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# RESIST

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October- November 1980 — 38 Union Square, Somerville, Mass. 02143 — Newsletter #135

*a call to resist illegitimate authority*

## WOMEN'S PENTAGON ACTION

*Women from throughout the Northeast have joined together to sponsor two days of opposition to military violence of the Pentagon and the sexual and economic violence in the everyday lives of all women. Their unity statement is printed below. For more information contact: Women's Pentagon Action, 29 West 21 St., New York, NY 10010 — 212-242-3270*

We are gathering at the Pentagon on November 17 because we fear for our lives. We fear for the life of this planet, our Earth, and the life of the children who are our human future.

We are women who come in most part from the northeastern region of our United States. We are city women who know the wreckage and fear of city streets, we are country women who grieve the loss of the small farm and have lived on the poisoned earth. We are young and older, we are married, single, lesbian. We live in families, as students in dormitories, and some are single parents. We work at a variety of jobs. We are students teachers factory workers office workers lawyers farmers doctors builders waitresses weavers poets engineers homeworkers electricians artists horselogs. We are all daughters and sisters.

We have come here to mourn and rage and defy the Pentagon because it is the workplace of the imperial power which threatens us all. Every day while we work, study, love, the colonels and generals who are planning our annihilation walk calmly in and out the doors of its five sides. To carry out their plans they have been making 3 - 6 nuclear bombs every day. They have accumulated over 30,000. They have invented the neutron bomb which kills people but leaves property and buildings like this one intact. They will produce the MX Missile and its billion dollar subway system which will scar thousands of miles of our western lands and consume its most delicate resource — water. They are creating a technology called Stealth — the invisible unperceivable arsenal. They have just appropriated 20 million dollars to revive the cruel old killer nerve gas. They have proclaimed Directive 59 which asks for "small nuclear wars, prolonged but limited." They are talking about a first strike. The Soviet Union works hard to keep up with United States initiatives. We can destroy each other's cities, towns, schools, children many times over. Five other countries now own at least one nuclear

(continued on page 2)

## WAR IN THE PERSIAN GULF

JOSEPH GERSON

It was supposed to be a short war. Saddam Hussein's air force would destroy what was left of Iran's crippled oil economy. Iraq's army would seize the Shatt al Arab waterway and the strategic centers of Khuzistan, the oil-rich Arab-populated region of Iran. Khomeini, disgraced, would be toppled for the economic and military failures of his regime. Iraq would now be the dominant power in the Persian Gulf.

Saddam Hussein miscalculated. It will be a long war, one of attrition. Despite the grievous damage it has inflicted on Iran, Iraq's Baathist government may be in as much jeopardy as the theocracy in Teheran. The Iraqi offensive has stalled, Iranian resistance has closed the Shatt al Arab to all traffic, and Iraq's vital oil industry has been devastated. Hussein also faces the possible subversion of his predominantly Shi'ite Muslim army should it push further into Iran. Hundreds of civilians have been killed and injured in Baghdad and other Iraqi cities by Iranian bombing. The unanticipated war of attrition may be just as corrosive of the complex network of alliances which supports the Iraqi Baathist regime as it is of Ayatollah Khomeini's tenuous revolutionary government.

The first week of the Iraqi-Iranian war brought the world into an era we knew would come, but somehow hoped to evade. Oil-rich Middle Eastern nations ravaged each other's oil fields, refineries, and depots, thus threatening the lifeline of the industrialized West. Ironically, many of the jets and the bombs they bore carried "made in America" labels. More frightening than the potential loss of Western oil reserves is the lesson that human beings *can* bomb nuclear installations, thus eliminating the distinction between conventional and nuclear wars.

(continued on page 3)

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The purpose of the NEWSLETTER is to support and report on Resist's grants and fund raising activities. It also publishes short articles of general interest to the left. Subscriptions to the newsletter are \$5 per year. If you haven't renewed your subscription for 1980, please do so soon. We are happy to send the newsletter free to individuals or organizations who can't afford to subscribe.



bomb. We are in the hands of men whose power and wealth have separated them from the reality of daily life and from the imagination. We are right to be afraid.

At the same time our cities are in ruins, bankrupt; they suffer the devastation of war. Hospitals are closed, our schools are deprived of books and teachers. Our young Black and Latino youth are without decent work. They will be forced, drafted to become cannon fodder for the very power that oppresses them. Whatever help the poor have received is cut or withdrawn to feed the Pentagon which needs about \$500,000,000 a day for its murderous health. It will extract \$157 billion dollars this year from our own tax money, \$1800 from a family of four.

With this wealth our scientists have been corrupted; over 40% work in government and corporate laboratories that refine the methods of destroying or deforming life.

The lands of the Native American people have been turned to radioactive rubble in order to enlarge the nuclear warehouse. The uranium of South Africa, necessary to the nuclear enterprise enriches the white minority and encourages the vicious system of racist oppression and war.

As we write this a warhead with the power of 750 Hiroshimas is blown out of its silo in a wood near a small town in Arkansas.

There is fear among the people, and that fear, created by the industrial militarists is used as an excuse to accelerate the arms race. "We will protect you..." they say, but we have never been so endangered, so close to the end of human time.

We women are gathering because life on the precipice is intolerable.

We want to know what anger in these men, what fear which can only be satisfied by destruction, what coldness of heart and ambition drives their days.

We want to know because we do not want that dominance which is exploitative and murderous in international relations, and so dangerous to women and children at home — we do not want that sickness transferred by the violent society through the fathers to the sons.

What is it that we women need for our ordinary lives, that we want for ourselves and also for our sisters in new nations and old colonies who suffer the white man's exploitation and too often the oppression of their own countrymen?

We want enough good food, useful work, decent housing, communities with clean air and water, good care for our children while we work. We expect equal pay for work of equal value.

We want health care which respects and understands our bodies. We want an education for children which tells the true history of our women's lives, which describes the earth as our home to be cherished, to be fed as well as harvested.

We want to be free from violence in our streets and in our houses. The pervasive social power of the masculine ideal and the greed of the pornographer have come

together to steal our freedom, so that whole neighborhoods and the life of the evening and night have been taken from us. For too many women the dark country road and the city alley have concealed the rapist. We want the night returned, the light of the moon, special in the cycle of our female lives, the stars and the gaiety of the city streets.

We want the right to have or not to have children, we do not want gangs of politicians and medical men to say we must be sterilized for the country's good. We know that this technique is the racist's method of controlling populations. Nor do we want to be prevented from having an abortion when we need one. We think this freedom should be available to poor women as it always has been to the rich. We want to be free to love whom-ever we choose. We will live with women or with men or we will live alone. We will not allow the oppression of lesbians. One sex or one sexual preference must not dominate another.

We do not want to be drafted into the army. We do not want our young brothers drafted. We want *them* equal with *us*.

We want to see the pathology of racism ended in our time. There can be no peace while one race dominates another, one nation dominates the others.

We want the uranium left in the earth and the earth given back to the people who tilled it. We want a system of energy which is renewable, which does not take resources out of the earth without returning them. We want those systems to belong to the people and their communities not to the giant corporations which invariably turn knowledge into weaponry. We want the sham of Atoms for Peace ended, all nuclear plants decommissioned and the construction of new plants stopped. That is another war against the people and the child to be born in fifty years.

We want an end to the arms race. No more bombs. No more amazing inventions for death.

We understand all is connectedness. The earth nourishes us as we with our bodies will eventually feed it. Through us, our mothers connected the human past to the human future.

With that sense, that ecological right, we oppose the financial connections between the Pentagon and the multinational corporations and banks that the Pentagon serves.

Those connections are made of gold and oil.

We are made of blood and bone, we are made of the sweet resource, water.

We will not allow these violent games to continue. If we are here in our stubborn hundreds today, we will certainly return in the thousands and hundreds of thousands in the months and years to come.

We know there is a healthy sensible loving way to live and we intend to live that way in our neighborhoods and on our farms in these United States and among our sisters and bothers in all the countries of the world.



We have also learned, though we had long suspected, that local conflicts in the Middle East can far too easily engage the United States in a wider war regardless of whether the American chief executive is a drawling Democrat or a quick-draw Republican. President Carter dispatched four AWACS (Airborne Warning and Command Systems) and the three hundred men needed to operate them to Saudi Arabia, an ally of Iraq in this war. These aerial command centers, which can coordinate an air war within a 350-mile radius, were sent to complement the awesome 31-ship flotilla stationed next to the Persian Gulf and the Oman and Arabian Seas. Their mission is to defend U.S. hegemony in the region and, above all, to guarantee that the Strait of Hormuz and Saudi oil facilities continue to pump Middle Eastern crude oil — this “stupendous source of strategic power” — to the West. Britain, France, and Australia have considered joining the American flotilla, to make the naval force multilateral and counter charges of U.S. imperialism.

Fortunately, despite the decline of detente, the superpowers have found ways to communicate and share a desire to prevent this regional war from quickly escalating into a global confrontations.

### **Roots of the Conflict**

Like any conflict, the Iraqi-Iranian war, which began in April 1980 and flared in September, has deep historic roots. These include the Iraqi inheritance of the ambitions of the Mesopotamian Empire, Ayatollah Khomeini's vision of a continuing and expanding Islamic revolution, and the schism between the Arab and Persian peoples — including the rift between the majority Sunni and minority Shi'ite sects of Islam.<sup>2</sup> Present also are the legacies of European colonialism: arbitrarily drawn borders, the scars of divide-and-conquer rule, and the power vacuums which result when colonial powers depart.

The immediate causes of the current war were Iranian calls for a Shi'ite uprising in Iraq and Saddam Hussein's desire to pick up the scepter of regional power once held by the Shah. During the reigns of his predecessors, Ahmed al-Bakr in Iraq and the Shah in Iran, the conflict for control over the vital Shatt al Arab estuary was limited and contained. The United States and Israel joined with the Shah in assisting rebellious Kurds who fought for autonomy from the secular Arab government in Baghdad. The U.S. was seeking to drain a Soviet client state, and Israel was trying to preoccupy a hostile Arab power.

In 1975, Washington decided that regional stability was preferable to continued fighting on such volatile ground. European demand for Iraqi oil may have been one factor in this decision; intimations of an Iraqi-Soviet rift may have been another. At American insistence, a deal was struck. Iran gained access to the Shatt al Arab estuary, and Iranian support for Iraq's Kurdish rebels was withdrawn. Ayatollah Khomeini, who had lived in Iraqi exile for 16 years, removed himself to distant Paris. Two years later, as a symbol of its growing

independence from Moscow, the Iraqi government dragged 14 communists from their prison cells and publicly hanged them.

The Shi'ite revolution in Iran created new forces and a new balance of power in the Persian Gulf. The rise of a popular theocracy — ideologically anti-imperialistic, opposed to corruption, and championing social justice — sparked hope among oppressed Arabs and sent a challenge to regional monarchies dripping in oil wealth and privilege. Kuwait and Iraq moved quickly to demonstrate respect for some semblance of democracy. The Saudi monarchy began public discussions about the need to confront corruption.

Particularly threatened were Iran's neighbors, the secular “Arab socialist” Baath regimes in Iraq and Syria. Syria, though nominally ruled by the Baath party, is in fact controlled by the members of the tiny Alawite minority.<sup>3</sup> Even before the widely publicized November 1979 Saudi uprisings in Mecca and eastern Arabia, the Syrian government faced revolt centered in Aleppo: Forty five Alawite cadets were assassinated in a military academy, and government officials were murdered on a daily basis amid the stirrings of a civil war.

The primary focus of Ayatollah Khomeini's efforts to extend the Islamic revolution, however, was Iraq. Iraq, with its underprivileged majority Shi'ite population, is ruled by a secular, socialist Sunni government. Khomeini described the Baghdad government as an “infidel regime”: corrupt to the core, the product of colonialism. Khomeini and his ministers urged the Shi'ites of Iraq to rise up and restore the rule of Islam. This call did not immediately jeopardize the relatively stable Iraqi government, but it posed a threat that Hussein's repressive government sought to efface. Khomeini's alienation of other Arab heads of state provided Saddam Hussein with a covey of ready allies, and King Hussein reportedly introduced agents into Iran to stir rebellion in Khuzistan, Iran's Arab-populated region.

Baghdad's invasion of Iran was not, however, exclusively a defensive action. Other goals were involved. Iraq has been a rising economic and military power in the region for the last decade. In 1979 it ranked eighth in world oil production and fourth in Middle Eastern oil production. Its oil wealth has reinforced the agricultural sector, supported massive economic development, and financed “the modernization of its social, cultural and administrative institutions.”<sup>4</sup> For many years Iraq was a client of the Soviet Union, and as a result its military establishment was a close second in the Persian Gulf to that of the Shah.

With the fall of the Shah, the purges of the Iranian officer corps, mass desertions of troops estimated to run as high as 60%, and the disintegration of the Shah's sophisticated war machine through lack of maintenance and spare parts, Saddam Hussein perceived an opportunity to assert Iraq's rule as the primary power of the region. By defeating Iran in a short war he would painlessly rid himself of the threat of the ayatollahs, and thus dominate the Persian Gulf. Some observers speculate that he began the war of attrition in April to wear down what remained of the Iranian war chest and to



exhaust whatever spare parts remained before launching his September offensive. President Bani-Sadr's military was cautious in its response, and as a result retained more fire power than Hussein had anticipated.

Saddam Hussein's ambitions were not limited to the Persian Gulf. After Anwar Sadat's withdrawal from the Arab-Israeli conflict and his acceptance of American client status through the Camp David treaties, Baghdad initiated its bid for leadership in the Arab world. It hosted the Steadfastness Front — Syria, Jordan, Libya, South Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and the PLO — which met to chart the Arab response to Camp David. By defeating the revolutionary theocracy in Iran, which threatened all the Arab regimes except the PLO, Hussein expected that Baghdad would establish its preeminence in the badly divided Arab world.

Hussein's government thought it could profit from the chaos and disintegration of the Iranian revolution. After nearly two years of post-revolutionary struggle for power, the forces that had been brought together to topple the Shah's tyranny had been unable to restore economic order and social justice. The arbitrary assassinations of more than a thousand people by Islamic and local courts were a stark indicator of the revolution's failures. The military was in a state of decay. Kurdish, Turkish, and Arab minorities were rebelling for self-determination or greater autonomy. Technocrats and technicians needed to maintain Iran's industrial base had either fled the country or had been stifled by the demands of the Islamic "cultural revolution." The rift between the Marxist left and the dominant forces of the revolution had become irrevocable.

Even the Islamic forces were badly divided. President Bani-Sadr, a devout Muslim, had alienated himself from Ayatollah Khomeini and from Ayatollah Beheshti's Islamic Republican Party by trying to stabilize Iran's dislocated economy and by condemning of the seizure of the U.S. embassy. The Mujahadeen, a progressive revolutionary Islamic force which seeks an egalitarian Islamic society, has won tens of thousands of followers, and has indicated its challenge to the clergy's government through mass rallies. Finally, the uncompromising demands of the Iranian leadership throughout the American hostage crisis completely alienated Iran from the United States and Western Europe, cutting off Iran's supply of military and industrial spare parts.

Even those critical of Iraq may be tempted to condemn Iran completely. Many Americans have made this mistake. The temptation to err in this direction has been facilitated by the presence of American television cameras in Iraq and their absence from Iran. The evening news brings us horrifying footage of the Iranian bombing of Baghdad: men, women, and children are killed and maimed before our eyes. Iranian xenophobia, which has led to the exclusion of foreign press, keeps us ignorant of the human toll that Iraqi bombs, missiles, artillery shells, and infantry brigades are taking on the Iranian people. This ignorance is encouraged by our

short memories — the refusal to remember and integrate what Iran suffered so recently under the Shah and six American administrations. *Both* the Iraqi and Iranian people are victims; *both* governments are the executioners.

A leftist opponent of the Shah, who lived in exile during much of the Shah's regime and who has again fled Iran, explained the Iranian dilemma succinctly: "The Shah wouldn't allow the people to think." As a result they were not prepared to build a new society when his regime passed. The public record, which the American government has yet to acknowledge, illustrates his point. To maintain Western access to Iranian oil the CIA initiated the 1953 coup which toppled the elected government of Mohammed Mossadeq and reimposed the Shah. A totalitarian secret police was established and trained by the CIA. A half million people were jailed for political opposition in the course of the Shah's thirty-year rule. Torture was institutionalized. Thousands of political opponents and prisoners were exterminated. The conservative clergy, with their mosques, had the only base for opposition.

In spite of these limitations the Shah's victims were able to unite, nonviolently, to topple the tyranny. Their revolution threatened the rules of the global struggle for power between the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as the comprador class that rose with the Shah. Condemning both the "Satanic forces of American imperialism" and the "atheistic Soviet devil," revolutionary Iran offered new options to a region which had long sought to reject both American and Soviet options. It offered the hope of Islamic justice and Islamic economics. Capitalism and Communism were declared passe.

It was this threat to American dominance in Iran and to its hegemony in the oil fields that led the Carter administration to attempt the isolation of revolutionary Iran. The Carter administration's hope in those early days was that Khomeini's regime could be toppled by either a right-wing or a left-wing coup. No wonder Iranians are suspicious that Iraq is a stalking horse for the United States.

This brings us back to the question of oil and how the 31 U.S. warships came to be stationed in and around the Persian Gulf.

### Oil and Empire

The destruction of the British and French empires, which resulted from the Second World War, left the Middle East's strategic oil reserves to American control. A 1944 State Department memorandum described Saudi Arabia's oil as one of "the greatest material prizes in the history of warfare." One-third of the West's known oil reserves lie beneath Saudi sands. In recent years the region has provided Western Europe and Japan with 70 to 90 percent of their oil. A considerable portion of all American heating oil — including 50 percent of New England's oil — comes from there too. Iran sits atop 10% of what used to be Western oil reserves. Until American built planes dropped American built bombs



on Iraq's oil installations, Iraq supplied 5 percent of the oil on the international market. Sixty percent of all Middle Eastern oil passed through the narrow Strait of Hormuz which Iran threatened in the first week of the war.

In 1977 General Maxwell Taylor, architect of the American escalation in Vietnam and former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said simply that Middle Eastern oil is "the jugular vein of Western capitalism."<sup>6</sup> Without it Western industrial plants would cease to function. Food, grown with petroleum-based fertilizers and shipped in trucks, trains, and ships, ceases to be accessible. Banks fall. People freeze and starve. As Noam Chomsky has written, "Political axiom number one of U.S. foreign policy since the end of WW II has been that the United States will take any possible steps to ensure that its allies do not gain independent access to these resources to any significant degree, and surely that the Soviet Union does not." The United States' role of guarantor of Western Europe's oil supply has been an important American lever of power since World War II.

The West's addiction to Middle Eastern petroleum is the reason we had an Eisenhower Doctrine and a Carter Doctrine. They differed little in content. Middle Eastern oil is the reason President Kennedy supported the Shah, and it is the reason our uniquely impeachable president made Iran the central pillar of the Nixon Doctrine under which Israel and Iran were to be the military hammers of U.S. policy in the Middle East. The Israeli part of the equation unravelled with the 1973 war; the Iranian part fell with the Shah.

Despite its notorious inefficiency, the Carter administration has been quick to reconstruct the basis of American military power in the Middle East in the wake of the Iranian revolution. It is this military establishment that may be drawn into the vortex of the Iraqi-Iranian war or the next war in the region.

Though the Camp David agreements did not bring about the Israeli-Egyptian-Saudi-Jordanian alliance that Administration officials anticipated, it did provide the necessary cover for massive arms transfers to Cairo, and it gave the U.S. access to improved air force bases in Egypt and Israel. Before the seizure of the U.S. embassy in Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Carter administration had positioned a naval flotilla in the Arabian Sea. Forty thousand U.S. technicians were stationed in Saudi Arabia, many of them servicing F-14's and other sophisticated military equipment sold to the monarchy (proving that Washington had studiously avoided learning any lessons from the debacle of the Iranian revolution). Proposals for the Rapid Deployment Force were placed in the Pentagon's pipeline.

The hostage crisis and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan provided the rationale the administration sought in completing what *Newsweek* described as "the largest military build up since the Vietnam war." Basing agreements were concluded with Egypt, Oman, Kenya, and Somalia. A squadron of Phantom fighters was moved to Egypt with 1,800 personnel. The Rapid Deployment Force was approved and began its exer-



cises. The Arabian Sea flotilla swelled in size to 31 ships, including two aircraft carriers, 150 jet fighters, and a classified number of tactical nuclear warheads. All this to "protect" the delicate machinery through which the Middle East's volatile oil supply must flow.

#### For the Future...

There are no simple solutions to the problems posed by the current crisis and other Middle East conflicts we know are to come. As this is written Shahpur Bakhtiar is en route from Paris to Baghdad to join his fellow Iranian exile, General Ovassi, to plot their return to power in Teheran. The Shah's son has announced his intention to crown himself emperor of Iran and to form a government in exile. Saddam Hussein has announced a cease-fire, hoping to end the war unilaterally. He may find himself in narrow and unnavigable straits between Iran's refusal to concede defeat and Saudi Arabia and Kuwait's need for peace in the region. Hussein's miscalculations may place his government in greater jeopardy than that of the ayatollahs, though one cannot be certain of this.

In the short term, American citizens have little ability to affect the outcome of this drama. The most we can do is to press our government to be truly neutral in the conflict, and to withdraw its threats of military intervention. Such intervention would only guarantee the mutually assured destruction of our economy and that of the peoples of the Gulf. We can also attempt to help the immediate victims of the Iraqi-Iranian war. Medicines, penicillin in particular, are said to be in short supply in Iran. It is not beyond the resources of our peace movement to respond to this need and to investigate what forms of humanitarian assistance can be offered to the people of Iraq.



If the Iraqi-Iranian war is successfully contained, we know where there are other conflicts in the region which will soon threaten world peace and the flow of oil upon which the Western economies still depend. The civil war in Lebanon could break loose at any moment, enveloping the region in cataclysm. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has not been resolved by the Camp David charade, and the cycle of its violence has intensified. Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, or Iran could easily be pitched into civil war. Yet the only lesson our government has reportedly learned from the current war is that more spies and intelligence agents are needed in the Middle East.<sup>8</sup> If our elected government refuses to identify and work for the interests of the American people, then we must do so ourselves.

Many suggestions could be made about where we go from here. They range from the need to provide Iranians with penicillin to the continuing need for a Congressional investigation into the U.S. role in Iran, and the need to wean our economy from its dependency on oil. I will limit myself to three other suggestions.

1) On the concrete level, the one irrefutable lesson of this war is that American arms sales do not enhance American security. The weapons sold to the Shah to protect the flow of oil were the very weapons which devastated oil installations in Baghdad, Mosul, Basra, and Kirkuk. France, Brazil, and Japan — deprived of their Iraqi oil — are bidding up the price of oil to fuel their economies, and the American and other Western economies suffer as a result.

While the American public is particularly sensitive to the dangers of Middle East arms sales, we should move to call for a multilateral freeze on the export of weapons to this part of the world. There are precedents for such agreements in the Middle East, and the Soviets have expressed interest in an arms ban. Is it too much to expect that such an effort might be linked to the peace movement's campaign to "Call a Halt to the Arms Race"?

2) We must call for the peace movement to get its Middle East act together. With a few notable exceptions,<sup>9</sup> the peace movement has refused to come to terms with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. As a result these organizations and major coalitions are unable to respond to any Middle Eastern crisis. Knowing that events in Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia will have some effect on Israel, they remain silent when American anti-personnel bombs wreak havoc on Lebanese civilians. They fear to call a halt to Middle East arms sales. The peace movement finds itself in a position in which it is unable to counter the national security managers' agenda in this central part of the American empire. It is disgraceful.

3) Finally, we must begin to meet the challenge recently posed by William Appleman Williams. He ends a summary of his forthcoming book, *Empire as a Way of Life*, with these words: "... Preserving the empire is an exercise in futility. We will sizzle or suffocate. So let us get on with imagining a new America. Once we imagine it, break out of the imperial idiom, we might just be able to create a nonimperial America." The Iraqi-Iranian war, like the Iranian revolution, illustrates in

unrelenting terms that our government cannot control events in all parts of the world. The futile effort to exercise coercive control over distant corners of the earth not only bleeds our already distorted economy, but it threatens regional and global holocaust.

October 3, 1980

## FOOTNOTES

1. *Middle East Oil and the Energy Crisis*, Joe Stork, Monthly Review Press, 1975.
2. The Sunni-Shi'ite split dates from the death of the fourth caliph, Ali, in 661 A.D. He and his followers had rejected the claims of Umayyad family to take over the caliphate. The Shi'ites claim that the caliphate should be within the family of the prophet and pass through the descendants of his son-in-law Ali. Since the split, different traditions and worldviews have emerged in these two branches of Islam.
3. Alawites are a Shi'ite sect. They comprise approximately 5% of the Syrian population.
4. *The Arab World: A Handbook*, Hassan S. Haddad & Basheer K. Nijim, Medina Press, 1978.
5. *Middle East Oil and the Energy Crisis*, Joe Stork, Monthly Review Press, 1975.
6. *Christian Science Monitor*, June 16, 1978.
7. *Newsweek*, July 14, 1980.
8. *New York Times*, September 27, 1980.
9. The exceptions include the American Friends Service Committee, the War Resisters League and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.
10. *The Nation*, August 2-9, 1980.

## A Mini-bibliography for Further Reading

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# KEEPING TRACK

*We thought you'd like to know what's been happening to some of the organizations that Resist has given money to recently.*

**UNITED FARM WORKERS OF AMERICA AFL-CIO** (20 Boylston St. Rm. 311, Boston, MA. 02116).

The United Farm Workers' strike against the lettuce growers in California is now in its twentieth month. Growers have responded to the workers' strike for better wages and working conditions with a massive importation of strike breakers and with violence against the strikers.

UFW President Cesar Chavez emphasized that the boycott remains the only non-violent means by which a measure of justice can be brought to the striking farm workers. The boycott has proven so successful that 22 companies have already signed. Still refusing to bargain is Bruce Church, Inc., the third largest lettuce grower in the world. Consumers have been asked to boycott Church's "Red Coach" iceberg lettuce and to insist that their grocers not handle it.

The pressure is working. Bruce Church hired only nine crews to harvest its lettuce this year instead of the usual nineteen — a reflection of the boycott's success. Almost all major supermarket chains, in fact, now refuse to carry "Red Coach." The few holdouts, whose customers are now being asked to boycott the stores, are Stop and Shop on the East Coast, Lucky on the West Coast, and Farmer Jack's and Eagle's in the Midwest. Viva la Causa! La latta continua!

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## KEEPING UP WITH THE DRAFT

**DRAFT COUNSELOR'S NEWSLETTER** (1251 Second Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94122), published ten times a year by CCCO Western Region, is the most useful publication on draft issues. It provides detailed information on draft law and procedures, and is particularly valuable to counselors and attorneys.

**COUNTER PENTAGON** (P.O. Box 15796, Philadelphia, PA 19103), published bi-monthly, is a project of CCCO/ An Agency for Military and Draft Counseling. It focuses on topics such as recruitment fraud, resistance to militarism, and how the draft affects minorities. This is the best counter-recruiting publication.

**NEWSLETTER ON MILITARY LAW AND COUNSELING** (1251 Second Ave., San Francisco, CA 94122), published 10 times a year by CCCO Western Region, reports on veterans' issues, recruitment, and developments within the military, and provides legislative and Selective Service updates on draft registration and exemptions. NOMLAC has recently added a new feature section called "Women in the Military."

**SOUTHERN ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL JUSTICE** (P.O. Box 811, Birmingham, Ala. 35201).

The South has changed dramatically in the past four decades. The civil rights movement tore down the structure of legal segregation and thus removed the barrier that has kept Southern people weak and powerless. All across the South people are organizing again — learning from the past, building for the future. The Southern Organizing Committee has been working for five years now to help that process along. Along with helping Southern workers to organize around economic issues, SOC has actively campaigned against racist and political repression and national policies of militarism and world domination. To establish communication among people concerned about these issues, SOC organizes workshops and conferences and publishes a newsletter called *Southern Fight Back*. Last year Resist helped finance a workshop in Birmingham, Alabama on human needs and military spending. The Birmingham workshop was a great success in itself and a start towards building a Southern grassroots anti-militarist movement. A local conference followed in New Orleans and a public hearing was held in Mississippi. This year a Resist grant went to SOC's statewide conference in Charlotte, North Carolina. The conference aimed at helping participants to incorporate the issue of excessive military spending into their community organizing, so that poor and working people in North Carolina, a state with a high concentration of military activity, will begin to understand the real effects of the Pentagon's enormous budget.

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**SELECTIVE SERVICE LAW PANEL NEWSLETTER** (1911 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90057), a publication which began this past summer, is expected to appear monthly. It contains legal memoranda particularly useful to counselors and registrants. Selective Service regulations are detailed in plain language, and exemption requirements are fully explained. The panel also has produced a cassette tape recording entitled "Fundamentals of Draft Counseling," which can be purchased from Women Strike for Peace at 5539 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90019.

**ON WATCH** (c/o Military Law Task Force, P.O. Box 33544, San Diego, CA 92103) is published six times a year by the National Lawyers Guild Law Task Force. It addresses a specific audience including attorneys, legal workers, law students, and "barracks lawyers" interested in draft, military, and veterans' issues.

**PEACEWORK** (2161 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140) is a New England peace movement newsletter published 11 times a year by the American Friends Service Committee. In addition to reporting on national and foreign policy, it provides excellent coverage of local and regional news events and anti-draft activities.



# GRANTS

**MOBILIZATION FOR SURVIVAL** (135 West 4th St., New York, N.Y. 10012).

Founded in 1977, MFS is a national coalition of individuals and organizations united around four basic goals: Zero Nuclear Weapons, Ban Nuclear Power, End the Arms Race and Meet Human Needs. Resist recently supported a two-day teach-in by the New York MFS on energy and the arms race. The teach-in, held May 17th and 18th, included films, literature and discussion groups and featured presentations by Barry Commoner on renewable energy, Robert Engler on energy and politics, David Livingstone on energy and jobs, and a speaker on the military buildup and its relationship to energy. Given the Pentagon's current planning for energy wars, planning which includes the draft and the newly-formed Rapid Deployment Force, this project seemed especially useful and timely to us.

**DETROIT FASTFOOD WORKERS** (2230 Witherell (YWCA Bldg.), Detroit, MI 48201).

DFW set out in December, 1979 to organize the 12,000 plus fastfood workers in the Detroit area. Despite the fact that fastfood workers are young, that they are predominantly female and overwhelmingly minority. Despite the fact that many workers are part-time and that the turnover rate is one of the highest in any industry. Despite the fact that the conventional wisdom said it couldn't be done.

Fastfood is the largest unorganized industry in Detroit. It is also the largest minimum wage industry. Fastfood is dead-end work with no opportunity for skill training or advancement. It is an alienating, exploitative experience for millions of young workers every year. These workers want to be organized. Many of them come from union families and with the failure of the Big Three, employment in the auto industry is no longer a possibility. Fastfood work is available work and these young workers are bringing their union heritage with them.

Despite the harassment of workers and organizers by management, the new union has had some successes. They have gotten elections at several stores (one of which they won, although the results are being contested by management) and have petitions pending with NLRB for several more. Also the UAW has been increasingly supportive.

The percentage of the working class that is unionized is dropping all the time. Traditional unionized industries are declining and established unions have so far been unwilling to launch major organizing efforts in newer, expanding industries. The hope of the U.S. labor movement lies with the organizing efforts of unions like the United Farmworkers and the DFW, who have not given up their responsibility to organize the unorganized — despite the odds.

**OPTIMEDIA, INC.** (275 Shawmut Ave., Boston, MA 02188).

Optimedia is a non-profit, tax-exempt organization whose purpose is to raise political consciousness through a variety of cultural productions. In 1979 Optimedia produced a concert called "Saturday Night Jazz and Gospel" to benefit the defense of Willie Sanders, who has recently been acquitted of the four rape charges brought against him by the Boston police. Optimedia is presently mounting the premiere production of a new South African play, and is also planning to do a play about Paul Robeson. Resist's grant is to help fund another Optimedia project, a film called "Didn't Take Low," which presents a social history of black people in the 1930s, from the perspective of domestic workers. Its themes include the great migration of black people to the North, black reaction to the New Deal, the role of the church in community affairs, dynamics around work and family between black women and men, and black relationships to organized labor. For most black women working in the thirties, the workplace struggle did not occur on a shop floor, an assembly line, or an industrial picket line. These women were scrubbing white people's homes, cooking for them, washing and ironing their clothes, and raising their children. Yet domestic workers did organize and were politically active during the Depression. "Didn't Take Low" explores how black women's labor has enabled the family — and, by extension, the community — to survive.

## THE RESIST PLEDGE SYSTEM

The most important source of our income is monthly pledges. Pledges help us to plan ahead by stabilizing our monthly income. In addition to receiving the newsletter, pledges get a monthly reminder letter, containing some news of recent grants. If you would like to learn more, drop us a note. Or — take the plunge! — and fill out the handy form below.

**Yes, I would like to be a Resist pledge for**

☐ \$5/month

☐ \$50/month

☐ \$10/month

☐ \_\_\_\_\_ (other)

☐ \$25/month

☐ I enclose my check for \$\_\_\_\_\_.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_