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5-11-14

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PART A

Chancellor's (Lawson's) papers:

LESSONS LEARNT FROM THE
MINERS STRIKE

Disposal Directions: 25 Years

Dillon

26/9/95.

PH

AK

NOTE

The circulation of this document has been restricted. Recipients are accordingly asked to ensure that the secrecy of its contents and the need to know principle is strictly observed.

SECRET and Personal

25/11/85

SECOND REPORT ON LESSONS OF THE MINERS' STRIKE

INTRODUCTION

1. In June 1985 Ministers endorsed the specific points for follow-up action in the report by officials identifying the lessons of the 1984/85 miners' strike (Misc 57(85)9). The Prime Minister requested the Official Group on Coal to review progress on implementing the recommendations of the report, other than those concerned directly with physical endurance which were to be dealt with separately. The purpose of this note is to report the outcome of the review requested by the Prime Minister.

2. For convenience this report will address topics in the same order in which they were addressed in the first report. Paragraph references are, unless indicated otherwise, to relevant paragraphs of the first report.

PHYSICAL ENDURANCE (paragraph 2.10i)

3. At a meeting in July 1985 of Ministers most directly concerned it was decided that power station coal stock levels should be restored to 23m tonnes by October (to give some six months endurance) with deliveries being maintained at a maximum rate throughout the winter of 1985/86 to provide a stock level of some 22m tonnes by the end of March 1986. The question of coal stock levels after March 1986 is to be considered towards the end of the year, by which time a number of financial aspects would have been examined further. It was also decided that:

- a. further expansion of the capacity of the Scottish Interconnector should not be pursued at present;
- b. care would need to be taken over the timing of two year rolling contracts for full utilisation of the French Interconnector;
- c. Central Electricity Generating Board (CEGB) plans to improve the flexibility of switching from coal to oil and for widening the scope of what would be considered normal working should be approved, whilst at the same time it was noted that there was little scope for increasing oil storage capacity;

d. advantage should be taken of the January 1986 review of the agreement between the CEGB and British Rail (BR) on rail delivery of coal to power stations to establish some road deliveries as part of normal working.

4. In the event the coal restocking programme has proceeded smoothly and successfully. While falling slightly short of the target for the end of October, stocks at CEGB power stations at the end of the first week in November were some 23.0m tonnes with a further 1.8m tonnes in Scotland. The CEGB and the NCB are finalising the detailed winter supply programme and no difficulties are seen at present in being able to meet the stock target of 22m tonnes at the end of March 1986.

PHYSICAL ENDURANCE (paragraph 2.10ii)

5. Protecting Local NUM Autonomy

a. New Unions

i. The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) accepted a new rule book at their Delegate Conference in July; the following day Notts Area officials decided to leave the NUM. Nottinghamshire, South Derbyshire and the Colliery Trades and Allied Workers Association (a small group of men expelled by the NUM in Durham) have now each balloted on whether to break away from the NUM. Results in Nottingham and the CTAWA were heavily in favour of leaving the NUM. In South Derbyshire, however, the vote in favour was by a majority of only 26 votes.

ii. The legal process of setting up the new Union of Democratic Mine Workers (UDM), following the ballots, should be complete before the end of the year. Agecroft colliery in Lancashire and Daw Mill in Warwickshire have voted by large majorities to join the UDM and other pits in these areas are to ballot. There is also now an active pro-UDM organisation in Scotland, and a number of branches of COSA, the white collar section of the NUM, have also expressed interest. The executive of COSA had earlier decided against breaking away after receiving assurances from the NUM that, under the new rules, a constituent association cannot be ordered to take strike action by the National Executive Council in contravention of the rules or policy of the constituent association. Mr Roy Lynk, the General Secretary of the UDM in Nottinghamshire

has said the union has received thousands of individual applications for membership.

iii. The NCB have recognised the new union and have had wage negotiations with Nottinghamshire and South Derby. The NUM have sought to refer to the industry's National Reference Tribunal the Board's approach of negotiating separate wage settlements with the NUM and the UDM. The NRT met on 12 November and concluded that they had no jurisdiction in the matter; the industry's conciliation scheme assumes the existence of only one union. The Board recognise that the present machinery may now not be appropriate and intend to open formal consultation on change with all concerned once the UDM is registered. The TUC maintain their position of refusing to affiliate the UDM, although when the NUM executive met the TUC on 6 November, they were told that the TUC believe the UDM to be solidly based, with scope for expansion. Roy Lynk, General Secretary designate of the UDM, has pointed out that the UDM has not sought affiliation to the TUC or the Labour Party.

b. Transfers

i. The NCB have for the most part resisted calls for the wholesale transfer of working miners away from militant areas. There was a considerable amount of intimidation of working miners in the immediate post-strike period, and the public found the Board's policy difficult to understand. Public presentation of the policy made two main points: the large scale transfer of moderates would have shown the tactics of intimidation to have been successful; and there was simply not room in moderate pits to accommodate all those who, in the first days after the strike, had requested transfers. A further reason, unpublicised, was the antagonism in moderate areas towards transferees, many of whom had returned to work for financial rather than ideological reasons, and who would be taking jobs that moderates believed should rightfully go to their sons.

ii. The incidence of intimidation dropped rapidly within a fairly short time; and for the remaining hard core of cases the Board eventually arranged suitable transfers. However, there is evidence of continuing dissatisfaction in some areas. It is probable that the

perception of the way men have been treated may have the effect in any future dispute of discouraging men outside the traditionally moderate areas from crossing picket lines.

c. Pay Incentives

The NCB have offered the UDM an increase in grade rates of £5.50 a week and an increase of 50p a shift in the basic level of incentive bonus. The Notts area voted on 8 November to accept this offer together with a 30p/shift bonus for attendance between 1 April 1984 and 31 October 1985. The Board have also indicated to the UDM that they have it in mind to introduce improved bonus arrangements for both production and non-production workers; these indications do not form part of the Board's formal offer. They intend to offer the NUM, in respect of areas outside Notts and South Derby, the same increase in the basic level of incentive bonus, but have first sought from the union a written undertaking on union cooperation in improving productivity. The NUM are putting the proposal to their areas for consultation. The Board have not decided whether they will offer the NUM an improvement in grade rates; if they do, it is likely to be rather less favourable than the offer to the UDM (probably a percentage increase, subject to a maximum of £5.50 a week). The Board do not intend to say anything to the NUM at this stage about improved bonus arrangements similar to those which they have indicated to the UDM. The Board's tactics appear to be aimed at giving some preference to the UDM but without making such a sharp distinction between them and the NUM as to provide a foundation for charges of vindictiveness.

d. Conclusion

i. For the short term, the main weapon against militancy is the lack of enthusiasm among NUM members for further industrial action. Many of the pit closures proposed by the Board since the end of the strike have been achieved by simple agreement with unions locally: even traditionally militant areas have shown little heart for resistance, and opposition has been left to local authorities. Since the end of the strike 17 pits have closed and 4 pairs of pits have merged, all by agreement with the unions locally. A further 4 closures and 2 mergers have been agreed. 11 closures and one merger are at various stages in the Colliery Review Procedure. By contrast, the speed of closures over recent years can be deduced from the number of collieries at the end of each financial year.

1973/74	259		
1978/79	223	-	36 closures (over 5 years)
1979/80	219	-	4 "
1980/81	211	-	8 "
1981/82	200	-	11 "
1982/83	191	-	9 "
1983/84	170	-	21 "
1984/85	169	-	1 "

ii. In the medium term the greatest influence on militancy will be the outcome of the various moves towards breakaway unions. Department of Energy officials are in close touch with the Board over these developments; ballots are still continuing at various pits/areas. For the moment the Board are doing their best to foster the UDM by reaching early pay settlements with them.

iii. Restructuring of performance incentives is a much longer term strategy, but holds considerable promise for countering militancy in the coalfields.

6. Weakening the Monopoly of the National Association of Colliery Overmen, Deputies and Shotfirers (NACODS)

At present deputies (virtually all of whom are members of NACODS), as well as managers, have statutory duties concerning health and safety underground and regulations provide for the formal qualifications they must have before they are competent to perform them. The NCB are putting proposals to the Mines Qualification Board with the intention of widening the base from which the necessary competence can be secured and have also begun discussions with the Mines and Quarries Inspectorate of the Health and Safety Executive on the possibility of changes to regulations to lessen the monopoly power which NACODS can exert. The Inspectorate has already developed a major programme for the modernisation and reform of all safety legislation concerning mines, has begun formal consultations on some aspects of it, readily recognises that the statutory responsibilities of mine management is central to a new legislative framework and that changes need to be made. The complexity of the reform programme and the need for statutory, formal consultations on detailed proposals as they are framed does, however, mean that major legislative change is unlikely in this area before early 1988. The NCB have, however, developed ideas for earlier changes which they intend to discuss with the Inspectorate.

7. Maximising the Contribution of Opencast Coal in a Future Dispute

a. The 1984/85 strike highlighted a number of problems in maximising the benefit available from opencast sites, which continued working throughout:

(i) in some cases planning conditions specified rail movement of coal, and local authorities would not allow road transport, even when rail transport was unavailable;

(ii) even in those areas where the planning conditions permitted the use of alternative transport "in cases of emergency", it was difficult to use road transport because Ministers and the NCB were reluctant to admit the existence of an emergency;

(iii) it was considered too provocative to move stocks from opencast sites in militant NUM areas.

b. The Departments of Energy and Environment have considered the problems described at (i) and (ii) above and have concluded that it would be possible in principle, within existing planning legislation, to phrase future planning consents to that alternative forms of transport may be used and to vary the nine existing planning consents to which restrictions apply. The Opencast Executive are considering the matter and a meeting with D/Energy officials is in prospect to agree the best way to proceed.

c. In the event of future industrial action, there would probably be little scope for improvement in (iii) unless there was considerably less coal movement from other sources, or the political judgements were different.

LAW AND ORDER (paragraph 3.31)

8. It is intended, in the impending Public Order Bill, to replace, in England and Wales, the existing common law offence of riot with a more restrictive, but more clearly defined, statutory one; and to provide that riot charges will require

the consent of the Director of Public Prosecutions. When the Crown Prosecution Service is established it will be for that Service, rather than the police, to decide whether to proceed with charges once brought. These changes should help to ensure that there is no recurrence of the fiasco of the recent riot trials; many were charged with riot in the course of the miners' dispute but none was convicted. (It should be noted that after the disorders in St Paul's, Bristol, in April 1980 twelve people were charged with riot, but eight were acquitted and the jury failed to agree verdicts on the remaining four. No one was charged with riot after the more widespread disturbances in 1981.)

9. The study groups set up by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) to consider the policing lessons to be learned from the dispute have now completed their tasks. They have drawn on reports made by individual chief constables. The numerous recommendations of the study groups are mainly on points of detail (for example on tactics and equipment) and will be considered in the normal way by ACPO and the Home Office. Similar reviews were not carried out in Scotland where police operations were conducted in a markedly different way, but the Association of Chief Police Officers (Scotland) have arranged to be kept closely informed of the outcome of the reviews carried out in England and Wales. The local authority associations have been mainly concerned with financial matters and the constitutional position of police authorities. Their views are being discussed by the Police Advisory Board under the Home Secretary's chairmanship.

10. Magistrates Courts

From an early stage in the miners' strike Lord Chancellor's Department officials encouraged the magistrates' courts affected to ask the Lord Chancellor for the appointment of an acting stipendiary magistrate if an insufficiency of justices was likely to be a cause of delay in the disposal of cases. It was several weeks after the initial approach to the courts before they decided that acting stipendiary magistrates were needed. Appointments were then made as requested. The Lord Chancellor's Department maintains an expanding list of practitioners, justices' clerks, retired stipendiary magistrates and others who are qualified and suitable for appointment as acting stipendiary magistrates, and together with the 60 or so full-time stipendiary magistrates currently serving in England and Wales there is a sufficient number to provide an adequate level of professional support to lay benches if a similar situation develops in future. Delays did not arise solely because of a shortage of magistrates; there were some problems over

the availability of courts clerks and courtrooms and many of the cases required a lengthy time for defence and prosecution preparation.

OTHER FACTORS (paragraph 4.24)

11. Assistance with Mortgage Interest Payments

As part of the measures arising from the Social Security Review, Ministers have agreed that negotiations should take place with the building societies to restrict, as from autumn 1986, assistance with mortgage interest payments in supplementary benefit cases. Although this measure would not specifically refer to strikers it should go some way towards dealing with the problem identified.

12. Strike Ballot Provisions of the 1984 Trades Union Act

In commenting on the first report the Attorney General drew attention to the confusion and problems that might arise when more than one issue featured on strike ballot papers - quoting the example of the NACODS ballot in September 1984. The Department of Employment monitors strike ballots under the 1984 Act and has come across no other example where it might be suggested that majority for industrial action was secured only by such possible confusion. The Department continues to review the strike ballot provisions, which have been in operation for only 12 months and are generally considered to be working well and to good effect, with the Attorney General's concern in mind.

13. Financial Assistance to Strikers from Local Authorities

It is expected that the Widdicombe Inquiry into Local Government procedures and practices will report on matters relevant to local authorities scope for providing financial assistance to strikers and their families in late spring 1986.

14. The Use of Authoritative Public Spokesmen and Improvement of Channels of Communication with Work-forces

Departments concerned (Energy, Transport, Environment and Trade and Industry) have all reported that their public sector industries are aware of these lessons and are planning accordingly. Specifically:

- a. The NCB have advised Area Managements to invite some union members, as well as officials, to consultative meetings and to make use of letters to individual employees rather than rely solely on union channels of communication. Courses at the NCB Staff College are now placing emphasis on the need for effective communication with all levels of the workforce.
- b. The appointment of an authoritative spokesman by BR during the 1985 summer dispute with the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) seemed to play an important role in putting the facts of the dispute clearly before the general public and the NUR members; the latter subsequently voted to reject strike action. BR have developed methods of communicating with their workforce, that do not rely on union channels, which were used effectively during both the miners' strike and the summer 1985 dispute.
- c. The British Steel Corporation already use the Board's internal newspaper and letters to individual workers (mostly from local levels of management) to provide direct communication with their workforce, the effectiveness of which is greatly enhanced by pay and industrial relations matters being largely dealt with at local level.
- d. The Post Office have earmarked two potential spokesmen at national level (The Chairman and the Board Member for Industrial Relations) and intend to rely on Head Postmasters as first line spokesmen in the event of a purely local dispute. A great variety of channels of communication with the workforce are currently employed - it is believed successfully.
- e. The Water Authorities Association plan to employ two spokesmen in the event of future disputes, one to deal with all aspects of the causes of the dispute and the other to deal with the effects of the dispute on the public and other water users. The best method of effective communication between management and their workforce will be decided by the ten water authorities and twentyeight water companies that make up the industry - advised and encouraged by the Association.

CONCLUSION

15. Ministers are invited to:
- a. Take note of the follow-up action, taken and in hand, to take advantage of the lessons of the 1984/85 miners' strike;
 - b. Agree that the Official Group on Coal should continue to monitor progress and report as necessary.

CH/EXCHEQUER	
REC.	25 NOV 1985
ACTION	MR ROBSON
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*b/f 26/11
with advice
from Mr Robson p*

Temp

*No advice go
yet*

25/11/85

Ref. A085/3037

PRIME MINISTER

Second Report on Lessons of the Miners' Strike

You asked the Official Group on Coal (MISC 57) to review in October progress in implementing recommendations in areas other than physical endurance that were identified for follow-up action in their first report (MISC 57(85) 9). The review has been carried out and a second report prepared, which I now attach.

2. The report contains:

- a. a brief summary of the decisions about physical endurance made at your meeting with the Chancellor and Secretaries of State for Energy and Scotland on 24 July - paragraphs 3 and 4;
- b. an account of progress made on protecting local NUM autonomy, the transfer of miners subject to intimidation, pay incentives, weakening the monopoly of NACODS and maximising the contribution of opencast coal - paragraphs 5-7;
- c. details of the current position in relation to law and order matters - paragraphs 8-10;
- d. a description of progress on a number of miscellaneous points some of which must await the outcome of work in other fields before firm conclusions can be reached.

3. A further meeting of those Ministers most directly concerned with physical endurance is to be arranged next month. You may consider that it is not necessary to have a meeting to

RA

discuss the other matters covered in this report and it would be helpful if other Ministers who have been sent copies would let your office know, as soon as possible, whether they are content to endorse the conclusion in paragraph 15.

4. I am sending copies of this minute and the attached report to the Lord President, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Home Secretary, Secretaries of State for Energy, Defence, Scotland and Wales, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Secretaries of State for Transport and Employment and the Attorney General.

RA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

25 November 1985

~~SECRET AND PERSONAL~~ *OK*



Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster

CABINET OFFICE,
WHITEHALL, LONDON SW1A 2AS

✓
Tel No: 233 3299
7471

27 November 1985

David Norgrove Esq
Private Secretary to the Prime
Minister
No 10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

Dear David,

SECOND REPORT ON LESSONS OF THE MINERS' STRIKE

The Chancellor of the Duchy has seen Sir Robert Armstrong's minute of 25 November to the Prime Minister on this. He is content to endorse the conclusion in paragraph 15 of the report attached to that minute.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the private secretaries to the Lord President, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Home Secretary, Secretaries of State for Energy, Defence, Scotland, Wales, Transport and Employment, to the Attorney General, and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

Your Sincerely,
A. Lansley

ANDREW LANSLEY
Private Secretary

SECRET AND PERSONAL



Y1028

CABINET OFFICE

70 Whitehall London SW1A 2AS Telephone 01-233 7388

D Norgrove Esq
 Private Secretary to the Prime Minister
 10 Downing Street
 London

29 November 1985

Dear Daniel

I regret that two errors have been discovered in the Second Report on Lessons of the Miners' Strike - sent to the Prime Minister under cover of Sir Robert Armstrong's minute of 25 November.

Would you please delete that part of paragraph 5 d i which appears on page 4 of the report and substitute the revised text attached. Would you also amend the sub-paragraph number at the top of page 3 to read iii instead of iv.

I copy this letter and attachment to the Private Secretaries of the Lord President, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Home Secretary, Secretaries of State for Energy, Defence, Scotland and Wales, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Secretaries of State for Transport and Employment, the Attorney General and Sir Robert Armstrong.

Yours sincerely
Brigadier J A J Budd

BRIGADIER J A J BUDD

CH/EXCHEQUER	
REC.	29 NOV 1985
FILE	MR ROBSON
COPIES TO	FST

d. Conclusion

i. For the short term, the main weapon against militancy is the lack of enthusiasm among NUM members for further industrial action. Many of the pit closures proposed by the Board since the end of the strike have been achieved by simple agreement with unions locally; even traditionally militant areas have shown little heart for resistance, and opposition has been left to local authorities. Since the end of the strike 17 pits have closed and 4 pairs of pits have merged, all by agreement with the unions locally. A further 4 closures and 2 mergers have been agreed. 11 closures and one merger are at various stages in the Colliery Review Procedure. By contrast, the speed of closures over recent years can be deduced from the number of collieries at the end of each financial year.

Pps (A)

Y1028



CABINET OFFICE

70 Whitehall London SW1A 2AS Telephone 01-233 7388

D Norgrove Esq
 Private Secretary to the Prime Minister
 10 Downing Street
 London

29 November 1985

Dear David

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I copy this letter and attachment to the Private Secretaries of the Lord President, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Home Secretary, Secretaries of State for Energy, Defence, Scotland and Wales, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Secretaries of State for Transport and Employment, the Attorney General and Sir Robert Armstrong.

John Sincere
Tommy Buellet

BRIGADIER J A J BUDD

CH/EXCHEQUER	
REC.	29 NOV 1985
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PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE
WHITEHALL, LONDON SW1A 2AT

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29/11

29 November 1985

Dear David,

SECOND REPORT ON LESSONS OF THE MINERS' STRIKE

The Lord President has seen Sir Robert Armstrong's minute of 25 November to the Prime Minister on this subject. He is content to endorse the conclusion in paragraph 15 of the report attached to that minute.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Secretaries of State for Trade and Industry, the Home Department, Energy, Defence, Scotland, Wales, Transport, and Employment; the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Attorney General, and Sir Robert Armstrong.

Yours sincerely

Joan

JOAN MACNAUGHTON
Private Secretary

D Norgrove Esq

1 ps pl

COPY NO 3 OF 14

01 211 6402

D Norgrove Esq
Private Secretary to
The Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

2 December 1985

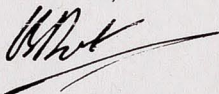
Dear David,

SECOND REPORT ON LESSONS OF THE MINERS' STRIKE

My Secretary of State has seen a copy of the Second Report of the Official Group on Coal (MISC 57) which was circulated under cover of Robert Armstrong's minute of 25 November to the Prime Minister. He is content to endorse the conclusion in paragraph 15 of the Report.

I am sending copies of this minute to the Private Secretaries to the Lord President, the Chancellor, Home Secretary the Secretaries of State for Trade and Industry, Defence, Scotland, Wales, Transport, Employment, The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Attorney General, and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

Yours,



G S DART
Private Secretary

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

SECRET AND PERSONAL

AK

✓
3/12

Mr Robson



HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SW1H 9AT

RJP

3 December 1985

Dear David

SECOND REPORT ON LESSONS OF THE MINERS' STRIKE

The Home Secretary has seen Sir Robert Armstrong's minute of 25 November to the Prime Minister. He is content to endorse the conclusion in paragraph 15 of the MISC 57 report.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Lord President, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Secretaries of State for Energy, Defence, Scotland and Wales, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Secretaries of State for Transport and Employment and the Attorney General, and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

Yours sincerely
W R Fittall

W R FITTALL

David Norgrove, Esq

SECRET AND PERSONAL



RIP

Caxton House Tothill Street London SW1H 9NF

Telephone Direct Line 01-213 6460.....

Switchboard 01-213 3000

3 December, 1985

David Norgrove Esq.,
Private Secretary,
10 Downing St.,
London,
SW1

Dear David,

SECOND REPORT ON LESSONS OF THE MINERS' STRIKE

The Secretary of State has seen Sir Robert Armstrong's minute to the Prime Minister of 25 November. He is content to endorse the conclusions in paragraph 15 of the report.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Private Secretaries of the Lord President, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Home Secretary, Secretaries of State for Energy, Defence, Scotland, Wales and Transport, to the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Attorney General and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

Yours sincerely
Iain Mackinnon

Iain Mackinnon
Private Secretary

✓
4/12

CH/EXCHEQUER	
REC.	- 4 DEC 1985
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SR
~~SECRET AND PERSONAL~~

FROM : S A ROBSON
DATE : 3 DECEMBER 1985

CHANCELLOR OF EXCHEQUER

c.c. Financial Secretary

SECOND REPORT ON LESSONS OF THE MINERS STRIKE

Sir Robert Armstrong circulated this Report under the cover of his minute of 25 November to the Prime Minister.

2. The Report was prepared by a Cabinet Office Committee of which I am a member. The Report contains no new insights. This flows from its original report which very much drew its punches on the lessons of the strike. It deliberately did not go into the interesting areas of the way in which the strategy and tactics of the strike were determined and handled.

3. The section on physical endurance merely summarises the discussion at No 10 on 24 July. The next meeting on this topic is to be on 19 December.

4. The other matters in the Report do not merit discussion. The references to law and order matters and to social security are satisfactory to HE and ST groups.

5. I attach a draft letter for your private secretary.

Ch/
Content for me to
write as below?

SAR

S A ROBSON

AWK

3/12

SR
SR

David Noyne Esq

Pl type for
my sig

DRAFT LETTER FROM PS/CHANCELLOR TO PS/PRIME MINISTER

SECOND REPORT ON LESSONS OF THE MINERS STRIKE

The Chancellor has seen Sir Robert Armstrong's minute of 25 November to the Prime Minister. He is content with the Report attached to that minute.

2. I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries of the Lord President, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, the Home Secretary, Secretaries of State for Energy, Defence, Scotland and Wales, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Secretaries of State for Transport and Employment, the Attorney General and Sir Robert Armstrong.

to
L

AWK

~~SECRET~~ *AK* CONFIDENTIALcc S A Robson
Financial Secretary *RJP*Treasury Chambers, Parliament Street, SW1P 3AG
01-233 3000David Norgrove Esq
PS/Prime Minister
No.10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

4 December 1985

*Dear David***SECOND REPORT ON LESSONS OF THE MINERS' STRIKE**

The Chancellor has seen Sir Robert Armstrong's minute of 25 November to the Prime Minister. He is content with the Report attached to that minute.

2. I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries of the Lord President, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, the Home Secretary, Secretaries of State for Energy, Defence, Scotland and Wales, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Secretaries of State for Transport and Employment, the Attorney General and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

*Yours ever,**Tony***A W KUCZYNS**



~~SECRET AND PERSONAL~~

AN

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

MAIN BUILDING WHITEHALL LONDON SW1A 2HB

Telephone 01 ~~XXXXXX~~ 218 2111/3

huf

MO 19/1V

6th December 1985

Dear David,

SECOND REPORT ON LESSONS OF THE MINERS' STRIKE

My Secretary of State has read the report circulated by Sir Robert Armstrong under cover of his minute of 15th November and is content to endorse the conclusions at paragraph 15.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Lord President, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Home Secretary, Secretaries of State for Energy, Scotland and Wales, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Secretaries of State for Transport and Employment, the Attorney General and the Private Secretary to Sir Robert Armstrong.

*yours ever,
Jimmy Wright*

(J S WRIGHT)

D Norgrove Esq
10 Downing Street

SECRET AND PERSONAL



~~SECRET & PERSONAL~~
SK

RSP

DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY
1-19 VICTORIA STREET
LONDON SW1H 0ET
TELEPHONE DIRECT LINE 01-215 5422
SWITCHBOARD 01-215 7877

Secretary of State for Trade and Industry

12 December 1985

SECRET & PERSONAL

The Rt Hon Peter Walker MP
Secretary of State for Energy
Department of Energy
Thames House South
Millbank
LONDON
SW1

Peter

LESSONS OF THE MINERS STRIKE : INTIMIDATION

My office has already indicated to No 10 that I am generally content with the conclusions of the Second Report on Lessons of the Miners Strike, circulated with Sir Robert Armstrong's minute of 25 November. There is however one point which I wanted to follow up with you, arising in part out of non-Departmental correspondence which you have seen. This concerns the problem of intimidation of working or early-returning miners.

2 You have already written to me saying that you have asked Ian MacGregor for his comments on letters sent to me by one of our past candidates in South Wales concerning the treatment received by working miners in South Wales from the area NCB. I am content that the details of the particular case should be followed up between us in the normal way. But unless the claims are shown to be unfounded, or a completely isolated instance - neither of which seem to me likely, knowing my correspondent - I remain very concerned about the implications of what seems to be continuing victimisation of working miners, allegedly with at least the acquiescence of the National Coal Board at local level.

3 There are undoubtedly difficult questions. The report by officials noted (at paragraph 5b) the difficulties that would have attended wholesale transfer of working miners away from militant areas. But the tone of the report, suggests that, after a perhaps inevitable initial period of attrition the incidence of intimidation had quite quickly fallen away, and that transfers had been arranged for remaining hard cases. I obviously do not want to build too much upon one report, however well attested. But if significant problems do remain, there are two powerful reasons why we need to be sure that they can be resolved.

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4 The first is the simple humanitarian point that the Government and the nation benefitted considerably by these individuals' action, which we obviously encouraged at the time. They presumably did what they did in the knowledge that there would be at least considerable social pressures on them as a result, and probably worse. The Government could not have sought to guarantee them against future difficulties - any more than we could step in with financial help to business affected by the miners' strike action. But we and the NCB must have some continuing responsibility for alleviating the worst cases.

5 The second point is clearly identified in the officials' report : the readiness of individuals in any future dispute to act as many did last time, and as we should want them to, could well be affected by others' experience after this dispute. This could in turn affect the seriousness of any future industrial difficulties. And short of that eventuality, unresolved problems could perhaps harden moderate opinion within the more militant areas.

6 I should be glad to know how you see this, and in particular whether you and Douglas Hurd feel that all has been done that needs to be regarding the transfer of remaining difficult cases and action against those responsible for criminal acts against those staying in their communities.

7 I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, the Lord President, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Home Secretary, the Secretaries of State for Defence, Scotland, Wales, Employment and Transport, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Attorney General and Sir Robert Armstrong.

LEON BRITTAN

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AND PERSONAL



10 DOWNING STREET

Handwritten: FST (initials), Copy to Mr Robson, [Government Papers to Mr Robson]

IN/EX-CHEQUE	
REC.	24 DEC 1985
INITIALS	FST
COPIES TO	MR ROBSON
From the Private Secretary	

Handwritten: ✓ 24/12

20 December 1985

Handwritten: C/To note, R 24/12, To keep & Rev, pour & Rev, despite X, Y was signed

Dear Geoff

SECOND REPORT ON LESSONS OF THE MINERS' STRIKE

The Prime Minister yesterday held a meeting with your Secretary of State, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Home Secretary and the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster to discuss the second report on lessons of the miners' strike and your Secretary of State's minute of 12 December about coal stocks at CEGB power stations.

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The meeting first discussed coal stocks. Your Secretary of State explained the position along the lines of his minute. With a "normal" coal purchase profile for the next financial year, coal stocks would increase to around 27 mt by the end of October 1986 without any special action, and at no cost to the P.S.B.R.. This would give 9 months endurance even if the U.D.M. were to join the N.U.M. in a strike. If the U.D.M. continued to work there would be stocks for 27 months endurance. In discussion it was recognised that in any further N.U.M. strike Mr Scargill would have to win a ballot and in that event deliveries of coal would probably be stopped more effectively than they had been in the 1984/85 strike. It was, however, agreed that stocks of 27 mt in October 1986 would provide adequate security. As proposed by your Secretary of State the position should be kept under close review so that the decision could be reconsidered if the industrial relations climate were to worsen over the coming months.

Two points arose in further discussion, both relating to the role of magistrates courts during the last dispute: first, the difficulties caused by local magistrates who were members of the N.U.M., and secondly difficulties caused by the way in which local benches had to arrange for court rooms and their staffing. The Home Secretary agreed to pursue these points.

On other matters, your Secretary of State described the position on miners' pay along the lines of his letter of 19 December; he referred to the expense of bringing the AGR power stations up to design capacity; he described the improvements in planning procedures for open cast coal mining and mentioned the difficulty of ensuring free movement of open cast coal in the event of another dispute;

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AND PERSONAL

AND PERSONAL

he outlined the position on pit closures; and in a brief discussion of policing, the Home Secretary said he was strongly against the creation of a separate police force trained specially to deal with severe disturbances.

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The Prime Minister throughout emphasised the need to prepare for the worst case. The Government could not afford to be complacent about the risks of another dispute. The Prime Minister also urged that the greatest possible concern should continue to be shown to protect working miners and their families.

I am recording separately the Prime Minister's other comments on the second report on the miners' strike for the wider group to whom that report was copied.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Home Secretary, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and to Michael Stark (Cabinet Office).

*James
David*

DAVID NORGROVE

Geoff Dart, Esq.,
Department of Energy.

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AND PERSONAL



20/12/85

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG

23/12

CH/EXCHEQUER	
REC.	23 DEC 1985
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Mr Robson
COPIES TO	PST

SECOND REPORT ON LESSONS OF THE MINERS' STRIKE

The Prime Minister was grateful for your minute of 25 November, covering the second report on lessons of the miners' strike. She has noted that other colleagues are content with its conclusions.

The Prime Minister has two comments.

First, the report refers to the problems which might be caused by multi-issue ballots and cites the NACODS ballot of September 1984. The Prime Minister believes there is a risk that a multi-issue ballot might be used again with the intention deliberately to confuse, and has asked whether action could be taken in advance to stop this.

Secondly, the report says the Widdicombe Inquiry is expected to report in late spring next year on matters relevant to local authorities' scope to provide financial assistance to strikers and their families. The Prime Minister has asked whether the Government should anyway be looking towards legislation on this early in the 1986/87 session.

The Prime Minister is otherwise content.

I am copying this minute to the Private Secretaries to the Lord President, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Home Secretary, Secretaries of

SECRET AND PERSONAL

State for Energy, Defence, Scotland and Wales, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Secretaries of State for Transport and Employment, and the Attorney General.

DNS

DAVID NORRGROVE

20 December 1985



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REC.	G2 17 1986
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QUEEN ANNE'S GATE LONDON SW1H 9AT

2 January 1986

Dear Leon.

LESSONS OF THE MINERS' STRIKE: INTIMIDATION

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter of 12 December to Peter Walker. You asked if I felt that all had been done that needed to be done regarding criminal acts against working and early-returning miners who have stayed in their communities.

I have had enquiries made of a number of Chief Constables whose force areas were most affected by the dispute. Generally speaking, conditions seem on the surface to have returned to normality, and in the last two or three months very few incidents of intimidation have come to the notice of the police. There have been isolated cases of damage to cars and of window-breaking, but evidence on which to base prosecutions is hard to come by, and no doubt there are incidents which are not reported to the police. I am assured that the police do continue to take reports of intimidation very seriously indeed.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Prime Minister, the Lord President, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretaries of State for Energy, Defence, Scotland, Wales, Transport and Employment, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and the Attorney General, and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

*Yours,
Douglas.*

The Rt Hon Leon Brittan, QC., MP.

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01-405764 XXX 936:6782

Communications on this subject should
be addressed to
The Legal Secretary
Attorney General's Chambers

ATTORNEY GENERAL'S CHAMBERS

LAW OFFICERS' DEPARTMENT

ROYAL COURTS OF JUSTICE
LONDON, W.C.2

The Private Secretary to the
Secretary of the Cabinet
Cabinet Office
70 Whitehall
London SW1

17 January, 1986

Dear Private Secretary,

SECOND REPORT ON LESSONS OF THE MINERS' STRIKE

The Attorney General has considered the second report on lessons of the miners' strike with Sir Robert Armstrong's minute of 25 November to the Prime Minister. He has commented that the multi-issue ballot should be prevented if possible.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Prime Minister, the Lord President, the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Home Secretary, the Secretaries of State for Energy, Defence, Scotland and Wales, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and the Secretaries of State for Transport and Employment.

Yours sincerely

Anthony Inglese

A M C INGLESE

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Department of Employment
 Caxton House Tothill Street London SW1H 9NF
 Telephone Direct Line 01-213.....5949.....
 Switchboard 01-213 3000

Michael Stark Esq
 Private Secretary to
 the Secretary of the Cabinet
 Cabinet Office
 70 Whitehall
 LONDON
 SW1

CH/EXCHEQUER	
REC.	-6 FEB 1986 ✓ 6/2
BY	Mr Robson
TO	FST

5 February 1986

Dear Michael

SECOND REPORT ON LESSONS OF THE MINERS' STRIKE

The Paymaster General has now had the opportunity of considering the question of multi-issue ballots to which this report referred and on which both the Prime Minister (David Norgrove's minute of 20 December) and the Attorney General (Anthony Inglese's letter of 17 January) commented.

Changes to the strike ballot provisions in the Trade Union Act 1984 can only be effected by primary legislation and there is no appropriate Bill this Session which could provide a vehicle for pre-emptive action. The Paymaster General is however now actively considering the possibilities for further legislation in this field for the next legislative opportunity. He will carefully consider the framing of additional requirements for strike ballots.

I am copying this letter to David Norgrove (No 10), the Private Secretaries to the Lord President, the ~~Chancellor of the Exchequer~~, the Home Secretary, the Secretaries of State for Energy, Defence, Scotland, Wales and Transport and the Attorney General.

Yours sincerely
 Susan Chappell

SUSAN CHAPPELL

SECRET AND PERSONAL



hsp

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

7 February 1986

Ch
To note
letter
correspondence

Dear Susan,

pp's #1

**SECOND REPORT ON LESSONS OF THE
MINERS' STRIKE**

The Prime Minister has seen your letter to Michael Stark of 5 February and has noted that the Paymaster General is considering the possibilities for further legislation on trades union ballots.

I am copying this letter to Joan MacNaughton (Lord President's Office), Rachel Lomax (HM Treasury), Stephen Boys Smith (Home Office), Geoff Dart (Department of Energy), Richard Mottram (Ministry of Defence), Robert Gordon (Scottish Office), Colin Williams (Welsh Office), Richard Allan (Department of Transport), Michael Saunders (Attorney General's office) and Michael Stark (Cabinet Office).

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10/2
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Yours sincerely,
David Norgrove

DAVID NORGROVE

Miss Susan Chappell,
Department of Employment.

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