls for the city to meet the following demands:

— The immediate suspension, without pay, of Managing Director Leo Brooks, Police Commissioner Gregore Sambor and Fire

Commissioner William Richmond pending a thorough public investigation;

— The convening of an independent citizens' commission to investigate and make recommendations regarding the atrocity;

— A federal investigation of the events occurring on Osage Avenue to determine accountability, resulting in criminal charges being pressed against

public officials where warranted;

The immediate end to unconstitutional police acts and raids against the community;

— The immediate reduction of Ramona Africa's bail to a reasonable level.

MOVE member Ramona Africa, who survived the fire, has had bail set at more than \$4 million on charges including "risking a catastrophe" and "making terroristic threats."

The demonstration Thursday

was the third and largest public protest of the Goode administration's handling of the MOVE confrontation. An ad-hoc group held a protest demonstration

May 20 at City Hall in which about a dozen people participated. The Revolutionary Communist Party held a demonstration

Saturday (May 25) in West Philadelphia in which about 100 people participated, according to news reports.

EXCERPTS FROM COMMISSION'S REPORT ON BOMBING

Special to the New York Times; Published: March 7, 1986

PHILADELPHIA, March 6— Following are excerpts from the findings, conclusions and recommendations in a report issued today by the Philadelphia Special Investigation Commission, which examined the police confrontation on May 13 with the group known as MOVE: Summary of Findings and Conclusions

1. By the early 1980's MOVE had evolved into an authoritarian, violence-threatening cult.
2. The residents of 6221 Osage Avenue were armed and dangerous, and used threats, abuse and intimidation to terrify their neighbors and to bring about confrontation.
3. Mayor Goode's policy toward MOVE was one of appeasement, non-confrontation and avoidance.
4. The Managing Director and the city's department heads failed to take any effective action on their own and, in fact, ordered their subordinates to refrain from taking action.
5. The city administration discounted negotiation as a method of resolving the problem. Any attempted negotiations were haphazard and uncoordinated.
6. In the first several months of his administration, the Mayor was presented with compelling evidence that his policy of appeasement was doomed to fail.
7. In the summer of 1984, the Mayor was told that the legal basis existed at that time to act against certain MOVE members. Yet the Mayor held back.
8. From the fall of 1984 to the spring of 1985, the city's policy of appeasement conceded to the residents of 6221 Osage Avenue the continued right to exist above the law.
9. More than any other factor, intensified pressure from the residents of Osage Avenue forced the Mayor to devise a strategy for resolving the problem quickly.
10. The Mayor instructed the Police Commissioner to prepare and execute a tactical plan, under the supervision of the Managing Director. The Managing Director failed in that responsibility, and the Mayor allowed the Police Commissioner to proceed on his own.
11. The Police Commissioner chose as his planners the head of the bomb disposal unit, a sergeant from the pistol range and a uniform patrolman. In so doing, he excluded from the formulation of the plan the entire Police Department command structure and other available expertise.

12. As a result of the Police Commissioner's orders, the three officers responsible for developing the tactical plan did so hastily and without sufficient information or adequate intelligence. The Mayor, the Managing Director and the Police Commissioner neither sought nor received from these men a written plan.

13. The Mayor, the Managing Director and the Police Commissioner specifically approved the use of explosives to blow three-inch holes in the party walls of 6221 Osage Avenue to allow the insertion of tear gas to induce the evacuation of the house. This plan was inadequate because of the flawed intelligence on which it was based and the haste with which it was designed.

14. Directives to remove the children from 6221 Osage Avenue were unclear, poorly communicated and were not carried out.

15. The Mayor's failure to call a halt to the operation on May 12, when he knew that children were in the house, was grossly negligent and clearly risked the lives of those children.

16. The Managing Director and the Police Commissioner were grossly negligent and clearly risked the lives of the children by failing to take effective steps to detain them and by not forcefully recommending to the Mayor that the operation be halted when they knew, the evening of May 12, that the children were in the residence.

17. The Mayor failed to perform his responsibility as the city's chief executive by not actively participating in the preparation, review and oversight of the plan.

18. The firing of over 10,000 rounds of ammunition in under 90 minutes at a row house containing children was clearly excessive and unreasonable. The failure of those responsible for the firing to control or stop such an excessive amount of force was unconscionable.

19. The members of the bomb disposal unit were not trained for their tactical assignment. Their actions on the morning of May 13 posed a high risk of death for both the police and the occupants of 6221 Osage Avenue.

20. Explosives were used against the MOVE house on the morning of May 13, 1985, which were excessive and life-threatening.

21. At least one agent of the Philadelphia office of the F.B.I. made available to the Philadelphia Police Department, without proper recordation by either agency, substantial quantities of C-4, some of which may have been incorporated in the explosive devices used on May 13, 1985.

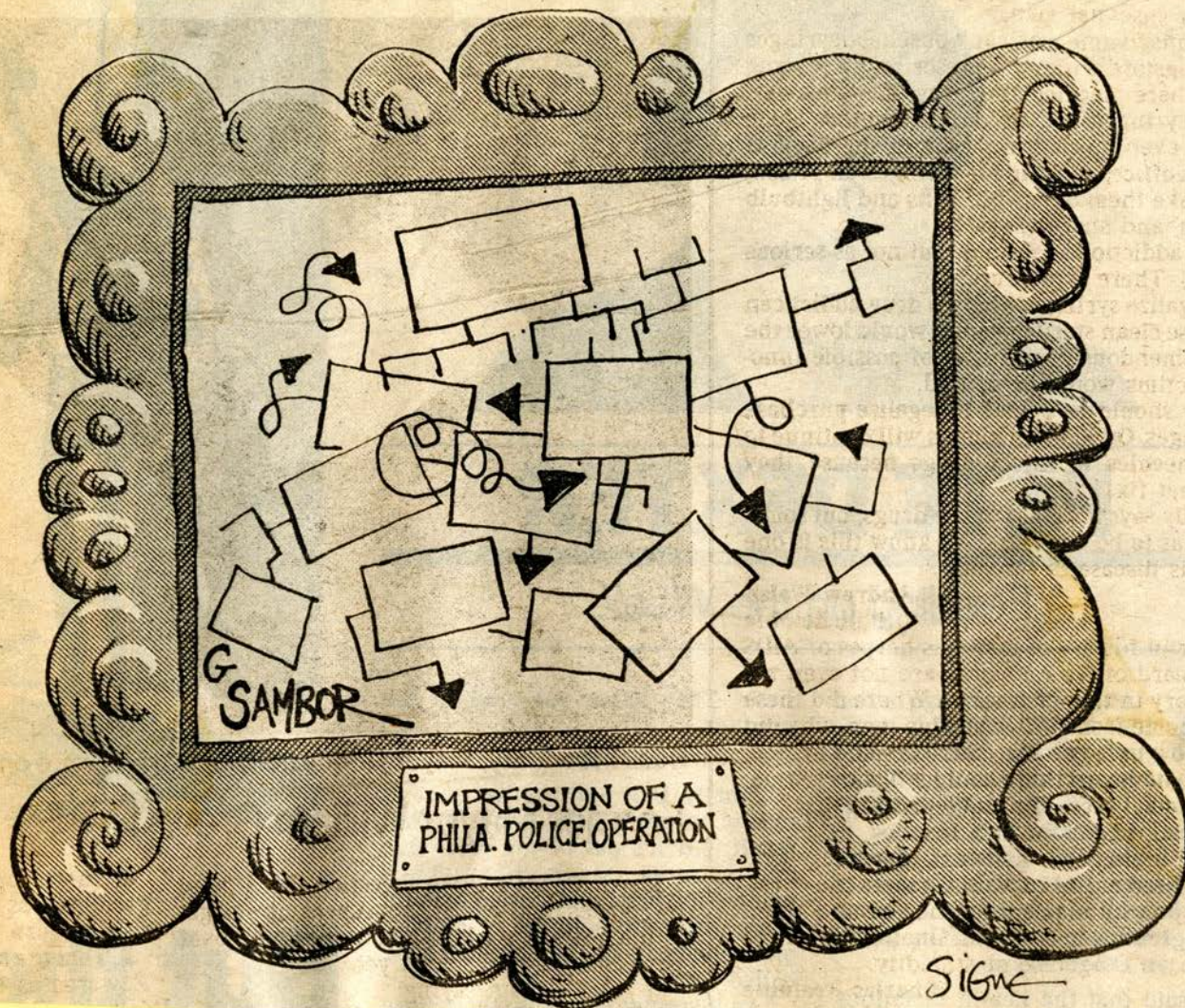
22. The Mayor abdicated his responsibilities as a leader when, after midday, he permitted a clearly failed operation to continue which posed great risk to life and property.

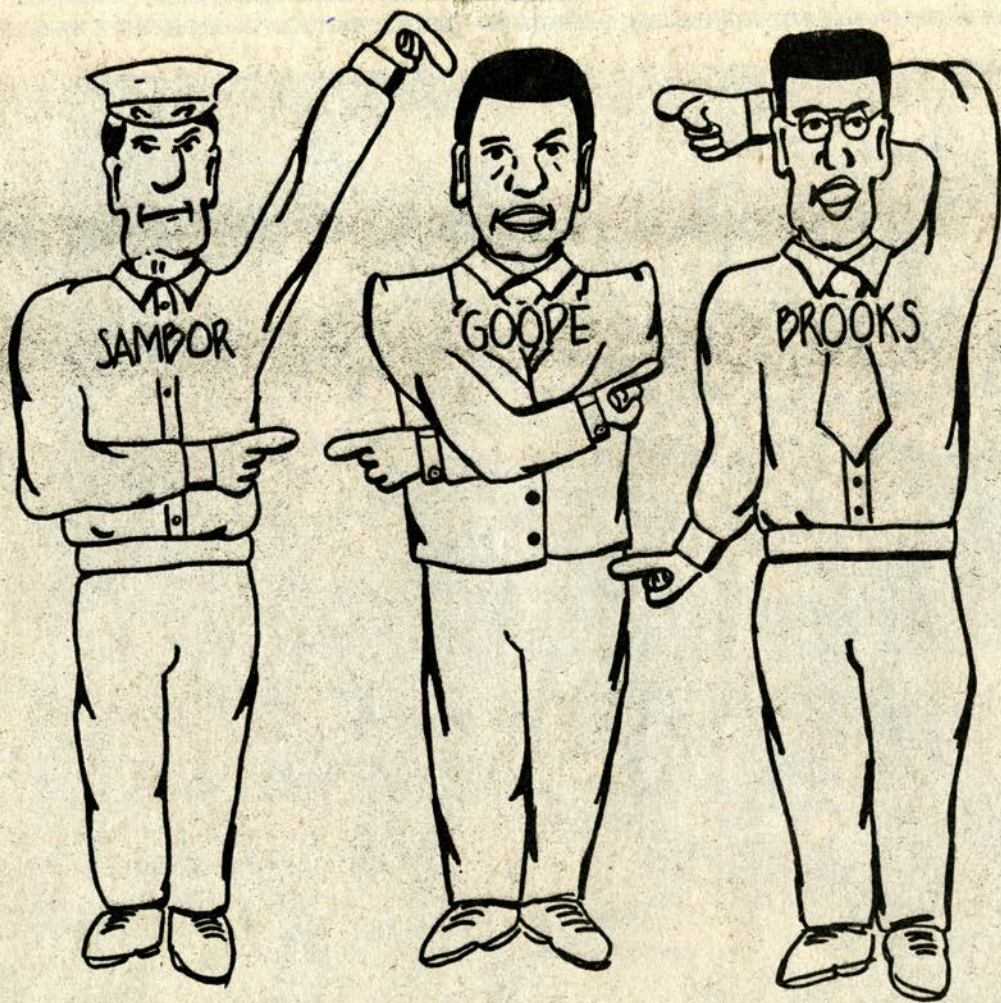
23. On May 13, the key decision makers were prevented from easily and directly contacting each other because of an inadequate communications system.
24. The plan to bomb the MOVE house was reckless, ill-conceived and hastily approved. Dropping a bomb on an occupied row house was unconscionable and should have been rejected out-of-hand.
25. The fire which destroyed the Osage Avenue neighborhood was caused by the bomb which exploded on the roof of the MOVE house.
26. Even after the bomb exploded and ignited the fire, life and property could have been saved without endangering any of the police officers or firefighters by using the "Sqrts" to extinguish the fire on the roof while the fire was in its incipient stage.
27. The hasty, reckless and irresponsible decision by the Police Commissioner and the Fire Commissioner to use the fire as a tactical weapon was unconscionable.
28. Police gunfire prevented some occupants of 6221 Osage Avenue from escaping from the burning house to the rear alley.
29. Five children were killed during the confrontation on May 13, 1985. Their deaths appear to be unjustified homicides which should be investigated by a grand jury.
30. Six adults also died as a result of the May 13 confrontation.

10/26/85

OPINION

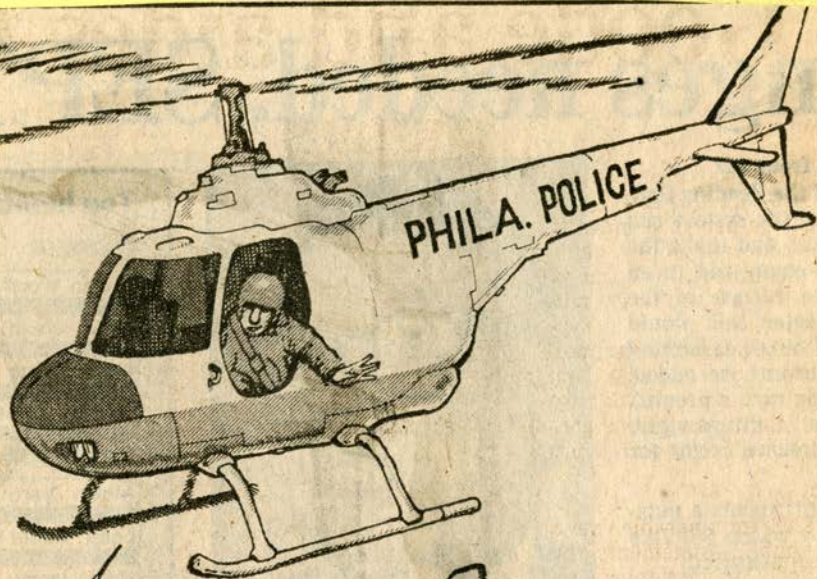
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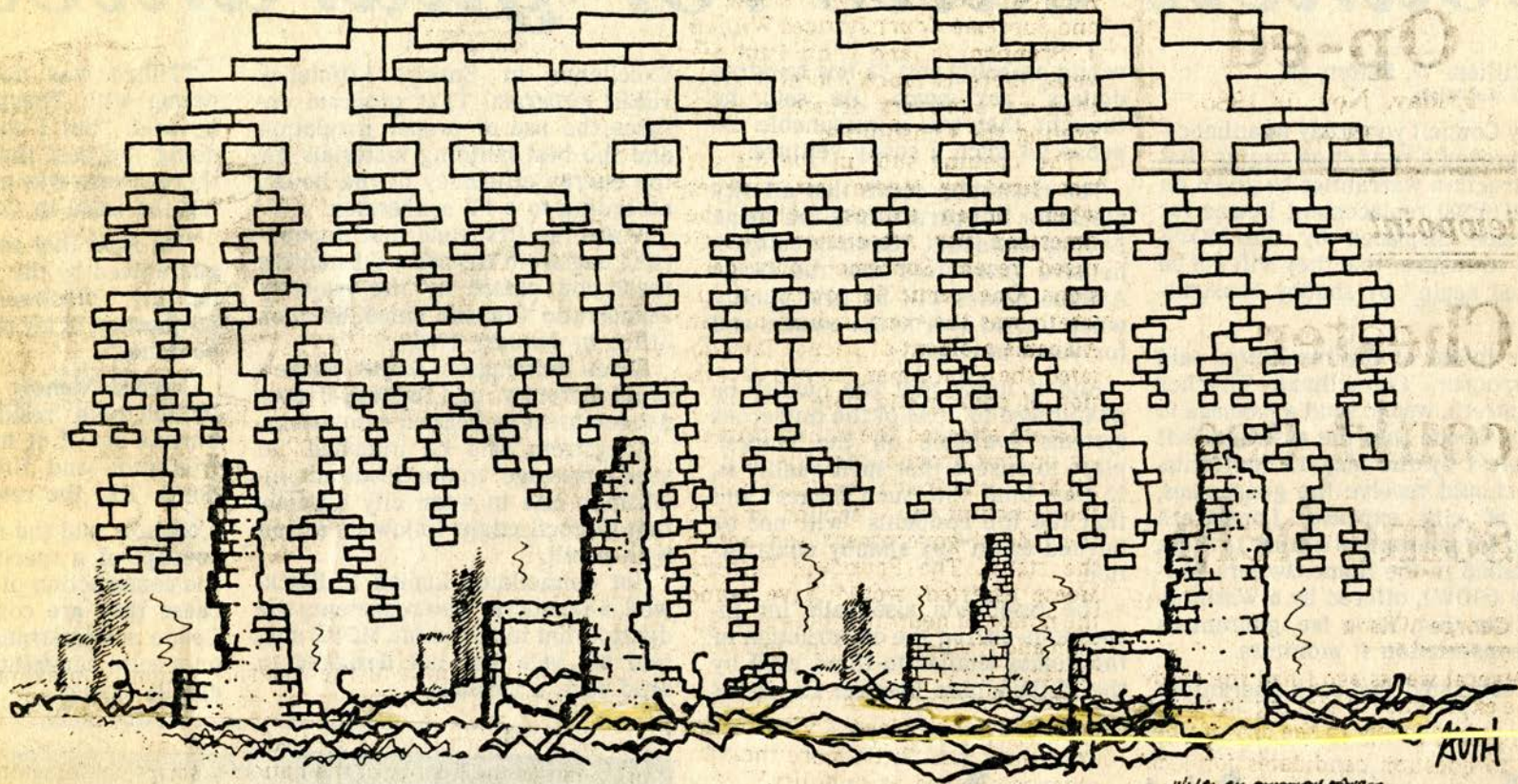
THIS'LL TEACH 'MOVE'
TO ACT WITH COMPLETE
IRRESPONSIBILITY !

GASOLINE

MAYOR GOODE

POLICE COMM. SAMBOR

MANAGING DIRECTOR BROOKS



AVTH

*"... I looked out the window and I saw
the kids eating out of the garbage can."*

—Neighbor Betty Mapp



A neighborhood torn by one house's

Day 2

October 9

residents

As the questioning of the neighbors moved into its second day, McDonald called Cassandra Carter and Betty Mapp to the stand.

Q. Miss Mapp, let's start with you. How long have you been a resident of Osage?

Mapp: Twenty-three years.

Q. What was your address on Osage?

A. 6241 Osage.

Q. Was that on the same side of the street as the MOVE house?

A. Yes, it was.

Q. Do you live there alone, or do you have a family?

A. ... I have a husband. I have three kids, [of] which two kids live with me, and I have a girl, the mother of my two grandsons [who also] live with me.

Q. Did you know the owner of the 6221 property before the MOVE people moved in?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Who was that, ma'am?

A. Louise James.

Q. Do you know her well?

A. Yes. My family grew up with her ... I used to live at 36th and Olive, when I was a kid, and then when I moved to Osage, she was there.

Q. Tell us a little bit about your experience with Miss James and the MOVE children early in, let's say 1982, 1983.

A. OK. When they first moved there, it was the children that I seen only, the kids would walk back and forth in the driveway. They began to play with my grandkids and other kids in the neighborhood. Then the kids, we discovered, were hungry.

Q. What did you do?

A. I used to feed the kids. Every Monday, they would come past and I would give them rolls. In October, we had a birthday party for one of our grandkids, and I fed the kids then.

Q. When was this? October of what year? Do you remember?

A. October of 1983, I think.

Q. You are mentioning kids. Were there a lot of kids there?

A. There were about six of them.

Q. Six. What happened at this birthday party?

A. Nothing really happened. The kids were like hanging around, because they saw the other kids there. So I gave the kids cake, pretzels and potato chips and hot dogs.

Q. And what happened after that?

A. As the time progressed and it got warmer, I was standing in my dining room one day, and I looked out the window and I saw the kids eating out of the garbage can. I saw them myself.

Q. These were the MOVE children?

A. Yes. So I called them, and I explained to them that it was not healthy for them to be eating out of the garbage can, and if they didn't stop, I wouldn't feed them. The neighbor whose garbage can they were eating out of, she discovered the kids eating out of the garbage can. So she stopped putting garbage in the garbage can and started putting a loaf of bread in the can. And they would climb up on the wall and go and get the bread out.

Q. You mentioned October of 1983. Do you remember an event that occurred around Christmas of 1983?

(Page 2)

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A. It was early Christmas morning. We were in making Santa Claus with the kids. We heard this loud noise. At first I thought it was like someone playing Christmas carols. So we went to the door, and [there was] this loudspeaker, this cursing from the MOVE house, saying about they wanted the 13 sisters and brothers out of jail.

Q. How long did that go on?

A. Well, it went on a pretty long time. The neighbors began to call each other. And we decided to call the cops. We called the cops and told them that this obscene language was coming out of this loudspeaker at the MOVE house.

Q. Was this on Christmas, or was this at a

later time?

A. Christmas morning, early Christmas a.m., in the morning.

Q. And you called the police on Christmas.

A. Yes. So we waited for the cops to come. I looked out the door and the cops' car went down to the far end of the corner, which was 63d and Cobbs Creek [Parkway]. So I'm wondering, when are they going to go up and ask these people to cut this loudspeaker off? So I go back to the telephone, and I called the police station again. And I explained to them that the cops were sitting at the corner but wouldn't get out of their car and attempt to go and ask the people to cut the loudspeakers off.

Q. What did the police respond to you?

A. When?

Q. Did they say anything?

A. They never went up to the house.

Q. Did [MOVE members] ever make threats against you?

A. Not personally, no.

Q. Did they ever make threats against any members of your family?

A. My son.

Q. What kind of a threat did they make?

A. It occurred because of his motorcycle. He had a motorcycle in the back driveway. And the dogs used to bark and pull at his leg like they wanted to bite him when he would go to get on his motorcycle.

Q. Whose dogs were those?

A. The MOVE people's dogs.

Q. How many dogs did they have?

A. Several dogs. And my son and some of the MOVE kids got into it, and the kids started cussing them out, and the grown members of the MOVE people started cussing them and threatening them, saying, if he hurts their dog, what they are going to do to him.

Q. What did they say they would do?

A. "We are going to kill you if you hurt our animals."

Q. Did you ever report that to the police?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever call the police again after Christmas about the bullhorn?

A. Yes, many times.

Q. What was the response of the police?

A. "OK, Miss, we have your complaint."

Q. Did the police come to the scene?

A. No.

Q. I would like to take you back to Memorial Day of 1984. Do you remember that day, and do you remember a meeting with the mayor on that day?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Could you explain to me how that meeting came about?

A. Well, before we had met with the mayor, we had many meetings ourselves. We had met with Pete Truman.

Q. When did that meeting take place?

A. That took place, I would say, around October.

Q. Who is Mr. Truman, Pete Truman?

A. He is a legislator in Harrisburg. [Rep. Peter D. Truman is a Democrat representing Philadelphia.]

Q. Where did you meet with Mr. Truman?

A. On 60th Street, at his ward office.

Q. Was this a special meeting called for any particular reason, or did you initiate it?

A. Yes. We had went to them for help about the MOVE people. We went complaining about the fire hazard of the construction of the fence that they had blocked off our private driveway.

Q. This was in the back of the house?

A. Right. But before we went to Pete Truman, we had sent all the letters to different departments, the Health Department and Licenses and Inspections.

Q. Was that the petition? We were shown a petition yesterday. Was that —

A. No. The petition was different. We had sent letters, too, to all the different departments in the city. ... So at the meeting with Mr. Truman, he said he knew what we were going through and he was aware of the MOVE people being around there. And he begged us, if we wanted a black mayor in the city of Philadelphia, to please be patient and wait until the election was over and that he will personally go around there and tear the fence down.

Q. And did he do that?

A. We haven't seen Pete Truman from that day until this.

Q. We were starting to talk about a Memorial Day meeting with the mayor. Tell us how that came about.

A. So things were still bad in the neighborhood. And Clifford Bond [Osage block captain] got in contact with somebody that got us a meeting with the mayor. He was invited to go down there Memorial Day, which was

May 30. I think it was about 20 of us.

Q. Where did you meet?

A. In the mayor's conference room down there.

Q. What happened?

A. All right. He came out. He introduced himself and everybody gave their names. And then one by one, we start telling him what was going on. ... And so the mayor asked what kind of activity did they do, did they ever leave the houses? He explained to us that the kids had been kidnapped from Virginia. ... [Goode was apparently referring to MOVE's movement of children of parents in the cult from a home in Richmond, Va., to Philadelphia. No charges were brought.]

Q. Did he say that the fact that the kids were kidnapped caused any problems for him? Why did he bring that up?

A. OK. Because I was asking him — the MOVE people had been telling us that on Aug. 8 that they were going to have this confrontation, this was back in 1984, regardless whether we went to the political people and got help from them or not, and that they

were sorry that we were in the middle of it, but they were going to have it. Then the mayor — Oh. I was afraid. I said to the mayor, what am I supposed to do if something was to happen on Aug. 8, if I'm supposed to go out and go to work just like I have been going every morning and leave my family there in the street? So he said, "I suggest to you to go on and do as you usually do." I said, "What about my kids?" He said, "I'm not concerned about the kids." I said, "My kids?" He said, "My only concern is the MOVE kids." So he was saying — when he told us that they had been kidnapped and that he was concerned about the kids — that's when I told him that the kids were taken to the park every morning like clockwork between 6:30 and 7. They were put in a group, marched through the back alley, out to the park.

Q. You were at one point, were you not, the subject of a bullhorn attack? Weren't you known as Blondie then?

Carter: Yes.

Q. And they referred to you as Blondie over the bullhorn. Could you describe to the commissioners how that —

A. I wasn't home. That year, we were going to exercise and we would leave — it just happened that our exercise started at 7:30. So we would leave at 7. And they pretty much knew everybody's schedule. You know, working, whether you were home or whatever. Because they would just watch everything. And this evening, when I came back home everybody was saying, "They got you tonight." I said, "Pardon me." And they said, "They got you tonight. They talked about the blonde and the alley." No one would tell me exactly, other than the description was me. I don't know what they said because — I guess the people that were telling me probably they figured, well, maybe if you tell her she might go up there.

Q. There was a time that you described to me, in our own conversations, as sort of a building period, when they were fortifying or bringing things into the house. Would you explain that to us?

A. You would see them dragging logs from the park up the street. ... People — I don't know who they were — would bring truckloads of wood and other, I guess, discarded stuff, because none of it was really new, materials to them, and they would haul it up the roof right out, right up the front on a little hoist.

Q. Did you ever see them lift cans of anything up the side of the house or take it in?

A. They — it was a weekday. We were home. And they just — just like I go to the store and bring groceries in. They brought food in the house. And the guys were taking these huge cans and they were labeled gasoline and they hoisted them up on the roof. ...

Q. When was that, Mrs. Carter?

A. We had our last effort at getting some sort of help from the public and Gov. Thornburgh. We had a press conference, and I don't know the date. I know it was the second. It may have been —

Q. Was this late April or early May of this year?

A. Yes. I mean, we were surprised because it was so much activity, news people and all on the block, that they would be so blatant as to do this right in front of them

Continued

Q. Did you ever visit the District Attorney's Office to report the problems you were having?

A. Yes, I did, unfortunately. I — I'm a [respectful] person of those in authority. And in fact, [District Attorney Edward G.] Ren-

dell's office, under false pretense to me — we were under the impression that we were going to meet with him himself, not underlings or someone who was assigned at the last minute to come and take statements from us. And they were hours or so late picking us up.

Q. When was this? Do you remember the day?

A. April. It was the next to the last week, last Sunday in April. Next to the last Sunday in April.

Q. What did you tell the D.A. or his assistants?

A. They wanted information within the last 90 or 120 days that had gone on on the block. So that would include what we had just seen of them taking gasoline up onto the roof. And I told them all that, and I told them how I saw a guy up there with the rifle and how they were running across the roofs ...

Q. This was not the district attorney. It was someone in his office?

A. Yes. Someone, one of the workers or whomever, he was told to take the statement. It was a man. And the whole time he took the statement, he was very arrogant ... and it wasn't only me that got this attitude. All of the 12 to 15 people that went down there got the same attitude from each worker that they were interviewed by.

And it hurt ... [they] were not even polite to us. ...

Mapp: Just like she said, after we came out of there we all realized that everyone took the same attitude when we told them about the gasoline. My interviewer said to me, "Oh, they wouldn't be that obvious to let you see them take gasoline up there." Like I said, every one of them had the same attitude about the gasoline.

Commissioner the Rev. Paul Washington: When, on the evening of Mother's Day you saw this activity, were you relieved, as you realized something was about to happen?

A. I was, yes. Because I feel that I didn't want to live under them circumstances anymore. And I was relieved, glad that they was going to do something to try to get the MOVE people out of the house. Yes, I felt relieved.

Q. Did you have any expectations as to what was going to happen?

A. Well, I felt there was going to be gun shooting, and I figure they was going to use the water again. And — because I went to work that morning. And I listened to it on the radio. And when the mayor said that "we intend to take control of the house," I felt good then too. When I got home that evening, I stopped at a girlfriend's house, which was about 20 blocks away. I was standing in her kitchen door, and I felt this big jog. I said, "Oh, my God, what was that?" I ran into her living room to the TV, and that is when I discovered that they had dropped the device, bomb, whatever. And everything just changed.

The next neighbors to testify were Lloyd and Lucretia Wilson.

H. Graham McDonald: Mr. Wilson, I ask you, how long you had been at the address and what was the address on Osage?

Lloyd Wilson: We lived at 6219 Osage Ave. for 10 years.

Q. Where were those [loud]speakers in relationship to your bedroom?

A. Right in the window.

Q. Were you able to sleep?

A. There was another one, right in the window.

Q. We heard a lot of discussion already from previous witnesses about the nature of the language that came over the bullhorn. That came right into your bedroom?

A. Yes, it did. You wouldn't believe it. You could not imagine. It is one thing to be two blocks away and hear it, but to live right next door — full blast in our bedroom.

Q. Do you have children, Mr. Wilson?

A. Yes.

Q. Were they living in your house as well?

A. Yes.

Q. Were they subjected to this language?

A. Absolutely.

Q. Mrs. Wilson, I would like you to explain briefly some of the conditions that you had to live in as a result of living next door to 6221. And I'm particularly interested in things that you told me already about the bugs and the smell and flies.

Lucretia Wilson: Well, going from the beginning to the end, at first the things that I complained about, which I complained directly to them, was like trash and garbage and, you know, things that were laid on our property, that I felt they couldn't do that. You can do whatever you want to do, but you

(Continued from preceding page)
have to do it within your limits just like we do. And I complained directly to them. At first they were cooperative. They would say, OK, and they would move things. ...

But as time went on and conditions just grew continually worse, then we had to contend with things inside our house. Bugs, that you couldn't do anything about them. I mean they just totally, the bugs, took over our house. We had just decided that we were going to stay there. We were not going to be run out of our house and that was it. So we had to adjust to the situation. And some of the adjustments I had to make was — exterminate all the time, until it got like the air was like heavy with smells and extermination in our house. And it did no good.

And my kids — it got so bad, my children woke up in the middle of the night from bug bites, crying from things biting them in their beds.

Q. Were you able to use your washing machine or your dryer?

A. I didn't go in the basement. I would rather go to the laundromat, which I did, rather than even go down there.

Q. How about your oven?

A. My oven — to cook dinner, which I was just determined I was going to do because that was my way of life, I had to — before I could cook on it, I had to turn the stove on and let the bugs evacuate it. This was daily, before I could use the stove. But even then sometimes, there was bugs in my food after it was cooked, and I would have to throw it out. And this went on. I did this for months.

Q. Mr. Wilson, did you ever have a conversation with Frank [James Africa] about trying to get rid of some of these bugs with a sulfur bomb?

Daef 2
Lloyd Wilson: Yes, I did.

Q. Would you explain that?

A. We had discussed it, my wife. We tried all of the other methods, exterminating methods, called people in. We decided to put sulfur bombs down, actually leave the house for a day and put sulfur bombs down. Being a good neighbor, I went to the MOVE people. ... I spoke to Conrad [Hampton Africa] first about it. He went completely berserk. You know, the bugs are our brothers and sisters. If you exterminate the bugs, you exterminate us.

So at that point — we had a big conversation outside that day. The police were called in. One of the neighbors called the police. They didn't know what was going to happen. And as the police arrived, I told them we could handle the situation, it was just something between the neighbors. The other heavy gentleman, the minister of defense, Mr. [Gerald] Ford, got indignant, and they told — basically they told me, if I set those bombs off, that when the revolution started, our doors would be the first ones to be kicked in, in some kind of way. Our family would be the first to go.

Q. Did they ever make any other threats to you?

A. On other occasions, yes.

Q. Did you express any concern to them about the sulfur bombs and their children and harming the children?

A. This is the reason I did set the bombs off. It was more for the concern of the children. It wasn't the bugs. It was the concern of the children that were there. My whole thought pattern was to make them aware that this is something that needed to be done. Maybe I could back up a little bit to what really forced the situation, to give you maybe a graphic idea. Our back window that faced the driveway — I pulled the shades up one day and the whole window was black with bugs. I almost vomited when I saw it. I saw flies. We had bugs in the house that we could not identify. I'm not trying to be funny. This is for real. We had things that if you would hit it, it would get back up. That type of thing.

Q. I understand.

A. On the front porch that adjoined our homes, I took a can of spray and the whole wall got black with roaches. We got to put the sulfur down. We had to do something. We could no longer deal with this situation. My wife had said about the kids. I wish my daughter was here right now. You could see her legs, the bites, and my son's arms, the bites. So it's not something we are making up ...

Q. Mr. Wilson, you had an altercation in August, I think, of 1984 with Frank.

A. Aug. 8, yes.

Q. Tell us about that.

A. Well, me and my wife had went out. Prior that day, the police had moved in a staging area, the whole bit. And a lot of the neighbors had went out. They moved the cars off the block. There were just a few cars left.

And we had went out to a meeting on our way back home, and when we came in — at the top of the block there were TV cameras and lights and everything. It was like this. And as we walked, which we would always do, we would always speak, whether they spoke. We gave them the courtesy, them

being other human beings, that we would speak to them. And I spoke and Frank said to me, "I want to talk to you." My wife continued on up the steps. They had a platform at that point. So he was on the platform, and I was standing, looking up, talking to him.

He said, "You went to the cops about this

wood."

And just to back up a little bit, they had brought a lot of wood in. It overflowed into our property. And we had a lot of people that come to our house for meetings, and so we asked, "Will you please clear that walkway so people can come in?" He said he would.

What happened, I think, a couple of days later the wood was still there. So I went back to him again and asked him, would he remove the wood? It still stayed there. So that night, on Aug. 8, coming in, he said, "You went to the cops and you told them that I wouldn't move the wood." I said, "Frank, the police were standing right there. The Civil Affairs Unit was standing right there when I said that to you. You don't have to go to the cops to tell them that I asked you to move the wood again."

He got very indignant and very violent and told me I was a traitor and I would not help support their cause. He really got violent. . . .

Q. Did he assault you at all? Did he hit you?

A. Yes, he did. He grabbed me and Mrs. Foskey kept screaming down the street, "Help him. Help him."

Q. Where were the police at this time?

A. At the corner.

A. But they were in the neighborhood?

A. They were at the corner, with all the cameras up the street.

Q. Did the police come to your aid?

A. No. . . . So I was very upset. The next morning — we left the house that night and we got a hotel room. I might have done something stupid that night. So the next morning I went to the mayor's office.

Q. Continue.

A. And the mayor was coming out of a conference with Police Commissioner Sambor and Managing Director Brooks. And I said, "Look, this is it. Last night I was actually attacked by Frank James. What — I'm at his mercy. What are you people going to do?" They whisked me off to a little office to the side, and the mayor continued with what he had to do and he left me with Mr. Sambor and the managing director.

Q. This is in August of 1984?

A. Yes, Aug. 9, to be exact. And we sat down, and we had a lengthy conversation.

Q. Who were you talking to?

A. Police Commissioner Sambor and Managing Director Brooks. And I asked them, what kind of plans did they have to deal with the situation, what kind of protection do we have living right next door to them? . . . A lot of times I would have to travel, and I would be gone. So I was concerned about my family.

Q. What did they say to you?

A. After a long conversation, they said, "Only an act of God could change this."

Q. Who said that?

A. Mr. Brooks, to be exact.

Q. What did he mean by that?

A. I don't know.

Q. What did Commissioner Sambor say?

A. I guess he agreed. He didn't say anything else.

Q. Did they supply you with any other alternative other than an act of God?

A. I asked him, "With this situation happening, how about alternative housing? We live right next door. This thing is getting ridiculous." They said they would look into it.

Q. What happened after that?

A. After that, things got progressively worse there. I watched my wife many nights lay in that bed and cry. There was nothing else she could do. Without a strong foundation, I don't think we would have made it through this whole thing.

Q. You are a religious person?

A. Yes.

spoke to the police about the various things that had happened to you, did anything ever indicate to you why any action was not being taken against the MOVE people?

A. Well, I truly believe that, from what Mr. Goode had to say, that the lives of the children were paramount, and they were doing — we cannot go in there. Basically what Mr. Goode said to us was that the MOVE people have rights as well as you have rights. That was, I think, more the key than anything else

Q. Would it be fair to say that the message you were getting was that the officials feared violence if they attempted to enforce all of the regulations that were being obviously violated?

A. I would say so.

Q. One of the other neighbors testified that the people on Osage Avenue had more or less made up their minds that if the city was not going to do something about it very shortly, they were going to do something about it. Were you aware of that feeling in the neighborhood?

A. That was there from the beginning, from the first incident with the beating of the guy next door, at 6223. It was just a flagrant disregard for other human beings. It was something that being human, you are going to feel this.

Commissioner the Rev. Paul Washington:

. . . This does not shed much light on the direct purpose of these proceedings, but it's just a question about human nature. I seem to feel that there is not much bitterness that you have.

A. No.

Q. That you were not insisting that the MOVE people had to move.

A. Never.

Q. How do you explain this?

A. Well, basically my philosophy is, everybody has dignity, every human life has dignity. No matter what philosophy or religion you profess to practice, you still have dignity. And the way we are taught is that they have dignity as well as we do. And they might be — how would you say it? — misled. That happens. But in some kind of way, we had to show basically what we believed in, and that was by, in some kind of way, respecting other individuals no matter what they did. . . .

Clifford Bond, who served as block captain on Osage Avenue, began his testimony with a personal statement.

Bond: First of all, let me try to give an understanding. These are thoughts to this whole ordeal that was going through my mind and the emphasis I place on words. So I mention several words I have to express. So with your indulgence. . . .

I entitled this, *Words With Forgotten Meanings*.

Citizens: A person who by birth or by choice is a member of a state or a nation in which he has certain rights and which claims his loyalty. I felt this was abridged totally. I was placed in a position of feeling not as a citizen.

Number two, *civilized*: Changed from being savage and ignorant to having good laws and customs and knowledge of the arts and sciences. In reference to this, I came as a civilized person with a serious problem. I worked on the prevention or to prevent the loss of life, which was very important to me. Also, the concern of the children. I have children myself and I am also a schoolteacher by profession. So I was fighting for their rights just as well as myself.

Number three, the word *Law*: A system of rules formed to protect society. That's a real

joke. The laws were not applicable, I was told, and I would still like somebody to explain to me why not.

Trust. And this is a heavy word here. Firm belief in the honesty, the truthfulness, justice or power of a person or thing. In essence, meaning faith. I have lost my trust through this whole ordeal. Finally, the truth is very difficult sometimes. Being made impotent was even worse.

Peace is my next word: freedom from strife of any kind, condition of quiet or security. I felt this was just eradicated. Nobody really, excusing the expression, gave a damn.

And my last word is *courage*. It says bravery, meeting danger without fear. When I was placed in the posture of impotency, I knew it was essential that I began to protect my family's rights. And it's very difficult in today's time for people to live in the truth, so I started this mission living in the truth and I will end this mission living in the truth, and if you gain anything from this commission, it's to legislate, to forbid anything like this from ever happening to anyone else.

Thank you.

. . . **Chairman William H. Brown 3d:** Do you have anything additional that you would like to tell us about, regarding [the Memorial Day meeting between neighbors and Mayor Goode?]

A. I had written statements of the blatant disregard for authority and the inefficiency to deal with people's problems. I wasn't really concerned about the movement of the city structurally-wise or economically-wise. I knew that we had a serious problem and no one really was paying attention to it.

Q. Including the mayor in that Memorial Day meeting?

A. It was a political football no one wanted to handle.

Q. Is that your conclusion, or did someone say that to you?

A. That's my opinion, based on the experiences I went through.

Q. Do you recall what the mayor indicated during that Memorial Day meeting?

Breakthrough: 1978-1994 Quiz Questions (Based on Note Taking Sheet)

1. ____ Young people who did graffiti were often
 - a. Looking for a sense of reputation.
 - b. Sentenced to long prison sentences.
 - c. Trained artists who could not find work.
 - d. Encouraged to write on walls by community leaders.
2. ____ Mayor W. Wilson Goode
 - a. Had been managing director under Mayor Bill Green.
 - b. Became the city's second African American mayor.
 - c. Continued the Mural Arts Program that was started by Mayor Green.
 - d. All of the above.
3. ____ The following was a significant change to Philadelphia's built environment during the period covered by the film:
 - a. The first buildings taller than William Penn's hat were constructed.
 - b. A regional railroad system was established.
 - c. A commuter tunnel connecting two railroad lines was completed.
 - d. All of the above.
4. ____ Each of the following is true about the bombing of MOVE headquarters in 1985 EXCEPT
 - a. It was the culmination of many years of tensions between MOVE and city government.
 - b. It led to the destruction of several city blocks of homes.
 - c. The chief of police was imprisoned for six months for ordering the bombing.
 - d. Only two MOVE members in the house survived the attack.
5. ____ By the early 1990s, Philadelphia faced challenges that included:
 - a. Rapid population growth.
 - b. A shortage of unskilled workers.
 - c. An epidemic of drug use, especially crack cocaine.
 - d. The impeachment of Mayor Goode.

Answer Key: 1. a 2. a 3. d 4. c 5. c