

Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1300 West Belmont, Chicago, Ill. 60657. Please include your address and phone number.

Shorrock, the situation has ramifications for workers in a public-interest environment are contemplating the merits of a contract.

The story line—though long and background and colored by the strong personalities and political differences of Nader and Shorrock—came to a head with a fight between Nader and Shorrock over an article in the May issue of *MM*. The article delved into bribery at the Bechtel Corporation from 1978 to 1980, a time when Caspar Weinberger and George Shultz were in positions to have known something about it. But Nader, the sole owner of *MM* who had retained the right to see all articles before they went to press, was not convinced that the article was well substantiated.

Shorrock counters that he had made some of the changes in the article that Nader has asked for, had submitted it to Nader lawyers to go over with a fine-tooth comb for libel, and believed that it was a credible and newsworthy story.

In mid-April, with the status of the story still unclear, Shorrock found out that the *New York Times* was out to "scoop" the story, and he decided to announce the findings and rush the story into print a week before schedule. Shorrock says he attempted to get in touch with Nader at this point, but that Nader refused to talk to him, telling another staffmember to hold the story until the next day.

That's when all hell broke loose. Nader fired Shorrock immediately, then reconsidered and gave him three months to find another job. On May 9, the three-member staff informed Nader that they were starting a collective bargaining unit and asked for his good faith in negotiating with them.

By that time Nader had turned over ownership of *MM* to Essential Information, a non-profit corporation run by three of his friends. They immediately fired Shorrock and left the other staff members in job limbo. The staff continued to try to negotiate with Nader and the new owners, but were met with refusals. They since have filed a complaint with the National Labor Relations Board.

Now comes the latest Nader-backed attack: a \$1.2 million lawsuit against the staff and a former writer for attempting "destruction of a publication." It seems that Shorrock took the notes for the Bechtel story in order to protect his sources and writer John Cavanagh wrote a letter informing friends of the goings on at *MM*. Cavanagh is part of a support group of *MM* writers that has formed to boycott the monthly.

Throughout the skirmish, Nader's zealous nature seems offended by the contract fight. He prefers to see his workers as dedicated to a larger cause and not mired in a "we-they type situation." Others, though, are beginning to believe that working in public service need not be synonymous with lacking the protection a contract affords. Frank Wallach, a long-time *Monitor* supporter and editor of the *UAW Washington Report*, thinks that maybe the time has come for service contracts

in marriages these days, so I don't think a contract between a movement and the people who work for it is so terribly off the wall." —Beth Maschinot

OSHA revises asbestos count

WASHINGTON—The Labor Department's Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) wrapped up 17 days of public hearings last week on proposed revisions of the asbestos standards of the Occupational Safety and Health Act—revisions strongly opposed by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), which represents many of the 375,000 U.S. employees that work with asbestos.

Current OSHA standards have been in effect since 1976 and provide for a maximum limit of two million airborne asbestos fibers per cubic meter in the workplace, along with the requirement that employees wear a respirator. The one-size-fits-all respirators, which cover the mouth and nose with a thin mask, have been widely attacked as uncomfortable, impractical for an eight-hour shift and ineffective in preventing the inhalation of asbestos dust.

The permissible exposure level (PEL) and the respirators have come under increasing fire in the past decade as asbestos inhalation has been increasingly linked to cancer and lung disease. The ACTWU estimates that asbestos-related cancer deaths, which stood at 8,000 this year, are on the rise. A Labor Department decision on the new standards is expected by mid 1985.

The two revisions that dominated the OSHA hearings regarded a proposal to give employers in the asbestos industry a choice. They can either use engineering controls and ventilation systems to reduce the PEL to 500,000 or 200,000 fibres per cubic meter, or rely on respirators to achieve the same level. The lower PEL would be a substantial reduction from the current two million fibre level, but still unsafe, according to the ACTWU, especially if lower levels are achieved with the ineffective respirators. The ACTWU predicts that most employers will opt for the respirator, which is the less expensive standard.

"Respirators are not that fool-proof," admitted Kenneth Cram, a chemical engineer at OSHA in Washington, D.C. "The worker is not absolutely sure he's got a tight seal."

"This," said one ACTWU official, holding a respirator high, "is the last line of defense as far as OSHA is concerned."

Midway through the hearings, which started June 19 and concluded July 12, the ACTWU charged that the Reagan administration's Office of Management and Budget pushed OSHA to propose the new standard to reduce labor costs in the asbestos industry. OSHA denied that the standards are politically motivated, saying that pressure to reduce the PEL had been building for many years, while hedging on whether a 500,000 or 200,000 fibre limit is safe with or without a respirator. —Barbara Yuill

On July 14, after verdicts of guilty were returned against eight religious peace activists for conspiracy and "depredation" of Pershing II missile components, spectators in the packed federal courtroom broke into song. Despite the possibility of 15 year sentences and \$20,000 fines, the defendants, collectively known as the Pershing Plowshares, joined in the singing.

Each defendant had taken the witness stand and admitted to breaking into the Martin Marietta Corporation in the early morning darkness on Easter and "disarming" a Pershing missile launcher by hammering on the control panel and cutting hydrolic hoses. They splattered their own blood over missile components and left behind peace banners and photographs of friends and family, the potential victims of the nuclear holocaust. An hour later they were discovered singing and praying in an ecumenical Easter sunrise service.

The Pershing Plowshares break-in at Martin Marietta was the eighth in a series of actions by a loosely associated band of activists attempting to achieve both symbolic and physical disarmament of nuclear weapons. The word plowshare refers to Isaiah's Old Testament injunction to "beat swords into plowshares." The latest raid was the third for 57-year-old Sister Anne Montgomery.

What all alumni of Plowshare actions share are deep religious convictions and a history of commitment to justice causes. Many have taken vows of poverty and work at soup kitchens and shelters for the homeless. All of the disarmament attempts are preceded by months of community prayer, reflection and role-playing designed to form a cohesive community of faith that members feel is required to cope with the possibility of prison sentences of up to 35 years.

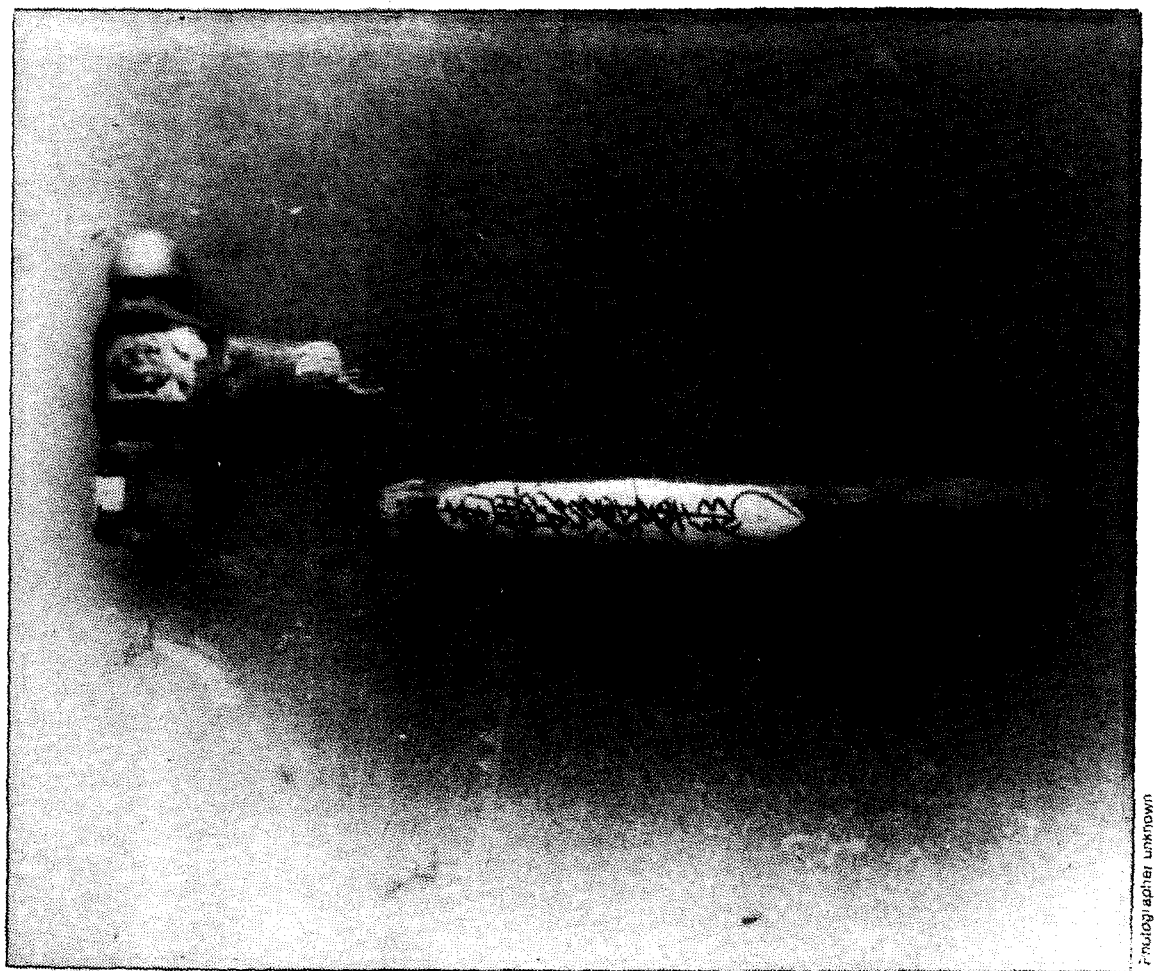
Elmer Maas, participant in two of the actions, stated that while no Plowshare defendant

Defendant Paul Magno



Photographer unknown

Briefing: Plowshares conspire for peace



Photographer unknown

The Plowshare Movement began on September 9, 1980, when eight persons entered the General Electric plant in King of Prussia, Pa., and hammered on two Mark 12-A nuclear warheads. Subsequent raids have damaged the Trident Submarines U.S.S. *Florida* and *Georgia*, equipment destined for the cruise, Pershing II and MX missiles, as well as engines of six B-52 bombers.

has been acquitted of criminal charges, the juries have been visibly moved. After one of the trials, a jury member slipped the defendants a note apologizing for convicting them. In another case, jurors told the press that they were angered that the court's instructions were so narrowly drawn that the law did not allow them to acquit the defendants.

The verdict in the Pershing Plowshares case was no surprise since many of the jurors had ties to the military or to defense contractors. The prosecutor described the defendants as a gang of vandals telling jurors

that "the law protects property as it protects lives," even though this property happened to be nuclear weaponry. While the defense tried to argue that they had no intent to destroy property, only to convert it to a new, non-threatening form, the jury followed the judges' narrowly drawn instructions which did not allow the motivations of the eight to be considered.

Juror Margaret Lee, a Roman Catholic whose son was about to leave for a stint in the Navy, confronted defendant Sister Anne Montgomery after the trial, scolded her for conduct unbecoming of a nun and said—"You did an Un-American thing"...you should "render unto Caesar." Defendant Patrick O'Neill saw things differently as he looked back on the judge's refusal to allow defenses based upon "God's law" or upon the necessity of avoiding the imminent danger of nuclear war. "It's strange, God is irrelevant and [U.S.] nuclear policy can't be considered," quipped O'Neill. A sentencing hearing has been set for July 25.

It is not likely that the government will stand by as peace-makers continue to damage the U.S. nuclear arsenal. Fr. Daniel Berrigan, one of the "Plow-

Above: James Perkins' hammer with Buddhist peace message.

shares Eight" who put a nuclear missile nosecone out of commission in 1980, as well as other former "Plowshare" defendants present at the trial, state their opinion that the government might be readying for a grand jury investigation into Plowshare movement which could result in a large-scale round-up of conspirators for peace.

—Alex C



Steve Kagan

Dems

Continued from page 3

list of solid disarmament moves and includes some good language on plant closings, farm policy and urban strategies.

In accepting the nomination, Mondale told 1980 Reagan supporters that he had learned lessons from his defeat: "Look at our platform. There are no defense cuts that weaken our security; no business taxes that weaken our economy; no laundry lists that raid our treasury." At the same time he blamed Reagan for encouraging "executives to vote themselves huge wages," warned corporations that export jobs that "our country won't help your business—unless your business helps our country." And pledged a nuclear freeze, negotiations with the Soviets and an immediate end to the "illegal war in Nicaragua."

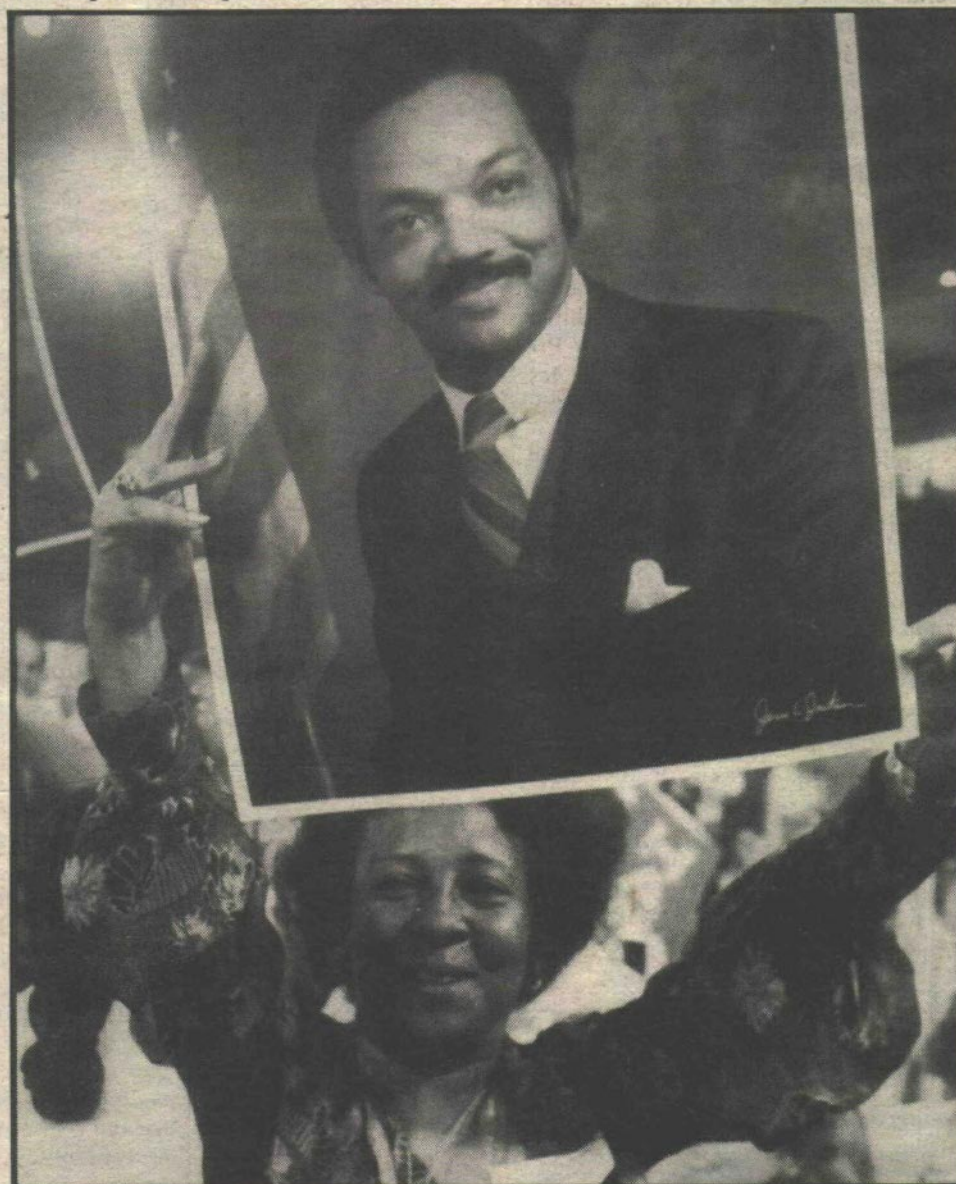
Where are Fritz and the Democrats going? Left or right? "Of the candidates running, we ended up with the three most progressive, except McGovern, who gave the platform a B-plus, criticizing it for failing to cut mandatory spending, to reduce our first use of nuclear weapons, and opposing U.S. intervention strongly," argued Billie Carr, Texas delegate and Democratic National Committee member who chairs its Liberal-Progressive Caucus and the new Democratic Coalition. "I was so afraid it was going to be Glenn. That's got to show that philosophically the party has moved somewhat to a moderately progressive position. Jesse Jackson did a lot to open up things and keep everyone's feet on fire. But if I was writing the platform, it would be far stronger across the board." Major prime-time performances were all from the party's liberal wing, and the anti-drug ravings of New York Mayor Ed Koch were relegated to a small afternoon slot—better than most of the party's powerful conservatives who did not even appear.

Some part of the shift reflects the changes in the party in the last few years as the many liberal-left movements and the mass constituencies of blacks, women and Hispanics have turned to electoral politics and the Democratic Party in reaction to Reaganism. They had not made their mark as the antiwar movement and other forces shaped the party in 1972, but that is partly because they have become pragmatic—perhaps too much so. That was especially evident with the Freeze Caucus. After much hesitation they finally voted to support Jackson's minority platform plans calling for no first use of nuclear weapons (instead of "to move toward the adoption of a 'no first use' policy," described as a "Zen principle" with no conclusion) and for "substantial, real reductions in military spending over the next five years." Many freeze leaders didn't want to fight, since they had already won inclusion of most of their points in the platform. "We don't want anything to detract from the message that this is a very strong platform," Jim Bubar of the Cranston-Wiesner Arms Control Project said. Other liberal and left delegates who privately favored military cuts and no first use argued that they didn't want to have the candidate embarrassed by—or repudiate—the platform or dismissed platforms as irrelevant.

Extended negotiations brought a last-minute compromise on one Jackson plank (support for "verifiable measurements" of affirmative action rather than a statement rejecting "quotas which are inconsistent with the principles of our country" that presumably permitted some quotas). Mondale conceded the Hart minority plank setting ground rules for U.S. military intervention, since it was likely to have passed.

Although there were real differences, and it was especially hard to compromise on the issue of military spending, there was also the suspicion that Mondale forces wanted to stand up to Jackson for the sake of anti-Jackson voters. For their part, the Jackson delegates saw no reason

(Above) Reporters flocked around Gov. Mario Cuomo after he delivered a stirring keynote address. (Below) A day later, Rev. Jesse Jackson delivered his inspirational speech.



Steve Kagan

to compromise on their issues, including elimination of run-off primaries. Jackson repeatedly sent word out that there were not even any negotiations. Jackson had nothing to lose by fighting, but Mondale did.

In the end many Jackson delegates

were very bitter that they seemed to have won so little. Some black women were ready to nominate former U.S. Rep. Shirley Chisholm against Ferraro as a sign of displeasure with both Mondale and white women even though women's movement

Continued on page 8

By Joan Walsh

SAN FRANCISCO

AMONG WOMEN DELEGATES at last week's Democratic convention the most frequently swapped story was, "What were you doing when you heard Mondale picked Ferraro?" The anecdotes were documenting history, but they also testified to the genuine surprise—even among women leaders lobbying for it—that Mondale chose a woman as his running mate.

Now Mondale's uncharacteristic boldness can also fairly be termed desperation. The move came as polls showed the likely Democratic nominee running as much as 20 percent behind Ronald Reagan. It also came at a time of rapidly escalating pressure on Mondale to pick a female vice president, both to prove his commitment to women's rights as well as inspire women voters and maximize the gender gap in November.

Woman supporters had been making the argument for nearly a year, of course. It took political form at the National Organization for Women (NOW) conference last fall, when the group endorsed Mondale at the same time it passed a resolution calling for a woman vice president. The Democratic Task Force of the National Woman's Political Caucus (NWPC) began its vice-presidential project in the same period, laying the ground work for nominating a woman at the party convention—preferably with the presidential nominee's support, potentially without it.

The latter scenario became more plausible last month as word came from inside the Mondale camp that top advisors opposed a woman vice president, arguing that women would support Mondale regardless of his running mate, while moderate to conservative male voters, particularly southerners and blue-collar ethnics, would not. NOW turned up the heat at its June meeting when it passed a resolution to submit a woman's name from the convention floor should Mondale pick a male running mate. The resolution was widely reported as implying a walk-out, an intent NOW leaders and others subsequently denied. But if female Democrats weren't ready to leave the convention over the issue, they were prepared to test their strength with it.

It was a test many believed they could have won. The Vice-Presidential Project found a significant majority of delegates favored putting a woman on the ticket. Other groups, including NOW and the Woman's Trust headed by former NOW leaders Eleanor Smeal and Mollie Yard, located the staunchest pro-woman vice president delegates and set up a whip system in each state delegation. NOW President Judy Goldsmith met with the Jessie Jackson camp and got pledges of support for a nomination from the floor.

While those women were adding up their support within the convention, others were looking at a different set of numbers—how many voters a woman vice president could add to the ticket. A group of feminist leaders and women elected officials met with Mondale July 4 to present their conviction that a woman vice president would inspire women to vote.

"One of the main questions he was asking was could we deliver?" said Millie Jeffrey, a former NWPC leader. Jeffrey and others believed the meeting made a strong political case for a woman on the ticket but they left uncertain, even pessimistic, about Mondale's inclinations. In the following days there were reliable reports that Mondale had decided against a woman, as well as encouraging signs—his follow-up interviews with San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein and New York Rep. Geraldine Ferraro.

In the end, both sets of numbers—the delegate count behind a woman vice president and the potential voters a woman could draw—apparently convinced Mondale. Other political considerations figured as well.

"Had he named a male, Hart would have named a woman and we'd have gotten delegates away from him," U.S. Rep. Pat Schroeder (D-CO) told *In These Times*. The Ferraro announcement got



©Steve Kagan

Women's choice or standard bearer?

Mondale a few days of almost universal political praise and respect, a reaction that appeared to surprise even Mondale himself. "The polls were bound to be inconclusive. The reality was much greater than we could predict," said Jeffrey.

Closing the chasm.

The pre-convention Ferraro nomination left the women's caucus with a lot to celebrate but little to do. NWPC announced the Sunday before the convention that it was disbanding its floor operation since Mondale's choice made it unnecessary. But one significant task remained: closing the chasm that had opened between the predominantly white organized women's movement and Jackson's black feminist supporters.

Resentment had earlier surfaced over the absence of prominent white feminists in Jackson's rainbow coalition. NOW especially had been criticized for endorsing Mondale over Jackson, and leading Jackson supporters, most notably California Rep. Maxine Waters, had talked of a split in the women's caucus at the convention. (See special Gender Gap issue, *ITT*, June 17.)

While Jackson backers, male and female alike, hailed Mondale's choice of Ferraro, many denounced his selection process, since no black women prospects were called to North Oaks for an interview even to consult on the decision.

"I'd have liked to be in those rooms. Now there's a lot of frustration," Waters said.

That frustration was fueled by the disbanding of the women's floor operation, which left minority women without a channel for their discontent. The Black Women's Caucus began to talk of drafting a formal statement of grievance, and some members advocated submitting a black woman as vice presidential nominee from the floor.

Opportunity for collaboration and compromise came in the four Jackson minority planks (see story page 3), which

the women's caucus was asked to support. NOW obliged early by endorsing the plank and offering its floor operations to the Jackson camp. "There is still nothing visible at this convention for the minority community," said NOW President Goldsmith.

Other prominent women—Smeal, Schroeder, Yard, Abzug and Gloria Steinem—also endorsed the Jackson demands, although Ferraro, platform committee chair, appeared at the women's caucus Tuesday, July 17, to make a friendly pitch for unity and, implicitly, support for the Mondale line.

"We had a marvelous success with our platform," she said, pointing to its stands on comparable worth, child care and other social programs. The minority planks were insignificant, she argued, given the range of consensus the platform otherwise represented. "I don't want it to

How many votes will Geraldine Ferraro add to the ticket?

divide us," she told the caucus.

But in debate, most women supported the Jackson line on affirmative action, second primaries, no first use of nuclear weapons and defense spending cuts. Jackson himself addressed the caucus to urge support for his planks.

"Debate does not mean division; debate means democracy," he said as he urged that women and blacks come together to combat "racism, sexism and militarism." Although the caucus never put the planks to a vote, chair Bella Abzug measured their approval in the delegates' applause and judged all four to have majority support. The caucus also supported Hart's no-use-of-force plank.

But three of the four Jackson planks went down to defeat, leading some black women to question the depth of commitment they really had from the caucus. Division persisted, culminating in a meeting between Ferraro and prominent Jackson supporters to discuss black women's anger at their exclusion from the selection process, and their concern about Ferraro's reputation as a congresswoman from a conservative "Archie Bunker" district.

But the Black Women's Caucus was meeting at the same time and frustration led some women to tears, then to action. They decided to enter Shirley Chisholm's name in nomination from the floor, "not because we object to Ferraro herself, but to the process," said Chicago delegate Joyce Hughes.

Said Wisconsin State Rep. Polly Williams, "I have to have something to take back to my people."

By the time Democratic National Convention Vice Chair for Minority Concerns C. DeLores Tucker returned to report on the meeting with Ferraro, the action had been taken. Neither she nor Maxine Waters, who came to the caucus with her, tried to dissuade the group from their protest. "I did not attend the meeting with Ferraro. I feel a certain unreadiness," said Waters. "This is an example of the frustration black women are feeling."

On the convention floor, only Arkansas got to cast three of its 42 electoral votes for Chisholm before Ferraro's nomination was accepted by acclamation.

Continued on page 11

CONVENTION

In her convention appearances, she was the loyal running mate and played by the rules.