

What Happened To The UMW?

The United Mineworkers union that John L. Lewis built into a formidable power in the American labor movement no longer exists. It has been destroyed by a 15-year Wall Street City of London conspiracy that is the model for the synthetic rank-and-file insurgencies now deployed against the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the United Steelworkers union. That conspiracy transformed the UMW along the lines of the "British model" so hated by Lewis.

SPECIAL REPORT

The ongoing UMW strike shows how very successful these conspirators have been in perverting everything that the UMW once stood for. Where Lewis fought to create a powerful, centralized command structure for the union, the current leadership of President Arnold Miller has made "local autonomy" — the so-called local right to strike — the preeminent demand in contract negotiations. Where Lewis termed technological progress — not just in the mines, but in every area of American industry — the key to protecting and improving the living standards of American workers, the current UMW leadership routinely babbles about how new technologies such as long wall mining, threaten jobs: they are on record as being opposed to nuclear technology because "it threatens the jobs of coal miners."

John L. Lewis spoke as a leader of all American working people, and when he spoke, people listened; the present UMW leadership cannot even speak for its own factionalized Executive Council, let alone its membership.

"The Miller leadership and others of us who should have known better have given in time and again to disruptors, to agitators who are trying to destroy the union," said a mineworkers' leader in a recent interview. The union, he said, has "maybe six months to live" unless this situation is reversed, the disruptors purged, and the union leadership "returned to the pro-progress, progrowth orientation of John L. Lewis."

The Why

The takeover of the United Mineworkers union was instigated in the early 1960s at the behest of Wall Street investment and banking circles and their advisors who constitute such policy-determining bodies as the Council on Foreign Relations and the Trilateral Commission. Two developments created a "high probability" for success: the control of the federal government by British-linked operatives under the Kennedy Administration, which opened up deployment capabilities, and the retirement of UMW President John L. Lewis, whose strength as a national leader had made destabilization of the union difficult.

The policy objectives of the takeover must be understood from two different perspectives.

Coal Strike: Rapid Settlement Or Violence, Chaos?

Important progress pointing toward a quick settlement of the nine-day-old national mine strike has been made in negotiations between the United Mine Workers (UMW) and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), according to knowledgeable union sources.

The elements of the proposed settlement include the following measures to stabilize the coal industry: (1) the elimination of the "local right to strike" demand by the UMW; (2) the dropping of the demand for an explicit "no strike" clause by the BCOA; (3) an agreement by both parties to root the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) controlled wildcat strike networks out of the coalfields; (4) refinancing of the union's health and retirement funds.

Key to the proposed agreement is the elimination of the "wildcat" networks which have disrupted the industry for the past four years. Professional disrupters who spread strikes over local issues to surrounding mines

would suffer summary dismissal from the industry under the new agreement.

The proposed settlement package, which represents a dramatic shift in UMW policy, is the result of a broad grassroots organizing campaign on the part of the old-line faction of the UMW leadership which supported Lee Roy Patterson's bid for union presidency last summer. Petitions advocating dropping the local right to strike issue in favor of basic economic demands have been circulating through the coalfields over the past week.

Contaminated elements of the UMW local and district leaderships linked to the wildcat networks are already denouncing UMW President Arnold Miller as a sellout, and preparing to destroy the potential settlement through violence and, if a contract is approved, through wildcat strikes. In fact, these networks have deployed ostavans of misled strikes under IPS leadership ostensibly to shut nonunion coal operations to provoke violence in Kentucky, West Virginia, and elsewhere.

Fundamentally, the takeover was a grab by British-linked monetarist factions for effective control over the production of coal, a strategic raw material and energy source vital to the U.S. economy. The intent of this faction, which directed the key elements involved in the takeover conspiracy including the Institute for Policy Studies, Ralph Nader and his organizations, and Washington "lawyer" Joseph Rauh, Jr., was and is to *disrupt* and limit coal production, and use it to sabotage the U.S. economy. Such a policy is integral to the plans of the City of London and its allies, now in high gear, to force the deindustrialization of the United States.

The IPS-induced entropic condition of the union and the resulting disruptions of the coal industry have already become a major factor in limiting coal production.

In 1973, Henry Kissinger's international oil price increase gave coal a new expanded role in domestic U.S. energy production: under normal circumstances, this should have meant an increase in overall coal production. But since 1973 — the year that IPS took over the UMW — domestic coal production in the United States has effectively stagnated, while productivity has declined drastically. So far this year, more than 25 millions tons of coal production have been lost due to IPS-directed "wildcat" strikes.

"Between the UMW and the environmentalists, we are being destroyed," said one top coal industry spokesman recently. "We wanted to modernize to use new coal-mining technologies, but all we hear from the UMW leadership is that they will lose jobs. We can't produce coal without a stable, unionized workforce and we don't have one any more...."

The destruction of U.S. coal production through the destabilization of the UMW parallels the attack on nuclear power by the environmentalist-terrorist movement.

If both succeed, the U.S. economy will be left without the absolutely critical supplies of energy, forcing decisions to cut energy consumption through deindustrialization — regardless of whether the Carter-Schlesinger energy legislation passes Congress.

The British-linked monetarist interests were joined in their UMW wrecking operation by those financial interests, including the Rockefeller family, who were involved in the ownership and production of coal. They viewed a weakening of the UMW as paving the way for labor-intensive coal production boondoggles such as coal gasification and liquifaction projects; a tightly controlled UMW would enhance their ability to squeeze profits from the mine labor force. To this day, the members of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association are stupidly looking to derive some advantage from the weakened state of the UMW. They fail to see that the IPS networks are intent on wrecking *the entire coal industry*. This kind of stupidity has helped produce the current strike situation.

The role of Dr. Eric Trist, a British-born mindbutcher formerly with the London-based Tavistock Institute and currently operating out of the Wharton School of Business, deserves special mention here. Dr. Trist, who has a reputation as an expert on the "coal workforce," played an important role in supervising psychological profiling operations against both the coal operators and the UMW. Such profiles were crucial to the success of the

takeover. He was also crucial in shaping the ideology of rank-and-file insurgency. In the 1940s, Trist was responsible for inculcating a tradition against technology among British mine workers and operators.

Trist is now trying to sell his schemes for the reorganization of the coal industry "along British lines" to U.S. coal operators. The reorganization centers around the idea that "small, competitive work groups" can be induced to speed themselves up to a point that can compensate for a lack of capital investment. Under Trist's supervision during the 1950s, the mine workforce in Britain was reduced by one-third, while production figures initially climbed, they have since — and lawfully — plummeted as the effects of Trist's speed-up technology became pronounced on British miners. Trist is now trying to drive the final nails in the coffin of the U.S. coal industry — trying to induce the stupid operators to forego a necessary capital investment program to modernize U.S. mining in favor of his speed-up technology. The IPS-controlled UMW leadership's support — including payment of union dues money — for Trist's experiments at a Rushton, Pa. mine is one of his strongest "selling points."

The Command Structure

The command structure for the UMW takeover was and is virtually identical to that leading the attack on the Teamsters and Steelworkers unions.

Wall Street and City of London policy circles operating through think-tanks and foundations such as the Brookings Institution and the Ford Foundation set the overall policy parameters.

The decisions—along with the money—are communicated to deployment centers — i.e., to the controllers of the fieldhands, the countergangs like the Revolutionary Union, the lawyers networks, and so forth. The Washington-based Institute for Policy Studies is the deployment center for the UMW takeover, with IPS fellow Ralph Nader and his organizations contributing a key role.

Parallel orders for "support deployments" are given to Wall Street-City of London allies in the federal government, especially the Labor, HEW, and Justice Departments; media networks, including those around Katheryn Meyer Graham's *Washington Post* and later, the IPS-created Fund for Investigative Journalism; and Fabian besmirched leadership circles in the labor movement centered around the Reuther-Woodcock-Bluestone directorship of the United Autoworkers (UAW).

Washington based lawyer Joseph Rauh, Jr. was given the responsibility for knitting the whole operation together. Rauh's career against traditional U.S. institutions dates back to his work with that Anglophile Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter in the 1930s. Frankfurter, Rauh's admitted political mentor, is the author of much of the fascist New Deal legislation of the Roosevelt Administration. In the 1940s, Rauh and Hubert Humphrey founded the Americans for Democratic Action, and had its networks run the final "red" purge of the Congress of Industrial Organizations; Rauh reportedly had a direct hand in writing the 1949 resolution that purged 11 unions from the CIO for allegedly being Communist-controlled. For his union-busting services,

Rauh was rewarded by Walter Reuther with an appointment as the UAW's chief legal counsel. Rauh personally "handled" the early 1960s eclipse of the ADA by the Institute for Policy Studies and its more radical-tinged brand of fascism, working directly with IPS founders Arthur Waskow, Marcus Raskin, and Richard Barnet.

Rauh's unique mix of connections places him smack in the middle of a nest of agents, support networks, and troubleshooters for Wall Street and the City of London. But, at no point during the UMW operation — or any of his other capers — did Rauh make independent policy decisions; his innovations were confined to tactical considerations.

Four Phases

There are four distinct phases to the UMW takeover operation.

The *first phase*, from approximately 1963 to 1967, involved the infiltration of mine areas and communities by personnel from government-controlled "New Left" operations which predate IPS, such as the Students for a Democratic Society and the so-called poverty volunteers operating primarily under the umbrella of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration's War on Poverty operations center, the Office of Economic Opportunity. During this phase, the profiling of the miners, in general, and the UMW leadership, in particular, took place under the direction of Eric Trist and others.

In the *second phase*, from approximately 1967 to 1969, a miners "rank-and-file" insurgency was synthesized under the direction of Joe Rauh, Ralph Nader, and

various IPS operatives. That insurgency culminated in the unsuccessful 1969 candidacy of Joseph "Jock" Yablonski for UMW president.

The *third phase* began with the December 1969 assassination of Yablonski and his family and ended with the Labor Department-run election of 1972 in which Rauh's puppet, Arnold Miller, defeated Tony Boyle. In the interim, Rauh and his IPS fieldhands constructed the second-level "rank-and-file" insurgency, the so-called Miners for Democracy, and the media, led by the *Washington Post*, conducted a merciless "watergating" of the Boyle leadership of the UMW.

Phase four began with Miller's assumption of "command" over the union and continues today. It is marked by a deliberate unraveling of the union from within and the deployment of a "left opposition" — "wildcatters," IPS countergangs — to undermine the Miller leadership and to subvert any legitimate opposition from within. This phase also marks the attempted deployment of the UMW for domestic economic sabotage. If the scenario is followed to its intended conclusion, the UMW will disintegrate into a loosely knit "federation" of local districts — exactly the problem that John L. Lewis successfully fought to correct.

Each phase of the wrecking operation employed an "inside-outside" modus operandi: Rauh and IPS operatives subvert the UMW from within, while "liberal" layers, the government, and the media lend their "support" from the outside. Each phase represents a step toward the destruction of the UMW — and of U.S. coal production.

John L. Lewis: Modernization Better Than The British Way

The American coal operators would never have mechanized their mines unless they had been compelled to do so by the organization of mine workers. The United Mineworkers holds that labor is entitled to a participation in the increased productivity due to mechanization. We decided the question of displacement of workers by mechanization years ago. We decided that it is better to have half a million men working in the industry at good wages and high standards of living than to have a million men working in the industry in poverty and degradation.

There can be no increase in the standard of living in America except as we create new values by increased productivity. For example in England now, the per capita coal production is a little over a ton per day. The United Kingdom has only one great natural resource in volume — coal. Forty to 45 million people are literally standing on billions of tons of coal that is as good as any coal in the world. They lack the aptitude to pick up enough of it to keep themselves warm. . . .

Many years ago the British mineworkers union, a large organization of miners, officially opposed the introduction of machinery and the use of power and automatic machines in the mines.

The British mineowners were perfectly content to accept that point of view and take from the industry

all of the increased revenue, against what they should have plowed back to put the industry on a modern basis.

The result is that the British mines have become obsolete in every economic sense. England is staggering economically because of that fact; while, on the contrary, here in America we have increased productivity per man. . . . and yet our industry pays a wage structure on a weekly basis that is three and one half times that of Great Britain.

Had it not been for the United Mineworkers, not only to accept and encourage, but also to demand modernization — constant modernization of our mining industry — and to demand the cooperation of our membership with that policy: had it not been for that, economic and political America would have been in just the same position as the British Empire today, because coal is the element upon which our economic superstructure rests. . . .

There are substitutes for coal . . . but that is all right as long as those things are economically preferable, they should be encouraged. . . . I'd like to dream of the civilization where men don't have to go underground into the mines, just as long as those men have a chance to be absorbed into the economy. . . .

—John L. Lewis, *President, United Mineworkers, 1952*

Phase One...Building a Base

The first phase of the UMW takeover began with the publication of *The Other America* by Fabian socialist Michael Harrington, currently the head of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). The book, hyped by the Wall Street-controlled media into a national sensation, devoted almost a fifth of its copy to horror stories about the "unbelievable poverty" of the Appalachian coal mining region.

The climate created by *The Other America* and subsequent speaking tours by Harrington and others helped recruit thousands of starry-eyed college kids for the Kennedy Administration's Peace Corps and its domestic counterpart, VISTA; a good portion of these recruits were hustled off to Appalachia.

VISTA, eventually coordinated out of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), was a cover for the establishment of a more permanent "base" organization for the UMW takeover: VISTA personnel, under the on-the-spot direction of John D. Rockefeller IV, the current West Virginia Governor, set up local community organizations for the provision of health care, legal counsel, and so forth, many of which still exist. The initial batch of "do-gooders" was replenished by specially drawn recruits from the early New Left and SDS: Rich Banks, later to be VISTA coordinator for Appalachia, and IPS fellow Robb Burlage fall into this category.

Such "community" organizations mesh with the work of the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC), which is little more than a funding conduit and research body for public works planning, counterinsurgency, and profiling operations run out of universities both within and outside the region. ARC made Appalachia a testtube for labor-intensive manpower programs: it also conducted critical population profiling operations based on methods used by British psychological warfare experts.

ARC-funded studies found Appalachia a "closed environment," in the words of one 1964 report, "isolated from the outside world by natural barriers, its people more backward, less touched by urban civilization..." In short, they were ideal for manipulation along small-group brainwashing models developed by Kurt Lewin, Trist and others. UMW miners, though found to be better off economically than most other Appalachians, were "far more backward than urbanized or other industrial workers...more prone to limited local interaction." Significantly, these and other studies found that UMW members had little real ties to the union as an institution and that stronger ties were to the "local community" and the family.

The brainwashers' reports also indicated that workers feared "violence from outsiders." One Ford Foundation-funded report on "the Appalachian identity" further reported that UMW members, as a residue "of the early days of the union," would never cross a union picket line — even if the picket line were put up by individuals who offered no proof that they were members of the union.

Additional studies found miners, especially those living in isolated sections of Appalachia, to be prone to rumor, and that rumors were, in fact, the main vehicles for the spread of news.

From the brainwashers' profiles, a strategy emerged. The VISTAS were to establish "community-based ser-

vice organizations" to reinforce the localism of the mining communities. Where possible, local UMW leaderships were to be involved. In all cases, UMW members most imbued with the localism disease were to be identified, profiled for future deployment.

The Institute for Policy Studies deployed a group of fake leftists to establish the so-called Peoples Area Research Collective including such "community control experts" as IPS fellow Staughton Lynd and Keith Dix of the West Virginia Labor Institute. PARC's publications called for the establishment of communities based upon the extended family unit.

"It is the development of a city and town-oriented society which destroys both strong family ties and the feeling of community," says an early PARC publication. One way to prevent further erosion is to encourage "kin communities made up of four or five families...with people of a similar interest or jobs living together...."

Other PARC publications recommend that miners be assisted in developing a sense of the "works community" — a term repeatedly used by the propagandists of the Nazi Labor Front in Germany. The works community — the "arbeitsgemeinschaft" — says PARC, supersedes the union.

A "formal" rumor network was established via the creation of several local "mountain" papers along new left-community control lines: circulation of "news" through these papers, such as Tom Bethell's *Coal Patrol*, was also carried by word of mouth — the so-called mountain grapevine — to those who couldn't read, enabling a relative handful of "radical community organizers" to control much of the news in whole areas of West Virginia and Kentucky.

In 1967, Ralph Nader began making forays into the region. He left in his wake a network of Black Lung Associations ostensibly to provide miners with medical treatment of silicosis and pneumonocosis — diseases of dust infestation that can end in death. Nader's ploy is all the more clear in that he never once advocated the application of new technologies as the long-term cure for these diseases. Nader hooked up with the existing "community" self-help organizations created by VISTA, the radical collectives, etc.

Phase Two...First Insurgency

With the help of his "friends" in national media, IPS fellow Nader soon made the health and safety issue a national scandal, thereby defining the issue around which to build a synthetic "miner's movement." The UMW leadership of Tony Boyle, Lewis's successor, was portrayed as making corrupt deals with the coal companies, the recipients of payoffs that led to the deaths of miners both by black lung disease and in mine accidents. Nader's black lung movement received reams of public relations copy especially from the *Washington Post* and related press sewers; the 40-year fight by the UMW to combat these problems, Lewis's and Boyle's statements on the need for modernization of mines, and for improved health benefits — were deliberately left out of the accounts.

Simultaneously, the PARC-VISTA-"New Left" networks, now implanted in Appalachia, churned out the profiled line that the Boyle and the "UMW leadership

clique" were the "outsiders" who didn't understand the "mining community": such stories were concocted by the likes of Burlage, Lynd, and their organizers who less than 10 years earlier had never set foot in Appalachia!

With much fanfare, Nader issued a letter in February 1969 to a gathering of miners sponsored by his West Virginia Black Lung Association attacking Tony Boyle: "the record is that Mr. Tony Boyle has neglected his responsibility to protect coal miners. The time has come for you to invite Mr. Boyle to West Virginia and have him exercise his rights in replying to these charges. You may conclude that he is no longer worthy of being your leader and that you need a new leadership."

The next step was to choose a candidate to "lead" the insurgency. Sources indicate that Nader, in consultation with Joe Rauh, Jr., dispatched by Wall Street-City of London "higher-ups" to coordinate the operation, held a series of meetings with miners who had been attracted to his black lung operation. Nader and Rauh settled on Joseph "Jock" Yablonski, an older radical miner who had gone to Grant Park in Chicago during the IPS-created riots outside the 1968 Democratic Convention. According to published accounts Nader handed Yablonski a prewritten draft program for his political campaign and promised him staff, money, and major press coverage.

At the time, Yablonski was totally unknown. Said a mineworkers leader some years later: "You have to feel sorry for Jock. He was a real patsy...Nader and Rauh really played him for a fool. They created him and his reform movement. It was a real Madison Avenue job..."

On May 29, 1969 Yablonski held a press conference in the Mayflower Hotel to announce that he would challenge Boyle for the UMW presidency that November. Most of the Washington D.C. press corps turned out — thanks to a round of personal phone calls from Ralph Nader the night before. They dutifully filed glowing stories of the fight for democracy in the UMW, aping the phrases of the press release that Nader had written, and praising a man whose name not one of them had heard of the day before!

Yablonski immediately became the "peoples' candidate" — the candidate of the IPS people who ran PARC, the Mayday Tribe, the Council of the Southern Mountains, and similar Appalachian community "identity" organizations. Their rumor networks spread the word that "Boyle was running scared." PARC and other groups distributed bulk quantities of Yablonski campaign literature.

On the advice of Rauh, the Reuther-led UAW dispatched personnel to bolster Nader's Yablonski staff; individuals such as DSOC member Ed James began to make their way into the Yablonski campaign offices.

For the most part, it was Nader who was allowed to run the "up front" show — within the limits set by his Wall Street-City of London bosses. Rauh kept to the sidelines, mobilizing liberal support networks through the ADA and others while feeding information to the same Kennedy networks in the Justice and Labor Departments that he is using today to attack the Teamsters.

Yablonski, however bright the media fanned his "star," was a dismal flop as a candidate. He mumbled, inspired no one, and seemed content to stay in his campaign office. With dollars from the Fund for Investigative Journalism, Brit Hume wrote in his "Death and

the Mines" that Nader was upset with "his candidate": "...Nader had expected that Yablonski would set out from the day he announced his campaign to carry his message to every coal town in the country....Instead, Yablonski seemed to be taking it easy...(he) seemed a reluctant warrior."

Sources close to the campaign have since indicated that Yablonski was a depressed and brooding man. He had been told by Nader and Rauh that the membership of the UMW would welcome him as their savior; the few times that he ventured out into the coal fields, he received at best a nonresponse. His rallies never attracted more than 250 people. "Jock was disillusioned," one source said. "And he was scared...."

According to reports, sometime in late September or October, Yablonski told his staff that he "wanted out," that he wasn't going to be humiliated, he wanted to go home. Rauh stormed into campaign headquarters to lay down the law. You are not allowed to quit, he told Yablonski. It is too late for that. The "lawyer" threatened to carry on Yablonski's campaign without him. The frightened Yablonski was convinced to "stay on board."

It is not clear whether Nader actually thought that he could win the election; it is clear that Rauh knew that this was impossible and was already "setting up" the next phase.

Rauh began to make a big stink about the supposed threat on Yablonski's life by Boyle forces: he hinted to the press that Yablonski might wind up getting "eliminated." He drafted a set of letters to then-Secretary of Labor George Schultz demanding that Yablonski be given protection from "Boyle thugs who have already attempted to murder him." Schultz refused, claiming that there was absolutely no evidence of any threat by Boyle or anyone else on Yablonski's life.

Yablonski was overwhelmingly defeated by Boyle and his slate in the November 1969 elections: he ran poorly everywhere, mustering only slightly more than a third of the overall vote. Only in areas of West Virginia and Kentucky, permeated by PARC and similar operations, did he do better — and even there only marginally better.

The defeated candidate went home, with Rauh and others screaming fraud.

Phase Three...A Second Insurgency

On New Years Eve 1969, Jock Yablonski, his wife, and daughter were found murdered in their Pennsylvania home.

While the rap for this murder was later pinned on Boyle and several individuals who claimed to be linked to him, the Yablonski massacre, as the press was soon to call it, benefited only the union wrecking operation of IPS and Joe Rauh. From the conspirators' standpoint, Yablonski, the "martyr," was clearly more valuable than Yablonski, the alive and reluctant candidate.

One highly placed source in the mineworkers union told this news service last year, "I can't say for sure who is really responsible for the killing of Jock Yablonski. But if they arrested Joe Rauh they would probably be close to getting the right man."

They didn't arrest Joe Rauh; he took personal charge of creating a second insurgency — one which he was determined would not fail.

Rauh immediately issued a release indicating that the "Miners fight for democracy" would not be silenced by the bullets of assassins. The fight would continue until the murderers of Yablonski were driven from union office. Rauh reportedly already has assurance from friends in the Justice Department that Boyle would eventually be indicted for murder.

A new, synthetic insurgency movement was hatched out of the IPS-UAW staff that had run Yablonski's unsuccessful campaign, the so-called Miners for Democracy (MFD). With Rauh taking charge of the show, the MFD staff included Rich Banks, the former head of the VISTA operation in Appalachia; Ed James of DSO and the UAW; lawyers borrowed from Ralph Nader's front organization, now involved in the PROD operation against the Teamsters; and a brigade of recruits dispatched from the Burlage-Lynd Appalachian collectives, including Burlage himself.

Rauh and IPS selected Arnold Miller, a little-known miner active in Nader's black lung movement and a visiting lecturer at IPS since 1968, as the stand-in for the martyred Yablonski. Miller, a personal friend of Jay Rockefeller, was described by one source close to the MFD operation as the "perfect pawn....the man is a total fool." As had been done with Yablonski, Rauh turned to his public relations experts in the media to create the image of Miller the "courageous fighter" — the man who was braving death to democratize the United Mineworkers.

But this time, Rauh did not rely on outside media hype alone to build his insurgency: two other factors were crucial.

First, a considerable number of honest miners were attracted to the MFD, in part because they were disgusted with the seeming inaction of the Boyle leadership and mostly because they believed that Tony Boyle had "wasted" Jock Yablonski. Though they may not have liked the people who ran the MFD, they thought that they could be worked with. Most notable among such individuals was the respected Mike Trbovich, who became Miller's running mate for Vice President.

"We were real fools," said one of these miners much later. "But every day you would read in the press something about how Boyle was destroying the union. We felt we could not let the union be destroyed, not after all that had been put into building it up. So we wound up helping destroy it ourselves. Just a bunch of fools...."

Second, from about 1968 on, a large number of young Vietnam War veterans returned to Appalachia: most had left "to get the hell out of the hills." When they returned, a significant number were bitter, ripe for the organizing of such IPS groups as the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, run by current Carter advisor Peter Bourne. Such individuals became what Tom Bethell and other IPS press operatives were fond of calling "the new breed of miner" who was "willing to buck the system." They became Rauh's most effective organizers.

Tony Boyle was profiled as "paranoid...highstrung and easy to provoke into a mistake." Rauh proceeded to place him under a total state of siege.

Despite Yablonski's protestations, Rauh had filed fraud complaints with the Labor Department over the election. Following the murders, the press made everyone believe what insiders knew to be impossible:

"massive fraud" had robbed the martyr Yablonski of the UMW presidency. Rauh's friends in the Labor Department, many of whom dated back to the Kennedy Administration and then-Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg, poured investigators into the coal country. In the most extensive investigation of alleged union election fraud undertaken up to that time, these "investigators" found "significant" fraud: an order went out for new elections to be held.

Rauh solicited help from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration wing of the Justice Department for his campaign, especially his "lawyer friends" Tom Henderson and Charles Ruff, both old hands at union-busting. Boyle was slapped with a series of indictments: illegal election practices, embezzlement and misuse of pension funds, and breach of fiduciary responsibilities as a trustee of the union's pension funds. All the while a grand jury sat hearing evidence on the Yablonski murder: word was leaked more than once that "any day now" Boyle would be indicted for conspiracy to commit murder.

FBI agents were sent into the coal fields to conduct on-the-spot interviews about "the Boyle charges." Month after month, the media, led by the *Washington Post* which gave coverage to every mumble from Arnold Miller's mouth, splashed Boyle scandal stories across the front page as they had once done to watergate Teamster leader Jimmy Hoffa. Boyle was tried and found guilty by this kangaroo media court before he ever had a chance to step into a real courtroom.

The December 1972 UMW presidential election was a joke. Almost every aspect of it was run and supervised by the scores of Labor Department agents assigned to "guarantee an honest election."

Miller and the entire MFD slate were swept into office.

Phase Four...Destroying From Within

Rauh and IPS were not about to let Miller and his slate run the union. As they well knew, "Miller was a real boob," as one UMW insider said. "He couldn't even run a local let along the national union."

The entire national staff was purged. In their place, Rauh assembled the following motley crew: Ed James, Rich Banks, and Bill Goode, the former UAW director of education all became "special assistants" to President Miller: the *UMW Journal*, the most widely distributed press in the mining community, was turned over to UAW operative Don Stillman, a graduate of the Columbia School of Journalism; the new Board of Trustees in the revamped UMW health and welfare fund included Martin, the former head of the Justice Department's criminal division overseeing the LEAA, and Harry Huges, a lawyer formerly with the top Washington law firm of Arnold and Porter and later a partner in the law firm of Huges, Rogovin, and Stern, whose clients included IPS and the CIA.

The Fabian leadership of the UAW, in particular Vice President Irving Bluestone, were given special responsibility for "shaping and conditioning" the new UMW leaders in the "Woodcock tradition" of "progressive social unionism." UMW leaders were sent for weekend training sessions at the UAW's brainwashing educational center at Black Lake, Mich.

Miller was singled out for special attention. Aside from Rauh, Jay Rockefeller of the Rothschild wing of the Rockefeller family became the new Mineworkers President's closest "outside" confidant; under his advice, Miller, who made regular visits to the Rockefeller estate, went to several "role playing" seminars in collective bargaining at West Virginia University's Labor Education Center, as well as special sessions at Wesleyan University, which Rockefeller headed.

"You have to feel sorry for Arnold," a former UMW official remarked. "The poor guy had his head stuffed with their (IPS's) ideas. He didn't have room for a thought of his own."

The IPS "brain trust" had a field day pumping reams of propaganda into coal country about "democratization" and "decentralization" — undermining the centrally deployed command structure built during the Lewis years.

"We are building a new union," proclaimed a 1973 UMW *Journal*, a different union, a better, more responsive one."

The success of the takeover was showcased at the 1973 UMW convention. Rauh, leaving nothing to chance, reportedly requested that his friends at the UAW take charge of the affair. Miller, Rauh told his associates, was not capable of "running such a big convention." Under UAW Vice President Bluestone's direction, a staff of UAW "convention organizers" ran the whole show, while the press churned out its garbage about how the convention demonstrated that "the UMW is now truly in command of its members."

Nearly every stripe of IPS countergang was assembled both inside and outside the hall to celebrate the "rebirth of the UMW." Said one UMW leader recently, "It looked like an invasion from Mars...only a fool could fail to see that something major had changed, that we miners had lost our union to an 'outside force'..."

The Wall Street-City of London conspiracy that controlled and directed the mineworkers takeover now attempted to deploy the UMW to sabotage the U.S. economy through disruptions of coal production. This coincided with then-Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's provoked Arab oil embargo which delivered yet another blow to the weakened world economy. Such sabotage could have made real the potential for "militarization" of the U.S. economy extending far beyond the emergency measures that regulated economic activity during the embargo — precisely the intent of these same conspirators who this month provoked the miners strike. Their scenario now is Energy Secretary James Schlesinger's "Winter Energy Emergency Plan."

The focal point of their sabotage effort then as now was the 1974 mineworkers contract negotiations. "We can strangle the economy," said one IPS operative on Miller's staff at the time. "We can bring America to her knees...there were thousands of layoffs because of oil shortages last winter. We can cause even more layoffs...if the coal operators don't give in to our demands, all America will be shut down."

During the winter of 1973-1974, IPS networks conducted a dry run for the strike. Coinciding with efforts to create a Chilean-style independent truckers strike, armed groups of "masked miners" shut down almost all coal production in West Virginia, allegedly protesting the

federal government's emergency gasoline allocation plan. After a few weeks — and several violent confrontations with UMW members who refused to "shut down" — the strikes ceased.

The use of masked roving pickets — a tactic whose success was predicted by "profilers" like Trist, et al. — is now "standard operating procedure" for the so-called wildcat faction in the UMW.

The strike came off on schedule when the UMW contract expired in the fall of 1974. Industries dependent on coal worked out layoff schedules, while utilities made plans for massive cutbacks should their supplies begin to run low. Throughout coal country, especially in the IPS-infested areas of West Virginia and Kentucky, there was talk of the possibility of sabotage. If the strike had lasted more than two months, sources in the intelligence community estimated that it would have "hit the U.S. economy like a bucket of ice water."

But the strike didn't last over two months; after some violent episodes and 45 days it was over — without any major serious economic dislocation.

Three factors had contributed to the cooling out of the strike.

First, the widespread exposure by the U.S. Labor Party of the strike as part of a broader "chaos and confusion" scenario leading to the militarization of the economy placed a high countervailing "penalty" on the entire operation; this "inoculation" may have led several elements within the overall command structure of the conspiracy to "pull back."

The crucial elements, however, were the existence of relatively sane factions within both the UMW leadership and the leadership of the coal operators association who saw that neither the union nor the companies would in the long run benefit from a protracted strike. With pressure for a settlement coming from the "inoculated" elements of the U.S. political leadership — including factions within the Ford Administration — a compromise became possible.

Following the failure of the strike, Rauh and IPS had to reevaluate the situation. Miller had performed according to profile during the negotiations, ranting and raving, and causing several bargaining sessions to be called off. But members of Miller's Executive Council, headed by Vice President Mike Trbovich, had been able to strike a compromise with the coal operators and then get Miller to go along. What's more, they had been able to sell the contract to the membership — despite all the "decentralization" reforms instituted. This grouping, headed nominally by Trbovich and including several members of the old Tony Boyle machine, clearly had the potential to take back the union from the "outsiders," thereby ending IPS ability to use the UMW to wreck the coal industry. But, they shied away from a direct attack.

IPS counterattacked by speeding up the UMW's disintegration. The resulting chaos became the principal destabilizing factor in coal production.

In the course of 1975 and 1976, IPS redeployed its networks. A section of the countergangs that formerly had supported Miller as "the savior of union democracy" now became a "left opposition," attacking the hapless president as a "sell out" and lobbying for greater "local autonomy." Members of the Maoist October League and the Revolutionary Communist Party (formerly, the

Revolutionary Union) were deployed into the coal fields to constitute the embryo of the so-called Miners Right to Strike Committee; they were supplemented by members of the former OEO-VISTA networks and Staughton Lynd's "Appalachian collectives." Members of Miller's own IPS staff, especially Rich Banks and Ed James collaborated in this new conspiracy.

The IPS sabotage operation also helped to crystalize a real opposition faction centered around UMW Vice President Trbovich and Kentucky UMW District leader Lee Roy Patterson. By the summer of 1976, this legitimate faction was forced into open rebellion against Miller and IPS. Led by Trbovich, 15 members of the 21 member union executive board voted in July 1976 to condemn Miller for hiring "outside radicals" to the UMW staff, charging these individuals with destroying the union. A slate headed by Patterson and supported openly by Trbovich announced its challenge to the Miller leadership for the 1977 UMW elections. According to polls, the new slate was almost certain to win.

More importantly, Patterson and Trbovich threatened to dramatically shift the center of debate in the union away from IPS set-up issues like the "local right to strike" and toward a discussion of programs for a high-technology expansion of coal production. Both Patterson and Trbovich were in contact with representatives of the U.S. Labor Party to frame a capital-intensive program for coal production: Patterson, on several occasions, had stated his desire the return the UMW to a position of preeminence in the U.S. labor movement, standing for progress and growth — "as in the days of John L. Lewis."

IPS and Rauh now moved to destroy Patterson. Charles Baker was sent over by Trilateral Commission member and United Steelworker President I.W. Abel to "handle" the Patterson campaign. Baker, a longtime operative of networks associated with the AFL-CIO's League for Industrial Democracy was the author of a major slander piece on the U.S. Labor Party published in 1975 by the LID-linked journal, *Homefront*. Under Baker's advice, Patterson steered clear of collaboration with the Labor Party and refused to identify IPS as being behind the conspiracy; more importantly, he refused to mobilize members of the union behind a program for high-technology coal development and stuck to trading accusations with Miller.

Despite this sabotage by Baker, polls showed that Patterson would still win. Rauh and IPS therefore created a "third way" opposition to Miller around Secretary Treasurer Harry Patrick. While the Patrick slate had no chance of winning the election, the idea was to pull enough votes away from Patterson to prevent him from winning.

With the IPS-FIJ press sewers as his mouthpiece, the demagogue Patrick attacked Patterson as a "stooge of Tony Boyle." He attacked Miller as "a traitor to Miners for Democracy."

The June, 1977 election went according to the IPS script. With the help of vote fraud from the old IPS networks, Patrick pulled enough votes in key districts in West Virginia and Kentucky as well as among the IPS-VVAW infested miners' organizations in the West to give a narrow victory to Miller. Patterson and his advisor Trbovich felt certain that blatant irregularities in the

ballot would cause the UMW Executive Council to overturn the election. Under Baker's advice, however, Patterson refused to continue the open fight against IPS and made no effort to mobilize the rank and file. A flurry of activity by Rauh-IPS networks, the details of which are still not known at this time, swung several key votes on the Executive Council. When the vote was taken on Patterson's charges in July 1977 the Miller "victory" was upheld. Fraud charges brought by Patterson before the Labor Department were ruled as insufficient to warrant a new election.

Within two months a demoralized Patterson was defeated for reelection to the Executive Council; the major internal obstacle to IPS-City of London plans to deploy the UMW as an instrument of economic sabotage was routed.

In late summer, IPS networks operating principally out of West Virginia, Kentucky, and parts of Ohio fanned a wildcat strike across the eastern coal fields; the wildcat was precipitated by the announcement of IPS lawyer and UMW health and welfare fund trustee Harry Huge that major cutbacks in benefits, including the closing of a number of health care clinics, were required due to the fund's serious underfunding. The IPS operatives had themselves produced the weakened condition of the fund: under the UMW contract, employer contributions to the fund are pegged to the number of tons of coal mined by UMW members, tonnage that had been reduced by IPS-led wildcats over the last three years. By September, nearly 80,000 miners were out on strike in three states.

Miller effectively went into hiding. The year before, he had fired his entire IPS staff for conspiring against him; during the election campaign, even Joe Rauh deserted him, going over to help Patrick. With two IPS District leaders in West Virginia calling for his resignation, members of Miller's staff decided to send in "some loyal boys" to put down the rebellion; they failed.

IPS operatives now floated a compromise: if Miller would promise to take up the wildcatters' demand for a local right to strike clause and increased funding of the health and welfare programs, they would bring the men back to work.

Miller accepted and all but guaranteed a nationwide coal strike when the union's contract with the coal operators expired December 6 and the potential for economic sabotage.

"We know that there is going to be a long strike," said one of the UMW leaders in District 17 three months ago. "We will not let Miller back down on the local right to strike — even if it takes an eight-month strike to get it."

The Current Situation

The ongoing UMW strike represents the most dangerous IPS deployment to date. According to well-informed sources in the government and the intelligence community, the strike is slated to be used by energy czar James Schlesinger as an excuse for the imposition of drastic crisis management curbs on economic activity. The planning for such an eventuality is now taking place under a special Energy Department task force originally created to draft the so-called Winter Energy Emergency Plan (WEEP). The "trigger" scenario calls for a long

and bitter strike, during which IPS networks will commit acts of sabotage against coal supplies, rail transportation facilities, and, possibly in concert with environmentalist terrorist networks, coal stockpiles at industrial and power facility sites.

This terrorist capability underscores how stupid it is for industrialists and others to complacently think that the coal strike "will not seriously affect the economy" because of "large stockpiles."

Similarly, coal operators who feel that they can "wait the UMW out" risk their continued ability to produce coal.

Both groups are playing into the hands of the City of London and its allies like Schlesinger.

There are indications that the same kind of environment that produced the 1974 compromise contract is at work in the current negotiations. Pressure on the Miller leadership to abandon the "right to strike" demand, and on Bituminous Coal Operators Association leaders to "give a little" on demands to replenish depleted union pension and welfare funds, have produced the outlines of a "labor stability agreement."

There are several factors however that make cooling-

out of the strike much more difficult than the last time around. First, given the present international situation and the desperation of the City of London forces, a pull-back becomes less likely. Second, there is the problem of IPS sabotage of the negotiations. According to reliable sources, IPS attorney Harry Huger is "running the show." Finally, even if a compromise were reached, the greater development of the IPS "left-wing opposition" would make it extremely likely that sections of the union would wildcat. The net effect could be a fissioning of the union into several local autonomous regions — a result that would continue to hamper U.S. coal production.

It is clear, therefore, that if labor-management relations are to achieve a productive stability in the nation's coal fields, the IPS operation against the UMW must be destroyed. A competent investigation of the sources of the current strike violence and the recent wildcats would provide evidence needed for a clean sweep of the terrorist operation in the coal fields.

Those Americans who want to see increased high-technology production and use of coal must initiate this sanitization of the UMW. It is a matter of urgent national security that they begin immediately.

—L. Wolfe