Hard Times



King Coal

According to the Bureau of Mines statistics, more men have died in mine disasters since the passage of the reforms than before.

THE SO-CALLED coal mine safety "reforms" are a mean trick on the men who slave in the pits of Appalachia. According to the Bureau of Mines statistics, more men have died in mine disasters since the passage of the reforms than before. (Between April 1 and November 16, 1970, 133 men died in coal mines. This compares with 116 deaths for the comparable period a year ago.) Since the big Consolidated Coal disaster, there have been 15,755 injuries in the mines. None of these figures include the explosion in Kentucky, which might not have occurred had not the federal inspectors been on their Christmas break.

In Kentucky, state health officials report miners breathe 67 times the maximum amount of coal dust declared to be safe by federal law. A recent study of West Virginia coal mining practices by J. Davitt McAteer and a group of West Virginia University students shows that coal operators routinely ignore safety requirements. The state inspectors are regarded as buffoons, and even if they write up safety violations, there are no penalties. Federal inspectors are well regarded by miners, but held in contempt by the mine owners. When a federal inspector comes by to inspect a mine, he is likely to find no way of getting around the works because the owners have disappeared with all means of transportation. Consolidated Coal Co., the biggest operator in the East and now a subsidiary of Continental Oil, owns the Mannington mine, where 78 men died in 1968. This company repeatedly flouts the law. Most recently Consolidated has manipulated its operations along the Pennsylvania-West Virginia border so that mine entrances will open from the West Virginia side, where the state mine safety laws are less strict.

As McAteer points out, there is a 15 per cent profit in coal mining in West Virginia, and that is in large part due to the subsidies afforded the industry by the federal and state government, created by slack law enforcement which makes it possible for coal operators to run their mines with little attention to the safety of the workers, and under general working conditions widely regarded as the worst in the world. The 15 per cent profit is drained off by the big chemical and oil companies which now largely own the coal firms. Most of the money goes out of Appalachia, leaving the state of West Virginia virtually broke.

Meanwhile, the Social Security Administration, charged with making disability payments to miners with black lung disease, has thrown up unbelievably harsh standards to prevent sick miners and their dependents from benefiting from the Federal Coal Mine Health & Safety Act. Miners are told they must work ten years underground to become eligible. SS officials insist on X-rays to prove black lung, even though X-rays are widely questioned as the sole

means of determining black lung. Widows seeking benefits are required to furnish a death certificate ascribing death to a lung disease—an unrealistic expectation when a miner may never have been treated for a lung condition.

The SS is denying most black lung claims in the depressed coal heartland of Kentucky. Fifty-seven per cent of all claims were denied, compared to 22 per cent for the rest of the U.S. Less than a quarter of all claims from this region have been decided.

With unemployment running 30 per cent in Appalachian coal towns, the Interior Department announced a \$675,-000 "pilot effort" to establish a "miner training program" to alleviate an "increasingly serious mining manpower shortage." Coal Patrol, a bi-weekly newsletter which follows the machinations of the business, quoted Benjamin L. Hunton, the Bureau of Mines education director, as saying he would make a special effort to attract "the Chicano population, migrant farm workers in states like Alabama and Georgia, and Cuban refugees." Hunton went on to say the industry was too poor to run its own training programs and needed federal assistance. In addition, the Bureau of Mines hoped to recruit some of the new workers for metal mining in Montana, where, as luck would have it, the Labor Department has just finished retraining surplus metal miners for other occupations.

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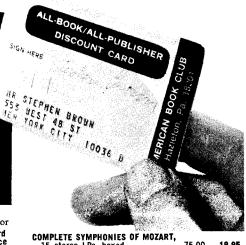
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Green Revolution

There is considerable speculation as to whether through our exports of diseased corn we are spreading the blight around the world.

THE SOUTHERN corn leaf blight, which already has severely damaged the U.S. corn crop, could cause an ecological nightmare abroad. This blight occurs because seed companies push a type of hybrid corn characterized by cytoplasmic male sterility, far cheaper to produce than other types of corn. Its susceptibility to blight has long been known.

Development of a hybrid corn involves the crossing of inbred lines. In seed production, one of the seed parents must be prevented from producing pollen. Before introduction of the use of male sterile cytoplasm, this was done by hiring crews of laborers to remove tassels, the male part of the corn plant, which produce pollen. The male sterile lines have tassels but don't produce pollen, and consequently eliminate the expense of hiring laborers for detassling.

The great bulk of U.S. corn is of the T-cytoplasm kind. While the blight was observed in the strain as long as ten years ago in the Philippines, it had not occurred widely in the United States. Then, last spring, it broke out in Georgia and spread like a plague across the Middle West, and from Texas up into southern Ontario. According to the U.S. Agriculture Department, corn

yields in 1970 declined by ten per cent to 4.1 billion bushels. In some states the effects are much more severe. Illinois, for instance, estimates 30 per cent of the crop is ruined. While seed companies are working to produce a blight-resistant seed, they will not be ready by this spring. This year the blight is expected to become worse and to begin to cause major effects. Reduction in the corn harvest will have an effect on our economy and can cause grave ramifications in poor nations.

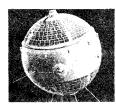
Because of the reduced corn yields, corn futures are moving higher. Corn is a major feed for cattle and hogs. With feed prices going up, hog production is expected to decline, and pork prices will begin to move up. Cattle will be shifted from corn feed, which will affect the leanness of the meat and its price in consumer markets.

The U.S. supplies nearly one quarter of feed grains for the world livestock markets, and hence reduction in the corn harvest here may reduce the amounts in the foreign markets—and that, in turn, will affect the types of livestock raised abroad and the quality of that meat.

There are now indications that the Southern corn leaf blight is transmitted within the corn seed. (Recent research

at the Universities of Illinois and Georgia and at Purdue suggests this to be the case.) The U.S. exports 46.8 million pounds of seed corn worth \$4.7 million a year to the rest of the world. We are the largest exporter of seeds in the world. As a result there is considerable speculation as to whether through our exports of diseased seed corn we are spreading the blight around the world. This blight is now occurring in Japan, the Philippines, Africa and Latin America. Agriculturalists from other countries are urgently asking for advice. Experts in Australia and New Zealand, where the blight has not yet broken out, are asking experts here whether they should not treat imported U.S. seed corn as poison. The effect in Thailand, where all seed corn comes from the U.S., could be serious.

In the meantime, agricultural researchers are confident they will develop a resistant strain of corn, and the seed companies have reverted to hand-detassling other strains of corn. In order to produce inexpensive seed corn for U.S. farmers, the seed firms grow the seeds in poor countries of Latin America, where it can be detassled cheaply and then shipped to the United States.



World Spy

Two British industrialists told a Conservative Party Seminar that the U.S. employed satellites for economic espionage.

ASA'S INSANE PLAN to orbit an earth resources technology satellite at a cost of \$100 million is becoming an embarrassment to the government and has caused an international quarrel.

Current plans are to orbit one satellite in 1972, and another the year after. The idea is for the satellite to take pictures of the world from 500 miles up.

and thereby provide detailed information on crop diseases, mineral resources, snow run-offs, etc. But scientists doubt whether the camera will be very effective from 500 miles up. The leading opponent of the scheme, Amrom Katz, a RAND consultant, argues it would be far less expensive to take pictures by airplane than satellite. He claims airplane pictures would cost

\$0.43 per square mile, as compared to the satellite cost of \$7.60.

NASA caused an international controversy in proposing the scheme. Two British industrialists, Pardoe of Hawker-Siddeley and O'Hagan of Standard Telephone & Cable, told a Conservative Party seminar that the U.S. employed satellites for economic espionage. The French journal *Air et Cosmos*, in noting

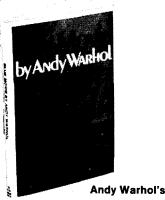
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WHITE WOMAN-BLACK MAN-Julius Lester talks first with the wife, then with the husband, to provide a moving picture of a mixed marriage.

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these statements, declared, "According to these two specialists, 'There is absolutely no doubt that the Americans are utilizing photographs taken from satellites in order to delimit the terrestrial zones which would justify prospecting for minerals and oils.' To support this thesis Mr. Pardoe cites the surprising success achieved by the American prospecting company in North Africa and the Middle East in zones which no one long had thought of up until then.

"Mr. O'Hagan goes even further, since he declares, 'Americans have pur-

chased in foreign countries, lands containing mineral riches based on information furnished by photographs from satellites for the study of terrestrial resources.' Mr. Pardoe, for his part, affirmed that only 13 photos of the 8000 taken during the flight of Apollo 7 have been published as of now, the others having been classified because of their too great resolution."

Air et Cosmos continues, "One certain fact is that up until now satellites for the study of terrestrial resources fly over—or have flown over—a great part of the globe, but that they are not

controlled in any way by the countries flown over. The only controlling authority is the one who puts them in orbit; and it's only that one which decides to communicate to the third country, information received of interest on a national scale."

In an effort to squirm out of this mess, NASA is said to have offered the earth resources satellite to the World Bank in hopes that it might organize a Comsat-type world organization to run the operation. However, officials at the bank are reported to be skeptical.

Savings (?) Bonds

"If you consider redemption vs. sales, you'll see how futile those bond drives are. Redemptions are higher than Savings Bond people let on."

bonds in an eight per cent bonds in an eight per cent money market during six per cent inflation has got to be tough. And it's tougher still when you consider that right down the hall from the Savings Bond department, the U.S. Treasury is issuing the real, genuine government securities, now yielding about eight per cent to the smart-money set—those business and community leaders touting the five per cent bonds among the common folk.

But the Savings Bond people say their annual flag-waving in the face of the highest money rates since the Civil War is going swimmingly. They hope to raise \$5 billion in low-cost money this year.

Patriotic employers who push the payroll deduction plan among their workers account for nearly three-fourths of the bond sales. In Baltimore, General Motors set a company goal of 90 per cent "participation," and nearly 95 per cent of the assembly employees signed up.

Presumably the company didn't indicate that it would be cheaper for employees to borrow from the credit union and buy eight per cent bonds. Nor did GM's patriotic blurb mention how many GM executives are investing their spare change in Savings Bonds.

And in recent years Middle Americans have been given a special Middle-

American reason for buying Savings Bonds: a pseudo beauty contest, complete with free trip to Florida.

The Treasury—abetted by a car manufacturer and a Florida developer—designates one family in each state as an "All-American family." Fifty lucky families then travel to Florida, where one housewife is crowned Mrs. U.S. Savings Bonds amid much patriotic ballyhoo. Specific criteria for picking the winner are rather vague—the chief attribute apparently being the inner beauty a woman manifests through her devotion to Savings Bonds.

"The Savings Bond People are making a valiant effort," says a spokesman for the Treasury's securities department. "They're couching their pitch in patriotic slogans."

The two branches are friendly competitors in the money marketplace. The securities people, however, paid 7.34 per cent when they went to the market last year. And a government security will—right now—yield an investor more than eight per cent per annum if held to maturity. At midsummer some yields surpassed 8.25 per cent.

"If you consider redemption versus sales," the securities specialist says, "you'll see how futile those bond drives really are. Redemptions are a lot higher than the Savings Bond people like to let on.

"But I guess the income really is important to the government. It's cheap

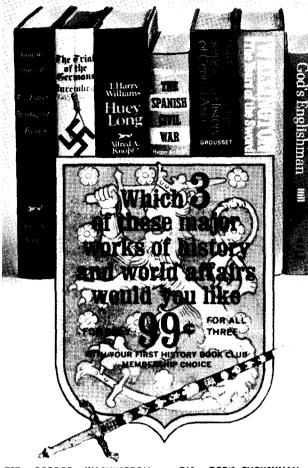
money at five per cent."

There are many other federal employees who think even less of the bonds. The government's annual inhouse shakedown traditionally incites cries of "intimidation."

The Savings Bond people have a wide gamut of pitches, depending on whom they're addressing. To the employers they send a flyer entitled "Thrift Is a Stable Employee." It continues:

"Stability of employment remains a requisite for industrial prosperity. Stability requires security, which is sure to involve saving and the American tradition of thrift. Most employees of industry want to save money. Many of them do-sometimes regularly and systematically; more often, rarely or sporadically. Far too many don't save at all. Yet, there is a way to save. Regularly. Systematically. Painlessly. Safely. The employee simply signs up for the Payroll Savings Plan . . . the plan that has brought financial assurance to millions of Americans since 1941. . . . Enlightened self-interest by far-sighted industrial management has long since recognized the fact that a thrifty employee is a stable employee."

Included in one of the sales gambits is a bond promotional film featuring a "behavioral scientist" who presents a rationale for the bond buyer. Weekly saving, he says, involves 52 decisions, one each week. Much better, he advises, to make one commitment: sign



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the payroll savings card.

The Savings Bond people reluctantly admit their low-brow pitch. "We've never said, 'Look, we'll make you rich,' "says one official. "But we say, 'We'll offer you a good way to save your money and take the pain away."

"We derive 70 per cent of our sales from payroll deductions. We're dealing with the guy who wouldn't save normally, the guy who can't afford to save."

Actually, there may be more method in the Treasury's "savings" pitch than meets the eye. Government bonds securities have traditionally been sold in \$1000 denominations, but last March the Treasury cut the average wage-earner out of the Treasury Bill market by upping its lowest denomination to \$10,000.

The Treasury blamed a lack of computerization for its inability to shuffle papers fast enough to keep proper track of the short-term obligations. But lack of computers hasn't hindered the Savings Bond people; they've had it for years.

Also unavailable to the man in the street is the tax-exempt municipal bond—cherished haven for the rich man's money. The smallest denomination available is \$1000, in lots of five. A study by economist Robert Lampman revealed that in 1953 the upper one per cent of America's wealthy held 100 per cent of these bonds.

And beyond the Treasury's issues, there's a host of other government and quasi-government agencies marketing bonds with yields recently hovering around eight per cent. The Federal

National Mortgage Association and the Home Loan Bank, for instance, are continually going to the money market. And these agency issues are backed by the U.S. government, and ultimately the Treasury.

An old trick among bond buyers is to list them in the names of their spouses and children, cutting the Internal Revenue out of its share of the interest. This year, the Savings Bond people have "discovered" this dodge. They're busy telling prospective bond buyers to buy bonds in their baby's name on the presumption he won't earn enough to pay taxes.

Beating the IRS branch of the Treasury isn't normal Treasury policy—but then, it's good business.

-JOHN PHILLIPS

Mayday

• Most government departments now provide broadcasters with special numbers which they can call day or night for recordable messages from high officials on timely events. Thus, one can get Romney on volunteerism, or Laird on body counts, direct for the local audience. While broadcasters loathe this gimmicky propaganda technique, stations are playing the records more often as they cut back on news staff. The Democratic National Committee, which pioneered the recording scheme in 1964, now offers a special "Black Voices" record for black stations. It features well-known black Democrats mouthing the Party line. • Senator Lee Metcalf's recent investigation of university finances provides detailed analysis of university involvement in corporate activities. Harvard's interties with Middle South Utilities through Treasurer George Bennett are well known. There are others: Howard Butcher, the financier who took such an interest in promoting the Penn-Central merger, also is a University of Pennsylvania trustee and head of the university's investment committee. Against other professional advice Butcher insisted on sinking \$4 million of U of Penn funds into the Penn-Central Co. By the time the university bailed out, it had

lost \$3 million. • Bella Abzug, the new congresswoman from New York, offended the propriety of the House on her first visit there by wearing a hat. When an assistant to the doorkeeper asked her to remove the hat, Abzug declared, "Tell the doorkeeper to go fuck himself." • According to J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI has "recruited 50 per cent of our 1000 new agents from the officer corps in Vietnam." Army Times quotes the FBI chief as saying, "You get a man who has been in command of men and he has to use good judgment. They all have to be above average in personal appearance. You won't find long hair or sideburns à la Namath here. There are no hippies." • At Fort Bragg, North Carolina, in the fall of 1970, the Army launched a highly publicized anti-drug program, Operation Awareness, whereby addicts could get medical attention without facing prosecution. Of the first 69 volunteers, 4 have been cured, 10 are still receiving treatment and 55 have dropped out. • Some 500,000 veterans are unemployed at present, despite the Army's highly publicized training and placement services (which channel men primarily into police and defense jobs). It turns out that the same superpatriot businessmen who cheer "our boys" in Vietnam despise them back home. Take, for example, the New York State Chamber of Commerce. It has just published a pamphlet, "Drug Abuse As a Business Problem," advising members not to hire vets. The pamphlet begins, bluntly: "With the spread of drug abuse in schools and among the armed forces in Vietnam, it would be unrealistic for business to assume it could recruit from these markets and not risk bringing drug abuse, narcotic addicts and pushers into companies, despite all the sophisticated screening tests available." • That general who received a Silver Star for valor he never displayed in Vietnam isn't the only American soldier to be so rewarded. The Army

Vietnam isn't the only American soldier to be so rewarded. The Army seems to have a policy of giving out more medals, as military success (and morale) dwindles. In 1968, some 437,000 medals of various kinds were awarded; in the first eight months of 1970, with fewer troops performing fewer missions and a lower injury rate (i.e., fewer "Purple Hearts"), the number of medals was up to 486,000! In the case of colonels and generals being decorated, the actual pinning-on-the-chest is not usually done in front of formation these days, because the troops have taken to laughing.





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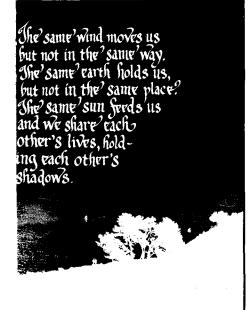
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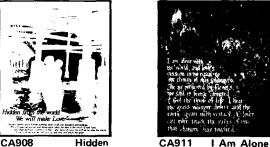


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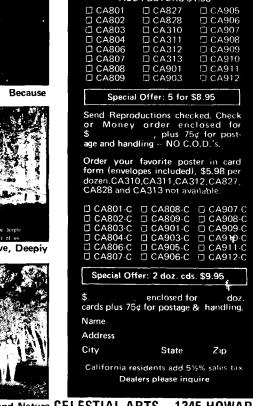
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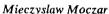


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Wladyslaw Gomulka

Exit Gomulka

or WLADYSLAW GOMULKA, the wheel of history may appear to have come full circle: The former boss of Poland and of its ruling party was swept to his exalted position, which he held for 14 years, on a wave of violence, demonstrations and streetfighting; another wave of riots and disorders has now swamped and engulfed him irredeemably. But here the parallel ends, for "violence has many faces."

On June 28, 1956, in Poznán, an industrial town in western Poland, workers spontaneously poured out of their factories into the streets, attacking with desperation and recklessness the forces of Stalinist "law and order." The workers' leaders, first branded as anarchists, hooligans and criminal ele-

ments, quite soon turned the tables on the "strong-arm" bureaucrats, who scattered in fright before the mounting anger which began to manifest itself in cities and towns all over the country. The workers, whose demands were soon declared justified, were joined by the intelligentsia—by students and professors, by teachers and doctors, lawyers and artists—and even by generals in the armed forces, all of whom loudly demanded the return of Gomulka to the leadership.

"Comrade Wieslaw"—as he was then affectionately called—had spent the previous five or six years in detention and had regained his liberty, together with thousands upon thousands of other political prisoners, only a few months be-

fore. While he was in prison, his legend grew and expanded, and by the time he was brought to power, amid great enthusiasm and unbounded hopes, different people expected very different (and contradictory) things from him.

One must remember that 1956 was a year of great political tremors: Stalin was dead and Khrushchev had just delivered his not-so-secret speech denouncing the great tyrant, his misdeeds and crimes. A strong libertarian wind of change was blowing over Russia and over the whole of Eastern Europe, a wind, which, over Hungary, acquired the force of a hurricane. When, on October 21, 1956, Gomulka became the First Secretary of the Party, and his friends and comrades—fully rehabil-

by Tamara Deutscher

Wide World Photos