

internationals lay oil slick on chevron strike

by Bob Avakian

The oil workers' strike against Chevron (Standard Oil puppet) ended abruptly last week. It was sold out by the fat cats who make up the international bureaucracy of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers. Under the misleadership of the past President O.A. Knight, the international apparatus of the union was using the members' money (mainly dues) to collaborate with the Central Intelligence Agency and was receiving in turn, funds from several C.I.A. feeder foundations.

The current President, A.F. Grospron has supposedly severed these open ties with the bosses' government but it is obvious from the actions of the pickard flunkies under his direction that the union bureaucracy continues to work for the benefit of the bosses.

Two weeks ago the Chevron workers received official notice from the company that, under the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, they would be permanently replaced by scabs if they did not return to work by Friday, March 28. This achieved the intended result of causing a deep split within the ranks of the union.

STANDARD'S WHORE

The "International Representative" of the union, who had been dispatched to oversee the conduct of the strike, seized upon the Taft-Hartley provision. He began caucusing with small groups of strikers, trying to persuade them that the local leadership had lost sight of the immediate issues of the strike and was going to steer them all to disaster. This "friendly persuasion" was a clear indication to the Chevron workers that they might soon be left on their own, to sink or swim, without the weekly strike benefits from the international that had enabled them to hold out against the financial and political power of imperial Standard Oil.

At the same time, the International Representative set out to sabotage the boycott against Standard Oil. The boycott had been gaining momentum--gathering support not only from working people and students, but from local labor fat cats who were embarrassed into giving some token of assistance to the embattled oil workers. The OCAW International insisted that the boycott be limited to Chevron Chemical Company products, since it would be "immoral" (!) to boycott Standard Oil, now that the union had signed an agreement with the Standard refinery. In other words--forget the murder of Richard Jones (a picket who was run over and killed by a Standard tanker during the strike); forget the militant strikers who still face criminal charges, pressed by the Standard-controlled D.A.'s office; forget the union-shop at Chevron Chemical; forget the most active pickets whom Chevron is firing for "illegal acts"; just be sure not to disrupt the sweetheart agreement between the union fat cat whores and Big Daddy Standard.

From the beginning of the oil strike the strategy of Grospron and his cronies has been to preserve, at all costs, their jurisdictional authority. Above all, not to do anything that might force the oil oligopolies to try to eliminate the union altogether, rather than just weaken it. At the same time they tried to put themselves in a position to claim a victory in the strike. So, instead of keeping all the oil workers out until each bargaining unit had won its demands, the International negotiated one-by-one, leaving the Shell and Standard workers in California out on a limb until the last.

Then the International Representative concentrated his efforts on the El Segundo Standard Refinery in Southern California--the weakest of all the OCAW locals--encouraging the men to settle for an inferior contract. When the El

Segundo workers did vote to accept this agreement, the International refused to authorize it. The result was predictable demoralization among the local rank and file, who went back to work anyway, without a contract. The strength of the local was completely smashed. Only its bureaucratic shell and dependent relationship with the International were left intact.

MORE SELL-OUTS

Next the International Representative returned to northern California. Pointing to the El Segundo disaster (which he blamed on the rank and file), he argued that the refinery workers had better hurry up and settle before the company, swelled with arrogance, offered an even worse settlement than the El Segundo workers were forced to accept.

At the same time he worked with the leadership of the Shell Oil workers in Martinez (OCAW 1-5, 25 miles from the Richmond Standard Refinery) to get the rank and file to return to work without a contract, slow down production from within, and wage a boycott against Shell. When they went back in, however, several of the most militant members were fired. They walked back out, but without real support from the International, they could not revive the strike and were forced to return to work again.

The International has also reduced the boycott of Shell to a paper farce (placing Shell on the "unfair" lists in labor journals that many union members don't even bother to read).

With the Shell strike out of the way, the International Representative could turn his full attention to sabotaging the struggle of the 300 Chevron union workers to save their union shop. The Standard refinery workers ignored his advice and stayed out long enough to win back the jobs of all union members. (see the MOVEMENT, April, 1969). But thanks mainly to his efforts the Chevron workers are back in the plant without a contract, without a union shop and without four of their most militant members who were fired for allegedly smashing windows, slingshooting scab trucks and other acts that gave the strike the measure of power it did have.

THE WORKER'S STRUGGLE

The Chevron workers did not go back in without a bitter internal fight. On Saturday, March 22, a rally was held in front of the Chevron plant to protest the murder of Richard Jones. At that rally, which was co-sponsored by our solidarity committee, I gave a speech urging the Chevron workers to resist the pressure to go back to work without a union shop. I pointed out that strong unions were the only day-to-day defense working people have against their boss. But I also argued that in order to really win the strike and begin to deal with the all-around exploitation and oppression by the bosses and their government, we would have to join forces with the black peoples' movement, the student movement and peoples movements all over the world who are struggling against the same beast. I reminded people that the District Attorney had refused to prosecute anyone for Richard Jones' murder and that this clearly demonstrated the hold Standard had over the "legal" system. I pointed to the cop cars across the street and added emphatically

that Standard not only controlled the cops and used them to break strikes, but used them to occupy the black community, where people are daily subjected to terror and even murder by the pigs. I also pointed out that the bosses use international cops to murder people who try to take the resources of their own land from companies like Standard. And I stressed the crucial role the students and others who identify politically with the world-wide resistance movement had played in supporting the strike and helping to get the boycott going.

The speech was very well received by the 50 or so Chevron workers at the rally--who represented the most militant and advanced workers. After the rally a union meeting was held to discuss the Taft-Hartley termination threat by the company. Many of the men and women who had been at the rally took the lead in the fight to stay out and continue the strike. On several occasions heated argument led directly to an exchange of blows.

So, although the motion to continue the strike narrowly carried, the sides were so bitterly divided that those who had been convinced (largely by the International Representative) that the strike would fall and they would be fired, refused to accept the majority decision and walked back in the next Monday. This broke the back of the strike. The rest of the workers had no real choice but to return to work without a contract and rely on a massive boycott to pressure the company into giving them back their union shop.

When the OCAW International squelched the boycott, the Chevron workers, who still have not signed a new contract with the company, were left with little besides their own determination--without which no lasting victory can be consolidated in any case.

LOCAL LEADERSHIP

So far I have talked exclusively about the sell-out role of the Union International. The role of the local leadership is more ambiguous. First of all, it is important to note that, with the exception of the Secretary-Treasurer, Jake Jacobs, all the local officials (including the President of the local) are workers themselves, employed full-time in the plant. So there is not the kind of contradiction between workers and officials that exists in many union locals. This may be the result of the former influence of the old (non-revisionist) Communist Party, which played the leading role in organizing the OCAW in the 1930s.

Secondly, the present leadership of Richmond local 1-561 has been very open in accepting support for strikes from every quarter. This openness is probably due, in part at least, to the relatively weak position of the local, which has less than half the 2000 refinery workers organized. But the local leadership does deserve credit for resolving this contradiction by actively seeking support and, in this strike, even forming principled ties with the Third World Liberation Front at San Francisco State. The local leadership did everything it could, within the framework of the OCAW, to wage a serious strike, push the boycott of Standard Oil in order to get a decent settlement, save the union shop at Chevron and the jobs of militant pickets.

On the other hand, when the framework of the OCAW, rigidly controlled by the sell-out International, conflicted with the need to extend the strike and the boycott, the local leadership was not willing to say "screw the International". Had they done so, the International would almost certainly have moved to take control over the local directly by putting the local under "trusteeship".

To continue the strike under these circumstances would have meant deepening the alliance with the TWLF and going all out to link up with the student movement and, even more importantly, with the black liberation movement. At

the same time they would have to overcome the inevitable resistance of the labor bureaucrats to win support from the ranks of working people. The rank and file also faced the problem of being unprepared for such an all out, protracted struggle. But at least part of the blame for this lies with the leadership of local 1-561, which failed to rally strong support for a wildcat walk-out last year which erupted when a militant young worker was fired. The wildcat ended in the firing of 27 militants who went out in solidarity with him.

ANTI-COMMUNISM

But the most important tendency which restrained the local leadership is their opposition to proletarian political ideology (Communism) and, of course, their resistance to furthering this consciousness among the workers. Without this consciousness it is impossible to see beyond immediate economic exploitation by the boss, or to place the lessons of even a long, bitter strike--the use of police as strikebreakers, the rigged nature of the legal system, the puppet character of the politicians, the one-sided reporting of the press--in a perspective that ties them together with the oppression of workers in other industries and class strata, students, black people and the colonized peoples of the world. Without this consciousness it is impossible to identify the single source of all this oppression--the imperialist system--and to conceive of the possibility of an alternative system based not on exploitation and oppression, but on cooperation and common struggle.

Without this understanding, workers are continually forced on the defensive, conceding to the bosses ever more power to determine the battlefield, the time of battle and weapons. There's also the trap of supporting one set of slavemasters against another, instead of fighting to end the whole system of slavery.

At one point during the strike, after my first article in the MOVEMENT appeared (March, 1969) Jake Jacobs cautioned me against writing things that put the strike in the same framework as the struggle of the Vietnamese, and other oppressed peoples, against Standard and its imperialist cronies. "Our members will read that and think it's Communist and get turned off," he warned. But the ability to see their struggle as part of the worldwide struggle against imperialism is exactly what working people need most.

Our job as Communist revolutionaries is not only to help our fellow workers win any immediate battle with the boss, but to arm them with a broader understanding of the system that makes that battle necessary and of their crucial role in smashing that system and replacing it with one based on their needs and the needs of the majority of the people. If they see that as Communism and are turned off, our job is to help them overcome that bourgeois prejudice, not to give in to it.

Of course, not all working people are on the same political level and some can obviously be won to a Communist position much faster than others. But unless we put forward the most advanced ideas, within the framework of support for the immediate fight, we will never reach the advanced workers--who alone are the motive force that can lead the intermediate and even backward workers in the sharpest struggle and raise their political consciousness.

UNITY AND STRUGGLE

Our approach to the local union leadership has been one of unity and struggle. Unity on the basis that they were really trying to win the strike and were willing to reach out to the student and third world movements, in principled coalition. And struggle on the basis that they ultimately kept the tactics of the strike within bounds acceptable to the International and tried to keep the politics that developed out

of the strike within bounds acceptable to the bourgeoisie.

Even though the local leadership has gone along with the International's anti-boycott edict, we are working with SDS nationally--which passed a resolution at its last National Council--calling for a boycott and all-out support for the Chevron workers--to keep the boycott going and to organize demonstrations and other harassing tactics against Standard.

We did not take Jacobs' advice on playing down anti-imperialist propaganda, but in our articles, leaflets and conversations with the workers, tried to bring Communist politics to the forefront. In fairness to Jacobs, it must be said that while he discouraged us from this type of propaganda, he did not publicly oppose us in carrying it out. We are now forming study groups with the most advanced guys (reading about and discussing the Panthers and black liberation, Vietnam and imperialism, the fundamentals of Marxist economics and the Thought of Mao and the Cultural Revolution). We are trying to make these groups study-action collectives, so that the people involved can apply what they are learning to the day-to-day issues that come up inside the Standard plant and to larger political questions like the Vietnam war, the schools and the cops in the community.

In the plant organizing is difficult because the Standard refinery is spread out like a city and it is difficult to make contact with workers in other divisions who may be literally miles away.

In the early stages of the strike we brought together several black workers we had met with members of the Richmond Panthers, and hopefully a black caucus will be developed. On Saturday, April 19, the Panthers and representatives of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit (DRUM, EL-RUM, etc.) are holding a revolutionary labor conference. We will be bringing a number of workers to that meeting so that the advanced white workers will have a chance to meet with black workers from Standard and Chevron and work out some plans for coordinated action in the plant and in the community.

OUR SHORTCOMINGS

In summing up our experience in the strike we felt that there were a number of shortcomings in our work--some avoidable, some inevitable, given objective circumstances.

During the first month of the strike we spent several hours each day on the picket line talking with the rank and file workers. But as we became more familiar to the union leadership and they began to rely on us for help in the strike--even to the point of plotting strategy--we tended to cut down on the time we spent on the picket line, although we did hang around the union hall and talk to the workers there. At first we tended to hold back on our full political perspective for fear of isolating ourselves. Even as we got to know the workers better we had to struggle to overcome our timidity and tendency toward seeking the lowest common denominator. The lively and generally high-level discussion we got into when we did put forward our full politics was the best encouragement and guide to avoiding revisionism.

Although we did raise the question of black liberation and helped win support for the TWLF at S.F. State, we were not able to focus this question into concrete conditions of white supremacy within the plant and the union. Specifically at Standard, black people, who were not hired until recently, are low down on the seniority list and therefore are concentrated in the lower paying jobs. If we had been working in the plant ourselves before the strike--or had contact with and developed a collective among advanced workers there--we would have been in a position to raise preferential seniority for blacks as a central demand of the strike.

FUTURE STRATEGY

This will be one of the major focuses of our work in Standard and in the other plants in Richmond where we develop contacts and cadre. Our strategy for plant organizing is to concentrate on basic production industry where large numbers of black workers are grouped, and develop collectives among the advanced white guys, who will lead the fight for support of black caucuses. If there is no black caucus we will try to steer the most advanced black workers to the Panthers and work closely with

them, either in one caucus or in coalition.

Our experience with the oil strike has also tended to bear out our tentative conclusion that younger white workers are less hung up in white supremacy. Also, although their trade union consciousness is sometimes less developed than that of older workers, their political instincts are usually far more radical. They are more willing to seize the initiative in a struggle. For these reasons we believe the younger white guys will form the backbone of the collectives we are building in the shops and the community.

The younger guys also relate readily to the student movement. On several occasions when hundreds of students joined the picket lines, young workers led groups of students in militant action, including a charge inside one plant, which netted the General Manager of Chevron Chemical and two other company officials.

STUDENTS NOT SHOCK TROOPS

Some misunderstanding has apparently been created concerning the role of the student mobilizations on the picket line. The PL-led student-worker alliance in this area--which was actually the first student group to join the picket line--ended up withdrawing from active strike support and criticizing us for encouraging hundreds of students to mass at the Standard plant and help shut it down.

The essence of their criticism seems to be that the students were acting as "shock troops" for the workers, rather than forcing the workers to rely on their own strength to win the strike. We are specifically accused of taking the strike out of the hands of the workers and turning it over to the students. "Student-worker alliance" is good they say, only if it is on a small-group basis (and presumably only if it is led by PL).

First of all the "shock troops" argument draws a false distinction because, as I have already indicated, young workers were actually leading students in militant action. (PL and its sympathizers may have been thrown off here because many of these younger workers have beards, moustaches, sideburns and long hair. Apparently PLers think that all workers are smooth-faced and burr-headed).

On the other hand, there was clearly a contradiction between the younger workers and the older workers. The younger workers were more active and willing to take more risks in the strike. The older workers have accumulated more seniority, find it difficult to work their way into a different industry, and consequently were intimidated by the threat of termination and by the company cameras that recorded every act of the pickets. Most of the older workers recognized the significance of militant student support and, if they were not willing to join in militant action they were at least inspired to stay out longer.

Given this contradiction, would it have been better for the students--who had relatively little to lose by following the younger workers--to say to the older guys: well if you're not willing to be fired, we can't act as your shock troops, so you'll just have to lose the strike? Again, PL and its political supporters would have students form an "alliance" with the working class by pitching not only their politics but their tactics to the level of the more backward workers.

Our approach was to mobilize as many students as often as possible, but to stress to the workers that the success of the strike still depended primarily on them. For example, at the union meeting the day before the first mass student mobilization, we put out a short leaflet which called attention to the upcoming mass mobilization but concluded:

This show of community support and increased militancy will be a powerful tool in helping win the strike. But it's still up to us to show our own strength--on the line and every day until Standard is forced to give in. The company will never recognize that our demands are just until it becomes too costly for them to fight us. Tomorrow morning is the time to up the ante on Standard and its scabs... Every union member and supporter should be on the line. If we stick together, we're gonna win.

THE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

Our assessment is that it was a great advance--although not a worker-student alliance for the overthrow of

imperialism--for the students to join the picket line at Standard. Many students who turned out for the mass mobilizations did return in smaller groups and spent considerable time exchanging experiences and political ideas with the oil workers. And as I wrote in the last article, the anti-imperialist ideology--the support for the liberation of oppressed peoples--that the students brought to the picket lines will ultimately be of the greatest value to the workers.

STUDENT CLASSES?

In the last article I put forward a cursory analysis of the position of students in society and drew a few conclusions about the role of the student movement in defeating imperialism. This analysis, while correct in several aspects, was not wholly adequate. It is true that most, though certainly not all, university and college students (and certainly not the majority of junior or community college students) come from the middle classes: from the families of small businessmen, professionals and skilled workers, who tend to be more petty bourgeois than proletarian.

Students as such are in a transitional class position. They do not stand in any direct relation to the means of production. Although many will become skilled workers, they cannot be considered "apprentice workers" because they do not create any value, no surplus value is extracted from them, they receive no direct compensation, as students, for their efforts, and they are in fact forced to pay for their training. They do absorb value as students--but this does not define them as workers. The exception to this, of course, is the minority of students who are at the same time teachers, lab technicians, research assistants, or on scholarships, etc.

Certainly the great majority of students who are now active in the student movement are from the middle classes. How can we explain this? The material base lies in the new technology (sometimes called "automation") which has been introduced by the monopoly industries over the past few decades. The effect of this technology has been to reduce the absolute as well as the relative number of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs and create whole new categories of skilled jobs.

Within the working class, white workers generally have experienced an upward mobility into these more highly skilled categories, while black workers (many of them migrating from the rural South) have become increasingly concentrated in the unskilled basic production categories. At the same time, many of the skilled jobs cannot be handled without increased education, so the sons of more privileged workers are forced to go to college in order to insure steady employment and the possibility of rising to even more privileged positions. These students tend to be very vulnerable to the concentrated dosage of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology they get at school, because it does seem to correspond to their objective position. The limits of their mobility are in fact temporarily receding.

On the other hand, the children of the "independent" petty bourgeois tend to have the opposite experience when they get to a college or university. Because these institutions have been converted into service centers and training schools for the corporations and the corporate state, (rather than grooming schools for the future owning and managing elite), the methods of mass production and massive bureaucratization have been adapted on a large scale.

So the "independent" petty bourgeois kids find that the first thing that is compromised at college is their independence, and this is also true in the society for which they are being trained. As a result of going through college they may make more money, but they will be forced into an institutionalized, bureaucratized work situation as teachers, scientists, engineers, etc. because these functions are being brought more and more under the direct control of the corporations and the state. In short petty-bourgeois, individualist, ideology tends to lose much of its credibility.

The first reaction of "middle class" students to the loss of their individuality and privilege was to fight to preserve them. Hence the rallying cry of the Free Speech Movement at U.C. Berkeley was, you can't do this to US--you can't turn US into adjuncts of the machine. (Witness Mario Savio's famous speech before the big Sproul Hall sit-in.)

These students increasingly discovered, through confrontation and struggle, that the "factoryization" of the university was rooted in the basic structure and development of society. Some students, unable to cope with this realization, "dropped out". But many began to investigate more thoroughly the nature of the system that had created their own alienation.

Students, while they are not renaisance men (or women) are still intellectuals. They read widely and synthesize what they read. They tend to be the first group in society that detects the possibility of fundamental changes in the social order. In this period of the decline of imperialism students who came to understand that the imperialist system would not allow them full development as individuals, began to identify with the oppressed peoples of this country and world who are driving imperialism up against the wall. They found in these peoples' movements the concept of a new society and a new man, embodied in both the collective struggle of the people and in the leaders of their revolutionary movements. Many activists in the student movement have learned from these liberation movements the importance of Marxism-Leninism--the science of revolutionary struggle to defeat imperialism and build socialism.

We believe the task of revolutionary students is twofold: spread the anti-imperialist student movement to working class colleges and high schools; and develop Marxist-Leninist cadre who can leave school and integrate with the most exploited sector of the working class, the industrial proletariat. In both these ways, the student movement can aid in the development of a revolutionary united front against imperialism, led by the working class, and of a vanguard Communist Party based on the most oppressed and exploited--black people, Latinos and the industrial proletariat.

I have spent so much time on the student movement because, although our work in Richmond is with the working class, we recognize the crucial importance of a revolutionary student movement and of linking this movement up with the working class. Our experience in the oil strike has shown that this can be done and that far from retarding the development of revolutionary struggle and ideology among workers, it can help to push that development forward.

ENTER WOMEN

There is one final question that arose in the strike which is of general concern to the movement and is of desperate importance to the working class, women's liberation. While a number of women workers at Chevron and many wives of oil workers played a very active, militant role in the strike, many more tended to act as a brake. For example, the majority of the women at Chevron were most vulnerable to the pressure of the company's termination threat and most susceptible to the International Representative's treachery. They formed the backbone of the back-to-work move that finally disintegrated the strike.

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RED PAPERS

What has Mao got to do with making the revolution in the US? Do we need a Marxist-Leninist Party? Is the working class the vanguard?

READ the RED PAPERS, a pamphlet published by the Bay Area Revolutionary Union. It includes: "Statement of Principles of the Bay Area R.U.", "Against the Brainwash: A Defense of Marxism-Leninism", and "Serve the People".

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NEW WAVE in OREGON

by Ruby Ely

LA OLA NUEVA is an infant student group trying sometimes desperately, to solidify its organization and broaden its base on a small community college campus in one of the last remaining enclaves of what we call the hinterlands.

The group first became evident in February when a small group of Mexican and black students began circulating a petition demanding a voice for students, especially racial minority students, in the administration of Treasure Valley Community College. These students call themselves LA OLA NUEVA. For the most part they represent Chicanos who are participating in the Office of Economic Opportunity Migrant Education program at the college. Most are married and have children.

The beginning of the petition stated openly "We reject the humiliating role assigned to Mexicans by Anglo administrators and teachers. We will no longer tolerate injustice. We will no longer be bent, bowed and broken by this system. We have joined with the millions of our brothers who fight for justice for all workers, in the United States and the whole world."

Among the 16 "non-negotiable" demands were: immediate hiring of Mexican and black teachers and counselors; an end to harassment for speaking Spanish; banning police from arresting students on campus and eliminating arrest as grounds for suspension; amnesty; publicity in Spanish encouraging Mexican-American candidates to the Board of Trustees; courses that deal with Mexican-American and black history honestly; and participation in decision-making.

The local press accused LA OLA NUEVA of subversion and conspiracy. But the students made no attempt to hide their activities. On the contrary, they circulated their petition to various groups and individuals throughout the Malheur County, Oregon area where the college is located. Response to the petition and their pleas for help was the usual, "I agree with everything the petition says but it would not do for me to sign it".

THE PEOPLE GAGGED

The director of the OEO Migrant Program immediately obtained a copy of the petition, printed a slightly altered form of it, and distributed it in bundles among minority group students. The effect was to gag a majority of these students who feel the pressure that such a threat to their small OEO stipend represents. The director then flew to Portland to confer with top state education authorities about his "new" problem.

In the midst of all this, the Administration of Treasure Valley College worked out, unknown to any students, a deal with the College Board of Education for the now popular AAUP-USANSA "Joint Statement on the Rights and Freedoms of Students". Administration sources later admitted to the students that they had been working on the statement for several months. However, when the issue of the student petition began to get controversial discussions throughout the community, the Administration statement was quickly finished and presented as an alternative to the student petition.

The controversial discussion became controversial when the INTERMOUNTAIN OBSERVER, a Boise, Idaho weekly, ran a story outlining the student demands.

The article, which was favorable to the student petition, was written by a Methodist minister from Ontario, Oregon, home of the college.

The resulting front page editorial in the hometown paper scared the students and the minister into agreeing to a premature interview with the college president. Originally the meeting was to have been only a discussion of the POSSIBILITY of working through the Joint Statement of Student Rights and Freedoms as an alternative to the petition demands. College officials agreed to meet with two of the students privately. However, shortly after the beginnings of some contact and agreement appeared, other interested parties entered the meeting and it soon reached a point where the students felt intimidated. The director of the OEO program, Mr. Moneybags, to most of the students, was one of those called into the meeting by the Administration; the financial screws, evident all along, were tightened. The threat of empty stomach for the students and their children subdued LA OLA NUEVA (The New Wave) changing it to a mere ripple for the moment.

PHONEY PROMISES

Students were promised an equitable voice in implementing the Joint Statement. To date, however, the administration has not seen fit to organize the committee which was promised to carry out this implementation.

The quickly castrated student movement at Treasure Valley Community College is noteworthy only because of its dramatic effect on the "Mississippi of the West", a strip of southwestern Oregon and southern Idaho, where such signs as "We reserve the right..." and English ONLY spoken here" are not uncommon.

The first little ripple, accusing the "leaders" of this area of obvious paternalism which they have for so long been practicing, seems to have opened the door for some looks at a very dirty situation. Minority groups are truly minority groups here, and have never dared express dissatisfaction before. In the past, their shameful role in this utterly backward community has included at least enough sugar from daddy to keep their children from starving.

Now, however, this may no longer be enough. Or the paternalistic structure may refuse to continue to dole out the carrots and begin to wield only the club. In either case, a polarization may occur that could eventually lead us out of the darkness.

There are no more than two dozen white "liberals" mostly of the worst kind, in the entire area and they, of course, refuse openly to participate in any anti-repression struggle because they fear for their jobs. The fear is not unfounded.

The efforts of LA OLA NUEVA may have other hopeful effects. CITIZEN FOR CIVIC UNITY, a Boise-based civil rights group, has expressed interest in the Ontario Situation. They may soon meet in the Oregon community, fifty miles to the northwest of Boise, to show their support for the so far well-suppressed student movement. Perhaps the most hopeful of all the effects will be the new look which students will have at a local and well-established monster with many mouths to slurp them up, swallow them down, wipe its jowls, and two hours later forget that it even ate.

JOMO

by Suzanne Crowell, Staff Correspondent, The Southern PATRIOT

ST. PETERSBURG, Fla.—In May of 1968, over 200 black garbagemen in St. Petersburg stopped work. Three weeks later, the city had resumed normal garbage collection. By Labor Day, the strike was "settled"; there was a wage increase, but the garbagemen were rehired without seniority, as vacancies occurred.

The summer between the walkout and the settlement saw the failure of the city government, the business community and the liberals to come to grips with the situation.

It also saw a stockpile of anti-riot equipment put into use during four nights of violence in the ghetto, and the rise of a new black group -- JOMO, the Junta of Militant Organizations.

While JOMO might have gained prominence in any case, the failure of the strike gave it a context in which to work. Its insistence that traditional methods could not work gained considerable credence in the wake of the strike.

The black militants who make up JOMO stress unity. Their program is uncomplicated. For example, Zeke Kenyatta, the current prime minister, said "JOMO has no position on violence. Our position is on freedom, by any means necessary."

Black history and other classes are held in a neighborhood Catholic school at night.

JOMO also runs a community blood bank in a St. Petersburg hospital. The blood bank eliminates red tape, since the patient does not have to pay for blood or guarantee its replacement before getting a transfusion. And it helps to build unity, since without community support it could not exist.

The police have stepped up harassment of the black community in general and JOMO in particular since the garbage strike. JOMO members are arrested constantly for such things as disorderly conduct, vagrancy, night prowling (in broad daylight) and verbal abuse of a police officer (calling one a pig).

Younger blacks are questioned about what leaders think and where they get their money. Joe Waller has been singled out for special treatment. Formerly active in SNCC, he was responsible for founding JOMO. In addition to arrest on several minor charges Waller has been convicted of grand larceny. In 1966, he wrote letters to the city protesting a mural in city hall. It showed two black minstrels, grotesquely drawn. During a protest march about the mural, Waller and several others forcibly removed it. Waller was arrested by the city for destroying public property and he served, in the end, more than the 180 day sentence.

Later, the state charged him with grand larceny of the mural. He was convicted and sentenced to five years in the state penitentiary. He is appealing to the U.S. Supreme Court claiming the second trial was double jeopardy, and that he was denied access to his present investigation.

JOMO hopes to become a state-wide organization. It has contacts in Cocoa Beach, Jacksonville and Miami. In Gainesville, a JOMO organization was recently started. Both local people and St. Petersburg organizers are involved. Carol Thomas, a white woman who has been active in the Gainesville movement for years, is a staunch supporter. The JOMO program in Gainesville is similar to the one in St. Petersburg. Charles Fullwood, 19, is the prime minister. Street patrols are being organized to protect the ghetto from the police and eliminate dope peddlers. Discipline and responsibility are important parts of the group's code.

A typical case protested by Gainesville JOMO was the murder of Walter Spann by police during an arrest for breaking and entering. He was unarmed. Another man, George Baker, who was with Spann, has been charged with murder. Under Florida law, he can be held responsible for the death of an accomplice at the hands of police, since he was allegedly involved in a felony.

An observer in St. Petersburg commented, "In another year, JOMO may be THE black organization here. St. Petersburg is the city that ran the Job Corps out of town. The business community has refused help to the jobless. There's nowhere else for people to go."

OIL

FROM PAGE 9

This was due to the overall oppression of women that women's liberation groups have focussed on: their economic dependence, generally, on men, their acceptance (along with the men) of male supremacist ideology and propaganda, and their objectively inferior position to men in almost every work place. The women at Chevron do the roughest work for the lowest pay (new male employees start out working with the women, but soon leave them behind for more pleasant, higher paying positions).

Just as the union has failed to fight against white supremacy within the plant, it has also done nothing to combat male supremacy. The result is that many women, though not all by any means, saw the strike as the men's battle, and when the going got really rough, they were less determined to hang tough. We did our best to point out to the men the obvious lesson that the oppression of women hurts them. But because we had no women inside the plant and failed to place special emphasis on the special problems of the women during the strike, we were not able to raise the question of women's liberation effectively, or initiate a serious fight against male supremacy.

Since the strike, several students who were active in the women's liberation movement in this area have left school, moved to Richmond and taken jobs with companies that hire large numbers of women. We see this as a very important step toward organizing and liberating the potentially awesome power of working class women. As one advanced Chevron worker put it: "Hell, if the women get going, and we get together with them, nothing can stop us."

Washington -- Testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on June 27, long-time red-hunter Ed Montgomery of the San Francisco Examiner alleged widespread subversive activity in Seattle, Sept. 1967.

He also testified that the committee did not pursue the point. A final example of "obscene, inflammatory" material used to incite riots was given to the committee by Montgomery. It was a drawing by Frank Cieciorka of police officers raping the statue of liberty and the blindfolded justice symbol. That will go into the committee's files, but will not appear in the record, as it was judged too offensive.

Wills praised non-rioting "colored-folks" and said that "Roy Wilkins is one of the few decent Americans." The he...

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