



By Bonne Nesbitt  
National Staff Writer

By the latter part of November 1969, Fred Hampton was worried. As chairman of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther party, he was upset by the lack of discipline and internal dissension that had

reached the ranks of his own staff members. He was also worried about the problem of security. There had been three raids against the party's westside headquarters since April. And as police violence against the party continued to escalate, he'd become more and more determined to purge those he suspected of being provocateurs and informants.

One of these was the chapter's former chief of security, William O'Neal. O'Neal didn't often speak in meetings, but privately he argued for more militancy, and constantly agitated for the formation of an underground to carry out terrorist-style kidnappings, bombings and robberies of armories. One day O'Neal showed up at headquarters with a satchel full of plastic explosives complete with plans to use them. He always had money that he claimed to have gotten from "hustling" and various illegal schemes.

Hampton and others strongly opposed this "militant" line, as did the party's central committee in Oakland. But O'Neal's agitation had not been without effect.

Many rank and file members were not working effectively on the party's programs within the community, like the free medical center, nearly ready to open on the city's westside, or the free breakfast for children program, which was feeding several thousand children a week. Such programs seemed tame in comparison to O'Neal's commando raids.

#### ►Not much time.

Hampton was determined to get rid of what he believed was essentially a criminal element within the party and he felt he didn't have much time. He knew the Oakland-based central committee was considering him as a possible replacement for Panther Chief of Staff Dave Hilliard, which meant he might have to leave Chicago.

On Friday, Nov. 21, 1969, Hampton ordered all branch coordinators around the state to attend a conference at the Chicago headquarters. They were told to report by 10:00 Monday morning and to be prepared to stay for a week or more.

Harold Bell, former Rockford coordinator, vividly recalls what happened at the first meeting. "Everyone was purged from the party except Rush (Bobby Rush, Illinois Defense Minister) and Fred. It had been approved by the central committee. From then on, we were all on probation. We had to earn our way back into the party. Each individual would be evaluated on his work and on his political understanding."

Ronald "Doc" Satchel, the party's Minister of Health, was also present and recalls that some people were expelled from the party outright. He especially remembers that "O'Neal practically cried to stay in the party. Fred wanted to expel O'Neal, but O'Neal pleaded to stay, and O'Neal had a certain following. So an exception was made and he was not expelled."

The Panther Conference ended on the morning of Dec. 4, 1969. Bell and Doc Satchel were there when it happened. And so was Mark Clark, the party's Peoria coordinator.

#### ►The raid.

Just past 5 a.m. that morning, the first radio reports began to circulate. There had been a shootout between States Attorney's police and members of the Panther party in Hampton's westside apartment, they said. Hampton and Mark Clark had been killed and four of the seven other Panthers in the apartment had been wounded.

A few hours later the newspapers were filled with accounts of how 14 policemen armed with a search warrant, extra revolvers, shotguns and a machine gun, had raided the Hampton apartment at 4:40 a.m. looking for "illegal weapons." Police

officers, the stories said, had knocked at the front door of the small two-bedroom apartment and identified themselves, only to be met with Panther gunfire that touched off a blazing battle.

One of the papers, the *Chicago Sun Times*, printed the official accounts and one thing more: A small story, buried on page 38, contradicted the police claims of a shootout. The *Sun Times* reporter, the first on the scene, said all of the shots seemed to have been fired into the apartment. He had seen no holes in the opposite walls where one would have expected to find them had there been gunfire from the Panthers.

That was the first story to challenge the statements of the raiding policemen. But for the moment it was largely ignored. Nobody could have then predicted the Hampton apartment raid would become the most thoroughly investigated, if not controversial, police action in Chicago history. Certainly not the *Sun Times* reporter who quit his job in anger over the obscure placement of his story. Nor even the Panthers who were already saying Hampton had been murdered under the guise of a weapons raid.

#### ►Apartment opened for inspection.

States Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan, whose office conducted the raid, was completely unprepared for what followed. The police department was so lackadaisical they hadn't even bothered to order the apartment sealed—a standard procedure at the scene of a crime or any unnatural death.

This proved to be a monumental blunder, because the Panthers in a master stroke of public relations, immediately opened the apartment to public inspection. Convinced that Hampton was murdered, they defied anyone to find evidence of a shootout.

Within three weeks, thousands of people had toured the apartment at 2337 W. Monroe St. Its smallness, coupled with the location and numbers of police bullet holes in the walls, shocked most people. But most clearly, Hampton's blood-soaked mattress made it sickeningly plain that the Panther leader was killed while sleeping in his bed.

Hanrahan, in a futile attempt to quell the mounting criticism, staged a televised re-enactment of the raid on the local CBS-owned station. Pictures of what was supposedly a back door filled with Panther bullet holes, later shown to be nail heads, were released exclusively to the *Chicago Tribune*, which published them without verification. The *Tribune* later discovered and reported the error.

Suddenly there were calls for an investigation, and representatives of the outraged black community conducted several highly publicized "unofficial inquiries."

#### ►Investigations and court suits follow.

By the end of 1972, there would be a total of five official investigations into the raid, including a federal grand jury, and two county grand jury investigations. One of the latter, led by a special prosecutor, finally indicted Hanrahan and his raiders on a charge of conspiracy. But all were acquitted in a bench trial before a friendly machine judge at the end of 1972.

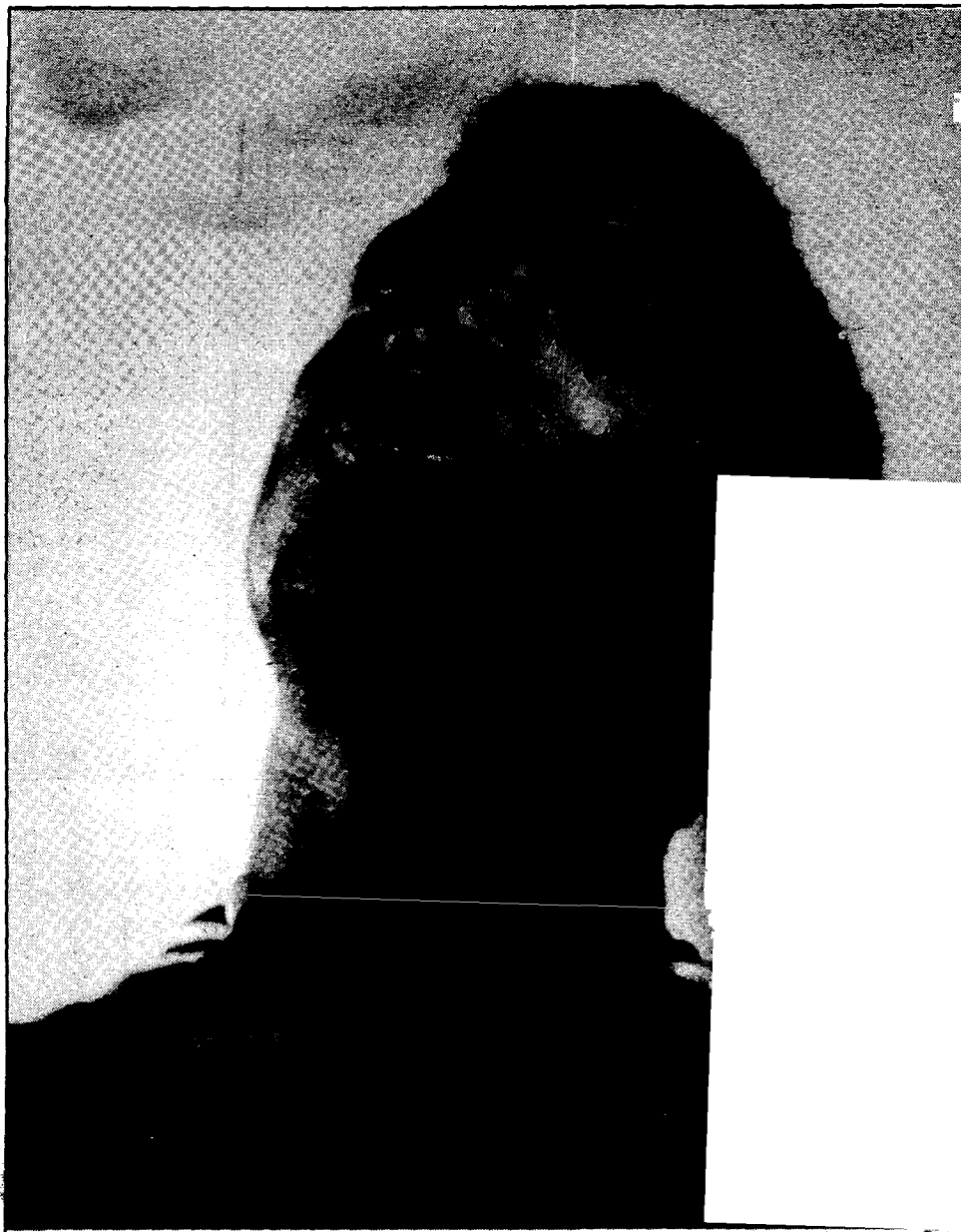
Meanwhile, the families of Hampton and Clark and the seven surviving Panthers filed a civil suit against the raiders in the U.S. 7th District Court of the Northern District of Illinois in the spring of 1970. The suit sought damages amounting to \$47.7 million against Hanrahan, two of his assistants and the policemen, for personal injuries and the unlawful deaths of Hampton and Clark.

It took two years and two appellate decisions to include Hanrahan as a defendant. U.S. District Court Judge Joseph Sam Perry had immediately dismissed him from the suit on the grounds that as States Attorney he was immune from civil prosecutions.

The 7th Circuit Court of Appeals overturned this finding, however, saying that Hanrahan in authorizing the raid had acted in the role of policeman rather than prosecutor and he was therefore liable. The Illinois Supreme Court later upheld this decision.

Another delay of nearly a year was caused by Hanrahan's conspiracy trial, which ended in acquittal.

# Remembering the r Chicago Panthers ir



Photos by Paul Se

Fred Hampton speaking above, mourned at right. "He constantly talked about how there wasn't enough time..."

In 1973, the Panther plaintiffs finally began taking pre-trial discovery and the first major break of the case occurred when it was learned there was a connecting link between the Hampton raid and the FBI. The link was through an informant. The informant was William O'Neal.

O'Neal and three FBI officials were joined to the suit as defendants on Dec. 3, 1974—almost five years to the day after the Hampton apartment raid.

The case went to trial in January, 1976, and is now in its 11th month. The climax of the trial is expected this week, after O'Neal himself has taken the stand.

*Some who were later to become Panthers got interested in the party in unexpected ways. Debra Johnson, the mother of Fred Hampton's son, fell in love. Ronald "Doc" Satchel, who became Minister of Health in Illinois, read a series of articles in Ramparts magazine. Louis Truelock kept a promise to visit a man he met in jail who turned out to be Fred Hampton. The following are recollections of life in the party as told by four survivors of the Hampton apartment raid.*

"I had heard a lot of different things about the Black Panther party and at first I thought it was some kind of street gang," Doc Satchel said. "But then *Ramparts* magazine ran a series of articles about the Panthers and there was a rally at Circle with some speakers. That's when I met Fred."

"Doc," as he was known within the party, was an 18-year-old pre-med student at the University of Illinois Circle Campus when he joined the party in November of 1968. He later became Minister of Health and a member of the party's central committee in Illinois. He was shot six times during the raid.

The party in Illinois was only a few weeks old when Doc joined; "It was a very close family-knit thing at that time," he recalls. "We'd talk about books, like the Communist Manifesto, Lenin, Fanon, etc. Or we'd listen to recordings by Malcolm (X) and try to figure out what works to do."

#### ►A lack of direction at first.

A lot of time those days was also taken with "instilling discipline" with exercise such as the "Do Jo," which required members to sit perfectly still for 24 hours without food.

"There was some confusion about what we were," he explained. "Some thought we were supposed to be a political organization and some thought we were supposed to be military; they thought we were the black liberation army. We didn't get any direction until some members of the central committee got arrested here."

But as a result of the incident we got more direction. We hadn't any contact with Oakland before. We found out we were political organization. And during this time we purged some people we really couldn't deal with."

#### ►Police harassment from start.

Almost from the very beginning "the police started to harass and arrest us," Doc said. Several Panthers were arrested on the southside for meeting with members of the Black P. Stone Nation street gang.

"There were numerous arrests when we started selling the paper and when we wear the uniform," Doc said. Uniform "Yes, at one time, when we were still confused about what we were, we were required to wear a uniform. Black beret, green field jacket, blue jeans or black pants and combat boots. When the police saw us dressed like that there were lots of arrests."



# id 7 years ago: life and death



As police pressure on the group intensified, the arrests moved from the streets to the Panther westside headquarters at 2350 W. Madison St. There were three raids on the office in 1969. The first one was in June, 1969, when "the FBI called the office and said 'you're surrounded'. A few minutes later the agents came in with a warrant on George Sams, who was wanted in connection with the Bobby Seale case. He wasn't there," Doc says, "but the agents stole money and files, and ransacked the entire office."

Panther homes became the next target, said Doc, who believes a mock raid was staged by police on Hampton's apartment two weeks before the actual raid.

Several members of the party, including Doc, believe Hampton had a premonition of his coming death. "He constantly talked about how there wasn't enough time. And he was upset about the security of the party and the security cadre. O'Neal wasn't in charge of security then, but Fred didn't feel it was functioning as it should and suspected O'Neal of being an informant."

"There was a divided feeling about O'Neal in the party. O'Neal would mop the office floors and do a lot of hard work. But he would never do political work like organizing, talking to people, or selling the Panther newspaper. He said he didn't want to be out on the street 'frontin' where the cops could see him," Doc recalled.

"I remember a couple of times when O'Neal filled his car trunk with (Panther) newspapers and paid for them, rather than sell them. Fred wanted to expel O'Neal because he was suspicious of how he always had money. O'Neal said he got the money from being a hustler."

"There was a meeting around April of 1969 about his (O'Neal's) status. At the

time he was Captain of the Security Cadre. Some thought he should remain. Fred compromised and removed him from the head of security, but let him remain on the security cadre."

Harold Bell, coordinator of the party's Rockford branch, added his impressions of O'Neal. "I didn't know him that well, but I thought O'Neal actively tried to get people to like him."

"O'Neal understood people and was fairly intelligent. Whatever he did was conscious and wherever you'd find controversy you'd find O'Neal. His was not a foggy mind who turned informant in darkness. He came to the party an informant."

Bell, who is 29, says he joined the party in early 1969, six months after his discharge from the army. "I went home to Memphis for a couple of months and tried to reaccustom myself to a peacetime environment, but I was having difficulties. 1968 was the year Dr. King was murdered and it was also the year of the violent Democratic convention."

A friend of mine from Rockford visited me and persuaded me to come back with him, supposedly to go to school," he recalls. But he ended up working in a black nationalist group in Rockford.

"Fred came to Rockford in December 1968, but I had flown back to Memphis. When I got back, they told me they had met with Fred Hampton and some people from Chicago and everyone was enthusiastic."

Bell and the others joined the party largely because of Hampton. "In a room full of people, he stood out," said Bell. "And he seemed immensely knowledgeable. All 10 of us joined and began to organize the Rockford branch of the party."

The Rockford police didn't like the Panthers either, they soon discovered; arrests and harassments began almost immediately. "You'd pull out of a parking space and they'd ticket you for failing to yield the right of way. They'd park across the street from our office and copy license numbers of the people who went in. They'd harass us when we sold papers downtown."

The pattern was the same, Bell said. "It was like they had a blueprint to follow. People were visited by the police at work. One member, who was an ombudsman at the Washington Community School, was fired because of his party membership. There was also an agent in Rockford from the very beginning. Without authorization he released the names of all our members to the press. The agent—Charles Lincoln Powell—later admitted he was a major in airforce intelligence. "He was submitting regular reports on us to the FBI office in Chicago," Bell said.

According to Bell, the FBI closed down the Panthers free breakfast program in Rockford three times. "The first time was in April, 1969," Bell said. "We were using the social center at St. Elizabeth's Catholic church. But after a while, the nun who was the director of the center told us we would end the program in June. She told us the FBI had applied pressure at the church, that their funding had been threatened, and that she was being transferred because she had let us use the center."

The Panthers next turned to the Greater New Hope Baptist church. "The congregation accepted the program. Some of the elderly women of the church came down to prepare the breakfasts, to leave us free to tutor children."

Soon after, however, "Rev. White, the pastor, said he'd received phone calls and personal visits from FBI agents and the police chief! We could no longer use the church facility."

"After that we set up a program at the Fairground Housing project. We were feeding about 90 children a day in 1970. Eventually the public housing authorities said we had to leave, despite support from the residents. The FBI later publicly stated that they had called the housing director to express their concern."

Determined to keep the program going, the Panthers had a stove installed in the office and prepared the food there.

Brenda Harris joined the party at 18, after hearing Hampton speak at a rally at the Circle Campus of the University of Illinois in the Spring of 1969. "He (Hampton) was the most gifted brother I ever met. He knew how to make people believe in themselves when before they didn't have any self-confidence."

"I felt this was what I wanted to do with my life," she said in explanation of why she joined the Panthers. "When I got to the party I had just started thinking about a future. But when you are a member of an organization like the Panthers, when you are a revolutionary, you have no future."

"You feel like you're constantly doomed. Every time you go to bed you think you may not wake up the next morning. You can't do ordinary things like get married or have a family. Can't strive for personal goals because you can't make plans—you might get killed. And it's just not something you get used to. People are just not meant to live like that."

"We did because we felt it was necessary and somebody had to do it. It was a stage in the struggle. Later I came to learn there were other ways of dealing with the system."

She believes the public image of the Panthers was inaccurate. "The guns got pushed to the forefront while our programs to educate the youth in the community got pushed into the background." She blames this on the media and on "Eldridge Cleaver who helped put forth that image in his speeches."

She was wounded twice by police gunfire in the raid. She stayed in the party until September 1970.

As with other survivors, she believes the raid had a major impact upon her life—it left her with a permanent lack of trust. "Since being in that kind of situation where anybody may be an informer, it makes you suspicious of people you meet. You hold

back. You can't be as open. You don't trust."

Verlina Brewer was just 17 when she joined the party in November of 1969, but despite her tender years she was already a "committed" revolutionary.

But overall she was happy in the party, because she believed in what she was doing. We were about the black liberation struggle. I was very happy I had an opportunity to be there with a group of people who felt the way I did.

"I was a woman at 17," she said. "I had been taken away from my parents at 14, because of child abuse. By 16, I had my own apartment and had graduated from high school and was planning on going to medical school to become a doctor."

"All my life I was involved in political things. My parents had brought me up that way and although they had been abusive, they were basically good people—they were always involved in heavy things (politically)."

Despite her by then well established sense of independence, she admits she did have some trouble adjusting.

"It's weird, that little month (between the time she joined and the raid) seems like three years. I was oblivious to a lot of the danger. I didn't ask about the raids, the details of the arrests. I honestly can say I didn't think about the danger. I was happy just to be there."

Verlina, whose career interests had also included dancing, was shot three times during the raid. "I was hit in the leg, the knee, and the buttock," she says, but her emotional wounds were deeper. "I didn't feel anything. I was kind of out of it. It took me two years or more to shed a tear about that night and not being able to feel caused great suffering."

When the charges against the survivors were dropped, she went back to Michigan which by then had a chapter of the party in Detroit. Shortly after her arrival there, while still in a leg cast extending to her hip, she was raped by a fellow party member. "The brother that raped me was instructed to do it by the head of the party in Detroit—who later was found to be a police informant."

"I couldn't tell anybody (what happened) because I loved the party too much—loved Fred (Hampton) too much and didn't want to tarnish the party's image."

The man who raped Verlina is serving a 20 to 40 year sentence on a conviction of being an accomplice in a murder in a drug-related incident. "I feel pity for him," she said. Verlina would not name her employer, but is trying to launch a career as a jazz pianist.

There were three other Panthers in the apartment with Hampton; Debra Johnson, Blair Anderson and Louis True-lock.

Johnson, 26, was eight months pregnant with Hampton's child at the time of the raid. She now works as a secretary at a university, and she and her six-year-old son, Fred Jr., live quietly on the city's southside.

Blair Anderson, a "gang-banger" before he joined the Panthers, quickly reverted back to his former lifestyle without the steadying influence of Hampton. When he recently testified as a witness in the Panther civil suit, he freely admitted that the period he was a member of the Black Panther party was the only time in his life that he was not in trouble. He is now in prison on a robbery charge.

None of the seven survivors are currently members of the Black Panther party. And while most say their political views have not substantially changed, none are currently members of any political organization. And they seem to have no desire to become active.

But perhaps Harold Bell's comments sum up the general feeling among them. "I'm not a different person, but I think I have a different and more realistic picture of this government and how far this government will go in order to punish those who raise questions or challenge this system. We just can't be idle about what happens to people who raise questions. And one day I will be part of another political organization because the only thing the raid did was make us conscious of how much we need to be organized. When they struck Hampton down, that's what they were really striking at."



# Labor differing

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The 165,000-member United Electrical Workers (UE) opposed labor's participation on the Pay Board. "The whole purpose of these things is to keep down wages and use some governmental facade to effectuate that. And they won't do anything on prices anyway," says Frank Rosen, Chicago district director of the UE.

The 500,000-member Amalgamated Meat Cutters, not ordinarily considered a left union, also urged that labor adopt a more "militant policy" in response to the freeze by refusing even to serve on the Pay Board. The union filed suit against the freeze, charging that it unconstitutionally delegated Congressional powers to the President.

"I was continuously making motions that the board be dissolved because it wasn't functioning properly," comments Harry Poole, current union president who served on the food industry control board. "Those controls were unsuccessful because they only worked one way—to keep down wages while prices went up."

## ►Three-way split.

The three-way split in labor—among those who would push full speed ahead on national planning, those who accept controls if they're "equitable," and those who oppose any such restrictions on bargaining—still holds in current discussions about voluntary controls. Many unions have adopted a wait-and-see stance, with the AFL-CIO more hesitant than ever to welcome controls.

According to Arnold Cantor, Assistant Director of the AFL-CIO's Research Dept., the main thrust of the federation is to get the economy moving through a full employment policy. "If employment is up, production is up, and it looks like we really have to worry about inflation, and if Congress comes up with some de-

cent legislation that makes everything equitable and that could be enforced, then we would take a look at it. But we're certainly not going to advocate controls," he says.

A partial explanation for the AFL-CIO's attitude is that some in its hierarchy still cling to a concept of the labor movement and the state that holds that any governmental interference in collective bargaining will inevitably run counter to trade union interest.

This sentiment is best expressed by Thomas R. Donahue, Executive Assistant to the AFL-CIO president, who has spoken publicly against transplanting European experience to American labor relations.

Donahue emphasizes that German-style codetermination and like schemes offer little to labor in performing its main function of "job unionism"—bargaining collectively for those it represents and winning higher wages.

The opposition to controls by the left unions is strikingly similar to this philosophy—with a more militant component. As Frank Rosen put it: "The only time working men and the unions get a fair shake is when they stress their own independence of action."

►Unions with social democratic ties push planning. In the forefront of the move toward national planning and of an "income policy" will be those unions that identify with the European ideological tradition of social democracy or whose leaders are politically close to organizations like Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and the Social Democrats U.S.A., both spin-offs of the old Socialist party.

Pointing to West Germany and Sweden, the UAW stresses democratic national planning to achieve a full employ-

ment economy. In their program presented to the Senate last February, the UAW argued for opening private economic data to the public, developing alternative economic plans, and letting the people choose.

Sol C. Chaikin, president of the Ladies Garment Workers, has called for a policy that would distribute income more equitably. He believes that the highly-paid building trades workers, for example, should renounce high wage rates for a government guarantee of year-round employment on low-cost housing.

## ►Dunlop and Kirkland.

Labor's tendencies toward social democratic policies may be strengthened in 1977 if Carter appoints John Dunlop as Secretary of Labor and if Lane Kirkland succeeds Meany as AFL-CIO president. Dunlop has long championed wage-price controls and Kirkland, now AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer, is thought to identify closely with the social democratic tradition.

The impact of these social democratic policies on the influence and long-term outlook of the labor movement is still unclear.

On the one hand, national planning of economic decisions in a democratic context could restrict the options of capital over investment priorities. In exchange for accepting an incomes policy, labor could demand greater social controls over investment and a number of legislative reforms that would increase its strength.

On the other hand, an incomes policy could further shift the burden of inflation onto the back of the working class by cutting wage gains, exactly the strategy of capital in the current recession. In 1972, the AFL-CIO and the UAW cooperated with and then denounced a controls program clearly biased against working class living standards.

In 1977, labor will be engaged in a three-way race to chart its own future, with Jimmy Carter having a lot to say about who wins.

# Workers control in Britain

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"New systems of wage payment, new methods of determining wage structures, the control of overtime and the fundamental questions of equal pay and of a minimum wage are all, at present, occasions for sharp contest relating to the control of industry.

"Beyond them lie the wider questions: the right to hire and fire, the control of [cutbacks], the enforcement of industrial safety, the speed and manning of work, the location of industry, investment decisions, industrial health and welfare, the decisions about product mix, rationalization, trade-union and workers' education and so on.

"Suffusing all these specific issues are these questions:

"Who controls the economy?

"Who determines the economic policies of governments, in whose interests

and to what ends?

"Workers have approached these widest questions through the industrial and political organizations they have created; hence a key aspect of the workers' control movement concerns democracy within the trade unions and the working-class political parties."

## ►No good reason.

There seems to be no good reason to confine these four principles to the field of capitalist industrial relations. If they are valid within factories, they have obvious implications outside them. This means that, however we evaluate institutions of parliamentary democracy, they can be adequate themselves for realization of the democratic potential of advanced societies. At best they can be employed to trigger a much wider democratic

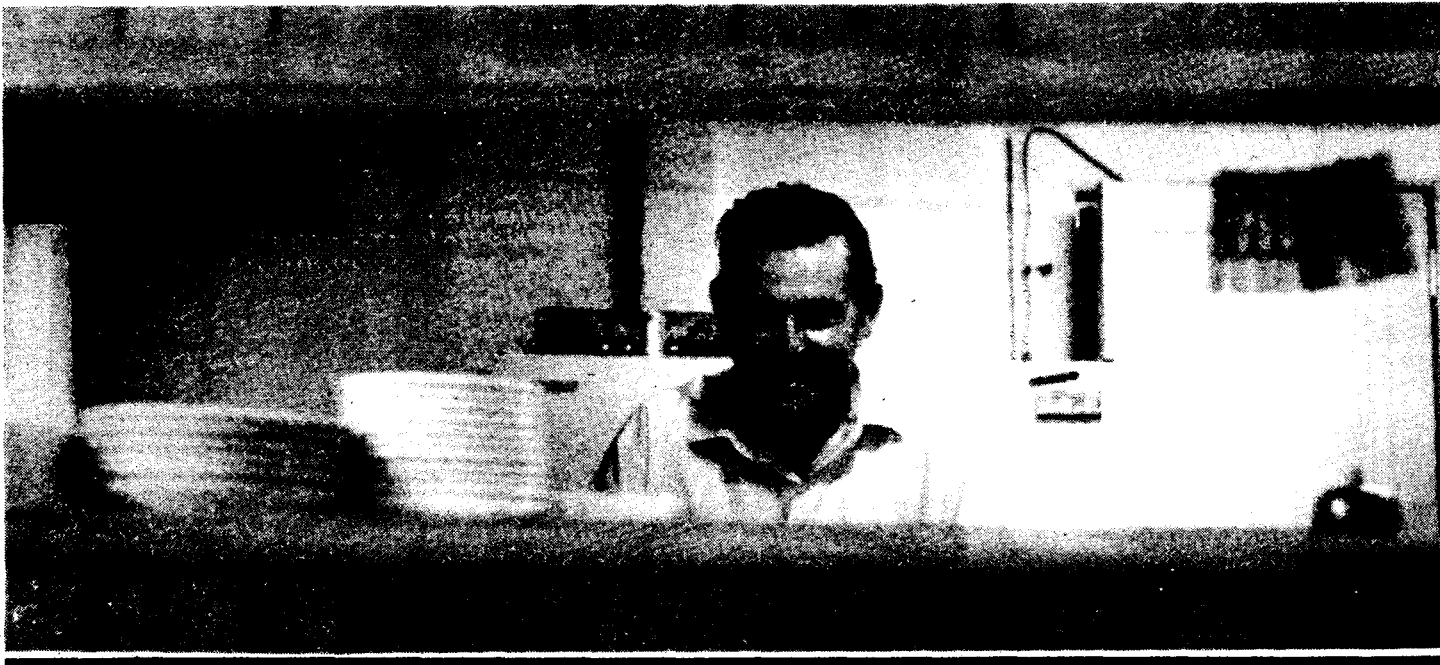
explosion, in which all the main power centers are brought under the rule of the same criteria of accountability, popular consent and participatory involvement.

This has been widely appreciated in Britain. And while the working-class movement shows considerable unanimity of purpose in favor of peaceful change, no one should mistake this for acceptance of the idea that the British economy can or should be restored at the sole expense of sacrifices by working people. Pragmatic, and perhaps overpatient, workers are willing to give their leaders the benefit of various doubts. Nonetheless, they have already been invited to expect a radical change in their status and prospects, and such a change cannot be indefinitely deferred.

Ken Coates is director of the Institute for Workers Control in Nottingham, England.

## ALBUM

Photo by Teena Webb



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# LIFE IN THE U.S.

## Union Maid sees hope for labor, women today

"Every time I go to a showing, I get a greater feeling of responsibility," says Stella Nowicki of her new role as one of the stars of the film *Union Maids*. "There were so many things I learned back then that young people don't know about. I reach back and tap areas I thought were gone."

She is one of three heroines of the CIO organizing drives in the 1930s who appear in *Union Maids*. Based on Alice and Staughton Lynd's book *Rank and File*, the film was released in March and is being shown by labor, women's and socialist groups around the country.

Nowicki came to Chicago as a girl from a Wisconsin farm and worked in the stockyards. The film depicts the bitter struggle to build the United Packinghouse Workers of America, "the most militant and progressive union in the country," she says.

She was one of three women and fourteen men on the first organizing committee and helped to negotiate the first contract the union won. Like many CIO organizers, she was also a member of the Communist party.

Organizing was risky business in those days—she once narrowly missed being shot by a company guard—but so was working, with daily injuries due to lack of safety equipment. One of the first work stoppages in her plant was over a finger someone lost in a sausage machine.

She was fired many times but returned to work under new names. "Once I even put henna on my hair," she says. "A forelady recognized me, but she was on our side; she let me stay."

### ►An integrated union.

"We had a black man for the first assistant organizing director," she recalls, "and at that time, it was unheard of. There weren't any integrated unions." The first contracts ended racial discrimination in the yards, she says, but not sexual discrimination.

She's proud that the union she



Stella Nowicki (above, right) with co-stars Sylvia Woods (left) and Kate Hyndman (hugging Nowicki) and filmmaker Julia Reichert. Below, as shop steward, 1941.

helped build, now part of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen, was one of the first to speak out against the war in Vietnam.

Generally, though, she's disappointed in today's labor movement. "The leaders are mostly reactionary," she says.

But she does see hopeful signs in women organizing clerical workers, the rank and file movements in mining and steel, and

most of all in the drives to organize textile workers in the South and farmworkers in the West.

"The farmworkers have people working for \$25 a week. That's comparable to us, working for \$5 a week. They're the best example of the kind of dedication that's needed and they show it can really be done today," she says.

### ►Hope for young people.

She's hopeful that young people

can change the unions. "It's not easy to sit at a union meeting and not be able to say a word. But they shouldn't give up. They've got to get in there and fight."

In the movie, she says that it was hard for women like herself to be leaders in the labor movement because men expected women to do all the work around the home. "And the male leaders would proposition us right and left," she says. "They thought that was all we were there for."

"In a way, the women's movement goes farther than we did," she says, "because our struggles were still within the bounds of what was socially acceptable." The women of that era were still expected to marry, she points out. "Today, the women's movement says maybe you can be happy without being married. Maybe there can be new kinds of relationships."

### ►Less active in the '50s.

Nowicki's involvement in the labor movement subsided during the 1950s. She moved to the suburbs and raised four children. "Then, too, it was hard to be active in that time," she says. "You could feel the repression, the fear, in the air."

She recalls going with her mo-

ther-in-law ("an heroic old woman") to collect petition signatures to halt the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. "People actually spit on us,"

Today she's part of the struggle again, unable to keep up with the requests for her speaking with the film. She recalls the premiere of *Union Maids* in Dayton, Ohio. She'd almost forgotten the filming two years earlier. Everyone, filmmakers and cast alike, were tense. But at the end, there was wild applause, tears from many, and an all-night session of questions from younger members of the audience.

The filmmakers, she says, "took our own lives and made something that inspires even us."

She always has two messages for the audience. One is for the other veterans of the '30s labor struggles. "I know you're out there," she says, "and this is about all of you, too."

And to the young people, learning what their parents and grandparents went through, she says, "Things didn't come easy. Maybe if you join in, you too can change and make history."

—Judy MacLean

*Union Maids* can be ordered from New Day Films, P.O. Box 315, Franklin Lakes, N.J., 07417.

## TV hustles sports fans: "There's gold in them thar games."

Once upon a time, a few short years ago, football pretty well owned the late fall. The pros scrambled for playoff berths and the major college teams hustled for leftover bowl bids, usually on the order of the Tupperware or Twinkie Bowls!

The grid addict could fixate on the tube all weekend watching globs of humanity bash each other in Eastern, Central and Western time zones scarcely having to come up for air. But the rest of the population had to wait it out.

Not so any more. A quick glance at the new gospel, *TV Guide*, shows that along with a glut of pigskin there is the continuing saga of professional wrestling, figure skating, skiing, hockey, angling, various sorts of basketball, plus some odds and ends of gymnastics, surfing, tennis and bowling. And this is a slack period for the "other sports."

Everyone has noticed that this country has become more and more sports crazed. It's no secret. Flocks of joggers, oblivious to the elements, are omnipresent. Tennis courts are clogged beyond belief. Spontaneously generated basketball and touch football games spring up on empty lots and playgrounds and even the more esoteric endeavors like rugby, soccer, cycling, table tennis and handball have hard core followers whose numbers have swelled in recent years.

Each segment of society, regardless of race, creed, color, sex, economic class or place of national origin, has its own sporting pastimes to be exploited at different levels by the networks. "There's gold in them thar games."

### ►A profitable sense of audience.

Almost from their formative years a half-century ago the networks have had a profitable sense of their potential audiences.

Participation and specialization is the rage today. It might have started with the Kennedy family's touch football games. It continues today with Jimmy Carter's softball outings.

The notion of doing, rather than observing, so characteristic of the youth culture of the '60s, obviously helped the process along. The women's movement, with its struggle for participation in formerly male domains, supplied another push.

What we have now is a sport for everyone and TV coverage in greater and lesser quantities for the pastimes that attract a big enough chunk of the relatively affluent to be exploited by advertisers.

Take tennis for instance, the fastest growing of the new wave. Compared on a numerical basis to the population of football and baseball devotees, there still aren't many tennis players.

So why so much coverage?

Simple. Those that play tennis are usually on the top side of the economic median. There are few tennis courts in inner cities and depressed rural areas, but lots in the suburbs. Tennis attracts the young, semi-affluent adherents that market researchers drool over—the 18 to 40 group that buys things.

Tennis has an additional bonus of attracting almost as many women as men, the only sport able to make such a boast.

### ►Something for everyone.

More and more, TV hustles after the relatively rich, though smallish, veins that they can't trap into watching major sports. They want to provide something for everyone they consider worthwhile.

What has happened to TV sports coverage is the same thing that happened to magazines over the past decade. They have become more and more specialized, digging around for a particular

audience starved for something about their interest. "Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman" is a success because there is a young, hip audience anxious to laugh at the foibles of this society. Likewise, the new sports are broadcast because there is an advertising market for each of them.

Sure, there's overlap. The same person can like football and bowling or gymnastics and volleyball, but the trend is toward isolation and specialization—even in the language of the announcers. Each type of sportscast increasingly employs its own technical jargon and specialists.

Maybe one day it will be impossible for the football fan even to understand the language of the tennis freak. We will have so much energy invested in our particular pastime that we'll be identified by our sporting affiliation.

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