To make quite clear just whom he meant by "them," Mr. Knight read off the names of a score of White Citizens Council leaders who were active labor-baiters.

"Don't let anyone convince you," he continued, "that there is one God for one race and a different God for another. Remember you are citizens of the best country in the world, offering the greatest democracy and opportunity. Don't go against the laws of the land. Remember, you are members of this union, and you have given your word never to knowingly harm a fellow member! That promise applies to everyone, regardless of color."

Over a third of OCAW's members work in the South; at least 15 per cent are Negroes. The union has fought consistently to wipe out the barriers that have restricted the employment of Negroes and blocked their promotion to more skilled and better paid jobs.

OCAW is made up of two unions which merged in March 1955—the Oil Workers International Union and the United Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers of America. The Oil Workers, in particular, had a large membership and long experience in the South. Back in the 1930's, the union organized the white and Negro workers of the big Gulf Coast refineries. At the time, many unions either neglected or refused to sign up Negroes. But the Oil Workers insisted that both whites and Negroes in the plants should be in the union. "A low wage paid to anybody hurts everybody" was the simple logic.

The Oil Workers were among the first to hold integrated union meetings in some parts of the South—a practice they started matter-of-factly and without fanfare.

Before the Oil Workers came upon the scene, Negroes automatically were paid a lower rate for the same work. The union negotiated this practice out wherever it could and during World War II, it won a Federal court order outlawing different wage rates for the same job. The union also put a stop to the "master-servant" practice of having

Negro refinery laborers mow the lawns of company supervisors on days off.

Often, during the 1930's and 1940's, white union organizers were jailed as they went about signing up all oil workers, regardless of color, for violating Jim Crow curfew laws barring whites from the colored section of town after nightfall.

Gradually the number of jobs open to Negroes grew; but, for a long time, colored oil workers stood little chance of promotion. White workers were hired and advanced at one speed, Negroes at another. Non-whites were limited to a few top jobs in a few crafts, while the whites rose to most of the better jobs.

At the Shell Oil Refinery, for example, new men started work in two rigidly separated departments—"Labor" for Negroes, and "General Helper" for whites. Only the whites could take tests qualifying them for skilled jobs higher up.

During World War II, the big Shell refinery in Pasadena, Tex., announced with much ado that it would enforce President Roosevelt's wartime FEP order and open all jobs to Negroes. The company's noisy approach set off a wildcat walkout. The local expelled its white secretary, a Southerner, when he defended opening jobs to all races and insisted that the men return to work. After a few days, the wildcat demonstrators returned to work. But the company reneged on its promise to open higher-paid jobs to Negroes. It was not until 10 years later, that discrimination in promotions finally ended at the Shell refinery and chemical plant.

In the summer of 1955, a group of Negro workers at the Shell plants filed a complaint with the President's Committee on Government Contracts—a Federal agency responsible for enforcing the President's ban on discrimination in plants holding Government contracts. Negotiations were arranged with the company, a union committee, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which