

DETROIT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT RECORDS

BOX 15 OF 16

FOLDER 1

APPALACHIA COUNCIL OF
SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS 1972
1974

5/27/72 To G.S.

Re: Annual Conf. - Council of the Southern Mts.
June 2-4, Pipestem, West Virginia

Decisions Required

- 1) instruct certain cadre to attend CSM Conf.
- 2) appropriate small amount of money to cover expenses of M. Smith.

K. Murphy, Smith, Taylor met 5/26/72 & discussed CSM Conf. Felt should send someone to conf. given M.C.H. cadre in neighborhoods with substantial numbers of Appalachians and also food co-op activity. Propose some or all of following persons:

- 1) KM
- 2) B. Bunting
- 3) M. Smith
- 4) D. Bish
- 5) B. Riederm
- 6) U. Swook

Purposes

- 1) Develop and maintain contacts with Appalachian groups and organizers.
- 2) obtain information regarding following for possible use in organizing.
 - a) "Migrants"
 - 1) Urban Affairs Commission - CSM
 - b) "Co-Ops & Economic Development"
 - c) "Black Lung"
- 3) Strip Mining Slide Show
 - a) Possible C³ program.

J.T.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE

JUNE 2 - 4

PIPESTEM, WEST VIRGINIA



On JUNE 2 - 4 members and friends of the COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS will gather at the Appalachian South Folklife Center in Pipestem, West Virginia, for our 60th Annual Conference. We will be sharing discussions, movies, a pig roast, displays and exhibits, music and dancing, and planning with people from around Appalachia.

The theme is COMMUNICATION, and our task is for people all across the mountains to get to know each other better and plan how to share their work. By the end of the weekend we should have a better idea about what is happening in the region. We should have new ideas and plans about how to help each other. We should all have good days just being together in the hills of West Virginia.

The plan is for many "programs" to be going on at the same time. We will have tents and meeting areas set up by issue. We hope that all people interested in strip mining, for instance, will come together in that tent to meet, share information and experiences and plan for the coming year.

The Conference Committee wants to emphasize the following issues: EDUCATION, WELFARE RIGHTS, HEALTH, BLACK LUNG, CO-OPS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, WORKER'S PROBLEMS, BLACK APPALACHIANS, YOUTH, WOMEN, MIGRANTS IN CITIES, STRIP MINING. If you want to organize a program or display around some other issue, space and time will be provided. Programs telling what is happening in each tent will be posted and people can decide where they would like to be and when.

We are asking YOU to give us a lot of help putting on the conference this year. Because of lack of money we will need your help with PUBLICITY. Tell your neighbors about the Conference and invite them to come. We are asking everyone who comes to help with FOOD by bringing a picnic supper for Friday evening and vegetables for soup on Saturday. Different groups will share the work of cooking - let us know if your group can take charge of one meal. Everyone needs to volunteer some time for CHILD CARE - we want families to be able to come. HOUSING will be available for everyone if people who can camp out will bring their camping gear. There will be plenty of room. If you or your family cannot camp, there will be beds available, a few at Pipestem and others at nearby motels and at Concord College. Bring your own blankets for the dorm rooms - the cost will be less. If you can afford it, rent a room at a motel and share it with someone else, or rent an extra room for someone who can't pay. Call the Berea office (606-986-3187) right away to make reservations. The PROGRAM depends on everyone working together. You and your group are invited to bring all pamphlets, newsletters, movies, slide shows, exhibits, etc. which you want others to share. Plan any panel discussion and meetings you want - just let us know. Bring your crafts to sell or display. Bring your instruments and help make music.

Most important the Conference depends on YOU, YOUR FAMILY, and YOUR FRIENDS coming ready to communicate and share. We are asking again this year that people pay and give according to their ability - no one should stay home because of cost and we will all sleep and eat well.

The April issue of ML&W has more details. If you can pass out extra copies in your community or put an announcement in your local paper let us know and thanks. Call or write us at C.P.O. 2307, Berea, Kentucky 40403. (606) 986-3187.

THE COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS TODAY

February 1972

The Council of the Southern Mountains, despite its 59 years of history, is a "new" organization as it stands today. At hand is the task of establishing new footing and new support. We are searching for people who believe in its present work and make-up.

New directions for the Council first surfaced in 1969 at its Annual Conference. The irrelevance and unresponsiveness of the Council was challenged by three groups - young Appalachians, black Appalachians, and poor Appalachians. New commissions of members were formed within the Council, including the Poor People's Self-Help Commission, the Black Appalachian Commission, the Youth Commission, and the Welfare Commission. Resolutions were passed by the membership calling for the Council to work for a guaranteed annual income, an end to the War in Viet Nam, the development of Welfare Rights Organizations, and a 51% representation for the poor people of Appalachia on the CSM Board of Directors.

Up until that meeting the organization had maintained a predominantly academic and professional attitude while recognizing the regional nature of Southern Appalachia. It was organized in 1913 by a few leaders of religious, health, educational, and other social services. During most of its years the Council's work was the promotion of Appalachian culture, particularly the more romantic aspects of life in the mountains. It published material and sponsored workshops and conferences which preserved mountain folklore, music and crafts; and it worked closely with mountain schools to promote education for mountain youth.

The 1970 Annual Conference brought proof that challenges made the previous year were going to last. More working and poor people were, in fact, elected to the Board. The membership pushed the organization toward a more direct stand for people's justice, by adopting resolutions which demanded the abolition of strip mining, a guaranteed annual income of at least \$5500 for every family of four in the nation, and the democratic public control of Appalachia's natural resources and energy development. Faced with diminishing funds from OEO, the executive director resigned soon after the conference, claiming that "reformers on the left" were trying to "mold the Council into a narrow anti-establishment framework." His replacement, a preacher and strip mining foe from Eastern Kentucky, claimed the Council needed to restructure for a new kind of "war on poverty" that would help "open the eyes of other mountain people" and heighten their political awareness.

That commitment to building a better understanding of the industrial and political system operating in Appalachia characterizes the

Council today. We no longer depend on the position of executive director, as a Board of dedicated and earnest mountain people determine the emphasis of the organization. The Board believes that the way to achieve greater political awareness is through communication and experience -- shared by individuals, groups, communities and states. An over-riding objective of the CSM then is to foster and encourage such communication. A small subsistence-paid staff works to co-ordinate regional events, as well as regional support for local events. The staff provides an exchange of ideas and information through mailings to our three thousand members and the memberships of other organizations, in pamphlets and in Mountain Life & Work, a regional magazine published by the Council. The educational program of the CSM is aided also by our bookstore, presently operated in close conjunction with the central office in Berea, Kentucky; our CSM Bookstore provides the only outlet for a broad collection of regional literature, records and information.

Through this emphasis on communication and education, the Board wants to strengthen the local, grass roots groups which its members represent and wants also to provide these services to other, more isolated groups. It believes such groups can be made much stronger with help from people in other places who are involved in the same work. The Board sees the Council helping people in Appalachia understand that our problems are similar across the region, and from the same origins; and that united, we have the power to fight our own war on poverty and degradation we have suffered so long.

The kind of communication we are talking about which builds strong local and regional work has been happening in recent months. During the summer and fall, welfare rights and self-help groups all across the region met regularly to plan an Appalachian People's "March for Survival Against Unfulfilled Promises" to Washington, D.C. on November 6 - 10. The staff, Board and membership of the Council backed the event. The Council assumed responsibility for the educational workshops which helped people evaluate what was wrong with present welfare and compensation programs, and to plan alternatives. That November event has resulted in the formation of new welfare rights groups, multi-issue groups (e.g. the Welfare Rights-Black Lung Organization of Pike County, Ky.), and the People's Party of West Virginia. In at least three states the statewide WROs have been strengthened, and other organizations in the various states were rejuvenated. As well as bringing inspiration for more local and statewide work, the March has been tremendously important in raising the question of what an adequate system of support for all citizens would require and in encouraging people to take steps to achieve such a system.

Similar kinds of exchange and communication have been happening around people's efforts to halt the destruction caused by strip mining. People's hearings have been held in various places, several law suits are pending, and numerous local resistance events have occurred. The Council's central staff is working to inform the groups involved about each other's work, and is encouraging coordination of these efforts when appropriate.

In the spring, regional conferences and fairs are planned to raise questions about self-help and co-operatives in Appalachia, about the role of universities and schools in the industrial and political system controlling the region, and about such fundamental economic questions as exactly what it would mean to regionalize the coal industry. The Board has just recently taken a stand to condemn TIME magazine for an article about Appalachia which perpetuates a stereotype which is degrading and distorting. Through pamphlets and the magazine, information is circulated and issues raised such as mine health and safety, the coal strike, community health needs, educational problems, and governmental development and planning projects.

With a changed structure and changed goals the financial needs of the Council are also somewhat new. The Board is considering the possibility of relocating the office in a community in the mountains, rather than in the central Kentucky academic community where it has been for years. They foresee the day when people in that community run the offices on a largely voluntary effort and when many more people have access to the office equipment, files, and other resources. A network for informational exchange could be operated from that base to facilitate a more effective coordination of people's efforts throughout the region.

To: Council of the Southern Mountains Board of Directors

From: CSM Board Members in West Virginia

re: Coal Contract Workshop

passed @ CSM Bd. Meeting
on June 29, 1974 - Grace House

The undersigned members of the CSM Board living and working in West Virginia are hereby proposing that the full CSM Board, at the June 1974 board meeting, approve our co-sponsoring a one-day workshop to be held in central West Virginia accessible to the widest number of miners and other Appalachian people. Tentatively the workshop will be held in mid- or late September. The workshop will focus on the 1974 Coal Contract and possible strike next November. It will be widely publicized, particularly among insurgent UMWA miners and their families, as well as among other low-income and working Appalachian people. The workshop will attempt to do the following:

1. to build on the direction taken by the 1973 CSM Annual Conference to encourage the organization of community unions in Appalachia, and to encourage workshop participants to join the CSM and to subscribe to Mountain Life & Work;
2. The initial planning committee of the workshop, composed of CSM board members in West Virginia will be expanded immediately to recruit other members of the CSM, and to recruit in particular UMW insurgent miners and their families to participate in the planning and carrying-out of the workshop along with the following people:
 - (a) people from other/mountain organizations in general, and particularly people from the Black Lung Association and others associated with the black lung struggle
 - (b) other industrial workers, particularly those engaged in

struggles for union recognition, for contracts, for occupational health and safety in their workplaces, and also particularly those whose jobs are directly connected to the coal industry (i.e., railroad workers, machine shop workers, steel workers, petrochemical workers, electric utility workers, etc.)

- (c) public service workers
- (d) people engaged in opposing strip mining, clear cutting, new destructive hydro-development, as well as other environmentalists,
- (e) people from low-income and fixed-income people struggles and organizations like the Welfare Rights Organization
- (f) people from various community consumer groups and struggles, like in the health and education areas
- (g) people associated with community union organizations
- (h) Appalachian migrants
- (i) other political activists in Appalachia (including writers, researchers, photographers, other organizers, etc.)

3. to concentrate on relating to the 1974 Coal Contract negotiations and possible strike in at least the following (tentative) general ways:

- (a) to support the progressive aspects of the UMWA negotiations within the context of the formal union-led bargaining process
- (b) to support the progressive demands we hope the union's negotiators are including, i.e., ~~stopping~~ ^{dealing positively with} the threat to Appalachian miners' job security with the opening of the Western coal fields to ~~stripping~~ ^{dealing positively with} the threat to the right to strike now being vigorously challenged and attacked by every major

industry's managers and owners (with the courts' help) against all workers, etc.

- (c) to help involve/associate and, to some practical degree, integrate other Appalachian people's struggles with the struggle coal miners will wage to obtain a good contract --- FOR EXAMPLE ONLY, that might mean asking miners not to return to work until the demands of the Black Lung Association are met by Congress in their deliberation of the new law; and/or it might mean that miners would not return to work until all welfare recipients are treated fairly and to an adequate income; and/or it might mean that miners would not return to work until coal fields' legislative bodies enacted a profit control system on coal and a severance tax on coal and other extracted natural resources produced in Appalachia; and/or it might mean that miners would not return to work until strip mining is abolished (that demand could be incorporated into the contract itself, by demanding the companies belonging to the BCOA agree to abolish strip mining on their land by mid-1975 --- of course other schemes could be suggested); and/or it might mean that miners would not return to work until all Appalachian working people now engaged in union recognition struggles (i.e., Brookside miners and Pikeville Hospital workers) are won; and/or it might mean that miners would not return to work until all Appalachian health facilities are turned over to health consumers and workers' joint control and ownership to insure adequate health care for all Appalachian people;

and/or it might mean that miners would not return to work until Richard Nixon is removed from office and the people of the country are allowed to select a new president in a special election; and/or it might mean all those things and more !!!

While the workshop will emphasize the struggle of rank-and-file miners for a vastly improved contract, the workshop will also spend time looking into the other struggles mentioned above in relation to the people and constituencies that participate in it. The workshop will try to develop a dialogue of education and communication among rank-and-file Appalachian people, so that they may begin supporting one another in particular as well as common struggles.

Respectfully submitted by the following members of the Board of the Council of the Southern Mountains:

Jean White

Rick Diehl

Amy Parks

Jim Weeks

Ruth Hardman

RICHARD A. DIEHL
P.O. BOX 185
MORGANTOWN, W. VA. 26505

Funding Request
7/22/74

17 July 1974

22

~~*[Handwritten mark]*~~

Dear Resist:

As someone from Appalachia, and as someone who has spent some time studying the political economy of our region, I realize that the basic changes required to make our region democratic must come from mountain people themselves. Analyses and strategies for change must be put into practice by people, otherwise such strategies and analyses remain mostly useless. The Coal Contract Workshop being proposed here has the potential to help energy workers (coal miners) put into practice their point of view about changes not only in the coal industry, but perhaps in the entire region and nation.

Many funding sources are now giving money to study the "energy crisis". The Coal Contract Workshop is asking for funds to hold a conference that will involve energy workers --- in other words, that will involve the people who have the potential to actually do something about the energy crisis. The United Mine Workers contract with the coal operators expires next November 12th, and coal miners may be forced to go on strike to win their demands. The Coal Contract Workshop will be a sounding board for those demands, and hopefully a place where miners see their strength not only in trade union terms, but in broader social terms. I sincerely hope you will be able to support this important event.

P.S.: I've sent a copy of all this stuff directly to Bob Zevin, since I spoke to him at some length after the CSM board meeting.

Sincerely,
Rick
Richard A. Diehl

HARLAN LABOR NEWS

10¢ Donation

Volume 1
Number 1

August 1974

"HARLAN LABOR NEWS"

"THE STRIKE"

The "Harlan Labor News" is a paper by and for the workers and honest people of Harlan County. We have never had a real newspaper in Harlan County. The closest thing we have had is the "Harlan Enterprise". As is well known, that paper has historically been a company, scab paper. In the past it has been owned by a coal operator. The way they run their paper now, it may as well still be. The "Enterprise" enthusiastically covers things such as Horse Shows, weddings and church events. It very rarely and then briefly deals with the pressing issues and problems that face the workers of Harlan County. By not saying anything or just very little, the "Enterprise" attempts to whitewash the immoral and criminal deeds of the coal operators and their stooges.

Now with the "Harlan Labor News" the workers and honest people of Harlan County got a paper they can call their own. We do not claim to be impartial, we are on the side of what is right. We are on the side of workers and people fighting for a decent life and their basic rights. We are on the side of the UMWA organizing drive in Harlan County. We are not afraid of facts. We will use Facts and the truth to point out and clearly show that the cause of labor in Harlan is the just and correct cause. We are not afraid of and will print the truth. We will attempt to expose and show up all the enemies of the honest people of Harlan County. This includes the exposing of opportunism and corruption within our own ranks.

We call on all honest people of Harlan County to help get this paper going. We need people to write articles, help put the paper together and help distribute it. continued Page 2

As most people know, at Highsplint, there has been a tense struggle between the scabs and gun thugs on one hand, and the courageous union men and women on the other hand, who have been fighting to bring the UMWA throughout Harlan County. In this way, we can build a better life for ourselves and our families. Yarborough and Duke Power have paroled felons and murderers out of jail to be gun thugs against the strikers. Most of the miners at Highsplint - about 130 - have been honoring the picket line. The hired thugs have shot up some of the pickets homes, have beat up some women on the picket line and have beat up a young man. These fascist attacks on us and our union are enough to get any honest miner mad. Because of machine gun fire by the thugs at Highsplint on the pickets, it became almost impossible to continue the picket line at the bridge at Highsplint. Therefore the picket line was moved to Shields - 1 mile from Highsplint. On Tuesday and Thursday these scabs and thugs were successfully held at bay and did not cross the picket line.

These attacks also enraged fellow coal miners throughout the country. A general memorial strike has been called throughout the coal fields starting Monday, August 19 and continuing through the week. We see this memorial as in support of the UMWA Brookside Strike. There will be about 500 to 700 miners coming to town Monday to show their support. On Thursday there is called a march in which there will be several thousand miners participating. With these fellow miners, all of us in
continued Page 2

The Harlan Labor News continued from
Page 1

This paper is not for profit and all
donations will be appreciated.

" FOOD STAMPS "

I thought food stamps would be
alot of help to me and my family.
I don't know how to describe what
happened at the Food Stamp Office,
but I'll try..

When I went to the Office it
seemed like they didn't want to
give them to me. They asked
me all sorts of questions about
things which have nothing to do
with food stamps.. They asked us
if we had a bank account after
we'd been on strike for a year,
"How much have you got in your
wallet right now" (I told them
I didn't have a dime), who pays
your gas bills and electric bills,
and they made me wait for three
hours to ask these questions after
giving me an appointment.. I an-
swered all these questions and
then they said they would send me
the card, but it was too much for
me to pay so they would split it
up. We had to pay \$123 a month..

They told me either me or my
husband could sign for the stamps,
but when I went to the Post Office
with the card, they acted like my
name wasn't good enough for them
and told me to get my husband to
sign it. So I had to go home and
get his signature and then go back
again. We put together the money
we had which was \$61.50 which they
had said was enough. Then when I
went back they wouldn't give them
to us because they said I was 50¢
short.. If I hadn't seen a friend
there who lent me 50¢, I would have
had to go home without the stamps.

Now they've sent my husband a
letter to sign up for work and him
being on strike, or we couldn't get
food stamps again. I think they
continued on page 3

The Strike continued from page 1

Harlan County should participate
in all of the activities that will
be held this week. All who want
to participate should keep their
ears open to when and where the
different activities will be held.

" WORKING WOMEN "

There is a serious lack of jobs
available to the women of Harlan
County. Those few jobs that can
be found (waitresses, cooks, secre-
taries, hotel and motel maids) offer
so little, that a woman who has
children and lives alone can't ex-
pect to make a living. We work for
what must be considered insulting
wages. The so called minimum wage
law is a joke. Those of us who can
find jobs barely make enough to buy
enough food and clothing and pay
the rent, just enough to keep us
healthy, enough to return to work
the next day. These employers who
pay us so much less than our men,
charge us the same prices when we
go to the supermarket or to pay
the landlord.

While a few women in other places
have found jobs in coal mines at
the same rate of pay as men, not
one woman is working in the coal
mines of Harlan County. As working
women we know fully well we are be-
ing exploited. We are sick of it.
We call on all working men of Har-
lan County to join with us to end
this open faced exploitation by the
businesses of this county.

ALL THOSE WHO ARE
INTERESTED IN WORKING ON
THIS PAPER OR HELPING DIS-
TRIBUTE THEM, OR WANTING IN-
FORMATION, WRITE TO:

HARLAN LABOR NEWS
GENERAL DELIVERY
HARLAN, KY.

use food stamps to break strikes because they are now trying to make my husband who has been on strike for a year fighting for a decent living sign up for employment. This means he says he's not employed and can't collect strike benefits or go back to work when a contract gets signed. In other words, the Food Stamp Office says they won't give us the food stamps we are entitled to unless my husband drops out of the strike.

They've been sending us all kinds of mail saying he has to sign up immediately for employment but we've read their own qualifications. It says that everyone has the RIGHT to "refuse unsuitable employment without fear of losing benefits to which he is otherwise eligible." And it also says that no employment will be suitable if "the registrant, as a condition of employment is required to join, resign from, or refrain from joining any legitimate labor organization." Now there is no full-time employment they could offer my husband that would not cause him to have to refrain from the UMWA.

If I don't get my food stamp card soon, I'm going down to that office and I'm NOT going to wait in line. My husband is NOT going to sign a paper that says he's been fired when he's on strike. When I look at the line for food stamps every Friday and I see all the people who need them waiting for so long and having such a hard time getting them and some not needing them and getting them, and some not able to get them at all who need them, I wonder if they are causing us trouble just because my husband is on strike..I wonder why they cost so much. There should be some way for everyone to feed their families decently

continued on right

and still have their rights.

I feel that they're not giving us nothing because we have paid taxes for them stamps for the past twelve years.

* * * * *

FEDERAL MEDICAL INSURANCE. A FAIRY TALE

The story you are about to read may sound like a fairy tale, but by the time you finish you will know that it isn't because fairy tales have pleasant endings and this is anything except pleasant.

Once upon a time not too long ago, there were some "do gooders" that got together in order to "help" the poor people of the Appalachians. They decided to meet at a fancy resort called "Silver Springs" and have their meetings there. Maybe they thought that all work and no play would make Randy a dull boy. After all the project was being financed by the Federal Government and everyone knows they have "gobs and gobs" of money. The first thing they decided was to spend the money on hotel rooms at \$50 a day. They also had to spend some on their attire because they couldn't come to dinner in their shirt sleeves. Heaven forbid they might have been mistaken for some of the poor people they were going to save. And of course they couldn't drink in nothing less than silver goblets and knowing what a big job they had on hand in planning on how to fool the people of Harlan County, they had to have their exercise and this they took in the form of horseback riding. They had the works --- breakfast served in bed and all the trimmings.

The name of this Organization going into this great crusade to save the people of the Appalachians was the "Health Maintenance Organization" (the H.M.O.). But after their fancy breakfast in bed and their tie and tails dinners, they

(continued on page 4)

decided the name of the new organization would be the "Mountain Trail Health Plan." According to this plan the poor people without medical coverage would be eligible to receive this medical plan. But, "Lo and Behold", after a few weeks, they tell the poor people that they can only get this if they can afford to pay \$68 per month for this. And if any poor person can pay \$68 per month, let them speak now or forever hold their peace. Of course we know the coal operator makes plenty of money, and they can afford to buy this insurance at \$65 per month for every one of their coal miners. Then he can tell them "Look what we're doing for you, we're paying your insurance and it's costing us \$65 per month -- we're doing this for you out of the kindness of our hearts".

Now I believe that any man that can work in the mines and can make a Union wage cannot be considered a poor unfortunate Appalachian. So how is it that a woman that has two children and has no income can be told that she may buy the insurance for \$65 per month, and a coal operator that set his salary at \$70,000 per year and pays the coal miner that digs his coal \$50 can buy this insurance. I smell something rotten in Harlan County and it's coming from the officials of the Mountain Trail Health Plan.

Have you wondered why the name was changed from H.M.C. to M.T.H.P.? Think a minute. If you don't want to be traced and you want to hide something, you change your name and appearance. That's what happened here. H.M.C. changed its name to M.T.H.P. because they could fool more people into believing that here at long last was money appropriated by the Federal Government going for what it was set up for. But we know better now, don't we? We know that the Federal Government sends money in here to help the poor people but the money goes for continued on right

istrators and for their air-conditioned offices. And the only time you'll even feel the breeze is if you're gullible enough to believe that by the time they get through paying their high salaries and the expenses of their air-conditioned offices and doing favors for their special friends that there will be any left to help the "poor" people of Harlan County! Of course if your're fortunate enough to be a coal operator they may even decide that you're important enough for them to come to you air-conditioned office, but most of us are the poor people of the Appalachians.

This is my idea and summation on what you have read. This idea of M.T.H.P. was formulated by the coal operators. As we all know there has been only two plans available to the poor or the coal miners. One has been the State Welfare Card that you could receive only if you were eligible for Welfare. The other has been the U.M.W.A. Medical Card. Of course the U.M.W.A. Medical Card is far superior to any other medical insurance in Harlan County. The coal operators knew that the U.M.W.A. was having a big organizing drive and that coal miners would be flocking to sign the Check-Off Cards for the benefits that the U.M.W.A. Medical Card that has "Never" been refused anywhere. They had to formulate a plan to counteract it and they certainly were not going to pay for it out of their profits, so they decided to let us good old taxpayers have the honor of paying for the medical insurance needed to keep the U.M.W.A. out. How about it taxpayers? Are we going to let them get away with it?

* * * * *

BUY YOUR GROCERIES AT EVARTS S.E. SALVAGE. THEIR PRICES ARE LOWER. THEY SUPPORT THE U.M.W.A. paid ad.

SONG

You can't be a union if your light
 don't shine.
 Cause the UMWA is yours and mine
 Stop the scabs and stop the thugs
 and walk the picket line
 Cause you can be a union if you or-
 ganize.

When you come across that Harlan
 County line,
 Then you'll find out fast -- it's
 organizing time
 Make darn sure you're up there early
 on the picket line.
 Cause you can be a union if you or-
 ganize.

The scabs and the gun-thugs, they
 aren't worth a dime.
 But those good union men -- they're
 the best you'll find.
 So rally round the union boys its
 organizing time,
 Cause you can be a union if you or-
 ganize.

Working Women
 of Harlan County

(There will be a song in each issue.)

POLICE BRUTALITY

I want to tell you about the high
 crime rate in Harlan County. In
 three days we had thirteen criminals
 arrested at one place. One was a
 17 year old juvenile. These people
 didn't kill anyone or they didn't
 counterfeit money or anything the
 "people" think is a crime, but Duke
 Power Headquarters in North Carolina
 says it is and sics "Ford's Gestapos"
 on them and "bom" they are in jail.

Now Duke Power has on their pay-
 roll men that have been convicted
 of murder and counterfeiting but
 they can come and go as they please.
 Since the Brookside strike we have
 had more than forty people arrested
 and put in jail.

I'm sure anyone reading this has
 seen many names they never heard or
 saw before so why did they become
 criminals? Because they believed a
 fable -- that in America they have a
 right to protest. I know, because
 I believed that fable. It has been

continued on Page 6

THUGS AT "WORK"

Going home on Thursday night
 this past week I was shot at by
 Basil Collin's gun thugs, within
 minutes after leaving a store.
 These thugs thought they would scare
 me off the picket line at Highsplint.
 When this failed, the next night
 they beat me up, dragged me through
 the river, tore off my clothes and
 held a high-powered rifle at my
 head, trying to force me to give
 them information about a fellow
 picket. Knowing they would kill me
 I gave them this information. After
 this they told me to get the hell
 out of there and if they caught me
 on the picket line again they would
 kill me. I left -- but I came back
 to the picket line the next morning
 because I knew I would not be alone
 then. The strike breaking state
 police arrested me for attempting
 to block the highway to these same
 thugs. It seems they are picking
 me out. Maybe because I am one of
 the youngest ones on the picket
 line. I really don't know; more
 people were arrested so maybe not.

I got a warrant for the thugs
 and maybe I can have them put back
 in prison where Norman Yarborough
 hired them from.

** ** * ** * ** *

STRIP MINING

I wonder how they strip a mountain
 with an 80 degree slope, when the
 law is 27 degrees. We would like
 for Governor Ford to let us know.

** ** * ** * ** *

WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO?

MAYOR BEECHER ROWLETTE OF HARLAN
 HAS TOLD A FEW THOUSAND COAL MIN-
 ERS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS THAT THEY
 COULD NOT MARCH IN HARLAN IN MEMORY
 OF THEIR DEAD BROTHERS AND IN SUP-
 PORT OF THE BROOKSIDE STRIKE. WHAT
ARE WE GOING TO DO????

** ** * ** * ** *

Anyone who could put miners up from
 out of town, please contact the
 UMWA at the Multi-Purpose Center
 in Everts.

Police Brutality (cont.)

taught and repeated to us since childhood, so how are we to know that it just isn't so? We don't, until we go to the picket line -- then when we feel the clubs coming down on our heads, we know for sure because we have been taught the hard way; that the right to protest is a fable and that a giant corporation in North Carolina can and does control our lives. A couple of weeks or so ago, some friends and I were looking at the pictures in the paper and reading of the arrests and a remark was made that said, "look at the State Troopers faces. You can see the hatred." I looked and I could see bewilderment on the people that were there to protest Duke Power, but in the Gestapo's face there was pure hatred. My remark was I don't have to look at the picture, I can see it first hand, and I can tell you now you can feel and see the hatred if you go to the picket line. Maybe we should all be equipped with football helmets. Then they would have a harder time beating our brains out. I don't know the answer, but something must be done!!

I haven't been to the doctor in a year, because it doesn't do any good. All the doctors do around here is give you a bottle of cough syrup and send you home. When I do go, I expect to see a doctor and I am sent to a nurse, so most of the time I never see a doctor.. I have to wait all day too, and then they say I have to travel 8 miles to see another doctor. This costs a lot of money for gas. I haven't got a medical card of any kind, and they told me once I had high blood pressure. I get dizzy and sick sometimes and I know that high blood pressure can kill you. My husband was told he needs an operation, but we cannot afford it. If you don't have the money, they won't take care of you!!

BOOTLEGGING

Corruption in Harlan County government has been present for years, but Harlan County today is more corrupt and law defying then ever before.

For instance, bootlegging is so widespread in this county, that illegal liquor is just as easy to obtain as legal liquor. There are just as many places selling non-taxed liquor as there are selling taxed liquor.

So called law enforcement officials of this county make a mockery out of the word law and what it is. It is much more profitable for them to look the other way, then uphold laws they are elected to enforce. Each and every one made profits on the bootlegging industry in our county.

Illegal liquor sales in this county are very well organized and very profitable to certain individuals in high positions. Their profits are made at the expense of ordinary citizens..

City and county politicians preach law enforcement for months prior to election day but they themselves use illegal liquor to buy votes to assure themselves a shabby victory. So far in Harlan County history, officials have not served the citizens who want a clean, honest, decently run county government. It is so much easier for them to ignore illegal acts and become rich while ordinary citizens suffer the injustices and wrong-doings of a handful of corrupt officials.

How much more corruption and injustice will Harlan Countians take before we are ready to fight back and have an honestly run county. One sure way way of keeping politics more honest is to keep bootlegged earned money out of their reach. The only way to do this is to have all Harlan County voted WET in the next election.

cont. on page 7

Bootlegging (continued from page 6)

With the entire county wet, Citizens would control politicians rather than them being controlled by a few shady men who now run Harlan County. Only through a carefully controlled election can Harlan County ever have a honest government.

YOUTH, JOBS + UNIONS

All of us have heard the saying, "It's a nice place to visit, but I wouldn't want to live there."

Harlan County is just the opposite. It isn't a nice place to visit, but we who were born here would like to stay.

Working conditions in Harlan however have in recent years caused hundreds of young people to leave, as soon as they get a chance. Jobs are hard to find. Mining is the only thing available and unfortunately, the majority of mines are scab mines. Such mine operations are unsafe, offer no adequate medical coverage and no pension plan. These things in the past have caused young men and women to leave instead of staying and working under such conditions.

The attitudes of young people in Harlan County are slowly changing. More and more are beginning to realize that it is very unfair to themselves and to their families to leave their homes to seek decent employment. More and more are deciding that it is more to their interest to change conditions rather than accept things forced upon them. Out of their new-found determination, young and old alike are beginning to make a stand and demand and fight for better lives for themselves and families.

Union men are steadily growing in number and their determination to win is growing stronger day-by-day. Since the Bookside strike began over a year ago, national attention has been focused on Harlan County. Support has come from all over the United States. People who were unaware of how miners must earn a living now know that their job is not an

easy one. They have come to realize that a miner's job is the most dangerous in the world. Everyone has come to know that the only chance these miners have is to organize.

Organizing does not come easy. The opposition miners receive is overwhelming. City, county and state officials have banded together with the Harlan County Coal Operators Association to try to break these union men and their fighting spirit. They have, however, undertaken an impossible task.

Miners of Harlan County have for too long worked under the horrible conditions set down by the Harlan Co. Coal Operators Association. They are tired of being treated as slaves rather than as the upstanding, decent hardworking individuals they are. We are all sick and tired of watching our fathers, brothers and friends crawl into mines, work all day under horrible conditions and receive little or nothing for their labor.

Organizing the mines in Harlan Co. is the first step in changing everyday life here. Better working conditions, medical coverage and pension benefits and union representation will make the miners life a much easier one. Organized labor is the only hope a miner has.

Unionism is finally being reborn in Harlan County, and union men and women are now determined to stay and fight for change rather than leave.

Someday I hope I will be able to say to the world, "Harlan County is a great place to visit and an even greater place to live."

I am a black man, and I come to you not for sympathy but only to state this fact. I have been in Harlan Co. for 24 years. I've been seeking employment annually for the past 5 years. But needless to say, I haven't accomplished one thing. I wonder, is it because I'm black? Although I've never had any mining experience, this is my home and I'm getting sick and tired of having to leave here to find proper employment. Wilson Coleman.

Cold Days, Dark Nights

By James Branscome

NEW MARKET, Tenn. — "Mother" Jones, that elderly rabble-rouser who beat coal operators with brooms and became a coal-field legend in the bloody United Mine Workers organizing drives earlier in this century, promised when she got to heaven she would harass the Lord about the pitiful condition of West Virginia coal miners. "Either Mother Jones did not make it up there or the Lord is a coal operator," a retired U.M.W. organizer said recently. The Mother Jones dilemma aside, it is still hell to be a coal miner.

On Nov. 12, a nation at peace with the oil-rich Arabs could be at war with the Appalachian coal-miners. On that date, when the union's contract with the nation's coal and oil corporations expires—coal production in the United States is heavily owned by the major oil companies—the hell the miners have been getting may be visited upon the rest of the nation. Gasless Sundays are only inconvenient; cold days and dark nights are something else.

The coal miners' outrage is easily understandable. From 1839 to the present, more than 120,000 miners have died in United States coal mines and 1.5 million more have been maimed and disabled. The death toll averages out to more than two lives

lost every single day for 135 years. Last year 132 coal miners, out of a total work force of 164,000, were killed and 11,067 were injured. So far this year 58 have been killed. Each year 3,000 miners die from black lung, a suffocating disease caused by coal dust and corporate and governmental negligence of mine conditions.

In the new contract, the reform leadership of the union's president, Arnold R. Miller, is demanding higher wages, new safety standards, sick pay, increased pensions and a number of other benefits long enjoyed by other industrial unions. Coal miners, among other union members—in steel, rubber, the auto industry—work in the most hazardous conditions and are the lowest paid.

Publicly, the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, the combine which negotiates for the industry, has promised nothing. Privately, they say they are willing to trade moderately increased wages and benefits for a guarantee against wildcat strikes, usually over safety conditions, which are as sacred to miners as their oath of obligation. Even if Mr. Miller dared to negotiate on this point, it is certain that the contract would not be ratified by the rank and file, which this year intends to look the deal over with an enthusiasm fired by the right, won last December, to approve the contract.

No matter how good the contract looks, some observers are predicting that coal miners may also decide to get in a lick against Mr. Miller, who is maintaining a strange silence on the shift of the coal industry from Appalachian deep mines to Western strip mines. Coal miners who remember John L. Lewis's decision to allow mine mechanization in order to drop the miners' rolls from 535,000 to 200,000 in a decade, ushering in the new era of Appalachian poverty, see a familiar threat in the move West.

Silence on the East-to-West shift combined with Mr. Miller's refusal to do anything to get a meaningful strip-mine bill from this Congress have agitated the coal miners. They do not intend to struggle to keep from dying in the ground only to emerge and be killed on the surface by a strip-mine-induced flood or landslide. Mr. Miller, who used to call for abolition of strip mines, is headed toward a showdown with his own restless membership.

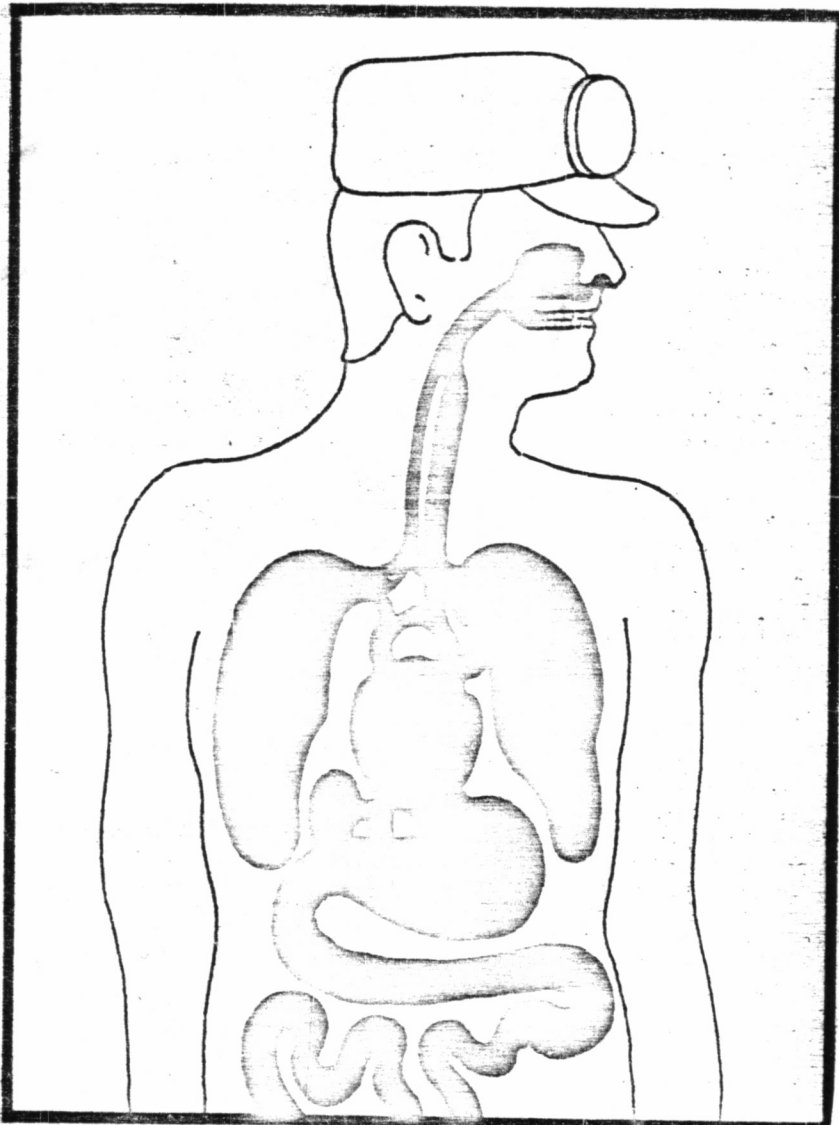
Should a coal strike come, it would be up to President Nixon to end it. He could invoke a Taft-Hartley injunction for a cooling-off period, but coal miners might not even obey their own leader's call, let alone Mr. Nixon's, for a return to work. As long as there has been a Taft-Hartley law, there has been a miner's saying that "Mr. Taft and Mr. Hartley can mine the coal."

Coal supplies at utilities are already down dramatically from normal stockpiles. The Tennessee Valley Authority, the country's largest utility, has only a 26-day supply at one of its steam plants. On the East Coast, only Massachusetts utilities have the normal 70-to-100-day stockpiles. Some steel mills have only a fifteen-day supply. Even if a strike should last only two to three weeks, as union spokesmen optimistically hope, for the sake of their beleaguered medical and pension fund, which draws 80 cents for each ton of coal mined, there could be selective brownouts and layoffs, particularly in the East. Unquestionably, a frenzied coal hunt this fall by utilities, which already have some coal priced at \$32 a ton, three times its production cost, will force utility bills to rise even further.

Even if a miners' strike is somehow avoided, that does not lessen the importance of this nation's collecting its corporate and moral body and repenting its sins in the coal fields. Unless that happens, coal miners may have to use coal's rising fortunes to get Mother Jones's message across themselves.

James Branscome, a freelance writer, is a staff member of the Highlander Center, which does organizing and educational work on coal mining and other Appalachian issues.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 26, 1974



Seymour Chwast

OUTDOORS WEST VIRGINIA

by Robert Leo SMITH

Professor of Wildlife Management, WVU

Coal's future in West Virginia

BY THE TIME you are reading this column, the future of West Virginia may be in the hands of Congress. If the timetable has been followed, House Bill HR 11500, the strip mine bill, will have reached the floor of the House. The bill is sure to stir strong debate for the major issue will be the shift of the coal development from East to West.

As it stands now, HR 11500 has been compromised seriously because of heavy lobbying efforts of the coal, utility and oil industries and the Nixon administration. In its present form the bill is unacceptable. If several key amendments are added HR 11500 would go a long way toward protecting the coal industry in West Virginia and Appalachia.

It is imperative to West Virginia that a strong strip mine bill emerge from the House. If the bill in its present form is passed, it will affect the economic future of West Virginia for years to come. The coal industry has been working hard to defeat or delay a passage of a strong strip mine bill since the coal and utility industries want to abandon the East for the West.

These industries have their reason, and the arguments of energy shortages, maximum production in eastern coal fields and unavailability of low sulfur coal are not among them, although these are the arguments they feed the public.

The real reasons are others. One is that major oil and gas companies have recently come into the coal industry. To gather huge coal reserves in the East would require huge sums of money to buy up coal rights held by owners. Since much of the coal in the west is owned by the Federal Government, oil and utility companies can deal for huge blocks of energy from the Federal Government just as they do for oil in the Arabian countries.

Another reason is profits.

Most utility companies have a fuel adjustment clause built into their rate structure (as consumers are now experiencing in this state). This allows utilities to add increased costs of fuel without having to go through a rate increase hearing. If utilities buy coal from their own mines, there is the possibility of increasing the price of coal at the mine, delivering the coal on their own barges at an increased shipping charge, and passing all of the costs onto the customer without a rate hearing.

Thus, mining and shipping profits will generate additional profits for the utility.

A third reason is that oil interests are represented heavily in the ownership of Western coal. While Continental Oil (Consolidation Coal Co.) and Occidental Oil (Island Creek Coal) have large coal reserves under their ownership in West Virginia, this represents only a small share of the total coal reserves in the East. In the West they, and other oil companies, control huge reserves. They would rather invest in their development than make any further investment in deep mines in the East.

Other important reasons are lower cost of mining western coal especially by avoiding the high cost of the 1969 Coal Mine Health and Safety Act, and by escaping the need to work with the United Mine Workers and paying the 80 cents a ton royalty to the UMW welfare fund.

By encouraging strip mining through a weak bill, Congress can hasten the exodus of the coal industry from East to West, undercut the deep mining industry in the East and Midwest with western strip mining, stagnate improvement in deep mine technology and production capacity, create a dependency on low quality western coal located far from existing markets.

If you don't believe this consider the facts.

Business Week in the May 11, 1974 issue, states that the strip mine bill before the House will set the growth pattern of the nation's major energy suppliers for years to come and decide the fate of the coal dependent Appalachian economy.

If government projections are correct eastern coal which now supplies 90 per cent of the nation's coal production will drop to 45 per cent within 10 years.

This will reduce employment in West Virginia and other parts of Appalachia, cut the state income and spur migration of people out of the region. Since of all the Eastern states West Virginia is the most dependent on a viable coal industry. West Virginians have the most to lose if a weak strip mine bill is passed.

In the face of the exodus to the West what does West Virginia and other eastern coal states have to offer if deep mining is saved?

1. The overwhelming coal reserves in the U.S. can be extracted only by deep mining. The ration of deep mine to strippable coal in the nation is 34:1. in Appalachia, 49:1.

2. Although much is made of the low sulfur content of western coal, it is product of figures. Western coal contains 1 per cent or less of sulfur, on a per ton basis, some eastern coal 2 to 3 per cent. But Western coal is low in BTU and high in ash. It takes 1½ to 2 tons of Western coal to produce the same amount of heat as 1 ton of eastern coal. In the end approximately the same amount of sulfur will be released, along with much heavier amounts of fly ash.

3. Appalachia is rich in low sulfur coal, in contrast to assertions of coal industry and utilities. In Appalachia there are approximately 82 billion tons of low sulfur bituminous coal, only 2 billion tons of which are strip minable. Of these reserves 58 per cent are in West Virginia.

In June 1974 issue of "Fortune" magazine, it states that deep mined coal is a better economic proposition than western strip mine coal. Although it can be produced for as little as \$3 per ton, transportation costs can increase that cost to \$12 per ton. Since western coal is a low energy fuel, more has to be burned. So a customer could pay \$16 per ton for delivered eastern coal and come out ahead.

The handwriting for West Virginia is on the wall of the mines.

Either West Virginians come out in support of a very strong strip mine legislation or experience a substantial economic decline. West Virginians must urge governmental support of increased research in deep mine technology and methods of improving sulfur removal techniques.

West Virginians can protect the state as well as the environment by urging our congressmen to support two key amendments to the House Bill 11500.

One is the Siberling Amendment. It will generate money from future coal production to restore 2.5 million acres of strip mined land lying unclaimed. Money will come from a \$2.50 per ton

reclamation fee on all domestic and imported coal, both deep and strip. Of this the states will receive 37.5 per cent. Both deep and strip mine operators can write off certain costs during coal production. Deep mine operators can write off the heavy costs of complying with safety legislation, black lung benefits and surface reclamation. Strip mine operators can write-off costs of reclamation. The amendment thus encourages deep mine industry with new incentives to install safe and efficient equipment. At the same time it equalizes the economic competition of deep mine with surface mined coal, especially the low BTU coal of the west. This amendment would not phase out strip mining.

The other key amendments are those dealing with water. Strong support is needed for amendments that would prohibit mining on rivers and streams, and the removal of aquifers in arid and semi-arid regions, where most of the coal seams function as primary arteries for the ground water systems. Passage of this amendment would considerably slow strip mining in the west and force industry to look east, as well as protect vital western range and agricultural lands.

Another amendment which should not be overlooked is the Phase Out Amendment sponsored by Ken Hechler. Since only 3 to 18 per cent of the nations coal reserves can be recovered by strip mining, the long term dependency on domestic coal production will require the expansion and rejuvenation of the deep mine coal industry. This cannot occur simultaneously with further expansion of

the strip mine industry. This bill will save West Virginia's future by favoring the eastern coal industry and save land and water resources of coal regions for other uses.

So far West Virginia has not rallied in support of the strip mine bill. Most of the pressure has been against the bill because of lobbying efforts of the West Virginia Surface Mine and Reclamation Association and the West Virginia Coal Association.

The West Virginia Surface Mine and Reclamation Association is against the bill because it could slow or phase out strip mining in the state. But the end of strip mining in Appalachia is already in sight. At present rate of production for example strippable reserves in Tennessee will be exhausted in 8 to 10 years. And give West Virginia about 20 years. By the time the strippable reserves are removed, all of the southern mountains will be destroyed for any future use. (If you don't believe it, fly over the region a couple of times and note the massive destruction of the mountains.)

The reason the West Virginia Coal Association position is obvious. The association is dominated by the oil-owned coal companies, whose real allegiance now is to western strip mining and not Appalachian coal.

To save West Virginia's economy, urge your congressman to support the strongest possible strip mine legislation. Especially write, telegram or call Honorable Harley O. Staggers, 2366 Rayburn Building, Washington, D.C. 20515 (202) 225-4331 urging him to support the House strip mine legislation and the amendments.

Weaker strip-mine bill than 1971's is being urged

By WARD SINCLAIR

Courier-Journal & Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — The Department of Commerce is quietly urging that the Nixon administration's proposals for federal strip-mine controls be made substantially weaker than the bill it introduced in 1971.

The department's views, citing a need to not unduly regulate the minerals industry because of the "energy crisis," are contained in a 10-page letter sent recently to the Office of Management and Budget (OMB).

A copy of the letter, signed by Commerce Department general counsel William Letson, was obtained by The Courier-Journal.

Officials from OMB, the Interior Department and other federal agencies dealing with environmental and legislative matters have been involved in recent weeks in discussions about a new strip-mine bill.

The Commerce Department was asked by OMB to comment on possible changes that might be made in the administration's 1971 legislation. That bill was criticized by environmentalists and was considerably less stringent than the bill finally passed last fall by the House of Representatives.

Because the Senate failed to act before adjourning last October, federal strip-mine legislation died. Congressional leaders are giving the issue priority consideration this year and a strong bill is expected to be passed.

But the administration's attitude and the degree of influence it decides to exert while Congress is considering the various bills could have a pivotal effect on the fight to regulate the stripping of coal, which now accounts for over half of U.S. production.

A strong hint of how the administration's attitude is being shaped is contained in the Commerce Department letter, which argues that the 1971 administration bill presents "several serious problems."

The basis for Letson's contention is his department's belief that the nation's domestic fuel situation is so critical that "unnecessary" restrictions on coal mining could add to the "crisis" air.

The Commerce Department says that intensified competition for overseas oil supplies, continuing concern about the U.S. balance-of-payments situation and clean-air limitations on high-sulfur coal underscore the need for development of U.S. fuel sources.

"This means that we must stimulate not only the production of oil, but the mining of coal as well," Letson said. "We must, therefore, be extremely careful not to impose unnecessary restrictions on coal mining operations."

"... The nation is now faced with an urgent need not merely to avoid undue burdens upon mineral development activity, but actively to stimulate the growth of this vital industry," he said.

Those views tend to coincide with published reports that President Nixon's forthcoming message to Congress on the energy situation will call for intensified exploitation of U.S. coal supplies.

To achieve that end, Letson said, various changes should be made in the administration's proposals to put federal controls on the stripping of coal and the reclamation procedures that would be required.

There were some of the Commerce Department's major suggestions:

✓ Reclamation requirements should not be placed against exploratory activities. The department said there is "no demonstrated need" for this kind of requirement and, further, there is "no valid basis" for applying federal requirements on private lands.

✓ A less severe definition of "reclamation" should be considered because to define the word as "avoidance or correction of 'adverse' affects (from mining) is to impose a requirement which is virtually impossible to meet."

The department said the bill should be worded so as to require reclamation "where practicable"—a view that environmentalists argued against vehemently during hearings in 1971.

✓ There is no need for a mandatory requirement that state regulations include permits for mining. The department said that not all states have adequate resources to set up a permit program. And it added if all the rules for reclamation are followed the permit would be superfluous.

✓ The Commerce Department contended that a permit requirement might be a "disincentive" to the states to operate their own regulatory programs under federal guidelines. (The administration bill originally called for a federal-state regulatory partnership.)

✓ A requirement for performance bonds should be omitted from the bill, in part because the cost of bonds for operators "would be astronomical."

✓ Neither the federal nor the state agency should be given authority to shut down a mine for failure to meet requirements because "substantial costs will be incurred."

✓ The plan to recover enforcement costs through the permit system should be scuttled because, as the Commerce Department put it, "the federal government should be stimulating mineral development to meet our energy demands . . . Such stimulation is not achieved by imposing on industry the costs of regulation designed to a social goal, costs typically borne by the public."

✓ As proposed the scope of inspection authority was "extremely broad." The Commerce Department said: "We suggest that it be redrafted so as to impose reasonable limitations upon the right of federal entry to inspect operations subject to state regulations."

Courier-Journal & Times
January 28, 1973

INDIANS MOUNT LEGAL DRIVE

Montana stripping opposed

10-18-74

By MICHAEL KIERNAN

(C) 1973 Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.

WASHINGTON — An Indian tribe in Eastern Montana, charging that the government has given four major energy companies the power to "extinguish" its tribal culture, through strip-mining, has quietly mounted a legal drive to block the mining of several billion tons of coal on its reservation.

The Northern Cheyenne Indians, in a legal memorandum now under study at the Interior Department, say that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has committed 36 violations of law in approving leases that would give four corporations the right to mine 60 per cent of a 415,000-acre reservation.

The proposed mining operations "would wreck cultural, social and ecological havoc," the Indians say.

The corporations involved are the Peabody Coal Co., the Consolidated Coal Co. of Pittsburgh, American Metal Climax and Chevron Oil. Peabody and Consolidated are the two largest strip-mining companies in the country.

At stake, in the dispute, officials say, are not only one of the richest unmined coal beds in the United States, but also President Nixon's

expressed policy of self-determination for American Indians.

"America needs the Indians' coal," said interior Department Solicitor Kent Frizzell. The tribe's memo was submitted last month at Frizzell's request, and he has since been trying to work out a compromise on the issue.

"A good compromise — agreed on by both sides — certainly would be better than lengthy limitation," he said.

At least one Interior Department official has taken exception to Frizzell's playing the role of arbiter in the dispute.

"The department is supposed to act as a trustee for the Indians," said the official.

"Our job is to represent their rights, not the coal companies."

Last March Northern Cheyenne leaders asked Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton to cancel all existing permits and leases for coal exploration and mining. That petition marked the first time Indians have made a serious attempt to void an existing strip-mining contract with a major coal company.

The petition came at a particularly sensitive time, because the White

House was then negotiating an end to the crisis at Wounded Knee.

"The government is anxious to avoid another Wounded Knee," said one administration official familiar with the Cheyennes' charges against the BIA.

The official noted that so far the Cheyenne Indians "have worked within the system" and as a result the Interior Department has given their petition "top priority."

The Administration would prefer that the Indians mine and sell their own coal, but this is not practical, one Administration official said.

"Unless the coal is dug up promptly," he said, "it probably will not be available to meet our growing neergy needs until the mid 1980s."

In its long list of charges against the BIA, the tribe claims the Bureau failed to make the required detailed studies that would have informed the Indians of the tremendous impact that strip-mining would have upon their daily lives.

In addition, the tribe charges, the U.S. Geological Survey "defaulted in its obligation to provide technical advice." As a result, the tribe says, it was left technically and scientifically uninformed.

Steps must be taken to avert coal strike

7-14-74
JOHN SAWHILL, the nation's federal energy chief, brought close to home last week a warning all concerned should heed.

Speaking in Pittsburgh, he said all possible steps must be taken to avert a prolonged strike by the nation's soft coal miners, as threatened next Nov. 12 when their old contract expires.

Sawhill stressed that it's "tremendously important" to the economy and the energy situation that there be no shutdown.

Delegates to the United Mine Workers constitutional convention last December gave UMW President Arnold Miller a mandate to call a strike for as long as six months if the coal operators do not meet union demands.

Such a strike, Sawhill said, would have far-reaching effects not only in the coal industry but in related fields dependent on coal as a source of power. It would

affect long-range energy plans and also short-term conservation measures.

We believe the UMW and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association can sit down, bargain in good faith, and arrive at mutually acceptable terms for a new contract before the Nov. 12 deadline.

To do so, however, both sides undoubtedly will have to give a little and, above all, remain reasonable throughout the negotiations.

We don't think the miners themselves can afford a lengthy strike, if indeed a short strike. Neither do we think the coal operators can afford a strike. Certainly the nation can't.

As Sawhill said, everything possible must be done to avert a walkout and its detrimental effects. Both parties have more than enough time to work out their differences.

Consol to sue UMW over Ohio mine strike

5/15/74

CADIZ, Ohio (UPI) — Consolidation Coal Co. said Tuesday it would file a damage suit against the United Mine Workers and the union's top officers for failing to stop an area coal mine strike caused by the dismissal of a miner accused of smoking underground.

A company spokesman said the suit, to be filed in U.S. District Court, was aimed at the alleged failure of UMW President Arnold Miller and other top union officers "to carry out the responsibilities of their offices in backing enforcement of safety regulations."

The strike involved started when an

employee of Consol's Franklin Mine near here was suspended last Thursday for smoking underground. The walkout spread to the company's nearby Rose Valley and Franklin Highwall operations, idling an estimated 650 men.

"This strike is the result of a clearcut violation of federal safety regulations which prohibit smoking underground," said Haze Cochran, Consol's vice president of public relations.

While the strike has spread, Cochran said, "we have gotten no cooperation from either the district or the international UMW officers in

halting this walkout."

"Mr. Miller and his international officers and union are constantly complaining about the coal companies not being concerned about safety and how they want safety laws enforced," Cochran said. "Yet, when we try to enforce such regulations, we get not one bit of help or support from them."

Besides Miller, the suit will name UMW Vice President Mike Trbovich, Secretary-Treasurer Harry Patrick and safety director John Sulka, Cochran said.

He said Consol would also file a contempt citation against Local 1360 at the Franklin Mine.

7-11-74 J&L Steel asks for injunction

PITTSBURGH (UPI) — Attorneys for Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. Wednesday asked Federal Judge Hubert I. Teitelbaum for a temporary injunction against striking miners at two coal mines and a preparation plant near California, Washington County.

About 700 members of Local 762, United Mine Workers Union, have been on strike at the Vesta Nos. 4 and 5 mines and an associated coal preparation plant since Sunday night in a safety dispute.

A J&L spokesman said the dispute stemmed from the failure of the company to meet a July 1 deadline to install safety equipment on mining machinery.

The spokesman said the equipment, required under new federal regulations, includes installation of canopies over the operator's seats of continuous miners and rock drills. The spokesman said the canopies have been ordered.

J&L asked that the men return to work pending installation of the equipment.

Mines remain idled by wildcat stoppage

2-26-74

WHEELING, W. Va. (UPI) — Three coal mines in this area remained idle as a wildcat strike, once idling up to 10,000 men, entered its third week.

The 900 men still off the job are employed at Valley Camp Coal Co.'s Short Creek No. 1 mine near here.

3/17/74 Miners almost return to work

MIRACLE RUN — Striking miners at the Eastern Associated Coal Corp.'s Federal No. 2 mine almost returned to work on Tuesday's day shift, but returned home instead.

A spokesman for Eastern said the miners voted Monday to return to work. A small percentage of the men of the midnight shift Monday came to work, but the shift was canceled.

On the morning shift Tuesday, most of the miners came out to work, but just prior to the trip down the shaft, the men returned home again.

The spokesman said, "Perhaps those men against returning were influential" in conversation prior to starting the shift.

The mine struck last Tuesday when a miner on the afternoon shift was suspended, the company charging that he had struck a foreman.

The strike may be spreading. Consolidation Coal Co.'s Osage No. 3 mine was idled today on the morning shift by what a company spokesman described as "pickets from Eastern's Federal No. 2."

The Osage No. 3 mine employs approximately 325 men.

Y&O Coal Co.'s Allison Mine near Beallsville, Ohio, and North American's Powhatan No. 5 mine at Powhatan Point, Ohio.

Workers at the Valley Camp facility, members of United Mine Worker Local 1417, were named in a second federal temporary restraining order.

The directive by U.S. District Judge Dennis Knapp restrains the local from picketing or interfering with normal operations of the mine.

Judge Knapp also extended a temporary restraining order against UMW Local 6362 at the Windsor Mine of the American Electric Power System.

Both orders carried an effective date of until March 7. On that date, another hearing is scheduled in federal court at Elkins involving the Short Creek No. 1 order. No hearing was scheduled in the Local 6362 case.

1/74 Blacksville mine still on strike

3-19-74
BLACKSVILLE — A strike by 230 miners at the Blacksville No. 1 mine of the Consolidation Coal Co. continued Tuesday with no meetings scheduled between the union and management.

A spokesman for Consol said that representatives of United Mine Workers Local 1588 have not contacted the company to discuss the problem which resulted in the strike.

The miners struck the mine on the day shift Monday. The cause of the dispute could not be learned at presstime.

Miners 1/27/74 threaten shutdown

LONDON (UPI) — Coal miners leaders served notice Saturday they will plunge Britain into a crippling national mines shutdown in two weeks and will impose a total power blockade on the country.

Railroad engineers also threatened to step up rail disruption beginning Monday.

Engineering Union chief Hugh Scanlin said three million engineering workers will launch a slowdown to back a 30 per cent pay boost demand as soon as the mine conflict ends.

Other unions, including newspaper printers and unions representing 52,000 British Ford Motor Company workers, joined in with demands far exceeding the government's 12-15 per cent anti-inflation ceilings.

Political informants said this crescendoing industrial turmoil may well force Prime Minister Edward Heath to appeal for a new mandate in a general election soon.

Lawrence Daly, general secretary of the Mineworkers Union, told a cheering trade unionists' rally at Edinburgh he has informed the state-run Coal Board a national mines strike will start Feb. 10 if, as expected, Britain's 269,000 coal miners give the go ahead in a rank and file strike vote next Thursday and Friday.

Union Vice President Mick McGahey said, "There will be mass picketing not only to stop coal but also to prevent other fuel from reaching the power stations. We will stop not only coal production but also distribution."

British miners 2/5/74 set shutdown

LONDON (UPI) — Leaders of Britain's coal miners today ordered a shutdown of Britain's coal mines at midnight Saturday despite government warnings the move would lead Britain from economic chaos into economic disaster.

The decision was announced by a member of the union executive committee at end of a 3½ hour meeting.

Britain depends on coal for 70 per cent of its energy, and a months-long slowdown by the miners had forced the nation into a three-day work week. The economy was further disrupted by slowdowns by railroad workers.

Mineworkers President Joe Gormley confirmed the shutdown decision earlier.

"Of course the union's executive is not bound to decide there is going to be a strike," Gormley said as the meeting opened. "But I have no doubt there will be."

The union executive was deciding whether to escalate a 12 week-old slowdown into a national mines shutdown starting Sunday.

The government said the strike would mean a 2½-day or even two-day work week, power blackouts, cold homes and millions jobless. About 70 per cent of Britain's electric power is produced by coal.

The union leaders met after final peace talks Monday between Prime Minister Edward Heath and the 10-millionmember Trades Union Congress (TUC) broke down in deadlock.

2/4/74 Miners vote for strike in Britain

LONDON (UPI) — Coal miners voted by an overwhelming 81 per cent in returns announced today to launch a nationwide strike expected to turn Britain's economic crisis into a disaster.

The Mineworkers' Union said coal

workers voted 188,393 to 44,222 to walk off their jobs next Sunday, escalating their 12-week-old slowdown into a full-scale walkout.

About 86 per cent of Britain's 269,000 miners took part in the crucial strike balloting last Thursday and Friday. The votes, counted by the independent Electoral Reform Society, were announced by Mineworkers President Joe Gormley at union headquarters. The ballot authorized the union's national executive committee to launch a strike on Sunday, but did not make it mandatory.

British miners solicit Feb. 6, 1974 support for coal strike

LONDON (UPI) — Miners tried to mobilize the support of other workers today for next weekend's nationwide coal strike, and the government warned the walkout would cause Britain's greatest economic catastrophe since World War II.

Mineworkers President Joe Gormley called on other unions to help halt shipments of all fuel, including coal, to power stations, paralyzing Britain's already crippled economy.

"With the help of other unions, it will be a short, sharp exercise," Gormley said. The walkout,

scheduled to begin at midnight Saturday, follows a three-month slowdown by miners pressing pay demands.

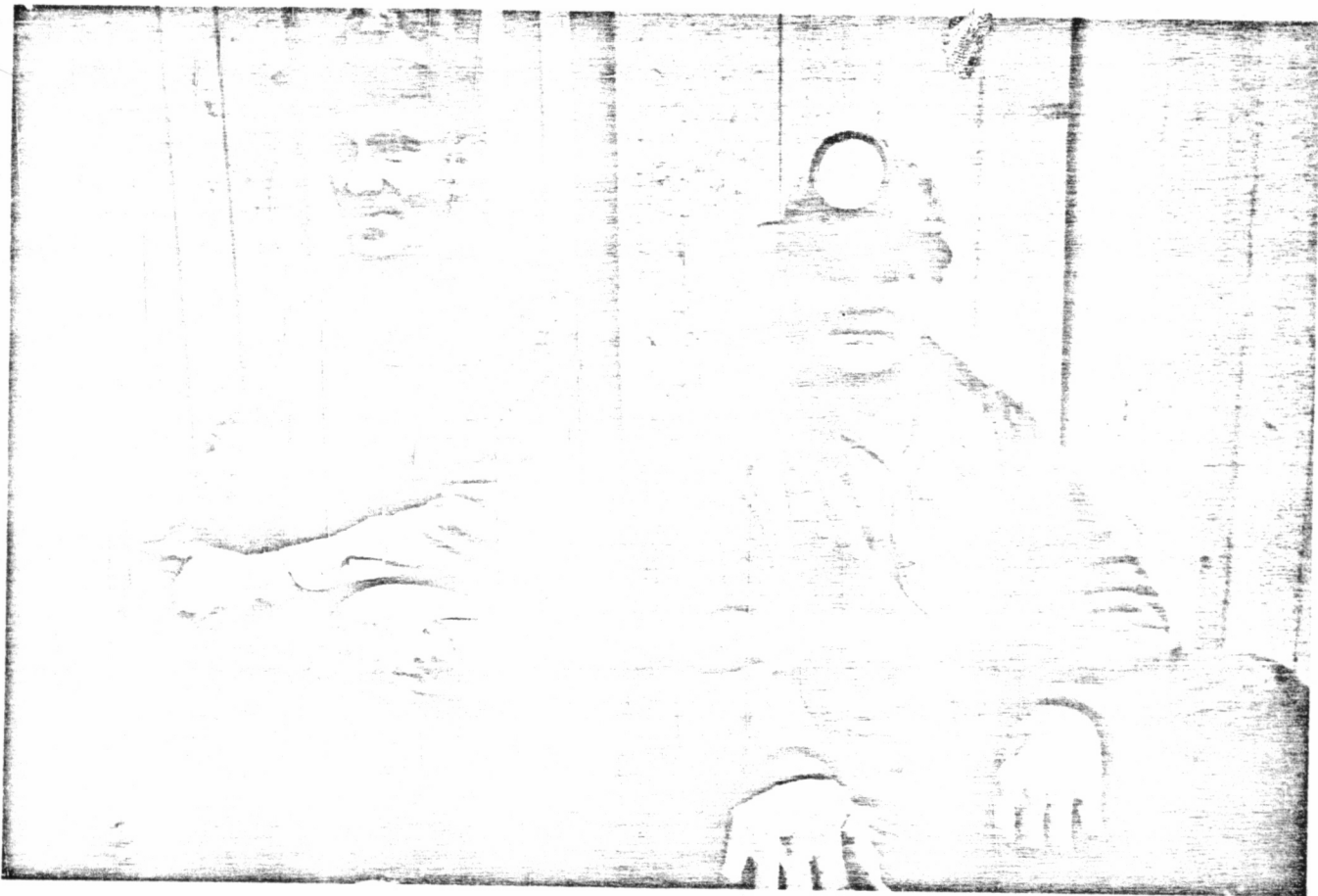
The 10 million-member Trades Union Congress (TUC), the British version of America's AFL-CIO, urged its affiliated unions to respect the miners picket lines.

The coal slowdown, Arab oil cutbacks and an overtime ban by railroad engineers have already cut fuel supplies to dangerous levels, forcing Prime Minister Edward Heath to impose a three-day work week to save energy.

Gormley predicted the strike would shut down power stations across the country within a week, bringing British industry to a standstill.

The coal chief said, however, the union would call off the strike "if the government is willing to come forward with more money on the table."

The miners have demanded pay increases of up to 35 per cent, but the state-run National Coal Board has refused to grant more than the 16.5 per cent maximum allowed under the government's anti-inflation guidelines.



Miners for Democracy

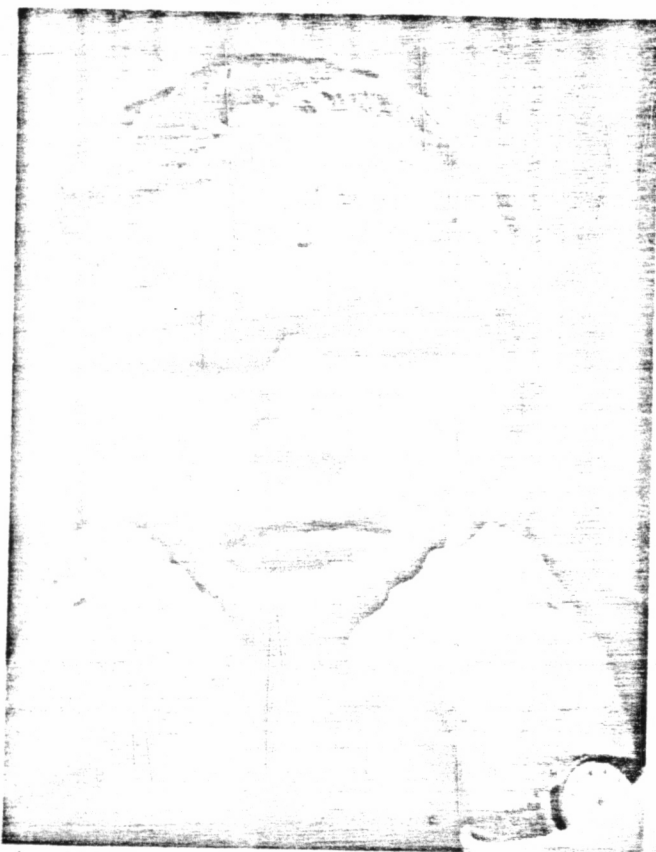
Year One at the UMW

Two summers ago, in one of those rare moments when the chemistry of human indignation and institutional rot blend to form the soul of righteousness, they came riding out of the coal pits on their white chargers of reform. These coal miners who were bent on reshaping a listing tower of the American labor movement, the United Mine Workers (UMW), were not to be stayed. Their fuel was outrage—the outrage over 100,000 of their brothers killed in the mines in this century, outrage over black lung and more than 1.5 million disabling accidents since 1930, outrage over the union-financed murder of Jock Yablonski, outrage from callous government and wanton corporations ignoring them and worse, outrage over their own leaders pillaging the union treasury, whoring with company sweethearts and managing their affairs with no less dictatorial style than watch-charm Trujillos.

But there was more to it than that, and when these rank-and-file Miners for Democracy, as they called themselves, swept Tony Boyle from the union presidency in December 1972, underdogs everywhere took heart. For here were genuine blue-collar men, guided by no other

cause than justice, sweeping away the yoke and crying “Enough.” Masters of their own destiny, they would be, putting their union on the front edge of social change in the Appalachian coalfields, where most other institutions had failed or given up in frustration. There was even more, a notion that this rank-and-file rebellion could plot new directions for the labor movement, progressive new strategies to carry workers beyond dollars-and-cents obsessions.

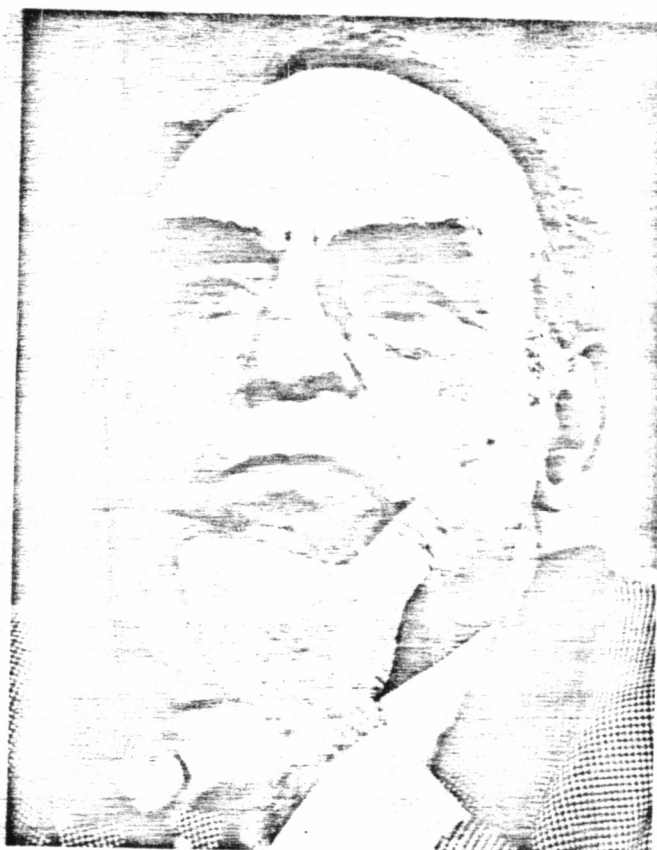
So the feeling went. In fact, the Miners for Democracy (MFD) reformers headed by Arnold Miller, a West Virginian who suffers from black-lung disease, have brought substantial changes to the big old UMW since the jubilant days in 1972 when the rebels got into their own building, many of them for the first time. But all is not well in this coal miners’ Camelot, and the troubles that Miller and his cohorts are now experiencing could not come at a worse time. Miller is negotiating his first contract with the soft-coal industry (the contract expires in November 1974), perhaps the most crucial test he’ll face in his union stewardship. His success or failure at the bargaining table will determine a good deal of the UMW’s future.



Arnold Miller, new UMW president.

The pressures on Miller are enormous. There is, for instance, the question of the role of the UMW in meeting an energy crisis in which coal is increasingly portrayed as a means to national salvation. There is the pressure to avoid a prolonged strike: the union's medical-care and pension fund is financed on a pay-as-you-go basis, and with its income tied to tonnage mined, it couldn't long survive a shutdown. The pressure is compounded because the UMW still has no strike fund, despite Miller's effort to have one set up by the union convention last winter. And there is pressure of a self-generating sort that forces Miller to bring back to his 110,000 working miners a contract acceptable to them, since for the first time, as a result of a Miller reform, there will be rank-and-file ratification.

As if that were not enough, Miller is going into these negotiations hounded by internal union problems. To the observer on the fringes of the wrenching events that have shaken the union these last four years, there is the unmistakable sensation that the whole beautiful ball of string that the Miners for Democracy painstakingly pieced together is coming unraveled. Perhaps it was inevitable—new bureaucracies would replace old ones, new rationalizations for inaction would replace old ones, human frailties would not remain long subdued, cancerous old wounds would not be excised with a single operation. But Miller has brought some of his problems upon himself—through political ingenuity and administrative insensitivity. He is increasingly criticized by his own supporters for failing to do his homework on key issues, for blaming his staff and the executive board when things go wrong, for jumping on the press when



Joseph A. Yablonski, murdered.

in reality he's had kid-glove treatment (he wanted to bar reporters from the convention on the erroneous grounds that he had been misquoted). And clustered in the wings are the rancorous partisans of Tony Boyle, prepared to renew their claim on the power they so long enjoyed.

At times Miller and the reformers he ran with and won with, Vice President Mike Trbovich and Secretary-Treasurer Harry Patrick, have been so bitterly divided they would hardly talk to each other. Miller has lost opportunities he had to win the confidence of the policy-making international board by risking his credibility on issues of minimal importance. His headquarters staff, although reasonably in command of itself, runs alternately hot with enthusiasm and cold with fury at Miller's non-response to challenges. Several times when smoldering antagonisms within the UMW have burst into flame, they have been made more vivid by Miller's reaction—to ignore them. Says one of Miller's top aides: "Arnold just doesn't want controversy. He wants for it to go away. He's after the absence of abrasiveness—but the more he sees, the more he withdraws into himself."

[THE LATE REBELLION]

To grasp the present, one must go back a bit. The UMW was born of necessity in 1890, when men and boys worked in conditions of classic peonage. Bitter wars were fought between miners and coal operators over UMW organizing movements. John L. Lewis, a titanic figure who became UMW president in 1920, guided the union for 40 years, much of that time as the flagship of

American labor. But for all his greatness, Lewis left some ugly legacies. He suppressed dissent; he revoked democracy; he carefully manipulated his autocracy to perpetuate himself in power. Revelations of recent years—about his handling of union funds, about his coziness with the coal operators—have tarnished the heroic image. He also left some bad apples in charge when he retired in 1960. The worst of the lot was W. A. (Tony) Boyle, who tried to run the union the way Lewis did it, but wound up dumped from office and sent to prison for his efforts.

Boyle, a short, bluff man from Montana, became UMW president in 1963. He operated in the same style as Lewis—even tried to talk like him—but he wasn't a very good imitator. He, too, stifled dissent and made sure the conventions were packed and that the district-office and executive-board jobs were held by the right appointees. One of the low marks of his profligate tenure was the 1964 convention, when Boyle toughs manhandled dissenters on the convention floor. Sooner or later the roof had to blow off. It did in May 1969, when a loyalist board member named Joseph (Jock) Yablonski announced he would run against Boyle on a platform of major reform to make the union responsive again to its members. Until Yablonski started talking, few realized just how fat and unresponsive the UMW had become.

Yablonski lost the election and was murdered, along with his wife and daughter, three weeks later. The trail quickly led back into the union and revealed a complex conspiracy that ultimately took Boyle this spring to trial and conviction for the murders. Meanwhile, the opposition to Boyle had escalated. Yablonski's followers stuck together and forced the Department of Labor to investigate the election. A federal judge finally ruled that Boyle had won through fraud and ordered a rerun in 1972. Pensioners won another suit, substantiating their charges that an executive-level conspiracy among the union, its welfare fund and the union-owned National Bank of Washington had bilked them out of millions of dollars in benefits. Federal investigators caught Boyle illegally passing out union money to politicians and slapped him with an indictment that culminated in his trial, conviction and imprisonment last fall.

All through those months, virtually from the time Yablonski was buried, his disciples kept the pressure on Boyle, on the courts and on the government. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., who had been Yablonski's lawyer, supervised their legal efforts; Yablonski's attorney-sons, Joseph (Chip) and Kenneth, were major figures in keeping the movement going. In 1972, when they were assured that there would be a new election, Miners for Democracy held a nominating convention of their own. It was democratic—remarkably so, as conventions go—but it left a residue of bad feeling. Mike Trbovich, a Pennsylvania miner who was close to Yablonski and who headed MFD, seemed the logical choice for the presidential nomination. The Yablonskis backed another man, however, and Arnold Miller—a leader in the black-lung movement, with a good reputation among the pensioners whose votes would be crucial against Boyle—slipped into the vacuum and took the nomination. Trbovich survived still another move against him and won the second spot on the ticket.

To almost everyone's surprise—including their own—Miners for Democracy defeated the discredited Boyle regime. Their battle had attracted and been abetted by young activists, some of whom stayed on in key staff jobs under Miller—a situation that has caused some criticism about non-coal miners in top jobs. There still is grumbling on that score because, as pure as their notions might have been, many MFD men construed change to mean jobs for themselves. The reformers had promised big changes in the UMW and they started off with a splash when they moved into their offices in December 1972. Some things they did with a flair that quickly caught the public eye—voluntarily cut their own salaries, auctioned off Boyle's Cadillacs, dismissed socialite True Davis from his job as National Bank president, and revamped the *UMW Journal*, which every miner reads, into a stylish and incisive newspaper.

Behind the window dressing, Miller's people achieved other things of substance. As far as they went they were reforms of importance, but some could have been neater and sweeter and more in keeping with the spirit of what MFD was after. For example, executive board members and district officers were elected in spirited competition, some in areas where miners had never before been allowed to vote. But Miller kept aloof from the elections and the results were predictable. Some of MFD's best men, who would have helped give Miller the political clout he now needs, were defeated.

Tony Boyle, former UMW president, convicted of murder.



The union's National Bank of Washington was reorganized but not even a token rank-and-filer was named to the board of directors. Nor did the UMW instruct its employees at the bank to cut the shuffling and figure out a way to get some financial aid to needy miners and their families in Appalachia. The treasury underwent an audit and a start was made on teaching district officers to organize their finances. A credit union for miners came into being. Safety and research departments were created, but the new safety effort, impressive as it was, was hurt by political squabbling among the officers over patronage.

That, however, seemed minor compared to the gains scored in the safety area. For years, the Boyle regime had a one-man safety division, spent next to nothing on safety education, said little when federal and state officials winked at violations of safety codes. Today the UMW has a staff of more than 40 tending to safety problems, in Washington and in the mining districts. The safety staff has intensified pressure on the enforcers and has conducted training courses for local mine safety committee men. The aim, Miller says, is to make them "meaner than junkyard dogs." And the safety division has done the unheard of—it has brought charges against company mine foremen for negligence and made the charges stick.

An organizing effort was formed to go after non-union mines, but its most convincing activity—a lengthy organizing strike against the Brookside mine in Harlan County,

Kentucky, owned by North Carolina's Duke Power Co.—came about almost as a fluke. Acting on his own authority, a holdover Boyle appointee in the district office promised the men \$100 a week if they struck. Such a proposal was unprecedented, but with its prestige inadvertently on the line, the Miller regime took up the cause without flinching and financed it from the union treasury at an enormous cost. At this writing Miller has committed nearly \$1 million to the battle.

The symbolism of the fight carries greater weight than the addition of some 180 Brookside miners to the UMW rolls. As a candidate, Miller promised that the UMW would return to the coal fields of Eastern Kentucky where the union once held powerful sway. In the 1950s the union, for a variety of reasons, abandoned much of Eastern Kentucky and left behind a good deal of resentment among miners and their families. The UMW-Duke confrontation carries the classic overtones of the little guy battling against the giant absentee owner who has ripped off the Kentucky hills for years. Miners at other non-union operations in the region—and their bosses, too—are closely watching events at Brookside. The view is widely held that, if Duke signs with the UMW, Miller's chances for organizing more of the doubters in non-union mines will increase commensurately.

As their first year concluded, the reformers guided the union through a convention at Pittsburgh that very likely was more open than any ever held by the UMW. The atmos-

October 1973: Confrontation at struck Brookside mine.



there was tentative—it was the first meeting of MFD men and Boyle men on the same turf. Miller won points and lost points, but his caution helped persuade opponents that they had the strength to give him trouble if they so chose. Miller held the convention together by emphasizing the need for unity with contract talks coming up and with the Harlan County organizing efforts entering a crucial stage.

One of the points he won at Pittsburgh—approval of his plan to relocate UMW headquarters in the coalfields to take the union closer to its members—has haunted Miller ever since. A site for the new headquarters was to be chosen by Miller, who would then submit his selection to his executive board. Necessarily, the site selection work was conducted with secrecy. But when word leaked out that Miller had refused even to receive a group of Pennsylvania promoters who offered an impressive site package, the board reacted bitterly and suspiciously. Miller's West Virginia choice was roundly rejected and Miller was furious. He suffered another reverse with the board on an issue of far less importance. His proposal to commission a film about the union met with casual approval, but when skeptics suggested the money would be better spent on other projects—like the less-expensive TV spots on mine safety that Miller already had turned down—the board backed away and refused to go along with the movie idea. Defeats such as those have cost Miller important support among neutrals on the board and eroded his hope of winning over his critics.

[HEALTH AND WELFARE]

In other areas, where direction from the top has seemed imperative, the new regime simply has not moved, or when it moved it did so haltingly. Next to nothing has been done about the abominable housing and sanitation conditions in which many Appalachian miners live. Occupational-health work has not been stepped up. Continuing exposure of miners to heavy doses of coal dust, which gives them black lung disease, has attracted little attention. A proposed education program never got off the ground.

The union's potential for working its anticipated progressive thinking on the U.S. Congress has been marred by a lobbying effort that hasn't offered much more than Boyle's ineptness. Miller, overlooking what to most everyone else seemed a blatant conflict of interest, chose a young state senator from West Virginia, Robert Nelson, to head the lobbying arm. His response to critics was to say that Nelson would separate union business from public business. But while Congress stewed over such puzzlers as the energy crisis, relaxation of environmental controls, the future of coal, impeachment and strip mining, the union offered little constructive thought. Nelson was back in West Virginia, sitting in the Senate and running a reelection campaign.

Two examples of UMW inactivity deserve fuller scrutiny. Both involve money—in one case, the money that coal operators don't pay for violations of the federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969; and in the other case, money that comes out of miners' pockets to pay lawyers to help them collect the black-lung benefits that the federal law assured them.

Because of his special identity with black lung—he has it

himself and was a leader in the great black lung compensation rebellion that swept Appalachia in 1968 and 1969—Miller had a plan to put old coal miners to work as lay counselors. That is, the union would hire a cadre of advisers from the black-lung movement to help miners apply for their benefits, to avoid costly dealings with lawyers. Miller set up a field office in West Virginia to assist miners with these problems, but it was only a local solution. Meanwhile, in neighboring Kentucky, coal country lawyers were scooping up an unbelievable bonanza in black-lung fees from the state compensation program, which is underwritten by the federal treasury and which ultimately cuts into the applicant's payments. In 1972 and 1973, one lawyer, Kelsey Friend, Sr., of Pikeville, Ky., collected more than \$2.2 million in fees for his black-lung work. The *UMW Journal* blasted the system of ripoffs, but Miller and his lawyers let it drop.

There has been similar disinterest in the mine-safety penalty scandal. Congress intended, and most safety experts agreed, that perhaps the most powerful influence for improving safety was to make an errant coal operator pay a price for his waywardness. The idea is gloriously simple: it is cheaper to keep a clean and safely operated coal mine. But for a variety of reasons, it hasn't worked that way. The UMW has pressed the Department of Interior's Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration (MESA) to bear down on unsafe conditions, and with some regularity it has exposed the worst of the operators to publicity that sends tremors through board rooms.

But MESA can't or won't collect the fines. At this writing, only about 15 percent of some \$40 million in proposed penalties had been paid by the operators. And some of the biggest companies with the worst safety reputations were rewriting the book for scofflaws. For instance, the Pittston Co.—the same outfit that tried to blame God when its dam broke and showered death and destruction along Buffalo Creek, W. Va. in 1972—had paid only about \$7,300 of \$2.1 million in proposed fines. Consolidation Coal, operator of the mine that blew up in 1968 at Farmington, W. Va., killing 78 men, had paid some \$800,000 out of \$2.9 million in assessments. Island Creek Coal, headed by that old Tennessee populist senator, Albert Gore, had ponied up only \$249,000 of the \$2.3 million assessed by MESA.

"Coal will be mined safely, or not at all," Miller has said since his days as a candidate. And in fact, his regime has taken major steps to develop its own safety program and educate miners to the fact that government and industry simply are not going to be as effective in policing the mines as the miners themselves. Yet the union hasn't pushed MESA to increase its fine-collection efforts nor has the union put its own legal staff to work on the issue. UMW faltering on assessments was underscored when Congressman Henry Reuss of Wisconsin convened a special inquiry last fall to get some answers. Miller's people almost didn't show. The congressman's invitation to testify got waylaid in the union's paper maze and only the last-minute preparation of a statement saved the UMW from total embarrassment. Coal company types, of course, showed up with stacks of charts and statements justifying their nonpayment of fines.

(Continued on page 56)

MINeworkERS

(From page 41)

[LIKE OLD TIMES]

Just as perplexing—but admittedly more complex—has been the Miller regime's reluctance to involve itself in the legislative battle in Congress to turn out a strong bill to regulate the strip mining of coal. The union position is made more ironic by the fact that Miller used to be an abolitionist, even giving congressional testimony before his election about the terrible social and environmental consequences that rampant stripping has rained down on the Appalachian mountains. That early abolitionist stance was in many ways a political plus for Miller. It brought him the support of mountain people who were fed up with the strippers. It earned the backing of underground miners (90 percent of the UMW men work in the deep mines) who for good reason see themselves threatened by growing amounts of strip-mined coal. It even brought campaign contributions from Montana ranchers whose lovely coun-

Mining camp in Harlan, Ky., deserted by striking miners.



try is ticketed for destruction.

Obviously, Miller could not commit the UMW to abolition, for strip mining is simply too vital to union operations. While only about 10 percent of its members work in the strip mines, they produce something like 40 percent of all union coal. Every ton of union-mined coal is taxed 80 cents by the UMW to finance its welfare and retirement fund, providing a yearly income of some \$200 million. So without strip-mined coal royalties, the welfare fund goes down the tubes. The trap runs even deeper, and it has a huge bearing on the existence of the UMW.

The simple mathematics of the coal reserve picture would suggest that strip mining is not the way the country will satisfy its long-range energy needs. Government experts say that only about three percent of the U.S. coal reserve is strippable. The rest, if it is to be used, must be deep-mined in the traditional fashion. But coal company visionaries don't think that far ahead. Stripping is quick, highly productive, comfortable, and vastly profitable. It is made even easier by weak state enforcement and the absence of federal

requirements to make the operators restore the land to a usable state, stop polluting rivers and ruining mountains. The planners see a day when the Upper Great Plains and the southwestern states will be dotted with huge electricity-generating plants fueled by coal that is strip mined on the spot. They're also talking about other plants to convert strip coal into natural gas and petroleum. The largely untapped strip-pable western coal reserves are enormous—at least 30 billion tons—and the companies are racing to get them under lease as quickly as they can. It's a new and awesome day they're planning for the West, and Miller's UMW, as one anti-strip mine lobbyist put it, "wants to be on the first unit train going West."

Miller and his people see the evidence: the oil companies and the consortiums that control the western coal are going to strip, and they are going to do it on a large scale. That means in the Miller view that the union, to survive, has to tag along to the West and try to get the stripminers under UMW contract. And that has been the signal for Miller to go limp on tough regula-

tion—it enflames the strippers who already are UMW members, it enflames potential UMW members and it doesn't please the corporate executives Miller some day may be negotiating with.

Whether the UMW can win or even hold its own in this situation is an open question, anyway. The heavy equipment and construction unions that already represent most of the western strippers have a foot in the door: they don't have a welfare fund royalty to worry about; they already have relationships with management; their members have no kind of fealty to or identification with the underground miners of the UMW.

Meanwhile, the first tremors of the industry shift to the West are being felt in the underground coalfields of Appalachia. Some companies have shut down West Virginia deep mines, claiming they are not profitable or that the sulfur content of the coal is too high to meet air pollution control requirements. Yet electrical generating plants of the American Electric Power Co. in the coal-rich state have conducted test burns of coal carried in . . . from western strip mines. To complete the groin kick, jobless West Virginia miners' power rates go up. State utility law permits a direct pass-through for cost increases a power company incurs when buying fuel from its own mines and transporting it in its own rail cars and barges.

Instead of dancing to the corporate tune, the UMW had an opportunity to exert influence on Congress to restrict the westward tide by writing a strip-mine law that would force the industry to more thoroughly internalize its costs and equalize the economic imbalance with deep mining. The result could have been a new impulse for underground mining. But when Congress took up the strip-mine issue in 1973, the reformed UMW had less and less to say about it. Miller declined to testify before House and Senate committees. Under pressure from his staff when the Senate was about to cave in to industry demands for a weakening of reclamation standards for contour stripping in mountainous areas, Miller fired off a strong letter that helped keep the bill intact. The scene then shifted to the House, but no strong letters, no lobbying, no public demands

were forthcoming from Miller when the electrical utilities, the mining companies and the Nixon Administration mounted a mighty effort to ruin the House bill. Chief lobbyist Nelson was sitting in the West Virginia Senate. Miller preferred not to discuss the situation with the press. In fact, he even ordered a routine news report on the strip mine bill removed from the *UMW Journal* and laid down an edict against any further such stories.

Sadly, it seemed like old times . . .

Ward Sinclair is chief of the Washington Bureau for the Louisville Courier-Journal and the Louisville Times. He has covered the coal industry and the UMW for several years.

LOCKHEED

(From page 24)

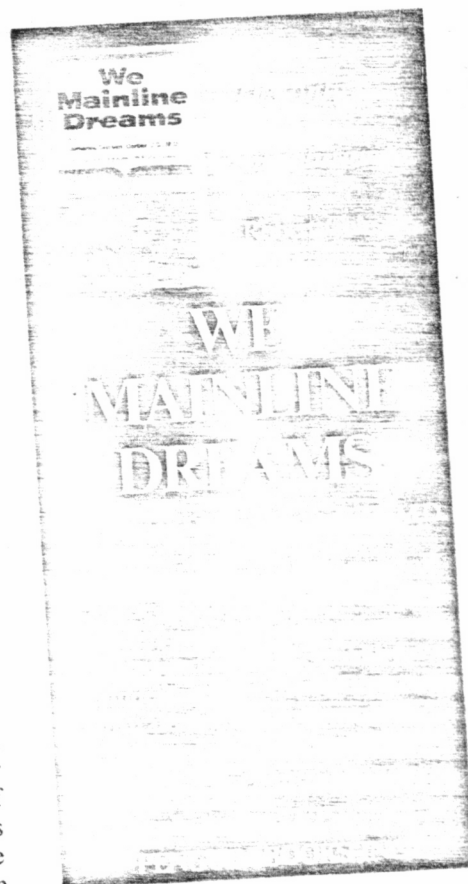
Jack Vollbrecht, president of Aerojet-General Corporation, a medium-sized aerospace company, warned us how it would be in 1971 testimony before the House Appropriations Committee:

I just tell you, gentlemen, you have a good opportunity to make an example of a contractor who is a bell-weather in this industry either way and the industry will read it exactly the way you treat them. It is common talk among the industry and they are waiting to see, and don't think they won't read those signs. There is no way you can cover them up. So if you want to continue having troubles with an industry who will come right back and say, "Well, what are you treating me different for? What is different about me? My problems are just as real to me as Lockheed's are to them." I think that is fair. I would expect to be able to come in and say, "My God, we made a horrible mistake," and I'd want to know why you are not going to bail me out. If you say no, I want to know why.

Once again the forecast was accurate. The public precedent of non-enforcement of Lockheed's contracts became the rule for giant firms. For example, one of the Navy's pet dinosaurs, Grumman Aerospace, generated stupendous cost overruns on their F-14 fighter planes. The solution of shaping up was rejected, and studies suggesting how this might be done were suppressed. More money was the

solution, and the Lockheed precedent showed how to get it. Citing lessons he had learned during the "Lockheed debate," erstwhile conservative, free-enterpriser Senator James Buckley advocated "welfare handouts" for his constituent giant, Grumman. In a March 9, 1972, letter to then-Secretary of the Navy John Chafee, Buckley wrote, "It is my view that the F-14 contract is one of those contracts in which the understanding implicit in the 'golden handshake' should be honored." Buckley went on to comment, "It would be most short-sighted if the financial well-being of a major contributor to our national defense were placed at risk . . ."

The big companies, secure now in their indolence, react with total unconcern to news of huge increases in the costs of their Pentagon contracts. Just recently Congressman Les Aspin disclosed a \$350 million overrun on destroyers being built by Litton Industries, one of the least productive of the big eaters. That's true, Litton responded blandly, but that's not all. Going beyond Aspin's figures, Litton said there would be an additional \$485



PICTURE BOOK OF SEXUAL LOVE

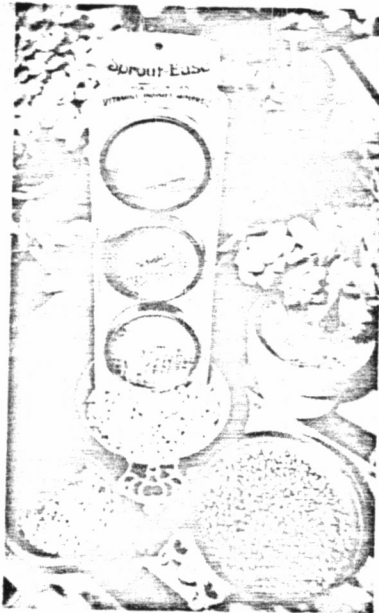


One of the most beautiful and practical books on physical love ever published. Over 195 photographs in color and black-and-white of a young nude couple in a variety of pre-copital and copital positions. Explores the whole field of physical love, including the building of sexual power, sexual stimulation techniques for building up passion and much more. Over 225,000 hard-bound copies sold at \$7.95, now available in soft cover for just \$4.95. 370 pages. Satisfaction guaranteed or your money back.

Send \$4.95 to: Population Planning
Dept. RA-4, 105 N. Columbia, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514

Grow Your Own Fresh Sprouts

Easy—Simple
Clean



Nutritious — with enzymes, minerals, Vitamins C, B, E and A. Grown right in your own kitchen without soil or plant food. Great in salads, sandwiches, omelets, etc. Fun for young sprouters, too.

3 graded screens, full instructions, and 3 (organically grown) seed samples. \$2.50 ppd. For screens only — \$2.00. California residents please add sales tax. Send check or M. O. to

The Homestead Act, Dept. 35
2009 Haste St., #E
Berkeley, CA 94704

million or so for a total overrun of at least \$835 million on their \$1.8 billion contract. Litton claims the original contract figures were "theoretical" and the real intention of the Navy was to allow them to adjust their price to reflect their actual costs.

The other big spenders also copied Lockheed's successful tactic of threatening to die and stink up the place. Just as soon as it was clear that Lockheed's ploy would work, others followed suit. During the maneuvering for the B-1 bomber business in 1970, supporters and beneficiaries of the huge North American Aviation (now Rockwell International) complex in Los Angeles bought full-page newspaper ads bewailing the possible demise of the community dinosaur if the rest of the United States didn't ship out a few billion: "Now, we are about to lose one of the giants in our industry; a giant that has recognized, fostered and benefited from our existence; a giant that has been a definite measurable link to the strong defense of our country many times in the past. We will miss this giant."

In addition to addressing their complaint to President Nixon, Vice-President Agnew, Melvin Laird, David Packard, Sam Yorty and others, North American supporters announced plans to pray, presumably to God, for the B-1 bomber contract to go to their beast. Naturally, they got it. And now the B-1 program threatens to become the first weapon system with infinite cost. Literally, there seems to be no end to the cost of existing pieces of the program nor to new add-ons needed to round out the complete system. Rockwell was also tossed the Space Shuttle project, a huge NASA boondoggle. Taken together, the life cycle costs of the B-1 and Space Shuttle programs will exceed the cost of the Vietnam War.

Acceptance of the absurd notion that dinosaur feeding keeps us both safe and rich requires that we abandon logic and adopt the dinosaurs as tribal totems in a kind of primitive religion. The high priests of this religion are establishment economists, predominantly Keynesians. Most Keynesian economists, including Lord Keynes himself, have professed admiration for military spending as an engine for pump priming and redistribution of income. In

the 1930s Keynesians of the mindlessly callous variety looked on in envy at the works of their economic colleagues in Italy and Germany. They especially admired the *Wehrwirtschaft*, the military spending economy put together by German economist Hjalmar Schacht for his boss, Adolf Hitler. With the dread Bolshevik just over the horizon and millions unemployed at home, Hitler, Schacht and associates had little difficulty drumming up support for unlimited arms spending. The trouble was, these gangsters were on a one-way street. Germany's seeming prosperity was an illusion, based as it was on ever-increasing debt, with wages and some prices held down only by force and with the real "redistribution" of the country's assets going from the common folk to the Krupps and other smokestack barons.

There are both similarities and differences evident in the comparison of our own political economy with that of pre-World War II Germany. The economic theology is the same. The same foreign devil is invoked when needed to overcome domestic agnosticism. The patterns of redistribution of income and wealth are similar. Our tax-spend pattern transfers billions of dollars from the average taxpayers' pockets to corporate coffers. In recognition of the fact that our dinosaur corporations' employees are an indispensable political constituency, they are also taken care of in the redistribution plan. The average cost of "making a job" in the aerospace industry is more than twice the average taxpayer's income.

The differences, I think, are rooted in the vast superiority of our present economic strength compared to that of pre-war Germany. The economic illness of pre-war Germany was concealed only by secrecy and fraud, and salvation depended in the end on exploitation of conquered foreign populations. In contrast, our dinosaur-feeding leaders have a much handier colonial population. The people marked for highest priority exploitation are not masses of ignorant, troublesome, non-productive peasants in underdeveloped countries, but rather the most productive and easily managed subject population in the history of the world, the United States taxpayers. □