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# RESIST

*a call to resist  
illegitimate authority*

13 April 1973 - 763 Massachusetts Avenue, #4, Cambridge, Mass. 02139 - Newsletter #71

## INDOCHINA AFTER THE "CEASE-FIRE"

Noam Chomsky

The Paris Agreements stipulate that the South Vietnamese people will be free to exercise their right of self determination without external interference and with full democratic liberties. The two parallel and equivalent South Vietnamese parties -- the PRG and the GVN -- are to achieve national reconciliation and then proceed to step-by-step reunification with the North, removing the provisional demarcation line separating the two zones at the 17th parallel, which is not a political or territorial boundary. The agreements recapitulate the DRV proposal rejected by the US in October 1972, as well as the essential provisions of earlier DRV-PRG proposals. In fact, the Paris Agreements are drawn, in essence, from the founding program of the NLF in 1962, which has never been modified and has consistently been backed by the DRV. The Laos Agreements are similarly structured. They recognize the existence of two parties controlling two zones. The two parties are to reach national concord under conditions of freedom and mutual respect. In this case, the agreements grant the Pathet Lao far more than had been suggested in their earlier proposals. It is recognized that the "neutralist" group which had been driven into a temporary alliance with the left by US subversion in 1958 through 1961 actually constitute a segment of the right-wing party. The 1962 Geneva Agreements granted these "neutralists" the dominant role in a tripartite government with the rightists and the Pathet Lao.

On paper, then, the US capitulated to the forces of revolutionary nationalism in South Vietnam and Laos.

There is, however, another version of the Agreements which is at wide variance with the texts; a version which emanates from Washington and is dutifully conveyed by the mass media as the alleged substance of the Paris Agreements. Washington announced at once that in defiance of the Agreements it would continue to impose the GVN as the "sole legitimate government of South Vietnam," its "constitutional structure and leadership intact and unchanged." The "constitutional structure" outlaws the second of the two parallel and equivalent parties, and the executive decrees that constitute the "legal system" in South Vietnam prohibit virtually any expression of opposition to the US-imposed dictatorship. The Pentagon plans to spend \$6 billion for military purposes in South Vietnam in 1973

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## GIVING SHELL SOME GAS

(Editor's note: The following article is a shortened version of an article by Cathy Lerza that first appeared in the March 3, 1973 issue of Environmental Action.)

Shell Oil Company is the seventh largest oil company in America with \$3.5 billion worth of US sales in 1972. It is also the only major oil company which has still refused to accept demands for drastically needed health and safety improvements in working conditions put forth by the Oil Chemical and Atomic workers International Union (OCAW). For this reason, 5000 members went on strike at Shell refineries in California, Louisiana, Texas and Washington in the last week of January. In addition, they have called for a national boycott of all Shell products to help them in their fight with the giant corporation. The union expects a lengthy strike, but as Tony Mazzocchi, Washington representative of the union, emphatically states, "We can't lose this one...This time we're involved with a lot more than nickels and dimes per hour. We're involved in a life-and-death issue." Oil refineries are one of the most dangerous of all work environments. Workers come in contact with well over 1600 chemicals daily. In addition, current refinery operations are based on the fact that it is more economical to run a refinery until it breaks down than to constantly repair and overhaul it. So, refineries are run almost 24 hours a day and the combination of constant usage, and lack of repairs means that as a refinery gets older, operations become dirtier and less safe.

The refinery's main job is breaking down crude oil into its chemical fractions which include gasoline, fuel oil, kerosene, lubricating oil and 11 other major products. These fractions must be separated from one another through a complex series of chemical and mechanical operations. Little or no research has been done on most of the chemicals present in a typical refinery. And, points out Dr. Albert Fritsch of the Center for Science in the Public Interest, in the few instances in which research has been carried out, oil companies refuse to make known to either the government or the public the results of the research. Workers have neither warnings as to the health effects of the substances with which they work nor guaranteed compensation for any ill effects suffered because of exposure to chemicals. Communities neighboring refineries are likewise unaware of the effects of chemical emission in their air and water.

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in an effort to preserve the vast military police apparatus that constitutes the sole hope for US victory in South Vietnam. It is admitted that 7200 "civilians" are now employed by the Pentagon in the south, the majority of them as technicians with the GVN armed forces, under the supervision of Major General John Murray. The PRG estimates that "between 10,000 and 20,000 US military advisors disguised as civilians are pursuing their work." The new "aid" program calls for an expansion of the prisons and the police surveillance system, which will continue to produce the "grotesque sculptures of scarred flesh and gnarled limbs" described by a Time reporter when some political prisoners were released. As the foreign press points out, "the Nixon administration has had nothing to say about the atrocities which have been going on for many years in these prisons and which still go on, often under the direct supervision of former American police officers" (Far Eastern Economic Review, March 26, 1973), a fact that is particularly striking as the government and its propaganda agencies whip up an orgy of mass hypocrisy over the American POWs -- not one of whom has yet had the integrity to describe what he was doing in Indochina. Predictably, the media virtually blacked out the American tour by the two French prisoners Debris and Menras, who presented details of the murders and atrocities conducted under "the contral of American advisors." To inform the public of the fate of the hundreds of thousands of political prisoners, or the fate of the most basic civil liberties in South Vietnam, would have been inconsistent with the requirements of state propaganda at this moment.

High-level Pentagon officials are now explaining to the press that South Vietnam remains an "anchor" of American strategy and that no erosion of the US position there can be tolerated. In accordance with the openly announced intentions of Washington and Saigon, the quasi-mercenary forces of the GVN have proceeded to launch military operations throughout the country, subjecting areas that escape their control to regular and systematic bombardment in an effort to weaken the opposition and to prevent the free movement guaranteed by the agreements. One of the few reporters still working seriously in South Vietnam -- Daniel Southerland -- concluded from his extensive investigations that "the Saigon government has been guilty in by far the greatest number of cases of launching offensive operations into territory held by the other side. Quite a few Saigon troop casualties seem to be attributable to Saigon attempts to build outposts in zones which have been recognized for years as NLF base areas. The Thieu government also seems to feel that it has the right, despite the cease-fire, to take back territory which it lost during last year's big Communist offensives." (Christian Science Monitor, March 30, 1973)

The Joint Military Commission was unable to function because the PRG was unable to dispatch members to areas where the Saigon army was oper-

ating. In one incident four were killed. In other cases Saigon troops bombarded areas designated as landing places for the PRG-DKV delegation.

If there were an honest press the headlines in late January would have read: US ANNOUNCES INTENTION TO DISREGARD PARIS AGREEMENTS, and the media would have featured the systematic measures undertaken since in pursuit of this declared objective. An informed press would have gone further, explaining that the Paris Agreements begins to collapse, for whatever reason.

Despite their failures in Vietnam, US global planners have not relinquished their concern for a "stable world order" in which there are no barriers to the exploitation of material and human resources by the masters of the private empires. They will seek to implement the program outlined by Kissinger: "Regional groupings supported by the US will have to take over major responsibility for their immediate areas, with the management of every regional enterprise." They will use the vast resources of state power to preserve "the overall framework of order." As in the past, they will be constrained only by considerations of cost as they come into conflict with forces of revolutionary nationalism in Indochina or elsewhere. The costs of empire are substantial, but they are social costs, whereas the gains accrue to a privileged few who are generally well-represented in policy planning in the imperial society. As long as the general population represented a full capitulation to the position of the "enemy" as expressed continuously since 1962. The actual press, however, presents government distortions as the substance of the Agreements and concentrates on "North Vietnamese" violations, attempting to convey the "peace with honor" theme that is essential to administration plans at home and in Indochina.

In past years bombing "halts" were in fact bombing redistributions because the planes were simply shifted elsewhere. So far, the present "halt" is no exception. Bombing in February reached 70,000 tons. In Cambodia, the bombing has devastated settled areas in an effort to save the collapsing US-backed regime from guerrilla forces, generally referred to as "North Vietnamese" in the mass media, though in the fine print, it is now conceded that "hardly any North Vietnamese or Vietcong forces are still fighting against the Cambodian army" (Henry Kamm, NY Times, March 28). It can be expected that the announced tonnages of bombing will decrease as the GVN air forces, equipped, trained, kept in operation, and probably supplied with "civilian" US pilots by the American government, takes over more of the task of bombing South Vietnam and Cambodia into submission. The vast US air forces will remain in wait near the borders, in case the "sole legitimate government" of South Vietnam, as designated by Washington in violation of the "scrap of Paper" it has signed, population is willing to bear the costs, the history of past years will be recapitulated in one or another form.

## THE VIEW FROM MEMPHIS

Mike Honey & Martha Allen

Out of the growing repression in the South, and the case which crystallized the growing opposition to repression in the country -- that of Angela Davis -- the Southern Committee to Free All Political Prisoners was formed.

The first of a series of regional meetings was held in Angela's hometown of Birmingham, Ala. in February, '71. People working on her case and others met to discuss ways of strengthening the political prisoners movement in the South. The Memphis Committee to Free Angela Davis, which had been in existence for several months, was picked to coordinate future regional meetings and circulate a Southern newsletter.

Our Committee in Memphis got a head start when our first informal get-together at someone's house was crashed at 1:00 am. by eight armed Internal Security police. They ended up slugging the host of the gathering and charging him with assault. This was the most concrete evidence we could ask for of why the fight to free Angela had implications for us in Memphis. During our work with petitions and fundraising, we encountered arrests and one serious beating of a Black youth who had a "free Angela" sticker on his car.

Through rallies and mass literature distribution, media interviews and picket lines in front of the federal building, we were able to do what the local authorities were trying to stop us from doing: dramatize the case of this Black Woman Communist to the Memphis public, and expose the frameup. Over 10,000 signatures were gathered on a bail petition, Southern newsletters and phone campaigns at critical times were organized, and a South-wide petition of "Academics in Support of the Rights of Angela Davis" was printed and circulated. Throughout this campaign we emphasized that we were interested in supporting all political prisoners, and that the Davis case was only symbolic of the repression coming down in this country. We organized meetings around the case of Walter Collins, a Black draft resistor, and organized letter-writing and phone campaigns on other cases. We organized in Memphis around the case of 16 Black Panthers charged with "conspiracy" for helping poor Black families move into public housing. After a year of protests, the city agreed to drop charges if the Panthers would agree not to sue the city. In the process of this work, we met people willing to move on other issues. We mobilized for demonstrations against IT&T when they came to Memphis for a stockholder's meeting, showed the NARMIC slides on the air war, and in other ways tried to draw the connections between US imperialism abroad and the attacks upon the people here at home. We are also working to pass state legislation to control police use of firearms, and to oppose legislation which would force welfare mothers with "illegitimate" children to submit to sterilization. We are dealing not only with the rights

of political activists, but with aspects of woman's rights and the rights of all poor and working people to be free from racial and class oppression. In the process, we are exposing conditions of class society under capitalism, and advocate a new order -- socialism.

### Regional and National Growth

In April, 1972, we organized a regional conference on political prisoners, held in Memphis, in conjunction with a mass rally. Speakers from North Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Texas, Georgia, Tennessee, and Kentucky outlined cases of repression they were organizing around. Anne Berrigan (niece of Dan and Phil), Fania Jordan (Angela's sister), and Frank Wilkinson (Director, National Committee Against Repressive Legislation), also spoke. Over 100 people from over half the Southern states attended the conference, and 500 Memphians attended the rally. An evening fund-raising event was sponsored by a black state legislator. This regional organizing effort, and the followup on it, could not have been undertaken without the aid we received from Resist.

The Memphis Committee was again designated to maintain South-wide communication. In October, 1972, we held a regional planning meeting in Louisville, Ky., to decide future directions. As a result of that meeting, state conferences on repression have been held in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Alabama. More limited meetings have been held in Virginia and Texas. In North Carolina, a mass rally held with Angela Davis as principle speaker was held to publicize repression in that state.

Now we are mobilizing people across the South to attend a national conference in Chicago May 11-13. There, we hope to form a national coalition to defend the victims of racial and political repression. Carlos Feliciano, Ben Chavis, Angela Davis, Phil Berrigan, and Billy Dean Smith have sent out a letter inviting the broad base of the movement to attend.

In the South, organized resistance to repression is growing in a more unified and coordinated way than in many areas of the country. No matter what kinds of efforts we put forth, however, a national organization is indispensable if victims of repression are to be freed in the South. We have had a number of victories. But the repression in such areas as North Carolina or Mississippi is so massive that only a nationally-coordinated movement can bring it to a halt.

The people's movement is sprouting forth across the South. There are many hopeful and inspiring examples of struggle, particularly involving black and white workers, and militant women, joining in common struggles.

Florida farmworkers have won their struggle for union recognition, and in March defeated a vicious anti-farmworker bill with powerful backing.

## A PERSPECTIVE ON WOUNDED KNEE

Ken Hale

"We need help. We want the whole world to know what is going on here in Pine Ridge and how the people live. The AIM people are here because we asked them. Where else are we going to get help?" David Long, Vice-President of the Pine Ridge Tribal Council (Wassaja, Feb.-Mar., p. 4)

On February 27, several hundred American Indian people occupied the town of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, scene of the 1890 massacre by government soldiers of over 200 defenseless men, women, and children. The occupation, launched by members of the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization (OSCRO) and the American Indian Movement (AIM), dramatized specific demands which have grown out of the long history of exploitation and mismanagement which the US government has obliged the Indian people to endure. There are three basic demands: 1) that tribal council chairman Richard Wilson be suspended and democratic elections be instituted; 2) Congressional investigation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' dealings with the Indian people around the country; 3) Senate investigation of 371 Indian treaties and government violations of their provisions.

The government responded to the action in a way which is familiar not only by virtue of its strategy of isolating the occupied area by military might and its use of repressive legislation to prevent outside support from reaching Wounded Knee, but also because of its attempt to discredit the action, and thereby direct attention away from the demands, by making it seem that the action is merely a creation of "AIM militants", and by encouraging the promotion of false rumors of dissension at Wounded Knee together with a totally false image of federal impartiality and neutrality.

The fact of the matter is that the occupation of Wounded Knee developed out of a sustained struggle on the part of the people of the Pine Ridge Reservation to gain control of their tribal affairs by taking them out of the hands of a corrupt, BIA-controlled tribal government headed by Wilson. After an unsuccessful attempt to achieve tribal reform through established channels, the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization was set up to demand the civil rights that had been repeatedly abridged by Wilson. OSCRO fought Wilson in the tribal council and tried to have him impeached -- 6 out of 8 reservation districts voted for his impeachment, but he was protected by friends of his on the tribal council who refused to vote in accordance with the wishes of their constituents. It became clear in the course of this struggle that the tribal council represented the BIA, not the Oglala Sioux, and that their fight was really with the federal government. The people themselves would have to fight for control of the tribal council, and it was decided that AIM should be invited to join them in their struggle. Since

the occupation of Wounded Knee, widespread support from the Oglala community, and from American Indian groups all over the country, has been consistent and concrete. The concerns which the action addresses relate both to the specific conditions at Pine Ridge and to the treaties which have been concluded between the federal government and American Indian communities. There are important unifying principles which make the demands directly relevant to American Indians generally and which directly implicate the US government.

Around the middle of March, the Justice Department presented a 3-phase plan to end the occupation. It consisted primarily of a detailed set of procedures which the leaders of the Wounded Knee occupation were to use in surrendering their weapons, the area taken, and their fellows for whom federal warrants were outstanding. The principle concession to the Indian people was a proposed grievance hearing, not to exceed five hours in length, between two Interior Department Indian Affairs officials and a delegation of no more than seven "AIM leaders or members as AIM leadership may designate." The hearing was to be contingent on the surrender of Wounded Knee. In this proposal, which was rejected by the people at Wounded Knee, the government not only continued to down-play, by its wording, the role of local Oglala leadership and involvement but it also showed its contempt for the Indian demands by concentrating on the mechanical procedures for surrender. The importance of the Wounded Knee occupation derives mainly from the demands, because of what they represent in concrete terms for the people of the Pine Ridge reservation and because of what they represent both concretely and symbolically for American Indians and other minority people in this country.

The issues which confront American Indians today are overwhelming -- in each category (health, education, housing, employment, annual income) the condition of the majority is one of hardship. Many see these conditions as being the direct consequence of the fact that the policies and programs which most directly affect Indian people have, by one means or another, been taken out of their hands. This has been the prevailing fact of Indian life since the beginning of the United States -- even where treaties affirm the sovereignty of Indian nations, the US government has managed to become the dominant force in tribal governments. At Pine Ridge, this has led to the situation which Russell Means, an AIM leader from the Oglala community, has described in the following terms: "Stanley Lyman (the BIA superintendent at Pine Ridge) sits in the council like a member of the tribe, like an elected member of the council. It's illegal. He 'advises' on the drafting of resolutions. Lyman has been sitting right with the tribal chairman. He sits in the council dictating policy and makes statements such as 'Oh, I don't think you want to do this. I don't think it will get through my office. Let's not offend anyone.' I call that coercion. He is a dictator." (Wassaja, Feb.-Mar., p. 4). This sort of intrusion by the

US government into tribal affairs has, in the case of Pine Ridge, resulted in the disastrous circumstance that the prime grazing lands of the Oglala Sioux are being used to fatten the cattle of Anglo lessors -- thus, even where the Indian people are guaranteed a land base by treaty, the exploitation of their principle resource is carried out by non-Indians. This picture is duplicated, with appropriate regional variations, in many Indian communities across the country; if the resource is not grazing land, it is water, or coal, or timber.

One of the foci of the Wounded Knee demands is the large number of treaties which have been entered into by the US and various Indian nations. And, in fact, the establishment of the Independent Oglala Nation at the Wounded Knee occupation is seen as a return to the principles of the treaty concluded at Fort Laramie in 1868 which, though often abrogated in policy, made important territorial guarantees to the Sioux. The focus on treaties is important not only because of the attention it draws to the many violations of them on the part of the federal government but also because of the principle which is inherent in the very notion of a treaty -- i.e., an agreement between sovereigns. During its history, the US has operated with two distinct, diametrically opposed, theories in its dealings with American Indian peoples. The first of these, and the one which prevailed until 1871 when the congress put an end to the making of treaties with Indian groups, holds that Indian tribes are definable political entities within the United States, "domestic dependent nations", in the wording of the 1831 Supreme Court decision which first articulated this conception. The second theory, which gained ascendancy in the latter part of the nineteenth century, holds that Indian people are not members of a definable political entity but individuals, to be dealt with directly by state and federal government. Government policy based on the second theory has, in the main, been disastrous for Indian people. For example, the General Allotment Act of 1887 provided for the subdivision of lands formerly held in common by Indian tribes; where the allotment policy was implemented, parcels of land were given to individual family heads, and there was a surplus left over after allotment which was then available for settlement by white people. Not only was this policy in direct conflict with the traditional Indian system of joint land management, but it also resulted in an enormous decrease in the amount of land controlled by Indians. The stated purpose of allotment was to make Indian individuals independent, "like other Americans," and in line with this purpose, the education of their children was forcibly taken out of their hands. This began the notorious career of the federal government in Indian education. In pendulum fashion, US policy has swung between the two opposed theories of federal-Indian relationships, to the consternation and detriment of the Indian people. Thus, the Allotment Act repudiated the principles of the Supreme Court decision of 1831, and the

principles of the Allotment Act were themselves repudiated in 1934 when the Indian Reorganization Act prohibited further individual allotment, in principle, the right of Indians to govern themselves as they choose. Later, in 1954 the principle of tribal identity was again repudiated by House Concurrent Resolution 108 which provided for the termination of federal relations with certain tribes -- the policy of termination is considered by many to be the most serious threat to Indian tribal integrity. Fortunately, the pendulum is swinging away from termination, but it has not stopped swinging. In the course of US history, there have been many losses for the Indians. But there have been certain gains in principle, and it is evident that these have been made within the theoretical framework which recognizes Indian communities as political entities. This conception of Indian communities is most clearly implied in the treaties, whose recognition is urged in the Wounded Knee demands. If it were not for the treaties, the Indian people would probably not now have a land base at all.

American Indians are engaged in a struggle for survival, and they are prevented from effectively waging that struggle not by virtue of any lack of ability or vision but by virtue of the fact that the conduct of their affairs is under the control of outsiders -- their position is in many respects closely analogous to that of Third World peoples abroad who are fighting for liberation from the crushing bonds of US imperialism. Like other Third World peoples, they see their material wealth flowing out of their territory, in exchange for poverty and degradation. And they see their cultural and linguistic heritage in peril of obliteration under the onslaught of a culture which offers a system of values which is seriously questioned by many of its bearers, as well as by those who actively resist it. The vision of many American Indians is extremely clear, both with regard to the true sources of their oppression and with regard to the sorts of programs that would be needed to protect and to develop the enormous human potential which exists in their communities. It is essential that those communities gain control over their own lives. The demand for tribal integrity is not to be identified in any way with irrational separatism; rather, it is a demand for liberation from colonial domination by the very same power that serves the corporate exploitation of other Third World peoples here and abroad.

The need for financial support for the occupants of Wounded Knee will continue for a long time. An effective recipient of such support is the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, Box 147, Rapid City S.D. 57701.

To understand the dangers in refinery work, it is necessary to analyze only a few of the chemicals which are found in a typical refinery. Perhaps the most toxic of all petroleum by-products are aromatics -- chemicals prevalent in high octane gasoline. The best known aromatic is benzene. It's effects on workers are fairly well documented although long term studies of the effects of benzene have not been made. A few minutes of exposure to large quantities of benzene may be fatal. Continuous daily exposure to the chemical's vapors can result in benzene poisoning which may take the form of irritation of the mucous lining of the throat and nose, damage to the kidney and diseases of the blood such as anemia or leukemia. The chemical has also been linked with chromosomal damage. Extensive research has already been performed on the toxicity of at least two of the many gasoline and motor oil additives used in the refining process: tetraethyl lead and tricresyl phosphate. Tetraethyl

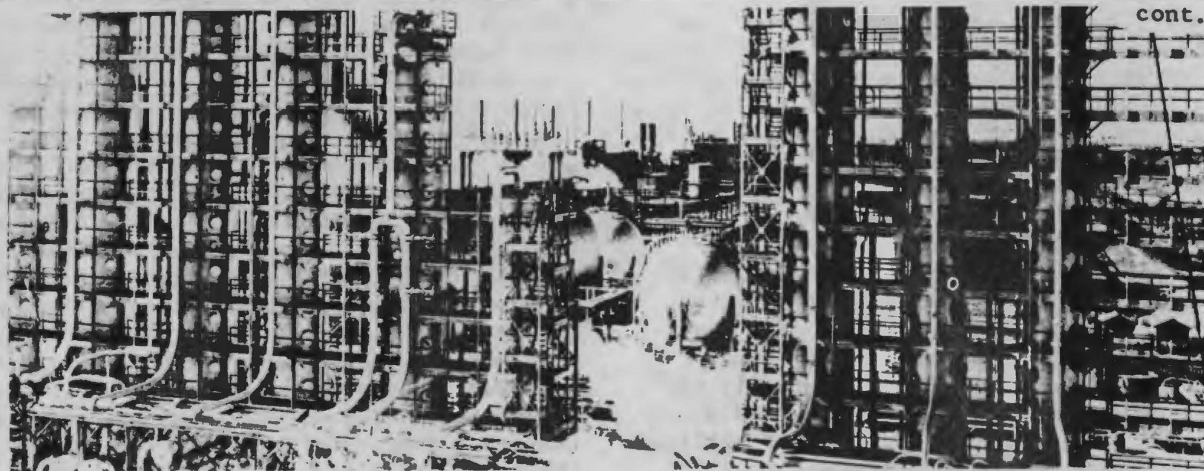
lead, better known as just plain "lead", has gained notoriety because of its effects on people who ingest the chemical, usually through eating lead-based paint. Ghetto children living in old and rundown housing are the primary victims of this type of lead poisoning. But lead may also be taken into the body via the lungs or through the skin, as is the case in refineries. Lead interferes with the body's production of red blood cells; this can cause or exacerbate anemia and leukemia. Because lead decreases the blood's ability to carry oxygen, brain damage can result from excessive exposure to lead. Figures from the Social Security Administration indicate that the incidence of brain malfunction is four times higher among refinery workers than among the general population. There may be a correlation between exposure to lead and brain damage, although without adequate research and long term study of worker health records, such a correlation cannot be proved.

Shell itself developed the oil additive tricresyl phosphate (TCP). TCP is extremely toxic, extensive evidence exists concerning the

dangerous health effects of tri-orth-cresyl phosphate (TOCP) which comprises some 15% of (TCP). Exposure to minute levels of TOCP can cause "flaccid paralysis" of the extremities. In other words, victims cannot control the movement of their limbs. In severe cases, death results. Outbreaks of TOCP poisoning occurred in the 1930s in America when 20,000 people were afflicted after drinking bootleg whiskey made from ginger extract which contained traces of the chemical. In 1959, 10,000 cases of poisoning were reported in Morocco after victims ate vegetable oil which had been adulterated with surplus engine oil. Shell continues to use TCP as an oil additive, despite the obvious hazards it presents to refinery workers.

Another in-plant hazard which affects refinery workers is exposure to excessive noise levels, which generally exceeds the 90-decible limit imposed by the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1971. Scientists agree that exposure to excessive noise will result in partial hearing loss, psychological disorders and undue stress on the cardio-vascular system. In addition to constant exposure to hazardous chemicals and operations, Shell refineries have been the scenes of major industrial accidents. In 1968, a pipe-line explosion at the Pasadena, Texas refinery caused the deaths of two men and serious injury to two others. The pipeline carried sulfuric acid and propane gas. It had been allowed to become corroded as a result of Shell's run-the-refinery-till-it-falls-apart policy. The worst catastrophe at a Shell operation in recent years was the 1970 fire on an oil platform in the Gulf of Mexico near New Orleans. The blaze resulted in four deaths, 50 injuries and a large oil spill. A district court fined the company \$340,000 because Shell had failed to provide proper safety devices on the platform. With potential for injury and property damage inherent in the very operation of oil or chemical factories, it is logical to assume that complex monitoring devices are standard, but that's not the case. A Shell chemical plant in Houston utilized a fairly simple monitoring device to

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According to a Shell promotional pamphlet, "A modern oil refinery is a city of bright steel towers linked by roads and pipelines. It covers hundreds of acres." In less romantic terms, this photograph depicts fractionating columns at a typical oil refinery.

determine the amount of carbon monoxide in the plant. The device, a canary, was exposed to carbon monoxide levels present in the plant and as might be expected, several canary "monitors" died during the "test". The Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers Union has demanded periodic surveys of refineries by industrial health consultants in order to uncover potentially dangerous materials and situations. Results of these surveys, the union says, must be made known to the workers. The union has also asked for company-paid physical examinations and medical tests for all refinery workers, and access to all company information on worker morbidity and mortality records. Also, part of the contract demands compensation for the time that workers spend on plant inspection and health committee meetings, and periodic checkups which might save them from serious illness or disability. Shell claims that it is "legally responsible for the health and safety of Shell employees in the workplace. This responsibility," the company asserts, "cannot be shared (with the union)." Shell also claims that the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1971 (OSHA) provides the mechanism with which to "establish special governmental departments staffed by experts who conduct safety and health studies on a nationwide basis." However, it is a well-documented fact that the OSHA remains unenforced. In 1971 there were only 23 industrial hygienists to follow up complaints made under the Safety Act. That averages out to one industrial hygienist for every 2.5 million workers. And even when complaints are filed, OSHA enforcement remains weak. For instance, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union brought an "imminent danger" complaint against Allied Chemical Corporation in 1972 for high inplant mercury vapor levels only to have the government reduce the citation to "serious danger", after which an Occupational Safety and Health Act official wished out loud that the union had reported a more visible problem such as a boiler explosion so that the agency might have taken stronger action. Although Shell claims to be vitally concerned about environmental quality both inside and outside its plants, the company's environmental record is not exemplary, to say the least. Aside from the company's recent history of oil spills, and explosions, day-to-day refinery operations result not only in chemical emissions which affect worker health, but in emissions which pollute the air and water of neighboring communities. However, Shell points with pride to its environmental record. It is especially proud of an award given to the Norco, Louisiana refinery by the National Wildlife Federation in 1971. Interestingly enough, two of the men responsible for giving Shell the award, were part of the Norco plant management.

Shell has distributed extensive company propaganda which warns environmentalists not to be "duped" by the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers. (already, a coalition of 11 environmental groups

have pledged support for the strike and boycott.) According to Shell, the union is using environmental issues to gain support for their supposedly real interest, the union's right to pension plan review. Union representative Mazzocchi vehemently denies this. "Even if Shell were to agree to pension review, and not to our health and safety demands, the strike would continue."

#### THE VIEW FROM MEMPHIS

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In December of '71, 2,500 woodcutters in Mississippi and Alabama joined hands to fight their common enemies such as Masonite Corp. The pulpwood union there now numbers 4,000 members with 25 locals, and there is good black and white participation in the union. In St. Marks and Port St. Joe, Florida, black and white workers joined hands in strikes last year. 1300 hospital workers have organized a union in Birmingham, even though state law says this is illegal. In Pikeville, Ky., 200 predominant white women workers went out on strike, and ended up trading picketers with black strikers in Charleston, West Virginia, in a show of solidarity.

In Mississippi, 2,200 people voted for the Socialist Workers Party in the Presidential elections--the largest vote registered by a left party there since 1912, when Debs garnered 2117 votes. In a number of Southern states, candidates of the SWP, Communist Party, and People's Party ran candidates for office. In Nashville, a black worker who is an open communist received over 600 votes. Ramsey Muniz of La Raza Unida, received 6% of the vote in the Governor's race in Texas. The South's first two black members of Congress since 1901 were elected last November - Andrew Young of Georgia, and Barbara Jordan of Texas.

These voting patterns are not stunning. Black representation and that of Chicanos and women is still woefully inadequate. But the victories of Young, and especially of Jordan, point to possible future gains. And the fact that candidates on the left are running for office and calling for fundamental changes in the direction of socialism is highly significant. Finally, an unprecedented victory was scored for the people of the Appalachian region and for all working people with the take-over of the UMW by Mine Workers for Democracy. Several Southern states were key to this victory against the corrupt Boyle machine.

Because of the centuries of racist indoctrination, the South is still the most fertile testing ground for the government's policies of racism and reaction, of its "Southern Strategy" for the nation. But the outlook in the South is hopeful. Black and white people are getting together in labor, peace and anti-repression struggles as never before. The erosion of our rights over the last five years is reflected in the South only a bit more intensely than elsewhere in the country. And here, as elsewhere, the people's movements, demanding the rights granted to us on paper but denied us in reality, continue to grow.

## MARCH GRANTS

Union of American Exiles in Britain; 3 Caledonian Road, London N.1, England. Formed in 1969, the union is composed primarily of American draft resisters exiled in the U.K. They work both with GI's posted in the U.K. and with resisters. By publishing a newsletter, speaking in public, and by other means, they provide a voice for many war resisters in England and a source of information about the Indochina War for other Americans living there. A grant was given to them to help in their work for war exiles whose needs will continue long after any "settlement" in Indochina.

Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee; c/o Mark Klimo, 430 N. 38th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19108. This committee was formed in the summer of 1971 to focus energies on a systematic approach to organizing at the place of production, particularly around the problems of black and Latin and women workers, who suffer most because of the integral role played by racism and sexism in the maintenance of American corporate power at home and abroad. Their work in Philadelphia has concentrated on educational campaigns around improved working conditions, runaway shops, unemployment and layoffs, and the war. They were given a grant to help in the purchase of basic office equipment and machinery to make their propaganda work more efficient and less expensive.

Charleston Women's Health Conference; 151 Grove St., Charleston, S.C. 29403. A grant was provided to help defray expenses incurred in connection with a conference on health care and women. The conference workshops were designed to facilitate a sharing of experiences, feelings, and ideas concerning the role of women in society and possible directions in affecting change in the present system of health care for women.

Committee for Action/Research on the Intelligence Community; Box 647, Ben Franklin Sta., Washington, DC 20044. CARIC, formed by ex-intelligence personnel and veterans who have become alarmed at the directions of the US government and its intelligence service, hopes to fill a critical void that now exists within the movement by acting both as a 'watchdog' over the US Intelligence Community and as a source of public information on its activities, scope, and goals. They were given a grant to enable them to distribute the first issue of their bulletin COUNTER-SPY.

The Feminist Press; c/o SUNY College of Old Westbury, Box 334 Old Westbury, NY 11568. The Feminist Press is a group working for the reconstruction of feminist history and change in the character of children's books.

Feminist Women's Health Center; 746 Crenshaw Boulevard, Los Angeles, Ca. 90005. Stemming from the concepts of the Self-Help Clinic conceived by Laywomen over a year ago, the major effort of the Center is to create improved systems of health care for women within a framework which gets away from textbook notions of normality and professionalism. The grant is to help them acquire a 16mm film projector for use in their abortion counseling and referral service.

Alabama-Mississippi Region VVAW; 1317 14th Ave., Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35401. A grant was given to be used in connection with OPERATION COUNTY FAIR, a program begun by VVAW to provide medical aid for the people of Bogue Chitto, Ala., and to help establish a permanent clinic within the community.

Coalition for Human Survival; East Lansing, Mich. A grant was given to help finance research work which is used in laying a foundation of information for a radical perspective on the city government of East Lansing.

Red Prison Movement; c/o Hovey Street Press, Cambridge, Mass. RPM is a service organization for prisoners which has been building a network of revolutionary prisoners across the country. The grant is to enable them to reprint their book about George Jackson, COMRADE GEORGE, which has been of great value in their work of providing political direction and support to prisoners. The response they received from the first 4,000 copies has proven its effectiveness in reaching white, as well as black prisoners.

Western Front; Box 24523, Seattle, Wash. 98124. WF, a newspaper serving working class and poor communities in Seattle, provides coverage of workers' struggles, strikes, contact negotiations, lockouts, wildcats, and news of the women's movement and minority movements. They were given a grant to help them buy a typewriter.

Vietnam: News and Report; P.O. Box 227 Sta. N, Montreal 129, Quebec. Formerly NEWS FROM VIETNAM, the paper is put out by a group of patriotic Vietnamese resident in Quebec. The purpose of the bi-monthly publication is to inform the North American people of the US role in Vietnam and of the resistance of the Vietnamese people. The grant is to pay for repairs on their Gestetner.

The Jeffery Allison Defense Committee; Box 1492 Norfolk, Va. 23501. The Defense Committee is an organization of sailors and civilian legal counselors, who came together to support Jeffrey Allison, and since his trial have continued organizing, educating (through their newsletter "Grapes of Wrath", and doing support work, through a collective of trained military counselors.