

Begin, Sadat Summoned to Washington

"Peace" Talks Debacle in Jerusalem

For the Right to Self-Determination of Palestinian Arabs and Hebrew-Speaking People!

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

More than two months after his spectacular pilgrimage to the capital of his Zionist enemy, Egyptian president Anwar Sadat's widely proclaimed "peace initiative" has yielded only a series of stalemated and acrimonious meetings and conferences—platforms for procedural haggling, diplomatic snubs and insults, intransigent posturing and bellicose rhetoric—culminating in the recently aborted "political committee" meeting of foreign ministers in Jerusalem. Nevertheless under American pressure another round of talks is to take place.

On Thursday January 26 U.S. government officials announced that Israel and Egypt were close to an agreement on a declaration of principles "for a comprehensive Near East settlement." The following day State Department officials announced that Sadat would visit U.S. president Carter in Washington on the weekend of 4-5 February with Begin to follow in a month or two. And on Sunday January 29 the Israeli cabinet voted unanimously to resume participation in the Egyptian-Israeli "military committee" in Cairo, exactly one week after the cabinet had



Koussy/Gamma-Liaison

Begin and Sadat at Christmas meeting in Ismailia.

unanimously voted to suspend the Cairo talks.

On the eve of the Jerusalem "political committee" talks, Sadat moaned about the intransigence of his erstwhile friend, Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin: "Begin gave me nothing. It was I who gave him everything. I gave him security and legitimacy and got nothing in return." As the negotiations dragged on from one fiasco to the next, it became clear that what the Egyptian president wanted from Begin would ultimately prove to be very little indeed: a phased, though ultimately complete, withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula including the dismantling of Israeli military installations and military/agricultural settlements. In addition Sadat asked the Zionists to at least pay lip service to "Palestinian self-determination" and withdraw from the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. The latter point was necessary in order that Sadat might have a fig leaf to hide behind against the accusation of negotiating a separate peace at the expense of the Palestinians and other Arab countries which have lost territory to Israel.

Sadat is as much opposed to an independent Palestinian state, even if restricted to the remnants of the former British Palestine mandate in the West Bank and Gaza, as is Begin, and for that matter the U.S. and Jordan. Therefore Sadat, the U.S. and Jordan would probably be satisfied if Israel agreed to end its military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza in favor of having them

linked in some federated arrangement to Jordan. Sadat told the *Jerusalem Post* reporter David Landau that he would accept Begin's plan for West Bank "self-rule" under continued Israeli military occupation and Zionist land expropriations if Israel would only promise that the Palestinians would "eventually" be granted the right to self-determination (*Washington Post*, 14 January).

Zionist Settlements in the Sinai

But no matter how little Sadat thinks he is asking for, up to now it is much more than the fanatical Zionist expansionist prime minister is willing to give. When Begin returned the Egyptian *rais*' Jerusalem visit, even a vague agreement over "principles" could not be reached. Instead the Sinai, where Israel appears to be more "flexible," was separated from the more thorny question of a total Near East settlement including the Palestinians. A "military committee" composed of Egyptian and Israeli military brass was formed to discuss the Sinai and scheduled to meet in Cairo. A "political committee" of Egyptian and Israeli foreign ministers and the U.S. secretary of state was scheduled in Jerusalem to deal with the "principles" of a total settlement.

Even though Begin pledged to return the entire Sinai to Egyptian "sovereignty," he insisted that the existing settlements in the Sinai must remain intact under Israeli administration and military protection! Nonetheless upon his return from Egypt Begin was greeted by

hostile demonstrations of Zionists from the Sinai settlements and their supporters, including Gush Emunim, the Zionist clerical-fascist group that is the spearhead of many settlements in the occupied territories and an important component of Begin's right-wing Likud coalition.

For Begin's electoral constituency the settlements are a highly emotional issue. They have been sold to the Israeli public not only as an assertion of Biblical right and Zionist fulfillment, but also as a military necessity. An opinion poll taken by the Hebrew University in Jerusalem showed 72 percent opposed to the return of northern Sinai settlements to Egyptian sovereignty. To appease his right-wing supporters Begin ordered bulldozers into northern Sinai to prepare the ground either for expanding existing settlements or building additional ones. An angered Sadat responded to the presence of Zionist bulldozers on "his" land with: "I do not agree to the presence of a single Jewish settlement on my land. Let them destroy them."

Instead, in order to outflank Begin and woo his right-wing base, the even more right-wing Likud minister of agriculture Ariel Sharon (whose ministry has jurisdiction over the "colonies") called for four new civilian settlements and 20 military/agricultural posts, known as *nahals*, in the Rafiah district. A general who earned his rank by carrying out terrorist commando "retal-

continued on page 10

FILM REVIEW

Bertolucci's "1900"

by Charles Burroughs



SEE PAGE SIX

No Reliance on Coleman Young!

Detroit Labor Must Drive Out Fascists!

DETROIT—Fascists have been holed up in a bunker on Detroit's Southwest side now for over a month. Seeking a foothold in one of the U.S.'s most heavily proletarian and black cities, the National Socialist Movement (NSM) has stocked its "bookstore" with reams of race hate literature and an arms cache to fend off mounting demands that they be driven out. The "White Power" headquarters has been the scene of numerous picket line protests sponsored by various left groups and neighborhood residents and the owner of the storefront is attempting to evict the Hitler-loving terrorists. But the failure of Detroit's huge labor unions, principally the United Auto Workers (UAW), and black organizations to organize massive and direct actions to kick the Nazis out has so far allowed them to remain.

Most union leaders have been completely silent about the Nazi headquarters since it opened December 17. Detroit NAACP head Lawrence Washington, leading a coalition of clerical groups, decries the presence of the right-wing terrorists but is concerned about their "right" to "free speech." Washington is advocating merely that the schools develop classes to educate children "to understand the horrors of what the Nazis did" (*Michigan Chronicle*, 21 January). A leading spokesman of the Detroit ACLU said in a December TV interview that he also defends the Nazis' "rights" and thinks the office is a "useful reminder" of the fascist terror that took millions of lives. Many "community leaders" simply dismiss the present-day Nazis as a laughable lunatic fringe unworthy of serious attention.

But the fascist killers are no joke. Though they are currently only a small vile sect, not immediately useful to a bourgeoisie which can still exercise its rule through the mechanism of capitalist "democracy," the stormtroopers seek the "legitimacy" of a public presence. They want to capitalize on and exacerbate mounting racial tensions to attack blacks, Jews and union militants and,

ultimately, to carry out genocide.

In Chicago, another Nazi outfit has inflamed racists in Marquette Park, where vicious attacks on black passers-by have made the area a whites-only laager. In Detroit, the Nazis openly proclaim that their office is mainly a vehicle to enhance recruitment to their murderous plans. In the cracks and crevices of racist America, faced with the reality of economic decline, the Nazis and Klansmen are sinking the roots today for mass terror in the future. As Spartacist League spokesman Jeff Wallace explained on the WRIF radio show "Insight" on January 22, "If the labor movement lets the fascists get away with it [maintaining their "bookstore"] they will only get bolder and bolder."

Labor Must Act

In the late 1930's and 1940's, UAW locals and their Flying Squadrons ran fascist groups like the Silver Shirts and strikebreaking Black Legion out of Michigan. But today, UAW leaders grown complacent and legalistic have not lifted a finger to dislodge the Nazi provocateurs. In some UAW locals, however, pressure against the doing-nothing policy is mounting.

The union's largest local, 30,000-member Local 600, is concentrated at Ford's River Rouge plant, only a mile away from the Nazi headquarters. Perhaps it is this proximity which compelled Local 600 president Mike Rinaldi to denounce the fascist presence in his report to the January meeting of the Local's general council. This body, composed of delegates from each of the many plants in the Rouge complex, approved Rinaldi's report calling for union action against the fascists. A subcommittee of the Local's Community Action Program was subsequently empowered to decide on further steps.

Militants at Local 600's Tool and Die and Maintenance and Construction units also submitted motions at January membership meetings demanding union-organized mass demonstrations to drive the Nazis from their lair. A similar call came from members of the 7,000-strong UAW Local 140 at Chrysler's Dodge Truck plant. A motion was submitted at Local 140's 8 January membership meeting demanding that the local go on record to "smash the Nazi threat" and that "the Executive Board of Local 140 immediately contact Solidarity House and all UAW and other union locals in the Detroit area to mobilize their support in building a mass rally and demonstration of labor, left and black, Jewish and other minority organizations within two weeks on that slogan."

Union members who were at the Local 140 meeting told *WV* that Local officials, reluctant to openly oppose an action aimed at the despised fascists but even more reluctant to endorse such action, maneuvered to table the motion to the executive board. Local 140 members are reportedly organizing against the attempt to let their motion



Spartacist League contingent at demonstration against opening of Nazi "bookstore" in Detroit.

die in the cobwebbed confines of some bureaucrat's office.

While UAW militants are demanding that the union mobilize the membership in decisive action against the Nazis, the UAW hierarchy continues to evade such a course. Even the committee already established in Local 600, which has called a public meeting for early February endorsed by several UAW local officials and community organizations, seems likely to offer little except diversions from the militant fight necessary to eliminate the Nazi filth.

The general council pledged money for attorneys to pursue legal channels and Paul Boatín, acting chairman of the committee, wants to concentrate on "educating" the community on the evils of fascism. Boatín is also determined to squash any attempts to mount more direct action. In an interview with *WV*, Boatín highhandedly declared, "I get phone calls by the dozens about am I going to propose, as the number one issue, the picket line. No, I'm not. If anybody gets up and makes that proposal, I'll rule him out of order. Very bluntly and definitely, I'll smash him!" Bureaucrats and their lackeys reserve their "smashing" for union militants, not the fascist trash.

What Strategy to Fight Fascism?

Since the opening of the Detroit fascist headquarters last month, the Spartacist League has been unique in championing the perspective of a broad united front centered on labor, black and minority organizations to crush the fascist threat. But most of the left, despairing of the possibility of fighting the union misleaders in order to involve the mass working-class organizations in the anti-fascist fight, look either to the good graces of the bourgeois state or to their own meagre forces as a substitute for such a mass mobilization.

With classic reformist faith in the ability of the capitalist state to play a "progressive" role, the Stalinists traditionally appeal to the state to combat and ban the fascists. Thus the Communist Party (CP), which has played no role in any of the anti-Nazi protest meetings or demonstrations, hailed the committee established in Local 600, uncritically reporting that its "main tactical thrust will be through the courts using legal redress" (*Daily World*, 17 January).

The Communist Labor Party (CLP), increasingly in the orbit of the CP's pro-Moscow reformism, also calls on the government to "Outlaw the Nazis." The main activity of the CLP and the Detroit Equal Rights Committee (ERC) which it dominates has been to circulate a petition urging Mayor Coleman Young and the Detroit City Council to ban the Nazis. But it is Coleman Young, whom the CLP supported in the last municipal election, who is maintaining round-the-clock police patrols protecting the fascist lair.

The CLP cynically explains away the city government's defense of the racist thugs. At a meeting of the ERC on January 9, one CLP spokesman said,

"We know the city council won't do anything, but people have a lot of illusions." Yet calling on the state to ban the fascists only heightens these illusions. Furthermore, government bans on "extremists" have always been used first and foremost to attack the left, not rightist groups who, particularly in times of social turmoil, enjoy the protection of the bosses and their state.

The CLP may well see its appeals to Young backfire in its face. At his inaugural address earlier this month, Young haughtily responded to demonstrators who were chanting repeatedly "What about the Nazis?": "If you don't shut up," replied the "progressive" mayor "we'll run you out of Detroit!"

The flip side of this reliance on the state is the attempt of many left groups to organize their own demonstrations, divorced from the labor movement and black masses. Though all of these groups have at least some supporters in the Detroit unions, virtually none of them has fought from *within* the labor movement against the passivity of the labor leaders. It is, of course, easier to simply call a series of small demonstrations on the sidewalk outside the Nazi office than to fight the bureaucrats' stranglehold on the unions. But this strategy proves itself ineffective. Rather than a strong show of working class power capable of intimidating the Nazis, repeated small protests will embolden the fascists in their determination not to be removed. While Spartacist League contingents have participated in several of the larger protest pickets, we insist that only the power of the organized labor movement, linked to the black and minority organizations, can successfully crush the Nazi pestilence.

Accompanying the substitutionalism of these demonstrations' sponsors is their sectarianism. Each of the groups that has called demonstrations seems intent on boosting its own anti-fascist credentials at the expense of a real united front. The *News and Letters* group, followers of Raya Dunayevskaya's "humanism," has organized several protests outside the Nazi storefront. The Revolutionary Communist Party's (RCP) front group, the National United Workers Organization, then called its own picket line January 5, drawing about 50 people. Not wanting to be upstaged, the RCP's arch-rival, the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) and its creature, the Jobs or Income Now Coalition, staged two even smaller demonstrations on January 7 and 14. The International Socialists (I.S.) has called its own demonstration for early February, endorsed by a few of the I.S.' friends in the unions.

By far the most idiotic exertions have come from the increasingly hysterical Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL). Grasping for a reason for continued existence, it has held two demonstrations at the Nazi headquarters, where, with a few supporters, RSLers puffed themselves up and with all their might

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Karen Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Mike Beech

EDITORIAL BOARD: Jon Brule, Charles Burroughs, George Foster, Liz Gordon, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Michael Weinstein

Published weekly, except bi-weekly in August and December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone: 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001. Domestic subscriptions: \$5.00 per year. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

"Down with the Shah"—SWP Says No

In radical-chic circles these days it has become fashionable to tsk-tsk the torture and repression unleashed by the Shah of Iran. The *Village Voice* last fall carried an article called "The Beautiful Butchers" debunking the debonair, jet-set image of the Shah and Empress Pahlavi. A few weeks later in a Jules Feiffer cartoon Jimmy Carter is portrayed advocating "responsible human rights" and concluding: "For verification please check with me, Cy Vance or the Shah of Iran."

But while left-liberals are now feeling a little uneasy about attending swinging parties at the Iranian embassy, a number of ostensibly socialist groups have scandalously failed to call for the overthrow of this bloody reactionary dictatorship. Most notorious are of course the apologists for the Chinese bureaucracy, which has hailed the butcher Shah as an anti-imperialist fighter because of his opposition to the USSR. Thus the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (formerly October League), loyal servant of Peking, rejects the slogan "Down with the Shah!" and substitutes the multi-purpose anti-Soviet demand "Superpowers out of _____" (fill in the blank "Iran," "Angola," etc.).

Most recently the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), too, has come out into the open with its refusal to directly oppose the Peacock Throne. This had long been apparent in demonstrations called by the various Iranian Student Associations (ISA), where SWPers appear only as supporters of the Committee of Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI). CAIFI limits its demands to calls for civil liberties in Iran. The implicit line is: consistent civil libertarianism equals socialism. In reality, the SWP is well aware that its liberal slogans have nothing to do with socialism; their concern is to entice left-liberal luminaries such as Kate Millet or Arthur Miller (two participants in a separate CAIFI picket line outside a banquet for Empress Farah January 12 at the New York Hilton) by avoiding the least hint of "socialism."

The 13 January edition of the SWP's *Militant* printed an interview with an "Iranian Trotskyist" which dots the i's and crosses the t's: "... the Maoists raise very ultimatic and ultraleft demands. They demand, for instance, that all should unite on slogans like 'Down with the Shah...'" Ultimatic? Ultraleft? Feigning innocence, the *Militant* interviewer asks with mock incredulity, "What about the demand of 'Down with the Shah'?" Certainly you want to bring down the Shah's government." Its Iranian supporter replies:

"Of course, but the question is how to do it. For the ultralefts, the question is settled by shouting 'Down with the Shah,' and indulging in wishful thinking.



Demonstration against November visit of Shah to the White House.

WV Photo



Shah and family

Newsweek

"The way to bring down the Shah is to draw the masses into action against his regime around specific demands that they understand and agree with.... What is the key question inside Iran, as millions of people see it, is that there are no basic civil and political liberties."

The SWP's perception of the Maoists—apologists for the bloody Shah, Richard Nixon, NATO and apartheid South Africa—as "ultraleftists" speaks volumes about the degeneration of these ex-Trotskyists into social-democratic reformism. Our opposition to the Mao-Stalinists, even the "critical" Maoists who oppose the Shah, is that they embrace the Menshevik formula of "two-stage revolution"—in which the working class is bound hand and foot to the mythical "national bourgeoisie." Trotskyists fight for the program of socialist revolution in Iran, for a workers and peasants government; the SWP thinks anything more "advanced" than civil liberties is "ultraleft."

In opposing the demand "Down with the Shah" the SWP argues for "draw[ing] the masses into action against his regime around specific demands that they understand and agree with." This is a bogus argument. Communists are the most determined fighters for the immediate demands of the exploited and oppressed, but in the words of the *Communist Manifesto* they "disdain to conceal their views and aims." And it is not as if the "Iranian Trotskyists" were concerned here about escaping repression at the hands of the SAVAK (secret police) killers. We are talking about slogans raised in demonstrations in the U.S. and Europe against visits by the bloody monarchs. The SWP's real motivation is to attract liberals who shrink from anything as "bold" as demanding the overthrow of the royal murderers.

The SWP is not simply enamored with the Shahinshah. In fact, it tries to

claim the authority of revolutionary tradition for its reformist policy. In an article last spring the SWP attacked those who call for socialist revolution in South Africa, claiming that Lenin had refuted them in opposing the slogan "Down with the Tsar." Referring to a Chicago demonstration against apartheid terror, the 15 April 1977 *Militant* complained that "a couple of small groups with big red banners" thought that the slogan "Black majority rule now" was "inadequate," instead demanding: "South Africa must be free—overthrow the bourgeoisie."

To buttress its arguments against these supposed "ultralefts," the article cited Lenin's famous "April Theses." Writing after the February 1917 revolution, the Bolshevik leader maintained:

"The slogan, 'Down with the War,' is correct, to be sure, but it does not take into account the peculiarity of the tasks of the moment, the necessity to approach the masses in a different way. It reminds me of another slogan, 'Down with the Tsar,' with which an inexperienced agitator of the 'good old days' went directly and simply to the village—to be beaten up."

—"The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," April 1917

The *Militant* concludes that, "Iranian believed the slogans were correct—that is, formally true—but so what? They were also useless."

So the SWP would have us believe that Lenin considered the slogan "Down with the War" ultraleft. This is a falsification worthy of the Stalinists themselves. Lenin did not object to this vague demand in order to replace it with a treacherous, reformist "Russia Out Now"—or to simply ignore the question of the war in favor of "specific demands" that the masses "understand and agree with." He was quite clear that the main task was the revolutionary overthrow of the new, "democratic" regime: "It must be made clear that the 'people' can stop the war or change its character only by changing the *class character* of the government," he wrote in "Notes for an Article or Speech in Defense of the April Theses" (April 1917). The same brief outline is even more specific in refuting the SWP's distortion:

"We must ably, carefully, clear people's minds and lead the proletariat and poor peasantry forward, away from 'dual power' towards the full power of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies...."

"The question is not whether the workers are prepared, but *how* and *for what* they should be prepared."

In the wake of the February uprising which overthrew the tsar, the masses

continued on page 11

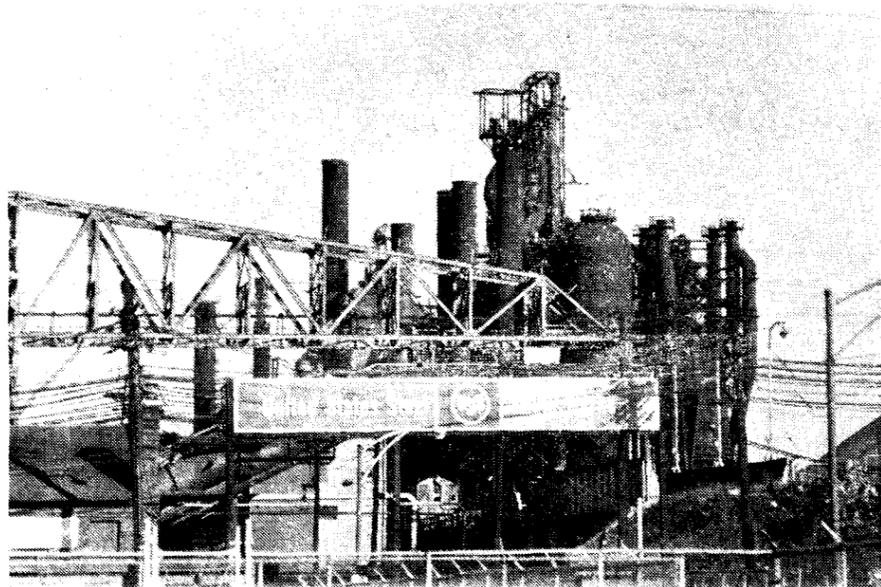
Chicago USWA Local Debates Solidarity with Mine Strike

Toward a Joint Coal/Steel Strike!

CHICAGO—The brutal union-busting onslaught of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) which seeks to deprive 160,000 soft coal miners of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) of the right to strike has been answered by a militant counteroffensive on the part of the union ranks. From Utah to the Appalachians miners have organized actions to shut down unorganized mines and to prevent the movement of scab coal. This has been widely successful despite the betrayals of the Arnold Miller leadership, which has even allowed UMWA mines in the West to remain open, thus ordering union members to scab on their own strike!

The elementary duty of American organized labor is to demonstrate solidarity with the UMWA strike by refusing to handle scab coal in order to bring pressure to bear on the coal operators. This task falls particularly on steel workers and on transport workers. Predictably the pro-company bureaucrats of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), Teamsters, National Maritime Union and other unions in a strategic position to aid the embattled miners have answered the clear appeal of the UMWA ranks for militant aid with stony silence.

However, in the USWA the cowardly stalling of both the Balanoff/Sadlowski and Abel/McBride wings of the bureaucracy has not gone unchallenged. At a recent membership meeting here of



U.S. Steel South Works, Chicago

WV Photo

coal miners go forward to victory and the militant tactics which are needed:

"Scab coal, which today accounts for 50 percent of the industry, must not be allowed to continually replenish the enormous stockpiles in District 31 and elsewhere. *As the most elementary act of class solidarity we must insist that our District and International immediately implement and enforce the hot cargoing of all coal shipments to the mills!* The USWA must call on railway workers, seamen and longshoremen to join in this crucial action." [emphasis in original]

The pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy would be critically threatened by such militant action. Since their very existence rests on a program of conciliation with the companies and reliance on the bourgeois state, they are incapable of leading a determined struggle which would inevitably provoke the equally determined opposition of the bosses and their government. In steel especially, where the Abel/McBride leadership has codified the no-strike pledge in its hated Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), solidarity with miners defending the right to strike is evidently impossible without exposing and defeating both wings of the USWA bureaucracy.

For steel workers the UMWA strike provides an opportunity to fight against the general capitalist offensive which affects them directly, in addition to demonstrating solidarity with the miners. As the Knight/Lewis leaflet noted:

"As the BCOA and the steel trusts prepare a crushing assault against the UMWA, our union remains the target of a vicious job-slashing campaign which has left 60,000 steel workers permanently unemployed and threatened entire communities with virtual destruction in the wake of plant closures.... Our union and the UMWA are under attack, and the key to smashing this offensive is a joint strike until the demands of both our unions are won.... Railroad workers, whose contract just expired and who face a prolonged and government-delayed battle against a management intent on severely reducing crew sizes, would be a powerful ally in this fight. If we turn our backs on this tremendous potential and allow the trade union bureaucracy to continue its policy of conciliation and betrayal, the entire labor movement will pay."

The leaflet pointed to key demands for such a joint struggle: an end to all layoffs and rehiring of laid-off workers through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay,

nationalization of bankrupt factories without compensation, smash ENA and defend the right to strike for all workers.

"Militants" Capitulate

During the floor discussion of the Knight/Lewis motion, virtually every

organized "opposition" grouping present opposed the resolution. Executive Board member Roberta Wood, a prominent supporter of the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee (NSRFC), which is politically supported by the reformist Communist Party, and a supporter of the NSRFC lash-up in Local 65 called "Steelworkers Organized for Solidarity" (SOS), rose to oppose the motion. Instead she proposed first "finding out what the miners want steel workers to do in solidarity!"

Coal miners across the country have repeatedly made clear by their picketing of barges, rail depots, power stations and coke plants that they want militant solidarity action to help them save their union. Who are the coal miners sister Wood wants to hear from? It can only be the Miller bureaucracy (which she uncritically supported in the last UMWA elections). But Miller's scabherding in the West and his attempted sellout of the right to strike in the present negotiations have indicated all too clearly what *he* wants steel workers to do—nothing at all.

When it became clear that very few of the "militants" present had the courage of their reformist convictions to openly

Steel Militants Demand: Hot-Cargo Scab Coal

The following resolution was presented to the January membership meeting of USWA Local 65 (U.S. Steel Southworks) in Chicago.

Whereas, the UMWA has become the target of a vicious assault by the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) aimed at eliminating union militancy in the coal fields; and

Whereas, if the BCOA, dominated by the oil and steel trusts, succeeds in its union-busting offensive, it will be a crushing defeat for the entire labor movement and threaten similar attacks against every union; and

Whereas, a coal strike can be effective only insofar as it threatens to shut down steel, and the BCOA offensive relies heavily upon the expectation that scab coal, augmented by imports, will be able to continuously replenish stockpiles in District 31 and elsewhere; and

Whereas, this fact demands that our union, as an elementary act of class solidarity, hot-cargo all coal shipments into the mills, and further demands that District 31, as a major steel district and the largest district in the USWA, take the lead in implementing this policy; and

Whereas, our union has been the target of a massive job-slashing campaign and U.S. Steel has just recently announced plans for future plant closures, sharply posing the need to scrap the ENA and strike industry-wide against layoffs; and

Whereas, the close relationship between the steel and coal industry, the fact that the miners' key demand for the unrestricted contractual right to strike is an urgent requirement for steelworkers chained by the ENA, and the fact that the USWA and UMWA are under attack by a common enemy all point to the tremendous potential and crucial necessity of joint USWA/UMWA strike action; therefore be it

Resolved, that USWA L.U. 65 calls on the District and the International to immediately implement and enforce the hot-cargoing of all coal shipments to the mills, and that our union calls on the railroad, seamen and longshore unions to halt the movement of coal; and be it further

Resolved, that the local call upon the International to sanction and organize a joint strike with the UMWA to win the miners' demands and to win for steelworkers:

- the elimination of the ENA and all compulsory arbitration provisions from the contract—for the unlimited right to strike;
- the immediate re-instatement of all laid-off steelworkers and the re-opening of all closed plants, either by the steel companies or through the nationalization of these plants without compensation;
- the 30 hour workweek at 40 hours pay with full cost of living protection.

Tom Knight, Damon Lewis



WV Photo

John Chico, Local 65 president at Southworks.

USWA Local 65 (U.S. Steel Southworks mill) a resolution calling for class-struggle actions in solidarity with the miners' strike and for a nationwide strike in steel against layoffs was presented by Local 65 members Tom Knight and Damon Lewis (see box). The resolution was defeated by the Local bureaucracy with the willing help of local fake-militant "oppositionists."

"Hot Cargo All Coal Shipments to the Mills!"

In a leaflet accompanying the motion Knight and Lewis noted the central position of the steel workers in helping

justify their opposition to the Knight/Lewis resolution, Local 65 president John Chico cracked the whip to prod his reluctant "left-wing" houseboys to speak up. Rising in response to Chico's appeal, Simon Kent, a supporter of "Breakout," a grouping in the USWA politically supported by the disintegrating Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, opposed the motion, calling on the executive board to figure out ways of supporting the mine strikers. Since the executive board's opposition to the resolution was based on the fact that it challenges Taft-Hartley, the extent of their "fightback" is clear to anyone who wants to see.

Only one organized grouping in Local 65 bestirred itself to support the class-struggle policies of the Knight/Lewis motion—the tiny Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus (RSC), politically supported by the Shachtmanite centrists of the increasingly phantom-like Revolutionary Socialist League. The RSC supporters had appeared at the meeting with a resolution of their own whose cowering legalism was clearly designed to garner the support of everyone from "Breakout" to Chico himself. The RSC resolution called only for a statement of solidarity with the mine strike, a contribution to the strike fund, a demand that arrested miners be freed, and similar token expressions from the district and International. Refusal to handle scab coal, calls for solidarity strike action to bolster the UMWA—this they opposed.

George Meany could support this weak-kneed attempt at "support." In the leaflet accompanying its resolution, the RSC motivated its refusal to call for a labor boycott of coal with classic minimum-maximum arguments borrowed from the reformists: "If we were strong enough, we would refuse to handle any coal until the miners win their strike. We can't do this yet. We can build our strength and give immediate aid to the miners by organizing for other measures." Thus these "revolutionaries" refuse to take on the bureaucracy—the real obstacle to a powerful solidarity strike—by using the classic excuse of all opportunists: the "lack of strength" of the working class.

In response a supporter of the Knight/Lewis resolution pointed to the massive strength of 1.4 million steel workers to halt production and bring both the steel companies and the BCOA to their knees. The RSC supporters were forced to abandon their argument of weakness and, to their credit, voted for the motion in the end.

Bureaucratic Gag Rule

The Knight/Lewis motion only reached the floor by a circuitous path, after having first been scrutinized by the Local executive board, which reported it to the meeting with a recommendation to reject. At a previous Local 65 meeting, president Chico rammed through a rule change which requires all resolutions to be screened by the Local executive board before being introduced for a vote of the membership.

Chico reportedly motivated this patently undemocratic procedure by citing motions which had been raised in the Local which called for the union to take actions which violate the USWA constitution, the contract and the law. It is not accidental that Chico chooses to smear such militant tactics as mass picketing, hot cargoing, sympathy strikes, plant occupations—even the right to strike itself—as "illegal," for it is precisely such weapons of the class struggle which can spell victory over the companies and thus threaten the bureaucracy's commitment to "labor peace."

This gag rule comes only a few months after the Chico leadership signed a rotten Local contract without having first submitted it to the membership for ratification. The increasingly frequent violation of elementary demo-

continued on page 9

Unions Fight for Their Lives in Michigan

Shut Down the Oakland Press!

DETROIT—In Pontiac, Michigan two newspaper unions are fighting for their lives. Sixty members of Pressmen's Local 13 and Newspaper Guild Local 22 have been on strike for a month against the *Oakland Press*, the Detroit-Pontiac metropolitan area's third largest daily, which has launched a union-busting offensive explicitly patterned on the strikebreaking tactics of the notorious *Washington Post*. Working without contracts for over a year and a half, members of the two unions walked out December 29 when the pressmen refused to train five non-union employees brought in to replace them at their jobs.

The conflict at the *Press* has been brewing since the unions' contracts expired in September 1976. Management was determined to drive the unions out by offering outrageous proposals that would have destroyed long-standing union gains. The company demanded the elimination of job classifications and cost-of-living wage increases, that workers pay all medical insurance increases, a rollback of sick leave benefits, and a reduction in manning of the presses. Wage increases of 2 to 3 percent a year would not even have matched inflation and management demanded the unlimited, ungrievable right to judge the "competency" of Guild members.

Knowing full well that the unions could not accept these terms, the *Oakland Press* bosses prepared for the strike long in advance. One picketer told *WV* that management had been recruiting non-union reporters, installing shatter-proof windows and television surveillance systems in the pressroom, issuing special identification badges to employees, erecting barbed-wire fences around the company parking lot and stockpiling newsprint. As soon as the strike began, nearly 100 security guards were shipped in from the infamous scabherding Wackenhut Corporation, more than the number of strikers involved, and scabs were imported from non-union newspapers in Kansas City and Fort Worth, Texas. For the negotiations, the Nashville law firm of King and Ballou was hired, whose spokesmen at the bargaining sessions brag that they have succeeded in breaking several newspaper unions in the South.

The ruthless strategy of the *Press* management is openly based on the *Washington Post* strike of 1976, where several unions were literally shattered. Three weeks before the strike began, publisher Bruce McIntyre distributed an article to department heads on the *Post* strike along with a memo saying, "We probably will end up with some kind of agreement with the remaining unions where they will simply get fired and walk away.... If the *Post* experience says anything, maybe it's this: being a so-called union-busting paper doesn't interfere with greatness." John Coots, an associate editor, told one freelance reporter he was trying to recruit as a scab. "We're out to break the union. They did it at the *Post* and we're going to do it here" (*Detroit Free Press*, 8 January). The strikers' bulletin quoted Coots in the fourth week of the walkout, "I feel great. We're going to replace every one of them."

The *Oakland Press* is backed up in its union-busting determination by its parent corporation, Capital Cities Communications, which owns seven television stations, 12 trade publications and six newspapers. Capital Cities owns both the *Kansas City Star* and the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* at which the newspaper unions have already been

eliminated. Rejecting any compromises, the company refuses to budge from its original take-it-or-leave-it "offers," spurning the unions' proposal of binding arbitration and sending letters to all strikers notifying them that they will be fired if they do not return to work immediately.

The *Press*'s Wackenhut goons backed up by county police have insured continued production of the paper by using strongarm methods against the picket line. The guards form human wedges to shove strikers aside, letting delivery trucks and scabs across the line. On several occasions, determined pickets have been knocked down by scab

manding that they respect picket lines or face disciplinary actions ranging from fines to expulsion from the union. So far no action has been taken, but it is of critical importance that the scabs be expelled at once from the Teamsters and the UAW to demonstrate to the wavering that strikebreaking will not be tolerated in the labor movement. Anyone who does not obey the first rule of the trade-union movement, "picket lines mean you don't cross," does not belong in a union.

Against the *Press*'s show of force and widespread scabbing, the only way to stop the union busting is the mobilization of labor solidarity to bolster the



Striking pressmen and reporters of *Oakland Press* in Pontiac, Michigan. UPI

trucks. After one confrontation between strikers and scabs earlier this month, police moved in to arrest seven unionists on charges ranging from felonious assault to disorderly conduct. Local 13 president Don Kummer told *WV* that charges against six of the strikers had already been dropped, making clear that the arrests were aimed at harassment and intimidation.

Management has also taken advantage of the division of the workforce into four small craft unions. The biggest obstacle facing the strikers is the continued scabbing of almost 200 other *Press* employees, members of Teamsters Local 372 and Local 512 of the International Typographical Union. The Teamsters who deliver the papers are mostly part-timers, many of them housewives. Some are United Auto Workers (UAW) members who distribute papers after a shift in an auto plant. The Teamsters have been scabbing despite the insistence of the Local 372 leadership to respect the picket line.

Last week the Teamsters Union sent certified letters to its members de-

picket lines and shut down the presses. A number of strikers pointed out to *WV* that the biggest difference between their strike and that of the *Washington Post* is the greater strength of the labor movement in the Detroit area. The UAW alone has 30,000 members in Pontiac and nearly 300,000 in the Detroit area. But so far the UAW leadership has only called on its membership to participate in a boycott of the *Press* and to cancel their subscriptions. Guild and Pressmen leaders have been calling for a boycott since last September, when their contracts ran out. But thus far, circulation has decreased by less than 20 percent.

The boycott is precisely the strategy that failed so miserably during the *Post* strike. Labor is weakest as dispersed, atomized consumers. Boycotts are sometimes useful as secondary tactics to back up strikes and win sympathetic public support. But the real power of the working class is at the point of production and on the picket line. With the help of a few hundred auto workers a day, the

continued on page 11

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Marxist Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd floor
(near 17th Street)
Oakland, California
Phone 835-1535

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:30-8:00
Saturday 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 South Plymouth Court, 3rd floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday-Friday 6:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.
260 West Broadway, Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

Spartacus Youth League Forum

Coal Strike in Danger— What Strategy for Victory?

Speaker:

MARK LANCE

Workers Vanguard correspondent in West Virginia and Stearns, Kentucky

Wednesday, February 8 at 7:30 p.m.

GSU Room 315
Boston University

BOSTON

Thursday, February 9 at 7:30 p.m.

Emerson Room 305
Harvard University

CAMBRIDGE

Donation \$1.00

BERTOLUCCI'S "1900": POETRY OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

by Charles Burroughs

"April 25, 1945, Liberation Day" flashes across the screen. On the Berlinghieri estate in the northern Italian province of Emilia the fascists are on the run, but they cannot escape the debt of blood owed the peasants who bring them down with rifle, pitchfork, club and fists. On this day of reckoning old scores, the camera tracks a young partisan no more than ten or eleven years old as he approaches the big house, wipes his feet carefully and enters. He lines up the Padrone Berlin-

"The usefulness of a work of art is very mysterious."

—Bernardo Bertolucci

ghieri in his rifle sights and in triumph declares: "Long live Stalin!" The Padrone, sitting alone at a long table covered with starched white linen, remains calm. A shot whizzes over the Master's head. The Padrone looks over his shoulder where the bullet has found a family painting; he then turns, smiles, gives himself up to his child-captor and with as much irony as resignation repeats, "Long live Stalin."

With this scene of ironic tribute to "the party of the anti-fascist struggle" and the Supreme Leader of the "Socialist Fatherland," Bernardo Bertolucci's *1900* begins. And it is scenes such as this one which make this moving and lyrical political film one of the most controversial to be released in recent years.

The controversy began even before *1900* premiered at the Cannes film festival in 1976. Some critics assailed Bertolucci as a dogmatic Communist; others attacked him for selling out to the Hollywood movie industry which (after the success of *Last Tango in Paris*) financed *1900*. By the time the film was finally released in the U.S., an hour and fifteen minutes shorter than its five-hour, twenty-minute two-part European version, the critics' anti-Communist assault had been hardened and honed. As an instrument of criticism it was wielded with the precision and taste of a middle-brow axe-murderer by the *New York Times*'s Vincent Canby, who sneered at *1900*'s "politicized peasants," "poster-like sequences" and "nasty fascists" (8 October 1977). "Characters," says Canby, "become points of view"; "Mr Bertolucci's political purposes overtake the film."

Canby is quite wrong. For what is most interesting politically and artistically about *1900* is that Bertolucci's film art overtakes his political purposes. Bertolucci the PCI apologist intends to present the class struggle in Italy according to Stalinist myth, from the turn of the century through the end of the "patriotic war against fascism." He intends to celebrate class collaboration, but by the end of the film 45 years (and nearly four hours) later, his Communist Party hero appears as a betrayer of the agricultural workers' struggles.

The climactic scene which frames the



Heroic resistance in 1900: peasant women turn back strikebreaking army by lying in their path.

Paramount Pictures

historic narrative of *1900* presents that moment in World War II when the workers and peasants hand back their weapons to the bourgeoisie under the direction of the Communist Party. It is a painfully familiar scene from the history of popular frontism and Stalinist betrayal. But why would Bertolucci, a loyal member of the PCI, offer such a scene? In this case Bertolucci's integrity as an artist outstrips his Stalinist political viewpoint, catching him up in a historical truth he does not intend to tell.

It is always risky business to insist that an artist creates an object contrary to his stated intentions, particularly with an artist like Bertolucci who states these intentions so often and so articulately. But in *1900* we have a Stalinist who intends to make a film which expresses the politics of the PCI. And we have the artist impelled to film a truth about life and politics. It is not only a film of exquisite richness and beauty, but also one that should be examined critically for the truth it reveals about both revolutionary politics and art.

1900 and "The Historic Ambiguity"

The film unfolds an intricately designed tapestry of the interwoven lives of two families of the Emilia region—the landowners and the peasants. The families are represented in the first generation by two patriarchs, played with passion by Burt Lancaster as the landowner and with lofty reserve by Sterling Hayden as the peasant. Natural leaders, they confront each other over an unbreachable social gulf. But as mythic fathers they can drink from the same wine bottle to celebrate the births of their grandsons.

The central focus of the film is the political/personal relationship—rivalry, friendship and betrayal—of the two grandsons, born on the same day. Alfredo Berlinghieri, the inheritor of the land played diffidently by a sadly miscast Robert DiNiro, becomes the padrone who rules with the aid of fascist thugs. Olmo Dalco, the son of the land played by the talented French actor Gerard Depardieu, becomes a peasant militant and eventually a PCI organizer. The film's recurrent image is that of the friendly fight between Alfredo and Olmo, the class enemies who are friends. For Bertolucci this is the symbolic expression of the "dialectic":

"The film is based on what I see as the immediate dialectic between Olmo and Alfredo, the protagonists, born the same day.... The dialectic between these two characters is an obvious, natural and elementary symbol of class dialectics, the dialectic between the peasant and the ruling class."

—Interview in *Cineaste*, Winter 1976-77

Bertolucci fleshes out the "dialectic" of his main characters in a study of their growth from childhood. Sexual and class tension pervade their earliest encounters; sexual jealousy and competition continue through their adult lives. Some of the best scenes in *1900* develop the early childhood friendship of the two boys. The sensitivity and complexity of these scenes put to shame the soft-focus sentimentality of the adolescent flashbacks in the more popular *Julia*.

Olmo, the bastard, the fatherless "natural son," seems to grow directly out of the fertile landscape. Lice-ridden, expert catcher of frogs (wading in the swamp to provide delicacies for the master's table), he teaches the weaker, sheltered boy how to "screw

the earth." Naturally more aggressive, the young Olmo embodies the power and the violence of an oppressed class. The point of the fight as play is that it is practice for the possibility of lethal hostility as adults. But as play it is also a fundamentally collaborative act. It is mutual trust in the form of struggle.

It is worth noting that Bertolucci, who speaks of "finding a dialectical union between Marx and Freud," has cast this relationship with distinct homosexual undertones. When Olmo returns home after participation in World War I, the heroes as young men greet each other by wrestling in the grain loft that had been the place of their early masturbatory fantasies. It is the fight between an enlisted man and an "officer" who stayed at home; Olmo rips the officer's insignia from Alfredo's uniform. But mainly it is a fight between good friends whose social positions make the embrace too uncomfortable. Rolling in the loft, Alfredo cuts the tension saying, "Kiss me, my hero."

The conflict continues intensely on the political plane as Olmo becomes a peasant rebel and Alfredo finds his social place as a padrone who uses the fascists as his "watchdog." Alfredo's personal weakness finds its perverse compensation in the sadistic bravado of his fascist foreman Atila, played with fangs showing by Donald Sutherland. The fascist movement has its fitting representatives in Atila and his wife Regina, Alfredo's poor relation (Bertolucci describes the couple as "a provincial Macbeth and Lady Macbeth"), who in brutal scenes of twisted violence and sadism destroy a helpless animal, an old lady and a child.

In the political world Alfredo's

personal weakness becomes personal betrayal. Always jealous of Olmo, Alfredo stands aside while the fascist gang nearly beats his best friend to death. The personal and political tension of the relationship is compacted into this crucial scene where Alfredo lets the fascists do the fighting for him.

Here Bertolucci presents the personal analogue of the weakness of the decaying bourgeoisie which steps aside (or more often backs up the fascists). But while this is a personal betrayal of Olmo by Alfredo, it is not a betrayal of the padrone's class. Bertolucci's evident ambiguity on this point stems from his Stalinist view of the "progressive" bourgeoisie as the natural fighters against fascism, together with the workers in a popular front. Therefore to Bertolucci, Alfredo has committed a political betrayal as well, a sentiment which would probably be shared by many in the audience.

Decadence and Powerlessness

Alfredo's position as a "reluctant" backer of the fascists is contrasted necessarily to the "anti-fascist bourgeoisie," presented through the characters of Alfredo's aesthetic wife Ada (played by Dominique Sanda) and his homosexual, dilettante, expatriate Uncle Ottavio. They too are characters of bourgeois weakness, but of a different sort. They are repelled by the fascists but, unlike Alfredo, have no social role to play and cannot harness social power. With brilliant strokes Bertolucci paints their decadent escapism and helpless personal decency. The point is that in the social reality of Mussolini's Italy they simply don't count. Like hallucinations out of one of their cocaine fantasies, they barely exist at all, riding in on a fairy-tale white horse and then fading out of an ugly political world.

Because she is a woman, Ada has even less social power than Ottavio. She is repelled by fascism for largely aesthetic reasons, and plays an immature game of escape in which she refuses to recognize the fascists before her eyes. Although Bertolucci relentlessly exposes the decadence of the bourgeoisie, he makes it clear that Ada is also a victim whose only course is escape. He places the responsibility for the misery of her life upon Alfredo; as she descends into alcoholism, he makes her a virtual prisoner in his house.

Ada is contrasted to Olmo's wife Anita (played by Stephania Sandrelli), who is the revolutionary heroine of the film and leads the peasants' resistance until her early death in childbirth. It is worth noting that the Socialist Workers Party's review of *1900* by Jon Hillson (*Militant*, 20 January) sees this contrast as a basis for praise for Bertolucci. But he misses altogether the victimization of Ada (whose beauty is "skin deep")—not to mention the politics of the film. Concentrating on the sociology of the "treatment of women," Hillson explains that with *1900* Bertolucci may have vindicated himself somewhat with feminists who saw *Last Tango in Paris* as exhibiting "contempt for women." "This film," he tells us, "leaves much less margin for criticism." Nevertheless Hillson is impelled to write in the margins: "But despite Bertolucci's efforts to fully picture the lives of the women in his film, it remains the men who dominate in *1900*—as in the story it tells." How shocking—a world full of men! This basis for critical evaluation of art rivals the old Stalinist school of "socialist realism" for philistinism. In its efforts to please the feminist taste, the SWP may have invented "feminist realism."

Class-Struggle Opera

1900 must be a disappointment to any audience expecting a film of sociological realism. From the opening

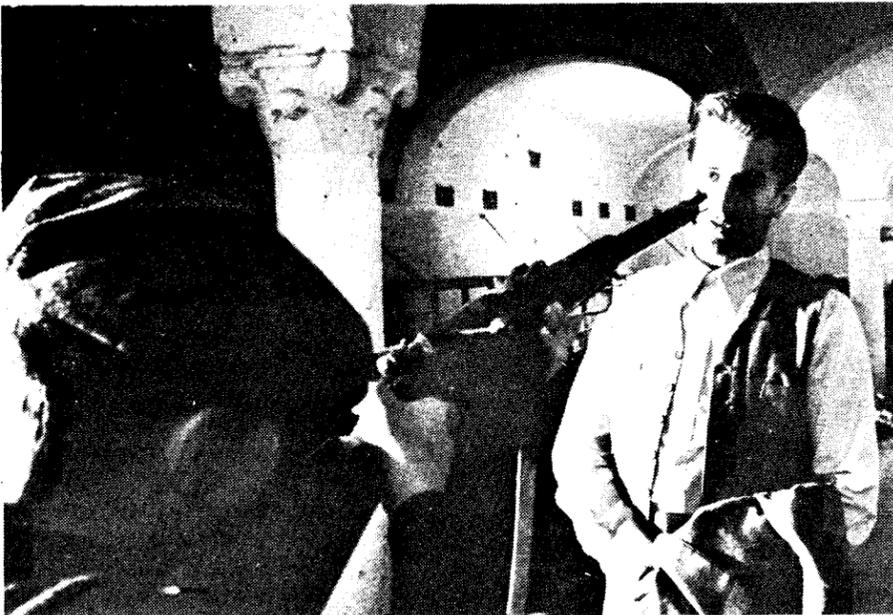
scene of the year 1900, when the death of Verdi is proclaimed by a character in motley named Rigoletto, to the playing of the "Internationale" as a funeral dirge with the victory of fascism, the costumed choreography and broad dramatic style of *1900* put it closer to a class-struggle Italian opera than to slice-of-life neo-realism.

In narrative structure *1900* is divided into two parts. The first is open, bright, fluid, epic; the second is darker, constricted, a narrative form closer to the psychological novel. The film's symbolic architecture supports its political themes. The peasants harvest a largely symbolic landscape. The golden summer days of Emilia are not only the summer of childhood, but also the summer of the class struggle. The mythic resist the forces of modernization, but neither can stop the capitalization of the estate carried on by the

Atila the fascist at first timidly and then aggressively picks up the priest's collection basket, gripping both the Church and the bourgeoisie.

With the rise of fascism, summer is pushed from the screen. Gone are the days when the fathers could know one another and the children easily crossed the barriers of social class in play. The fog rolls across the screen; storm clouds gather. It is Italy's winter of suffering and death.

The symbolic structure and stylized peasant tableaux looking like Breughel paintings repel those whose ideology demands "socialist realism." Irwin Silber, for instance, reviewing *1900* for the Maoist *Guardian* (7 December 1977), complains that while "*1900* takes a firm class stand,"... "it is not completely satisfying." This Stalinist hack is uneasy because the film is not sufficiently realistic: the peasants are



"Long live Stalin," says a young partisan as he captures the Padrone.



Gerard Depardieu and Robert DeNiro as Olmo and Alfredo.

second generation, and the proletarianization of the peasantry. Myth gives way to class confrontation.

As the protagonists reach maturity and grow into their social roles, the class conflict ripens and the classes they represent become more politically conscious. When the peasants' wages are cut in half after a bad harvest, they strike. In a stirring sequence of resistance, the peasant women—led by Anita and armed with little more than courage and song—turn back the troops.

In response to the growing organization of the peasants and workers, the landowners, including Alfredo's father, decide to back the fascist movement. In one of the film's most penetrating political scenes, the landowners meet in an ornate cathedral to initiate the fascist movement with their financial backing. One of the landowners offers a "sermon," saying that "Bolsheviks are semi-Asiatics." And

not dirty enough; they do not work hard enough; they are not hungry enough. Those not constrained by "socialist realist" blinders, however, will not fail to appreciate Bertolucci's portrayal of the peasants' misery through his evocative techniques—for instance, the scene in which a peasant father, unable to put food on the table, tries to feed his children with melody played on his homemade flute.

Silber complains that Bertolucci does what Bertolucci does best: submit the decadence of the bourgeoisie to visual examination. Silber finds him too "fascinated" with "the moral rot of capitalism," and wants him to instead film "the new mode of morality being born among the revolutionary masses." His preference for "socialist realism" and cinematic naturalism is not just a matter of taste, but represents a longing for the "good old days" when, as Mayakovsky said, "the State Planning

authority/could sweat/figuring out my quotas for the year."

Treachery Under the Bandiera Rossa

All of the political action and pictorial history of *1900* moves toward the scene on Liberation Day 1945 when the peasants take over the estate of the master, Padrone Berlinghieri. It is also the obligatory confrontation between the protagonists whose social antagonism and lasting friendship the film has traced from childhood. By 1945 Alfredo the padrone and Olmo the Communist, the heroes who have been the empathetic subjects for most of the film, are pushed into the background by the farm laborers. The style of this scene shifts to a Brechtian "problem play" in which the "alienated audience" is asked to make political judgements on the dramatic action. Bertolucci says that this scene is "where the key to the whole film is, for me." It is "that crucial moment when the peasants take power on that famous April 25th... take over power in the film itself."

The peasants fiercely humiliate their fascist tormentors and execute the central fascist character, Atila. Under the direction of Olmo, who has returned to the village as a heroic PCI partisan, they put Alfredo on trial. A huge patchwork of red flags and banners is dug up and unfurled for the occasion, forming an enormous canopy for the outdoor "court." The band strikes up "Bandiera Rossa" and a joyous dance is held beneath the fluttering red sky of hammers and sickles.

At the trial the peasants present Alfredo with a litany of the human cost of exploitation. One man holds up his hand, fingers missing; a toothless old woman shrieks, "The padrone still has all his teeth. He can munch with them all day long." When Alfredo answers the charges from a well of sanctimonious solipsism, "All I can say is I've never hurt anyone," he is met with bitter hoots of outrage. However, Alfredo is saved by his lifelong friend and prosecutor, Olmo, who tells the peasants:

"The Padrone is a dead man... The Padrone is dead, but Alfredo Berlinghieri is alive and we mustn't kill him because he's the living proof that the Padrone's dead."

Olmo's important political act, however, is not merely to rescue an individual member of the ruling class—an action which, depending on the circumstances, might be trivial or even laudable. Rather, the crucial role of the PCI functionary is to participate in his party's rescue of the Italian bourgeoisie from the masses' revolutionary fury. Olmo's task is to get the peasants to disarm.

Immediately after the conclusion of the trial, the representatives of the Committee of National Liberation (CLN) arrive on the scene. Announcing they will "maintain law and order," they demand the peasants turn over their weapons. The peasants refuse to turn in their guns. They say they have heard such demands before and they are "bullshit." But Olmo intervenes:

"Comrades, the moment of truth arrives... Everyone must get sober, put head and heart under the faucet... Remember if there's evidence to persuade us that the Padrone's still there we must say, 'no,' anyway. Because we know, we saw all of us, we know the truth: the Padrone's dead."

At the end of this speech Olmo empties his rifle in the air and throws it onto the CLN truck, a gesture imitated by the peasants.

But the youth, Leonida, who captured the padrone, does not offer his weapon to the CLN. For his reluctance he is cuffed by a CLN carabinieri and has his rifle taken away. He cries, "And Alfredo, who understands what has just happened, says, 'The Padrone is still alive.' Indeed he is. Only the sign

continued on page 8

(continued from page 7)

that reads "Berlinghieri" has been toppled as the youthful peasants rush from the screen under the tent of red flags they carry in the wind. The camera pulls away from the scene until the audience is presented with the perspective of vast empty space at the center of which are two men haggling and fighting. Or are they embracing?

Bertolucci vs. Bertolucci?

This scene builds enormous political sympathy for the militant impulses of the peasants who have undergone such suffering and who do not want to let go of their guns at the moment of victory. It is at least ambiguous in the depiction of the political role of Olmo. The sophistry of his speeches is exposed by an old peasant woman who counters his "explanation" of how the Padrone is both alive and "dead":

"Olmo, you learned how to think better than a peasant. But you should explain with simple talk. That educated talk can play tricks."

Alfredo's line, "The Padrone is still alive," is charged with political meaning. And the humiliation of young Leonida seems calculated to emphasize the loss of revolutionary will by the "mature" Olmo, the PCI organizer.

Here, then, is the contradiction between Bertolucci's political line and his artistic integrity. The entire scene is one of Olmo's betrayal. Yet this is not how Bertolucci the PCI member intends or understands the scene:

"I tried to show the 25th of April as a moment of victory and also a moment in the peasants' dream. On Liberation Day, the peasants enact the utopia of revolution."

Far from being a betrayal of any real revolutionary opportunity, Bertolucci argues, the PCI-dominated CLN and Olmo represent political reality; the peasants stand for an unrealizable political "utopia." He identifies the "utopianism" as the peasants' failure to grasp the Stalinist view of the "reality" of World War II: that it was not an inter-imperialist war but simply an "anti-fascist" war. The enemy was not the bourgeoisie but fascism, he explains. In that context, ideas about revolution are illusions:

"In the last half hour there is the illusion of revolution, and I think it is the best part of the movie. The peasants believe that instead of having won the war against the fascists, they have won the war against capitalism. We arrive at a conclusion which lasts as long as the life of a butterfly, one day—it ends in the evening when the CLN asks for all the weapons back."

To the reformist, the revolution can never be more than a beautiful idea, as ephemeral as the life of a butterfly. For Bertolucci, it is necessary to stand politically with "reality." And this "reality" is defined by the Stalinist tradition of class collaboration and the popular front. In 1945 it was the "patriotic war against fascism"; today it is the "Historic Compromise" through which the PCI binds the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. Asked point-blank, "Are you in favor of the 'Historic Compromise'?", Bertolucci replied:

"Yes, I believe in the Historic Compromise. Politicians do not want to accept it but it already exists, as you can see."

Bertolucci elaborated his political intentions in *1900* most explicitly in an interview in *Film Comment* magazine (November-December 1977):

"Extremists to the left of the PCI say that Togliatti who was the leader of the PCI at that time sold the people in the sense that in 1945 it was possible to have the revolution to take power. It's true, but it would have lasted three days, and then the PCI which had suffered so much and had suffered so many losses during the war would have disappeared for another 50 years. So Togliatti decided to return the arms. And Olmo who disappeared for several years, you don't know where he's gone, he's almost a party functionary when he returns. He's changed. And he does two things which are apparently contradictory, but



Bernardo Bertolucci

really aren't. He tells the peasants they have to put the Padrone, the landowner on trial—which is a utopian perspective, but also revolutionary—and the peasants experience a re-awakening of consciousness, they understand something new. On the other hand the peasants don't want to surrender their arms. And Olmo speaking with the charisma of the leader makes them do it. These two things seem contradictory but I don't think they are. It's the line of Togliatti which continues down through Berlinguer, going ahead without giving in to any extremist tendencies which could jeopardize the gains made."

Class collaboration and class betrayal are indeed the line of the PCI from Togliatti through Berlinguer.

History Imitates Art

As a work of art *1900* directed by Bertolucci the filmmaker is at war with politics as perceived by Bertolucci the Stalinist. For although he argues that the revolutionary impulses of the workers have no place in the real world, he cannot hide the significant historical truth of how those impulses were betrayed by the Communist Party, represented by Olmo. Bertolucci pays homage to the entrenched Stalinist tradition that revolution against capitalism was not on the order of the day in World War II. But by vividly portraying the confrontation between the PCI and its base on the day of "Liberation," he comes close to the real political drama of history.

It was with bands and music and red flags that the PCI convinced the masses to turn in their guns, thus sacrificing the revolutionary opportunities that lay palpably in their hands.

What did happen on "Liberation Day," 25 April 1945? What were the real historic possibilities? Did the PCI's line represent a strategic appreciation of political reality, as Bertolucci claims, or was Stalinism guilty of a monumental betrayal, not only of the peasants' dreams but of the revolutionary possibilities of life itself?

Was it a utopian dream to think that the capitalists could be defeated by the forces of the Italian proletariat? By 1943 it was clear that the fascists would be defeated. Who was to rule Italy? Mussolini was replaced in 1943 by the Fascist Grand Council, the officer corps and assorted monarchists led by Marshal Badoglio with King Victor Emanuel in tow. But this government had almost no support among the masses of Italians.

The Resistance in Italy is estimated to have had over 180,000 armed partisans in the field. Its political arm, the Committee of National Liberation, had the support of the workers and peasants. The CLN was a political coalition between the workers organizations and

the "anti-fascist bourgeoisie," including the monarchists, and under its program. Although the PCI was the best financed and best organized force in the CLN, and in the proletarian North also a numerical majority, the Stalinists were the best supporters of this monarchist government.

The British and Americans, vying between themselves for control of Italy, did not think that the overthrow of capitalism was a "utopian dream." They were quite worried about Italy "becoming another Yugoslavia or Greece" and they knew that the fascist collaborator Badoglio could not be maintained in power. Roosevelt was prepared to dump him. But Stalin came to Badoglio's rescue.

On 7 December 1944 the Protocols of Rome were signed, promising that the Resistance would hand over political power to the Allied Military Command and remain under its command even after "Liberation." With this shameful policy the Americans gained a crucial instrument of influence in Italy, and the Italian bourgeoisie got a new lease on life.

But a problem remained, and it was frightening to the U.S. imperialists: the Italian proletariat was armed. It was one thing to make promises and another to disarm an entire population. This task could not have been accomplished without the active collaboration of the PCI.

When Allied forces marched into

CORRECTIONS

The article "French Popular Front on the Rocks?" (*WV* No. 176, 7 October 1977) states that the slogan of the "fighting popular front" was centrally "associated with the centrists around the PSOP of Marceau Pivert." While this slogan was indeed linked to Pivert, at the time it gained currency (in late 1935 and 1936) he was still within the Socialist Party, having formed the "Revolutionary Left" in order to block the growth of the Trotskyists. The PSOP was formed only after Pivert and his cohorts were expelled from the Socialist Party in 1938.

"Jury Declares Bennie Lenard Innocent" (*WV* No. 179, 28 October 1977) incorrectly referred to a motion by UAW Local 6 for a demonstration at the trial opening. Instead a leaflet calling for a demonstration was approved by the Local 6 Fair Employment Practices Committee. And rather than a spokesman for the Local 6 Bennie Lenard Defense Committee attempting to suppress SL and Partisan Defense Committee chants at the demonstration, it was a leader of the unofficial Chicago-Area Bennie Lenard Defense Committee.

In "Chicago U. of Illinois Arrests SYL Spokesman" (*WV* No. 184, 2 December 1977) we mistakenly listed the American Federation of Teachers Local 3500 as an endorser of the defense of Sandor John. The endorser was Frederick Blum, vice president of AFT Local 3500, whose endorsement of the Ad Hoc Committee to Stop Administration Harassment at the Chicago Circle campus should list his organization for identification purposes only.

The article "Miller Selling Out Miners' Right to Strike" (*WV* No. 186, 23 December 1977) refers to a "six-day" extension of the western strip miners' 1974 contract. The extension was for 60 days.

In *WV* No. 187 (6 January 1978) the fund appeal for Philip Allen mistakenly reported Allen as "a third year law student." He is a third year undergraduate student at Santa Barbara (University of California), studying law. In the same issue a photograph identified as Alexei Rykov in the article "The Final Split with the Mensheviks" was in fact a picture of I. Impazmin, an aide to Trotsky.

Rome in 1944 they were greeted by an armed populace in red shirts, waving red armbands, who had already set up local administrative organizations. The Allied Command knew that the problem they faced in Rome was only a pale reflection of what might be expected from the centers of leftist partisan fighters in the North. In Emilia, the province that is the setting for *1900*, the peasants were in their mass supporters of the PCI partisan groups. "In Emilia," writes Charles Delzell in *Mussolini's Enemies*, "civilians competed in gathering clothing and equipment" for the partisans in the nearby mountains. For these concrete acts of support to the "Red Star" partisans, this area became the target of some of the worst massacres by the fascists of the entire campaign. While this was not Eastern Europe, where fascism brought the genocide of whole populations, Delzell estimates that more than 1,800 civilians were slaughtered by the fascists in reprisal.

What really struck fear into the hearts of the bourgeoisie were the organized armed workers in the industrial centers of the North. And they had good reason to be afraid. In Milan 60,000 workers took control of the city on April 24. They set up workers councils and brought the fascists and many collaborators to swift justice. Turin was similarly taken over and thousands of fascists were executed. According to Gabriel Kolko (*The Politics of War*), "Throughout Northern Italy the Resistance was in control everywhere... and in power." Yet by the first week in June the Resistance had dissolved itself and the Allied Military Command could report with obvious delight: "The CLNAI [CLN of Northern Italy] has lived up to the agreements made prior to occupation and has cooperated insofar as possible" (Coles and Weinberg, *Civil Affairs*).

The PCI led political actions which provide a most remarkable correlation between the drama of history and the drama of *1900*. The PCI organized "stand down parades" on the direction of the Allies. These parades were carried out to music under the waving red flags of the PCI. These "celebrations," where red flags waved in every city that contained significant forces of armed proletarian resistance, were climaxed by the workers turning in their guns. The U.S. 15th Army orders to the CLN called for the parade to be "replete with flags and bands at the end of which the patriots should turn in their weapons. Such ceremonies should appear to be the result of patriotic initiative" (*Mussolini's Enemies*).

On April 25, Liberation Day, in Bologna—the center of armed resistance nearest the farms that are the setting for *1900*—a "stand down parade" of 15,000 was held. In the reviewing stand, waiting to receive the arms, was Prince Humbert and Generals Clark and Hume. Doubtless the strains of "Bandiera Rossa" filled the air as the weapons were relinquished, much as in *1900*.

It is important to understand that this act of betrayal by the PCI was no momentary failure of nerve. Turning in the weapons was the logical culmination of the policy of the popular front, in which the Stalinist bureaucrats led the workers behind the political program of the bourgeoisie. Though this policy of class collaboration was most often presented as necessary to fight fascism, the case of Italy shows the Stalinists actually aiding the fascists in order to preserve their deal with the capitalists and restore the capitalist order under the flying red flags. In Italy as elsewhere the fight against fascism meant the struggle for proletarian revolution—a struggle the Stalinists had no intention of undertaking. The "great patriotic war against fascism" meant patriotism, the alliance with the bourgeoisie, the refurbishing of discredited fascist collaborators, the bloc with the imperialist occupation which stepped into the

power vacuum when the fascists had fled. It is this strategy of class collaboration which is carried forward in the PCI's "Historic Compromise," the "Eurocommunist" version of the sellout line which remains the same under its many names: the People's Front, the anti-monopoly coalition, the United Front Against Fascism. It is this assumption that only class collaboration is "realistic" that turns the working people's pro-socialist militancy into the fleeting image of a butterfly for Bertolucci.

Cycle of Betrayal

Bertolucci has "looked truth in the eyes" at least imaginatively in presenting the role of Olmo and the PCI. But politically he must worship the accomplished fact. He presents the class struggle itself as something akin to the seasons—elemental and eternal. The spring of "Liberation Day" is the eternal rebirth of the revolution as an idea. For Bertolucci, the class struggle which shapes and defines individual and collective human history goes on forever. For Bertolucci, whose political vision is fogged by reformism, the revolution appears as a beautiful utopian idea in an essentially cyclical reality. But those who see the class struggle at its critical junctures as the *struggle for power*, leading ultimately to the end of class society, have a clear view of Olmo's betrayal.

The ambiguity of the friendly fight between Olmo and Alfredo can be understood only in the light of Bertolucci's politics. The central political event forms the basis for interpreting the continuous image of the two men fighting playfully from youth to old age. Having created these characters as symbols of opposing social classes, Bertolucci clearly sees their relationship as a kind of friendly conflict down the road of history, in which each saves the other. For Bertolucci, Olmo the PCI proletarian and Alfredo the bourgeois form a kind of intricate allegory of the Historic Compromise.

Understanding the "contradictory" character of the Liberation Day scene, Bertolucci has tacked on an epilogue which takes place thirty years later. In this scene, which begins with the two old men jostling and cuffing one another, Alfredo commits suicide by lying down on the railroad tracks which were the site of a test of courage between the two adolescent boys. The epilogue is clearly meant to balance the scene of Olmo's betrayal, but it doesn't work. It is even a bit ridiculous. Bertolucci explains:

"When Olmo takes him out of the farmyard, we see that the two of them are haggling with each other. This is the class struggle that continues even when they're old, until the moment when the boss understands that there's nothing else he can do to change what's going on. The bourgeoisie is self-destructive."

This is Bertolucci's pathetic excuse for a revolutionary perspective: the ancient falsehood that the bourgeoisie will destroy itself. Bertolucci is fond of quoting Gramsci's famous phrase, "the

pessimism of intelligence, the optimism of will." But revolutionary will exists as an organized force in the real world; it is not a dream.

The problem and also the interest of *1900* is that as a work of art it is at war with reality. The scenes of Olmo's betrayal carry great emotional impact. This makes the film nearly impenetrable to those who accept Bertolucci's stated view of historical necessity and political reality. If Olmo and the CLN did what was necessary, why is the emotional impact loaded against them? This is an unanswerable question if one has Bertolucci's politics, except to say the film is a failure.

Liberals and Stalinists who accept the "necessity" of the popular front in World War II agree with Bertolucci's pronouncements that proletarian revolution was impossible. The pervasive assumption of class collaboration generates a self-serving and fundamentally false conception of historical necessity, hence of political reality. With popular frontism as the frame of reference, revolution is utopian. But this is not the "pessimism of intelligence"; it is the practice of the "big lie" long endured. Bertolucci argues that his film represents the inevitable popular-front reality, but the film in its most powerful scenes makes a different argument.

An artist who accepts this twisted view finds himself in a self-defeating bind far more subtle than the crude mechanics of public mendacity projected by *1984*. Bertolucci accepts self-serving Stalinist myth as fact—a fact in large measure accomplished by reform-

ist betrayal. But as an artist his sympathy is not for what is, but for what can be in the revolutionary future. This sympathy he calls utopia, or dream, or illusion, or "the scent of revolution." Because his fluid imagination stands with the impulse for revolution, he gives his film over to that impulse: to the armed peasants, to the youth, to Leonida, who has chosen the "partisan name" Olmo.

It is Leonida, the peasant youth under whose rifle the padrone was arrested at the beginning of the film, who is left disarmed and weeping at the end. He is hurt not by the slap he takes from the carabinieri, but by the betrayal of his namesake and hero. The camera picks up Olmo's face in a painful instant of self-doubt as he sees Leonida in tears. The boy's rough dignity recalls Olmo's youth. If Leonida contains the naïveté of youth, he is also the spark of the revolution betrayed. Olmo the experienced PCI functionary has betrayed "Olmo" the boy who does not believe that revolution is one last tango under the red flag. This is a moment of nearly perfect ambiguity in a cycle of betrayal that ends with the self. For Bertolucci the artist of revolution and Bertolucci the Stalinist apologist for class treason, there may have been many such moments making *1900*—when Bertolucci looking at Olmo looking at Olmo's youth had to decide what was true. As Bertolucci the movie director said: "It's when you put yourself in front of reality and film it that you start to understand what you'd wanted to say, what you intuited but maybe hadn't understood yet." And not yet. ■

Free Them Now!

N.C. Governor: More Jail for Wilmington Ten

North Carolina Governor James Hunt responded January 23 to the international campaign demanding a full pardon for the Wilmington 10 by announcing that these victims of a racist frame-up would remain locked up. Even after reviewing statements by the prosecution's three key witnesses, who have all admitted perjuring themselves, testifying that their original statements under oath had been dictated and purchased by the prosecuting attorney, Hunt "concluded that there was a fair trial..." (*New York Times*, 24 January 1978).

The revelations last year detailing the bribery and perjury have so discredited the railroad convictions of the Wilmington 10 that even the liberal media feel constrained to pay lip service to their cause. A 21 May 1977 *New York Times* editorial termed a state court refusal to grant the victimized civil rights activists a new trial "breathhtaking" and demanded a U.S. Justice Department investigation. Hunt's answer to the protests was a minimal reduction of the lengthy prison terms the nine remaining jailed black activists are serving, enabling them to become eligible for parole in periods ranging from four months to two years (one of the original defendants—the sole white woman—was recently paroled).

Hunt's whitewash of North Carolina racist "justice" is outrageous. His token gesture of "compassion" is insult added to injury. Even should the Wilmington 10 be granted parole, it would not constitute a victory. After parole, the public activities of these innocent victims would be strictly circumscribed. Their rights to travel and, most importantly, to engage in any political activity

would be severely restricted on pain of an immediate revocation of parole and return to prison. They would effectively be muzzled.

The Wilmington 10 frame-up has been a six-year vendetta against the civil rights activists. It began in 1971 when the state of North Carolina responded to a series of black protests against the wave of cop and vigilante terror known as the "siege of Wilmington." During the assault, a white-owned grocery store burned down. A full year later prominent black activist Rev. Ben Chavis and nine others were charged and convicted of conspiracy to commit arson. In the three years prior to the 1972 trial, no less than 78 separate and phony charges had been lodged against Chavis—all of which were dropped—before the state finally succeeded in railroading him into prison.

North Carolina's legal persecution of the Wilmington 10 is one of the most notorious examples of the racist nature of capitalist class "justice." Unfortunately, the Communist Party-dominated National Alliance Against Racial and Political Repression (NAARPR) has tied its defense to the CP's reformist faith in the "progressive" bourgeoisie. In its efforts to appeal to liberals, it has even raised Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" slogan as a political basis to join the Wilmington 10 defense.

An activist campaign based on mobilizing labor and the black masses would never have allowed the Wilmington 10 to spend five years in jail. Now that the growing protest has reached worldwide proportions, they must not stay behind bars a minute longer. Free the Wilmington 10 now! ■

For a Joint Coal/Steel Strike...

(continued from page 5)

cratic procedures by Chico is not surprising. The Local 65 president is running scared. U.S. Steel Co. has made clear that Southworks is a prime target for any future layoffs or shutdowns unless the plant begins to grind out more profits. Eager to collaborate with company measures to step up productivity and improve "discipline," Chico's bureaucratic measures are intended to give him enhanced powers to quash any rebellion within the ranks against his hand-holding with U.S. Steel.

Chico was at least until recently closely associated with the Sadlowski/Balanoff camp. These bureaucratic "reformers" chatter endlessly about "union democracy" when they run for office, but when in power they are just as ruthless in suppressing the membership as the Abels and McBrides. The Chico regime in Local 65 is only a smaller version of what a Sadlowski-run International would look like. Chico's blatant attacks on union democracy are a real embarrassment for the supporters of SOS, NSRFC and "Breakout," who all climbed aboard his bandwagon as part of their support to Sadlowski. But while they today try to forget about this betrayal, their shameful behavior at the Local meeting shows they can still be counted on to line up with the labor fakers against calls for militant action.

For a Class-Struggle Opposition!

The record of Arnold Miller, leader of the now defunct "Miners for Democracy," is another glaring demonstration that militants must place no confidence in *any* wing of the bureaucracy to place the unions in the hands of the ranks. The central need of both mine workers and steel workers is to forge an authoritative opposition on a solid class-struggle program instead of chasing after every opportunist who mouths a few words like "democracy" or "fightback." The Knight/Lewis leaflet pointed out:

At every turn the trade union bureaucracy has stood on the side of company profit, 'productivity' and labor peace in the face of vicious attacks. UMWA President Arnold Miller—the Sadlowski of the coal fields—has made clear his willingness to betray the miners' demand for the right to strike. This treachery is but a continuation of his repeated efforts to crush the wildcats in the mines....

For steel workers and mine workers alike, the struggle to replace these pro-capitalist labor fakers with a class-struggle leadership is a crucial necessity. The hallmark of such a leadership must be its commitment to international labor solidarity and its determination to break the labor movement from all reliance on the strikebreaking government and its Democratic and Republican parties. This government occupied Gary to break the 1919 steel strike, and its police gunned down our brothers in the Memorial Day Massacre. In the trench warfare of Stearns, Kentucky where miners have been fighting for union recognition, the government's policies have likewise been written in blood....

We must break from the political parties of capitalism and build our own party, based firmly on the trade unions and committed to the struggle for a workers government. Only such a government will expropriate basic industry and the banks and establish a planned economy to eliminate unemployment, inflation and poverty—the permanent features of capitalist production.

Victory to the UMWA strike! Hot cargo scab coal!

For a USWA/UMWA joint strike to smash the anti-labor offensive!

For a workers party fighting for a workers government!

Workers Vanguard

MARXIST WORKING-CLASS WEEKLY OF THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE

One year subscription (48 issues) \$5—
Introductory offer (16 issues) \$2 International rates 48 issues—\$20 airmail/\$5 sea mail, 16 introductory issues—\$5 airmail
Make checks payable/mail to Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10001

—includes SPARTACIST

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

191

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

Begin, Sadat...

(continued from page 1)

iation" raids against civilian Arab populations in the 1950's, Sharon is also known for his ambitions to settle 2 million additional Jews in the occupied territories by the year 2000. As Jewish immigration to Israel has already dried up and in some months is less than emigration (à la Rhodesia) Sharon needs new anti-Semitic atrocities to fulfill his ambitions. At a January 8 cabinet meeting even Sharon's short-term plans ran aground as his proposal was shelved. However, expansion of existing settlements was endorsed.

Settlements in the Sinai were planned after the 1967 war by Moshe Dayan for the "Labor" government to fulfill military functions as well as being bridgeheads for Zionist expansion. The concentration of settlements in the Rafiah serves to sever Gaza from the rest of the Sinai as well as constituting a fortification along what would be the most accessible invasion route from Egypt into Israel. Other settlements in the Sinai are scattered along the coast of the Gulf of Aqaba from Elath to Sharm-el-Sheik and serve as a defense perimeter to protect Israel's access to the Red Sea. Succinctly summing up the expansionist character of these settlements, Golda Meir, when she was prime minister, stated: "The frontier is where Jews live, not where there is a line on a map."

The Rafiah settlements have a particularly squalid history. "Thousands of Bedouins were evicted by force from land occupied for many generations.... The expropriation was accompanied by considerable brutality. Tents were burned, wells closed, houses destroyed by bulldozers, orchards damaged" (Noam Chomsky, "The Interim Sinai Agreement," *New Politics*, Winter 1976). This became public knowledge through the protests of a neighboring settlement run by the "left-wing" Zionist Mapam. But Mapam showed how threadbare its left-wing credentials are by continuing to advocate settlements on the confiscated lands for "legitimate" security reasons (see Odea Lifschitz, "Democracy Ends At Pithat Rafiah," *New Outlook*, September 1975). Another so-called Israeli "left-winger" and Zionist dove Arie Eliav, who heads a little personality cult called the Independent Socialists, in his book *Land Of The Heart* (1974) wrote that the Gaza should not have a common border with Egypt and Israel should permanently occupy northeastern Sinai.

Palestinian Arabs of "Eretz Israel"

If the "military committee" meetings could get nowhere because of irreconcilable differences over the Israeli settlements, an agenda could not even be agreed upon for the "political committee" meetings scheduled to begin January 16. As demonstrated by the battles of the flags and name plates at the mid-December Cairo conference, even token acknowledgement of Palestinian na-

tional rights calls into question the legitimacy of the Zionist state, which was created through denial of the Palestinian right to self-determination and the continued oppression of the Palestinian nation.

Two of the three agenda points for the Jerusalem foreign ministers meeting, a statement of "principles" for further negotiations and "the nature of the peace," were so vague as to cause no problems. But the third agenda point regarding the fate of the 1.1 million Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza produced a cold split. The Egyptians wanted this point listed simply as the "Palestinian question," whereas Begin & Co. provocatively insisted upon "Palestinian Arabs in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District." Since Judea and Samaria are biblical names for Jewish

right to self-determination." Since an end to the military occupation of lands conquered in the 1967 war and Palestinian self-determination are precisely what no Zionist is willing to give, especially hard-line right-wing Zionists like Begin, the Israeli leader was particularly miffed.

At an elaborate dinner purportedly in "honor" of Egyptian and American delegations Begin accomplished in his "toast" what he was unable to do by squabbling over the agenda. Referring to Kamel, who has 22 years of diplomatic experience in the Egyptian foreign service, as a "young man" Begin lectured him on the misuse of "that wonderful concept of self-determination" which led to World War II. Clearly implicit was the analogy between Egypt's advocacy of Palestinian self-determination



Zionist ultras from occupied Sinai demonstrate against Israeli withdrawal.

kingdoms located on the West Bank, contained within a purported agenda point is the assertion that the West Bank is a historic part of the Jewish kingdom of Eretz Israel (Greater Israel) in which the Palestinians are but an Arab-speaking minority.

Begin insisted upon this formulation knowing full well that it would be rejected by the Egyptians, with perhaps the desired results of aborting the "political committee" meeting and placing the blame on Egypt. U.S. imperialism frowned upon this agenda squabble between its client Begin and its client-aspirant Sadat by delaying Vance's departure to Jerusalem. After what must have been many hours of abstruse haggling an agreement was reached to refer to the third agenda point merely as the "West Bank and Gaza Strip" in every version of the agenda except the Hebrew where "Judea" and "Samaria" were retained.

But the agenda "war" was settled only to open the road to a propaganda war. Upon his arrival at Ben Gurion International Airport Egyptian foreign minister Kamel immediately challenged the Zionist rulers by announcing, "there can be no peace with occupation of land. There can be no peace with the denial of the national rights of the Palestinian people, foremost among which is the

with Nazi Germany's advocacy of self-determination for the Sudeten Germans.

Begin, a political gangster, shares with other criminals the nasty habit of calling their victims "thief." For it is the Zionists, from the Likud to Mapam, from Sharon and Begin to Eliav, who have misused the right to self-determination to carry out a policy of expanding Jewish *Lebensraum* through forcible dispersal of the Palestinians. If there has not yet been a genocidal holocaust against the Palestinians, it is only because the Zionists have up to now lacked the means.

U.S. Policy: For the Rebirth of the Baghdad Pact?

Confronted with Begin's hypocritical and diplomatically atrocious "toast" Sadat withdrew his foreign minister, aborting the Jerusalem talks. Sadat's action administered another surprise to the Carter administration and its secretary of state, who up to that point was claiming (as he usually does) "progress" towards a "declaration of principles." Now that the Jerusalem talks have broken down U.S. officials are making even more optimistic reports about an Egyptian-Israeli agreement on such a declaration. No doubt one reason Sadat is being summoned to Washington and the presidential "retreat" at Camp David is to discourage him from conducting more "shock" diplomacy, especially when his shocks are administered to Egypt's sought-after patrons and conflict with the pronouncements of high U.S. government officials.

Harmonization of diplomatic strategy between the U.S. and its new client in Cairo has its military side also. After the collapse of the Jerusalem talks Vance hurried off to Cairo only to be solicited by Sadat to be equipped by Washington "with every armament" that they had been shipping to Israel. For now Carter does not intend to equip Egypt with every armament given Israel. Nevertheless Carter does want to arrange the first U.S. jet fighter sale to Egypt. In order to test the waters a small number of jet fighters have already been sold to Egypt's ally, the Sudan. The fighter involved is far less advanced than the F-

15 and F-16's the U.S. sells to Israel. The U.S. is using arms not to equip Egypt to presently fight a war with Israel but to cement a new client state relationship and to bring pressure to bear on Israel. Additional pressure on the "Zionist fortress" is being brought to bear by arms sales to Saudi Arabia, since Saudi Arabia appears to the U.S. to be a stable ally and can pay hard cash or barter much-needed oil.

The Egyptian card alone is not enough to produce an imperialist-imposed settlement in the Near East. The U.S., at first non-plussed by the Sadat "peace" initiative, now seems to have decided to exploit it to attempt to build a reactionary alliance with Egypt and the monarchial regimes in the Near East: Iran, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf sheikhdoms. Carter's recent globe-trotting in the Near East appears to be aimed at recreating the Baghdad Pact—its immediate object being to woo Jordan's King Hussein into direct negotiations with Israel. But Hussein while unequalled as a faithful and reactionary servant of U.S. imperialism also has learned certain lessons from the history of the region. His grandfather Abdullah was assassinated by a Palestinian nationalist for conducting secret negotiations with the Zionists in the very mosque Sadat prayed at when he made his *hadj* (pilgrimage) to Jerusalem. Hussein himself was almost overthrown by a coup when the British tried to drag him into the Baghdad Pact. Therefore he is cautious though not unwilling to follow in Sadat's footsteps.

According to the *Washington Post* of 14 January, Jordanian officials fear that if Sadat's "peace initiative" fails it will engender "upheavals and convulsions" throughout the region, including the oil-producing countries. The U.S.'s new Baghdad Pact, like that of the 1950's, is still based on regimes that are as fragile as they are reactionary, based on imperialist-imposed dynasties and a narrow "ruling class" literally restricted to a single extended family.

Sadat's diplomatic grand gesture in visiting Jerusalem indicated a desire for a separate peace with Israel, all his rhetoric about Palestinian national rights notwithstanding. However, Begin is taking a hard-line position not only formally on the Palestinian question, but even in regard to evacuating the Sinai. Despite Sadat's evident willingness to make concessions, Begin has given him almost no room to maneuver. Although Washington would undoubtedly like to see a separate Egypt-Israel peace agreement at this time, Carter is very unlikely to impose the kind of sanctions (such as a major cutback in military aid) which could force the Zionist rulers to make significant concessions to Sadat.

However, a separate Egypt-Israel accord would not bring peace to the Near East. Quite the contrary, it could quickly lead to a clash between Israel, supported by U.S. imperialism, and Syria, a Soviet client state. Thus a Washington-arranged Sadat-Begin pact, though now unlikely, could well provoke an escalation into global nuclear confrontation. Only the revolutionary intervention of the Arab and Hebrew working class, united under the banner of a reformed Fourth International, can sweep aside the Begins, Sadats, Husseins and Assads, opening the road to national justice for the Palestinians and social justice for the oppressed toilers of the Near East. ■



Arafat (left) and Sadat

Gamma

National Liberation and Socialist Revolution in the Near East

Sadat/Begin Peace Talks Prepare New War

Speaker: Reuben Samuels
Spartacist League

Saturday, February 11 7:30 p.m.
Lehman Auditorium, Barnard College
116th and Broadway

NEW YORK CITY

For more information, call: (212) 925-5665
Sponsored by Columbia/Barnard
Spartacus Youth League
Donation \$1.00

WORKERS VANGUARD

Coal Strike...

(continued from page 12)

times as much as that from coal. In addition, companies with millions invested in high-tension cable, pylons and transformers fear the miners' possible response to such a move. As an Energy Department official told the *New York Times* (January 21), "If I were a union miner who was very successful stopping delivery trucks, I'd be pretty upset if companies started shipping coal by wire."

With the weather breaking in the coal-mining areas, the caravans of roving pickets which have been so prominent in the strike will set out again to keep scab coal off the roads and in the ground. But with their strike finally beginning to hit big coal customers hard, the miners will be confronted with increasing and violent assaults. One retired miner has already been killed by a company guard in a cold-blooded picket-line murder in east Kentucky. Another miner died in mysterious circumstances when he was shoved in the path of an onrushing truck on an interstate highway near Morgantown, West Virginia.

Though the White House is still stymied as to how to effectively end the strike, several federal agencies have teamed up with state and local police to harass and attack the miners. FBI agents and Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau cops are now prowling the coal fields, investigating alleged violations of weapons and explosives statutes. Five West Virginia miners have been charged with dynamiting a railroad track used for hauling stockpiled coal, and the NLRB is investigating charges against pickets at the Norfolk and Western railroad yard near Bluefield, West Virginia.

Hundreds of miners have already been arrested for picketing, and a flurry of court injunctions against mass pickets has been descending in those areas where scab mines are trying to stay open. Governor George Wallace has ordered state troopers to protect Alabama's non-union mines. Thirty miners were arrested and 500 dispersed with tear gas near Mentone, Alabama on January 21. Harassment of miners by Kentucky state troopers is so intense and indiscriminate that strikers told *WV* a mass march on the state capitol is being discussed to demand that Governor Julian Carroll call off his dogs.

As they begin to re-mobilize, a key task for miners remains the election of district-wide strike committees to systematize and extend their picketing efforts. So far, most of the mass picketing has been led by an informal network of local UMWA officers and respected militants, while most regional and International officials keep out of sight. One Ohio miner told *WV*, "Miller's acting like he doesn't want none of this scab coal shut down." A militant in West Virginia's District 17 echoed these sentiments: "Miller doesn't want pickets going into Kentucky to shut those scab mines."

Yet neither of Miller's bureaucratic

opponents in last summer's presidential elections, Harry Patrick or Lee Roy Patterson, has surfaced to help lead the picketing efforts. Miners say that most district officials prove no better. A local president in Ohio's District 6, which has been a center of many of the picketing expeditions, told *WV*, "It kind of sticks in your craw when a guy is sitting up there in the district making \$27,000 and all he's doing is answering the damn phone."

The election of strike committees would be a critical step toward filling the glaring vacuum of leadership in the UMWA. These bodies could also be the vehicle for making authoritative appeals to the members of other unions to rally to the miners' defense. With the strikers facing threats of federal intervention, railroad, transport and steel workers can play a crucial role by refusing to handle coal for the duration of the strike.

As the pressure on the UMWA mounts, miners must also be vigilant against attempts by Miller and his hand-picked negotiators to sell out at the bargaining table what the strikers are trying to win on the picket lines. Through for the first time the BCOA has offered to "fully guarantee" medical benefits, the operators still insist on the unlimited right to fire roving pickets and assess heavy financial penalties on wildcatters. Earlier reports that Miller had agreed to a similar betrayal of the miners' demand of the right to strike had stirred such protests in the coal fields that the UMWA president was forced to back off from his deal.

Miners must continue to demand that their right to strike, a life-and-death issue in the nation's most dangerous industry, not be traded off. The rapidly expanding and fantastically profitable coal industry can easily satisfy the miners' demands for the restoration of adequate health and pension funds. What the coal barons want is to crush the miners' militancy. Neither federal government threats, utility company screams nor Miller's most earnest prayers must deter the coal miners from winning the unlimited right to strike. ■

Down with the Shah...

(continued from page 3)

followed the petty-bourgeois phrasemongers who told them the war was now being fought to defend the revolution. It was for *this* reason that Lenin considered the slogan "Down with the War" inadequate. What he proposed instead was "No support to the Provisional Government" and "Not a parliamentary republic...but a republic of Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Labourers' and Peasants' Deputies throughout the country, from top to bottom" ("The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution," April 1917).

What resemblance can there be between this revolutionary insistence on the need to pose directly the question of proletarian revolution and the SWP's toadying after bourgeois liberals who would be put off by demanding "Down with the Shah"? Where is the parallel between the "inexperienced agitator" who offended backward peasants and anti-Shah demonstrators today? In this self-serving parable the SWP neglects to specify the risk it would be taking by denouncing the Shah. Perhaps they are afraid they would get fewer signatures on CAIFI petitions from liberal anti-communists such as Nat Hentoff.

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League are the real successors to the Bolshevik revolutionary tradition of 1917. We not only join the Maoist demonstrators in demanding "Down with the Shah" but we specify the class character of the revolution which must sweep away the Iranian monarchy: not two-stage revolution, as the Stalinists demand, but "Down with the bloody Pahlevis—For a workers and peasants government in Iran!" (*WV* No. 181, 11 November 1977). The SWP's renunciation of the slogan "Down with the Shah/Tsar" is a fitting encore to their embracing of Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. To the charge of ultraleftism we reply as Trotsky did in 1935: "Coming from opportunists the accusation of sectarianism is most often a compliment." ■

Detroit Fascists...

(continued from page 2)

challenged the heavily armed Nazis to come out: "Show your faces and we'll kick your asses!" In the 15 January *Torch* the RSL pays lip service to mobilizing the unions in the fight against the fascists. It calls on workers to join the "Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee" to get the UAW involved. But this is only token and hypocritical verbiage. Workers at Dodge Truck told *WV* that when the anti-fascist motion was put forward in the Local 140 meeting, RAC supporters neither spoke on the motion nor peeped when it was tabled to the executive board. Leftist pretense withered into abysmal silence.

The only major group on the left to completely abstain from the fight against the Detroit fascists has been the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Together with the liberals of the ACLU and NAACP, the SWP stands for "free speech" of the Nazis and, to date, has not even reported the opening of the Nazi offices in the pages of its weekly newspaper, the *Militant*! At the January 9 ERC meeting, where all participants, even the Southwest Side Better Businessmen's Association, proposed some kind of action against the Nazis, two SWP supporters sat in total silence throughout the meeting. As the Trotskyists of the SL counterposed a militant united-front labor mobilization to the CLP's cringing reliance on the government, the SWPers attempted to

slink out of the room before the meeting adjourned.

The opening of a Nazi office in Detroit is a provocation against the working people and the black masses. It is also a challenge to all groups on the left, demanding a clear-headed strategy to defeat the goose-stepping killers. All but the Spartacist League have failed that test.

But the leaders of Detroit's unions and black organizations bear main responsibility for the failure to mount a militant response. The narrow-minded business unionists who mislead nearly 300,000 Detroit UAW members, who run 143 AFL-CIO locals in the metropolitan area, who head some of the largest Teamster locals in the country, have the resources and power to stop the Nazis cold. Militant unionists must fight the hidebound bureaucrats' paralyzing grip in order to swing their organizations into the fight to smash the Detroit Nazi threat. ■

Oakland Press...

(continued from page 5)

strikers could shut down the *Oakland Press* tight.

A rally in defense of the strike January 5 brought out 500 supporters, proof that the strikers have significant backing in the Pontiac area. The strike and boycott have been endorsed by the UAW, Oakland County AFL-CIO, the National Education Association, AFSCME, the CWA and the NAACP. But if the strike is to be won, the lessons of the *Washington Post* defeat must be learned. Newspaper Guild local president Willard Hutch has said that his members are ready to "break the record" of another Guild strike which lasted six years. With the bureaucrats' boycott strategy, the strikers will be defeated long before that.

Unionists from Pontiac and Detroit must be mobilized for mass picketing to shut down the *Oakland Press* and prevent scab trucks from moving. In the wake of the *Washington Post* debacle, newspaper executives and unionists alike look to every strike as a test of whether the newspaper unions will survive. Mass picketing must be implemented to bring victory to the *Oakland Press* strikers and to reverse the all-out assault that threatens to turn the newspaper industry into a scab bastion of the "open shop." ■

FORUM

The National Question in North America

Speaker: JOSEPH SEYMOUR
Spartacist League
Central Committee

Time: Saturday, February 18
7:30 p.m.

Place: 19-14 Lounge
Thwing Student Center
Case Western Reserve University
CLEVELAND

SUBSCRIBE

YOUNG SPARTACUS

monthly paper of the
Spartacus Youth League
\$2/10 Issues

Make payable/mail to: Spartacus Youth
Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal Street P.O.,
New York, New York 10013

Get the News!

RCP Splits! — Part 1

Workers Vanguard No. 190, 27 January 1978

Behind the RCP Split — Part 2

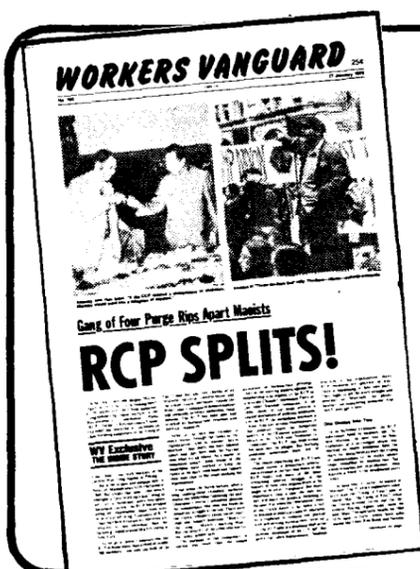
Coming Soon!

Single issue—25c/Subscription \$5 yr.
Bulk orders available

Phone (212) 925-5665

Order by mail from: Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 G.P.O.
New York, N.Y. 10001

Pick up at:
260 W. Broadway
Rm. 522 N.Y. 10013
Mon.-Fri.: 6-9
Sat.: 1-4



WORKERS VANGUARD

Big Business Demands Carter Strongarm Coal Strikers

Shortly before contract negotiations between the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) and the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) collapsed January 23 in Washington, union president Arnold Miller announced that he would soon depart for the coal fields.

Was his planned trip to Ohio, West Virginia and Pennsylvania designed to bolster the ranks of the striking miners? Did he plan to give leadership to the roving pickets who have been trying to shut down scab mines? No, Miller announced that he was going to participate in a "National Day of Prayer" for an end to the coal strike!

The prayer days are being sponsored by Wayne T. Alderson, former vice-president of Pittston Coal Company, the largest independent producer in the country. But while Miller was bending knees with coal executives and beseeching the heavens for labor "peace," foes of the miners have begun appealing to more substantial allies.

The breakdown of the talks in Washington, for the second time in two months, guarantees that the miners' strike will be the longest, continuous, authorized UMWA walkout since the 1920's. Coal stockpiles are already beginning to run low at utility companies, and the prospect of power cutbacks coupled with plant shutdowns has sparked a rising chorus from utility executives and capitalist politicians demanding federal intervention to end the strike.

Large utilities in Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York are crying that they could run out of coal in February. Stanley G. Schaffer, president of Pittsburgh's Duquesne Light Co., says the company has less than a 40-day supply of coal left and has called for President Carter to personally intervene in the coal talks. Three other major Pennsylvania utilities called on Governor Milton Shapp to order electricity conservation measures and to provide police protection for scab coal deliveries.

Meanwhile, next door in Ohio, Columbus and Southern Ohio Electric has received no coal shipments since the strike began and is now down to a 50-day supply. A week ago Ohio Governor James A. Rhodes sent a letter to Carter prophesying a "catastrophe" and demanding "positive federal action" to end the strike.

Before the strike began December 6 coal-fired electric companies, which purchase over 70 percent of the nation's soft coal, had amassed stockpiles estimated to last from 80 to over 100 days. The companies also expected to be able to augment these supplies from scab mines, which produce nearly half of U.S. coal.

But thousands of UMWA militants have fanned out through the coal fields, shutting down many non-union operations. The federal Department of Energy estimates that 40 percent of all scab mining has been stopped, and the National Coal Association concedes



UMWA members under arrest in Rockport, Indiana, January 7.

nation-wide production has dropped by two-thirds.

A good part of the coal still being mined is in the West, where the UMWA tops treacherously signed separate agreements and where many huge strip mines are non-union. But Western coal is neither easily shipped to Eastern consumers nor of high enough quality to replace Appalachian coal.

Though the two fierce blizzards which blanketed the Midwest since Christmas have hampered picketing efforts, icy snow-bound roads and the bitter cold also kept most scab mines closed and stockpiles frozen. In addition frigid temperatures drove up thermostats and the drain on the utilities' supplies worsened as a result. Many companies are now down to little over a month's supply. Most states have regulations requiring power cutbacks of up to 25 percent when stockpiles reach a 30-day level.

Feeling the squeeze, electric company executives have scurried to Washington demanding strikebreaking action. The Department of Energy has reportedly developed contingency plans to ensure continued power in the event of a prolonged strike. These include forced power allocation plans, federal troops to guard scab coal shipments, or a Taft-Hartley injunction to end the walkout through an 80-day "cooling off" (and stockpiling) period.

Each of these measures entails such enormous political hazards that the Carter administration, which seeks "stability" in the coal fields as ardently as the BCOA to enhance its coal-oriented energy policy, is hesitant and nervous. The president, as well as the miners, knows that "you can't mine coal with bayonets." The miners' tradition of

"no contract, no work" is so strong that nobody really expects a Taft-Hartley injunction would be obeyed. Stopping the miners strike by force would also destroy whatever remaining credibility Carter possesses with the labor movement.

Another ploy being considered to bail out the utilities is for them to buy power from northeastern companies with oil-burning plants. This plan however would be enormously expensive, as electricity generated by oil costs three

continued on page 11

As we go to press, a 31 January UPI dispatch reports that a tentative agreement has been reached between UMWA president Arnold Miller and coal company bargainers on the key issue of "stability," i.e., stopping strikes in the coal fields. The agreement reportedly includes stiff financial penalties for miners who engage in wildcat strikes, to be paid into the Health and Retirement Fund. Moreover, the Arbitration Review Board last fall ruled that roving pickets can be summarily fired. Miller has never challenged this ruling.

This amounts to the same sellout deal that miners forced Miller to withdraw earlier! Coal miners have been rebelling against the arbitration system and its pro-company decisions ever since the last contract was signed. In 1975 they were forced to strike for the right to strike over grievances, in 1976 against injunctions by company courts, in 1977 against the gutting of the UMWA medical plan by the operators. Now Miller and the companies want to penalize miners fighting for their own health and safety with fines, firings and jail sentences.

Coal mining is the most dangerous industrial occupation in America. With the giant energy conglomerates and profit-gouging small-time operators ignoring safety hazards, working hand-in-glove with federal inspectors to boost production at all costs, the right to strike is a matter of life and death in the mines. The companies are beginning to hurt—Don't give in now!

Miners must not sit by idly while Miller bargains away their livelihoods and lives. If the reports of a tentative settlement agreement on this de facto no-strike clause are confirmed, union headquarters must be besieged with protests; demonstrations must be held to build militant opposition to this sweetheart deal. Stop the UMWA bureaucracy from conniving with the coal bosses behind closed doors.

Defend the right to strike! Open up the negotiations—For district-wide elected strike committees! Build a class-struggle opposition to oust Miller & Co. and open the road to victory!