

PREM 19/1332

Part II
SECRET

Confidential Filing

Financial Position of the
Coal Industry.

Mineworkers - Pay

NATIONALISED
INDUSTRIES

PART I - JUNE 78

PART II - 19 JULY 8

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
	23.7.84						
	27.7.84						
	30.7.84						
	28.84						
	3.8.84						
	6.8.84						
	7.8.84						
	12.8.84						
	13.8.84						
	14.8.84						
	15.8.84						
	17.8.84						
	20.8.84						
	21.8.84						
	28.8.84						
	29.8.84						
	29.84						
	31.8.84						
	- PART ENDS -						

Public Attitudes to Current
Events in Nationalised
Industries (in folder at back
of file)

PART 11 ENDS

Energy to TF 31. 8. 84

PART 12 BEGINS

Article by ss/Energy to the

"Mail on Sunday" 2.9.84

TO BE RETAINED AS TOP ENCLOSURE

Cabinet / Cabinet Committee Documents

Reference	Date
MISC 101(84) 35 th Meeting	30/08/1984
MISC 101(84) 34 th Meeting	28/08/1984
MISC 101(84) 33 rd Meeting	21/08/1984
CC(84) 29 th Meeting, item 3	02/08/1984
CC(84) 29 th Meeting, item 3 Limited Circulation Anx	02/08/1984
MISC 101(84) 31 st Meeting	30/07/1984
CC(84) 28 th Meeting, item 4	26/07/1984
CC(84) 28 th Meeting, item 4 Limited Circulation Anx	26/07/1984
MISC 101(84) 30 th Meeting	25/07/1984
CC(84) 27 th Meeting, item 4 Limited Circulation Anx	02/08/1984

The documents listed above, which were enclosed on this file, have been removed and destroyed. Such documents are the responsibility of the Cabinet Office. When released they are available in the appropriate CAB (CABINET OFFICE) CLASSES

Signed J. Gray Date 30/8/2013

PREM Records Team

Published Papers

The following published paper(s) enclosed on this file have been removed and destroyed. Copies may be found elsewhere in The National Archives.

House of Commons HANSARD, 1 August 1984, columns 341 to 347: Coal Industry Dispute (Cost)

Signed

J. Gray

Date

30/8/2013

PREM Records Team

SECRET



Copy No ① of 4

File

43

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ENERGY
THAMES HOUSE SOUTH
MILLBANK LONDON SW1P 4QJ

mt

01-211-6402

Prime Minister

Tim Flesher Esq
Private Secretary to
the Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

31 August 1984

Dear Tim

31/8.

ENDURANCE

I attach the latest weekly reports on power station endurance and coal and power station statistics.

Copies also go to Margaret O'Mara and Richard Hatfield.

*Yours
John*

J S NEILSON
Private Secretary

mt

Copy No *1 of 14*
24 August 1984

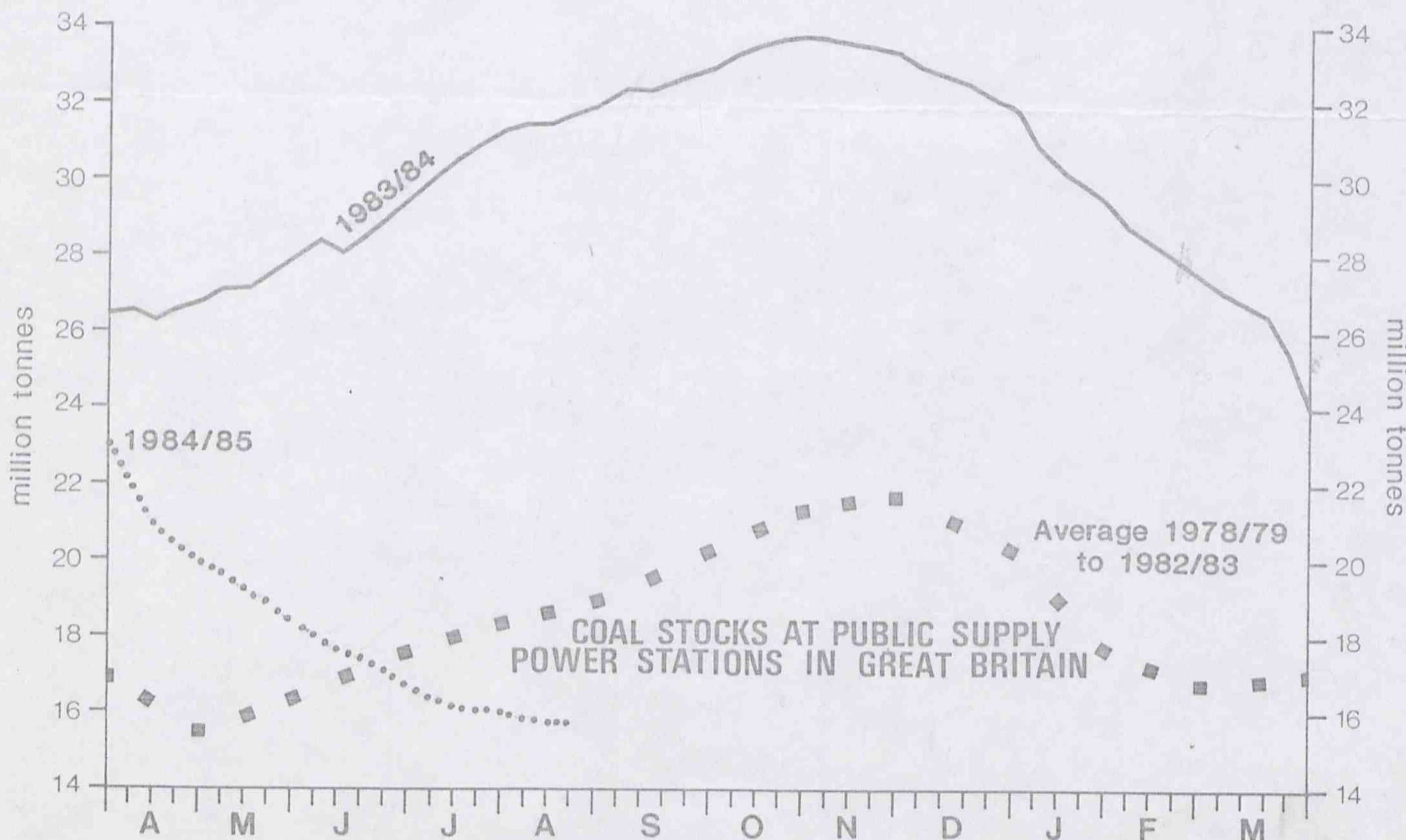
WEEKLY COAL AND POWER STATION STATISTICS (1)

EcS Division, Dept. of Energy, Thames House South, Millbank SW1P 4QJ. Phone: 01-211-6928

Week ending 20.8.83 : 28.7.84 4.8.84 11.8.84 18.8.84

COAL	PRODUCTION	deep mines †	1.86 :	0.27	0.25	0.41	0.46
	(m. tonnes)	opencast †	0.35 :	0.18	0.21	0.30	0.31
		TOTAL	2.21 :	0.45	0.46	0.71	0.77
COAL	PRODUCTIVITY(2)	'overall' o.m.s	2.38 :	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	(tonnes/manshift)	'production' o.m.s	10.00 :	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
UNDISTRIBUTED STOCK							
	(m. tonnes)	TOTAL	23.69 :	22.32	22.27	22.37	22.57
STATIONS	COAL STOCKS	(m. tonnes)	31.99 :	15.93	15.79	15.58	15.62
	COAL CONSUMPTION	"	1.30 :	0.50	0.57	0.55	0.54
	COAL RECEIPTS	"	1.58 :	0.43	0.43	0.45	0.48
	OIL STOCKS(3)	"	1.21 :	0.98	0.89	0.82	0.83
	OIL CONSUMPTION(3)	"	0.03 :	0.42	0.43	0.45	0.46
	OIL RECEIPTS(3)	"	0.05 :	0.38	0.33	0.38	0.46
POWER	ELECTRICITY SUPPLIED (4) (GWh)						
	Nuclear	"	779 :	769	622	739	793
	Other Steam	"	2981 :	2722	2876	2997	3059
	TOTAL	"	3760 :	3491	3498	3735	3852
	TOTAL - temperature corrected	"	3929 :	3533	3540	3674	0.0

(1) Great Britain unless otherwise stated. All latest figures are subject to revision.
 (2) NCB mines only. (3) Oil-fired boilers only. (4) Steam stations only.
 .. data not yet available. † includes licensed production.



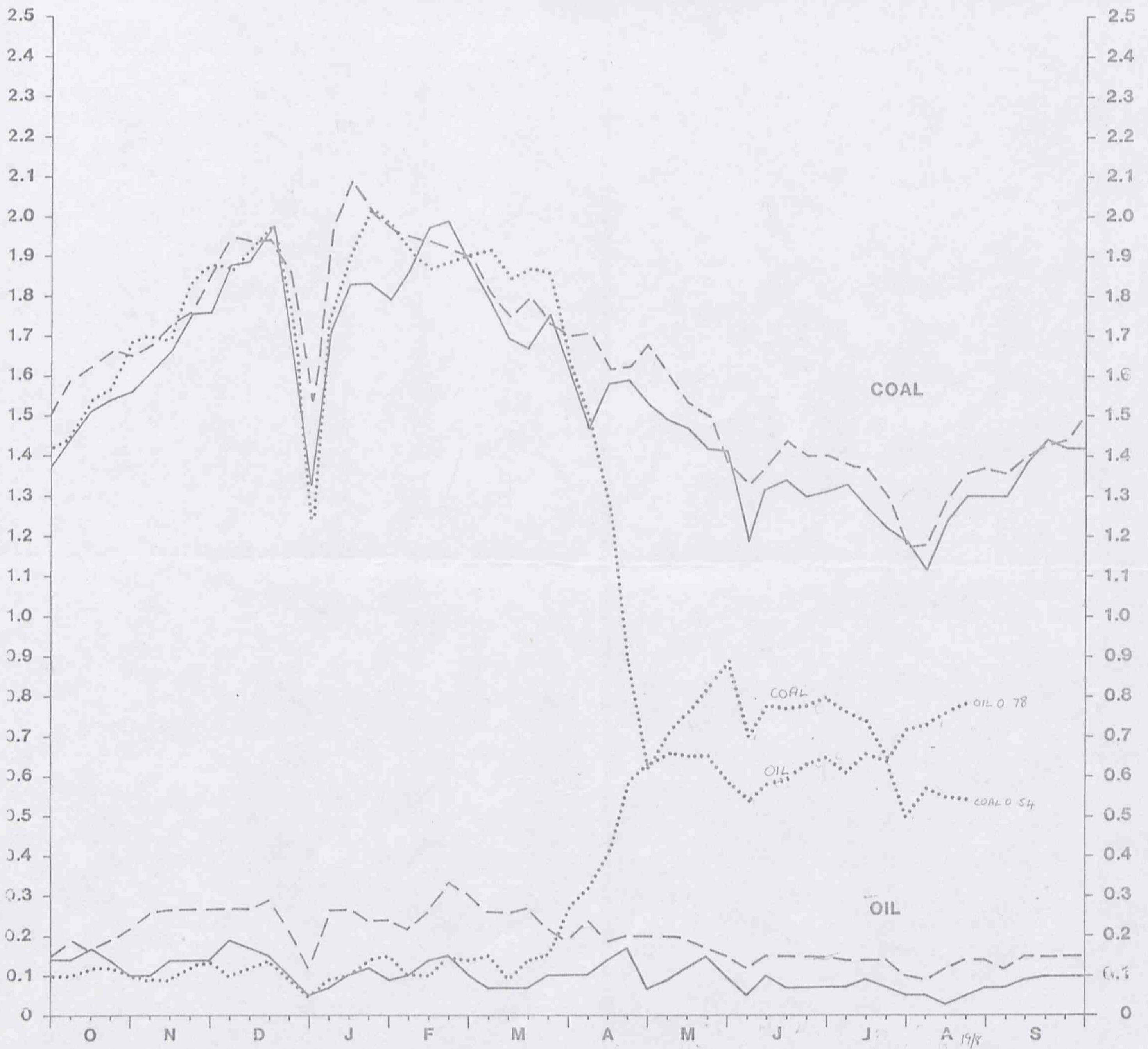
COAL CONSUMPTION AND OIL CONSUMPTION (OIL FIRED) AT
PUBLIC SUPPLY POWER STATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN

Key

- 10/83 to 9/84
- 10/82 to 9/83
- - - - Average 1977/78 to 1981/82

Million
Tonnes
Coal
or Coal
Equivalent

Million
Tonnes
Coal
or Coal
Equivalent



The Miners And the TUC Conference.

Pine Martin:
This is a
commentary on
Tony Thompson's
pdm

A new survey carried out by Opinion Research and Communication on behalf of The Standard today shows that, across the board, Mr. Scargill and the NUM have comprehensively lost the support both of the general public and the great majority of trade union members.

A

The survey also puts a warning shot across the bows of other unions who are due to consider next week at the TUC Conference what degree of support they should give to the miners' strike.

31/r.

For seven out of ten members of the general public and almost as many trade union members believe that:-

(a) it would be against the country's interests for the TUC to give stronger support, physically and financially, to the striking miners.

(b) it would damage the reputation of the trade unions with the general public for the TUC to give stronger support to the miners.

(c) Any help offered by the TUC conference should only be given after Mr. Scargill has held a secret ballot of NUM members to show whether a majority of miners support the strike.

Even more clear cut is that an astonishing 95% of the public think that the other unions at the TUC Conference should now start to look seriously for ways to bring the strike to an end.

The survey also gives confirmation that Neil Kinnock,

Leader of the Labour Party, was correct in starting to distance himself from the miners' strike.

For one in two members of the general public believe that it would harm the reputation of the Labour Party with ordinary voters if the TUC conference next week voted to give stronger support to the miners either physically or financially.

The poll was carried out between 22nd and 23rd August with a national sample of 1074 people.

The consistency of the hostility towards the strike is such that there can be little doubt that Mr. Scargill and his colleagues have completely forfeited the sympathy of the great majority of the public and trade union members.

Disapproval goes almost across the board, whatever the question. Virtually the only crumb of comfort is that there is a good deal of sympathy among trade union members with the striking miners. Nearly half of the trade union members (48%) are in sympathy with the strikers. But even this is only partial comfort. Only 17% of trade union leaders are in "complete sympathy" compared with 31% "in sympathy to some extent."

The extent to which the TUC conference gives strong backing to the miners' strike is clearly of great importance. In this context it is significant that those union leaders who have already given backing to the miners appear to be running contrary to the public will and to that of trade union members generally.

Eight out of ten members of the public think that the miners strike is going to harm the reputation of the trade union movement generally with themselves and with the mass of ordinary workers.

Between seven and eight out of ten members of the public do not favour the miners' strike being supported by...

The dockers (75% against)

The steelworkers (77% against)

The railwaymen (76% against)

The seamen (78% against)

Lorry drivers and haulage workers (76% against)

In all, three quarters of the general public disapprove of the efforts of those union leaders trying to widen the strike by getting their membership to help the miners in various ways.

The reason is not hard to find. A clear majority (58%) want the National Coal Board to win and only 21% (29% of trade union members) want the miners to win.

The chance of victory for the miners is rated even lower-- 11% of the public and 12% of union members think that the miners will win compared with 53% of the public and 49% of trade union members who think the Coal Board will win.

One question in the survey likely to be of particular interest to union leaders gathering for next weeks TUC conference concerns the possible long term effect of the miners strike. Almost six out of ten people (59%) think that as a result of the mass miners pickets the Government should bring in tougher laws to limit picketing.

Disapproval of the way Mr. Scargill and his colleagues have handled the strike is overwhelming. More than seven out of ten people and 67% of trade union members think that the strike is political and that Mr. Scargill is using the miners to change Society in Britain. Only 21% of the public think that the strike is about safeguarding miners jobs.

A massive 89% think that the NUM is wrong to have kept the strike going for nearly six months without giving miners the chance to express a view by means of a secret ballot.

And disapproval of the tactics used to keep the strike going is extremely strong. 94% strongly disapprove of the strong arm tactics used by some of the mass pickets--smashing car windows, setting fire to buses, intimidating working miners.

77% think that striking miners are not within their rights in trying to bring other miners out by mass picketing tactics.

72% think that the strike is still going not because most miners support it but because they are afraid to go back due to intimidation and threats.

The great majority of the public (73%) believe that if the NUM did hold a secret ballot the majority of miners would vote to go back to work. The sympathies of the public (and trade union members) are also unmistakably with the working miners and not with the strikers (74% with working miners and 19% with striking miners).

Disapproval of attempts to stop production at British Steel's works and to starve the Central Electricity Generating Board's power stations is very strong.

86% say it is wrong to use mass pickets to stop production at British Steel works at Ravenscraig, Scunthorpe and Llanwern.

85% say it is wrong to use mass pickets to stop coal reaching the CEEGB's power stations.

Almost as many - 80% of the general public and 75% of trade union members --think it is wrong to use mass pickets in Nottinghamshire and Lancashire to persuade those miners still working to join the strike.

There is widespread public awareness that the miners' strike poses a serious threat to the jobs of steelworkers.

86% think that if miners pickets succeed in stopping coal getting into the huge steel complex at Ravenscraig in Scotland there is a serious possibility that Ravenscraig will close with the loss of thousands of jobs.

The same number think that the miners should allow coal trains in to Ravenscraig to safeguard steel workers' jobs.

The general public is also strongly opposed to the efforts of the leaders of the railway unions to use the muscle of their membership in order to help the miners.

A clear majority (63%) agree with Mr. Bob Reid, Chairman of British Rail, that there is no genuine railway grievance to justify the threatened work to rule. They believe that is simply a cover by left wing union leadership to give support to the miners.

74% think that an unjustified work to rule by railway unions will damage British Rail's business and put a lot of railwaymen's jobs at risk.

72% disapprove of the work to rule plan and 69% think that railwaymen should not take sympathetic action to support the miners.

The public is also strongly opposed to the dock strike. Only 14% think that the dockers have a genuine grievance in the British Steel coal ship incident compared with 76% who think the dock strike is just a move to help the miners.

Overwhelmingly the public and trade union members think that Mr. Scargill has handled the strike badly (80% of the public, and 75% of trade union members).

Seven out of ten people also think that in the recent abortive talks with the NUM the National Coal Board went as far as it could, with only 16% thinking they should have met Mr. Scargill's full demands.

There is also a clear view among a majority of the public (70%) that if the strike goes on long enough, far from offering more concessions, the Government and the Coal Board will harden their position. There is no doubt that the public think that the miners have a great deal to lose by keeping the strike going now.

The survey also shows that the police are given a vote of confidence for their handling of the strike...

75% of people think the police have handled the mass pickets of miners either very or quite well, with only 21% thinking they have handled the situation very or fairly badly.

Only 6% think that the police are responsible for the violence at collieries compared with 61% who blame mass picketing miners and 28% who say both sides are to blame.

Tables.



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

31 August 1984

Thank you for your letter of 30 August enclosing one to the Prime Minister. I will ensure she sees this.

Caroline Ryder

Francis Bennion, Esq.

[Incom]

Pa
Dnb
25/9

Prime Minister
Depressing news
JK

CC IND / POL PTZ
POLIS

MR FLESHER

31 August 1984

31/8.

STRIKES: LATEST INFORMATION

I gather that the Prime Minister asked this morning for more information about events at Tilbury and about NIC contributions from striking miners.

TILBURY

There were reports this morning that the TGWU was fining dockers who returned to work at Tilbury. The position seems to be this:

1. According to the PLA, pickets are 'asking for' (and presumably obtaining) union card numbers from members entering the dock.
2. The TGWU apparently intend to call such members before branch officials to 'consider disciplinary penalties'. The union rules allow a maximum fine of £30 for any single instance of misconduct.
3. Dockers who refuse to pay a fine may be suspended by their branch. They have a right of appeal to

regional and national committees; but they may be expelled from the union by these committees if they lose the appeal and still refuse to pay the fine.

Since Tilbury is a closed shop, suspension or expulsion from the union amount to suspension or dismissal from the dock.

4. Any docker who is suspended or expelled has a right to appeal to an Industrial Tribunal against the Union. We are advised that, under section 4 of the Employment Act 1980, and sections B and D of the 1983 Code of Practice, the docker would have good grounds for arguing that the expulsion was unreasonable. If the Tribunal found that it was unreasonable, the union could be ordered to pay compensation up to £20,000. (Tribunals usually take two or three months to reach decisions; but informal pressure might be applied by D/Emp to speed them up.)

5. We believe that the docker would not have any additional redress against his employers, since the provisions of the Employment Acts dealing with closed shop dismissals do not come into force until later this year.

CONTRIBUTORY BENEFITS FOR STRIKING MINERS

Miners on strike do not pay national insurance contributions and receive no credits.

The national insurance contributions paid during a given tax year govern the amount of unemployment and sickness benefit to which the contributor is entitled during the following calendar year. The amount paid by miners from April 1984 to April 1985 therefore governs the amount of benefit to which they will be entitled from January 1986 to January 1987.

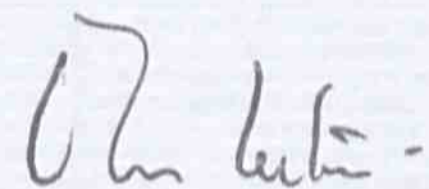
The rule is that, to qualify for full benefit in a given calendar year, one must have paid a contribution equal to fifty times the contribution demanded each week from a person on the lower earnings limit of £34 p.w. The amount of benefit decreases in steps as the amount of contribution falls below this sum.

This means that a miner earning £180 p.w. would have to pay contributions for ten weeks between April 1984 and April 1985 to qualify for full unemployment and sickness benefits during the calendar year 1986; if he contributed for only 7.5 weeks, he would be entitled to 75% of the benefits; if he contributed for five weeks, he would be entitled to 50%;

and if he contributed for less than five weeks, he would not be entitled to any benefit.

The result is that miners on £180 p.w. will begin to lose contributory benefits in 1986 only if they remain on strike beyond the middle of January 1985, and will lose all such benefits only if they remain on strike after the middle of March 1985.

It should, of course, be remembered that a miner who loses contributory benefits may nevertheless receive supplementary benefits which more than compensate for the loss.



OLIVER LETWIN

Daily Coal Report - Friday 31 August 1984

Prime Minister

CDP
31/8Pit categories

	<u>Number</u>	<u>plus on holiday</u>
Working normally	35	10
Turning some coal	8	1
Some men present	12	1
Not working	107	-

MB

These totals are the same as yesterday.

Attendance at Bilston Glen in Scotland today was 134, 1 more than yesterday's record. The total number working in Scotland this morning was also a record - 193, up 3. The NCB have delayed making any final statement about the future of Polkemmet colliery, whose 4 faces were discovered to be seriously flooded on Monday night after safety cover was withdrawn for a week. While the Board wish to be seen to be making strenuous efforts to investigate the damage, they have little hope that anything can be saved. The Board have however announced today that while a final decision on Polkemmet's future has still to be made, the Polkemmet miners, who voted overwhelmingly against a strike on 9 March, would not lose the opportunity of transfer or redundancy benefits. Conditions at the third and only remaining face at Castlehill pit in Fife have today reached "a state of emergency" as the NUM has again withdrawn safety cover.

Attendances in the North East were similar to yesterday. About 500 pickets appeared at Wearmouth colliery, but there was little trouble there.

27 men reported for work in Yorkshire this morning, one less than Wednesday's record. The breakdown between areas is as follows:
North Yorkshire - Allerton Bywater 4 (1,000 pickets), Gascoigne

SECRET AND PERSONAL

Wood 2, North Selby 4 (up 1); Doncaster area - Yorkshire Main 4 (up 2, 400 pickets), Markham 1, Carcroft Park workshops 1 (around 800 pickets in the area as a whole); South Yorkshire - Kiverton Park 7 (2,000 pickets, 7 arrests), Silverwood 2, Brookhouse 2.

The overall attendance in North Derbyshire was slightly down on yesterday's record, although this is probably accounted for by the greater number of rest days taken on a Friday. Warsop had 134 men (down 19), Bolsover 190 (down 13), and Shirebrook 143 (equalling yesterday's record). Whitwell colliery, which entered the some men working category yesterday, had 5 men in again today. Each of these pits had between 50 - 250 pickets, other collieries in the area only had 20 - 60.

Six men reported for work at Bold colliery in Lancashire, 1 more than yesterday.

Coal Movements

128,000 tonnes were dispatched by the NCB yesterday. 36 coal trains ran, again a record. The NCB estimate that total movements for the week should lie in the range of 480,000 - 500,000 tonnes, despite holidays on Monday and Tuesday.

Law and Order

Two serious incidents occurred in South Wales today. 39 miners seized a transporter bridge across the River Usk at Newport last night, in an attempt to block the river and prevent ships carrying coal reaching Llanwern steelworks. The takeover lasted four hours and all the men were arrested on public disorder charges. Some more serious charges may follow later.

Last night around 100 striking miners started occupying a private jetty owned by BSC at the Port Talbot steelworks. They have climbed onto three 120 feet high cranes and are refusing to move. Police have been pelted with bricks, planks of wood, nuts and bolts. The men say they are expressing solidarity with the South Wales

SECRET AND PERSONAL

striking miners and Dr Kim Howells of the South Wales NUM is speaking on their behalf. They have demanded that a ship carrying iron ore should be sent away from the port unloaded. This afternoon BSC were considering whether to take legal action against named individuals involved (not the NUM itself) under the law of trespass.

A set piece confrontation had obviously been organised at Kiverton Park colliery in South Yorkshire this morning. 2,000 pickets gathered, plus a TV camera crew, and representatives of the NCCL, and the Policewatch organisation. 7 arrests were made as pickets "ran wild" in a nearby estate. A police horse was badly injured.

Planning continues to contain events on Monday, when Mr Scargill has claimed that every pit, coke works and NCB property in the country will be picketed. Monday is also the day when the NUM is organising a large picket for the TUC Congress at Brighton, although it is reported that they have requested this to be peaceful.

Dispute in the Docks

Dockers at the important ports of Dover and Felixstowe voted overwhelmingly this morning to remain at work. 400 members of the GMBATU who work at Sunderland, South Shields, Hartlepool and Blythe docks in the North East also voted to continue working. 200 dockers at Goole did the same. Grimsby and Immingham are now working normally following yesterday's meetings; Hull remains solidly on strike. At Tilbury, where union solidarity has traditionally been particularly strong, around 100 men out of 800 are reported to have crossed picket lines.

This afternoon Moss Evans, the transport union leader, said he would be prepared to enter talks with the dock employers and BSC to discuss quota agreements. He said: "We want BSC to meet our docks group and talk positively about arrangements to keep Ravenscraig, Llanwern and other steel plants open. But in considering these arrangements BSC should agree not to use scab coal."

Preparations for the TUC Congress

Following last night's meeting between the NUM 3 and the TUC 3, the TUC General Council voted by 38 to 5 today to put forward a "unifying" formula which would involve approving the NUM motion calling for "total support", but arranging for the withdrawal of amendments tabled by other unions to this motion which call, amongst other things, for a 10p weekly levy on all trade unionists. If this formula is supported by Congress on Monday, which looks the most likely outcome at present, the NUM gain a temporary media advantage, and "support" for:-

- (i) blacking of all coal, coke or substitute oil movements which cross NUM picket lines; and
- (ii) a campaign to raise cash for alleviating hardship in the coalfield and for maintaining the NUM's financial position.

In practice, the "blacking" element of the motion is likely to be passed with everyone concerned knowing that it will not be possible to bring it into effect. Bill Sirs of the steel workers union ISTC and John Lyons of the power station workers union have both denounced the formula, said it will be unworkable, and that it is most unlikely to gain their members' support. There may however be some further transport difficulties in the aftermath of the passing of this motion.

Lambeth Council support for striking miners

Last night Lambeth council - leader "Red Ted" Knight - voted to spend £750 on entertaining NUM pickets who would be going to lobby at the TUC Congress next week. Conservative opposition leader Mr Peter Davies said that this decision was a blatant abuse of ratepayers money. He added: "The Labour controlled council is now spending its money on wining and dining pickets on the rates."

Line to Take

It is a cruel irony that the miners should, striking for a better future, find themselves facing one that is worse. Next week the TUC should not be endorsing the unlawful mass picketing and intimidation. Nor should they ignore the views of the third of miners who have had the opportunity of a ballot about the strike - over two-thirds decisively voted against strike action. The future of all of us, and not just those miners starting their 26th week on strike, depends on everyone in Britain working together and rejecting the attitudes of confrontation.

Some outside commentators [a recent NIESR report] have suggested that coal stocks will run out before the end of the year. In fact our stocks will last well into 1985. Some calculations have discounted the very considerable production which is continuing to be made available from the pits which are at work. Drawdown of coal stocks over the summer has only been at a very low level.

[Yesterday's lines to take on the Strength of the NCB's case, the Orme initiative, and Polkemmet colliery may also be useful. The Secretary of State for Energy has written articles which will appear in this week's Sunday Times and Mail on Sunday.]

Distribution: Members of MISC 101; Mr Gregson (Cabinet Office)

Enquiries : John Neilson, SOS for Energy's Office, 211 6070

AD

CEJR

file

2

Prime Minister



JR

3/8

mt

THE PRIME MINISTER

Following our discussion at Misc 101 yesterday, I spoke to Tom Legg who is a Deputy Secretary in the Lord Chancellor's Department. I told him that it was essential that the Lord Chancellor should be asked to approve the following steps:

To remind, and if necessary enforce, Magistrates' Courts dealing with miners strike cases that he is ready and able immediately to provide stipendiaries to assist in the work. The Lord Chancellor was contacted in Italy last night and he has agreed to this. Today the ring round of all the Clerks to the Justices has started and it is hoped to complete it either by this evening or first thing Monday morning. The message that ~~is~~^{is} being given is that they should look carefully at the progress of business and that the Lord Chancellor is ready to provide immediate assistance under Section 15 if the delays are mounting. ~~At~~^{At these are} particular courts where there is a belief of lack of co-operation (but not in courts who appear to be very co-operative) ~~the clerk was also told that the~~^{the clerk will be told that the} Lord Chancellor would use his powers to appoint a stipendiary if he felt it was necessary regardless of whether there had been a request.

I understand the last time that the Lord Chancellor's Department got in touch with the courts was some weeks ago.

So far as publicity is concerned, there would be no objection to any statement on the lines that all the courts with this extra work had been reminded that the Lord Chancellor

/is ready



is ready to provide judicial assistance if they feel that the backlog is mounting up.

I think this is a considerable improvement not only because nothing has been done for so long but also because the unco-operative courts have now been warned that a stipendiary will be appointed if the backlog justifies whether they request it or not.

M.H.

31 August 1984

B/F with Treasury
response of 12/8
weeks AT 3/9

AT to
see
M.S.

40
ccoy
2

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ENERGY
10, WHITE HALL, LONDON, SW1A 2JH

01 211 6402

David Peretz Esq
Private Secretary to
the Chancellor of the Exchequer
HM Treasury
Parliament Street
LONDON
SW1P 3AG

Peter Morrison

The phone expenditure costs
of the coal strike are calculated
at £12½m a week for the
30 August 1984

for 17 weeks and £25m a
week more recently

Dear David,

PSBR COSTS OF THE COAL STRIKE

In his letter to Michael Reidy of 25 July, Andrew Turnbull asked us to review the figures of weekly costs of the coal strike and agree the results with you.

I now attach revised figures produced by our review. Table A shows the costs of the first 17 weeks of the coal strike in 1984/5 ie to end July. Table B shows continuing weekly costs for the period after end-July. They are best regarded as average costs for August/September. There could be some modest changes in them later in the year, even if the present pattern of the strike continued unchanged. Table C is a breakdown of the figures of NCB savings on wages and materials.

In these tables we are dealing with cash flow impact on the public sector ie effects on the PSBR. We are not dealing with "accounting" costs as understood in the private sector. The Greenwells table on the sheet attached to Andrew Turnbull's letter was headed "Weekly Accounting Losses", and the text says that "the impact on the PSBR will be different from the accounting losses shown above". However their attempt at converting to a PSBR effect seems to be a great muddle. Among other things, they heavily overstate NCB loss of revenue from lower sales, where only sales to the private sector are relevant; and they understate substantially total NCB expenditure savings on wages, redundancy and investment.

There are many second or third round effects of the strike (eg the effect of the large extra CEEB oil purchases on the oil market and the benefit of that to the Exchequer in extra petroleum revenue tax and other taxes). It is a question how far one should attempt to bring any of these into the figures. However, the Treasury thought it right to bring into the figures one direct and readily measurable tax effect in the shape of the loss of income tax and national insurance contributions on miners' pay. Parallel with that, it seems to us right

to bring in the direct gain of Heavy Fuel Oil Duty to the Exchequer from the additional sales of fuel oil to the CEGB (about £8 per ton), but we have not included more remote or less quantifiable effects.

As Table A shows, we calculate the public expenditure cost in the first 17 weeks as £208m, or £12½m a week; and the cost including income tax and heavy fuel oil duty effects as £258m or £15m a week. These are lower figures than the £300/350m and £400m quoted by the Chancellor in the House on 31 July and 1 August. In those 17 weeks the cost of extra oil-burn averaged £37m a week.

For August/September the continuing weekly costs in Table B are higher at £25m a week for public expenditure and £27m a week for the PSBR. The difference is fully accounted for by the higher cost of additional oil-burn, which is now running well above the levels of the early weeks of the strike; and in a peak summer and holiday period when oil-burn is normally very low indeed.

We have examined carefully with the NCB the figures of savings of wages and wage related costs, especially as in some cases the cash position differs from the treatment they are at present applying in their accounts. They estimate a saving of £70m on holiday pay in the first 17 weeks, with a further saving of about £40m to come in August and September if the strike lasts that long. These savings are scored under "wages" in Tables A and B. After September the savings would be negligible.

The figures for British Steel losses, policing and social security costs were supplied to us by the Treasury.

I hope these figures can now be agreed. There are some difficulties about feeding these figures into the public consciousness in the near future, as suggested by Andrew Turnbull. For the earlier period they are lower than the figures used on 31 July/1 August. For August/September they are at a higher level but advertising the difference draws attention to the oil-burn.

I am copying this letter to Andrew Turnbull and to Peter Gregson (Cabinet Office).

Yours

John

J S NEILSON
Private Secretary



COSTS TO THE PUBLIC SECTOR OF THE COAL STRIKE IN 1984/5

<u>TABLE A:</u>	<u>Costs to end-July (17 weeks)</u>	<u>£m</u>
	Higher oil-burn	+ 630
	Savings on NCB wages, materials and investment net of lost sales to private sector and exports	- 546
	British Steel cash losses	+ 50
	Policing	+ 95
	<u>Social Security/housing benefit</u>	+ 25
	Lower RMPS payments	- 46
	Total Public Expenditure	<u>+ 208</u>
	Loss of Income Tax/NI employee contributions	+ 90
	Extra Heavy Fuel Oil Duty	- 40
	Total PSBR	<u>+ 258</u>



TABLE B: Continuing Weekly Costs (August/September)

	£m
<u>CEGB</u> Higher oil-burn	+ 50
<u>NCB</u> savings on wages/materials	- 39
<u>NCB</u> Reduced Investment	- 7
<u>NCB</u> Loss of sales (private sector and exports)	+ 13
<u>British Steel</u> cash losses	+ 3
Police/Social Security	+ 8
Lower RMPS Payments	- 3
Total Public Expenditure	<u>+ 25</u>
Loss of income tax and N. Insurance revenues etc	+ 5
Extra Heavy Fuel Oil Duty	- 3
Total PSBR	<u>+ 27</u>

TABLE C: Continuing weekly costs: analysis of NCB Savings

	£m
Wages	19
Wages charges (including holiday pay £5m)	<u>8</u>
Sub Total	27
Materials	8
Other	<u>4</u>
Total	<u>39</u>
Investment	7

NAT IND PT II

COAL



MO 19/1

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EMPLOYMENT

NATO EXERCISES: THE DOCKS

You will recall that MISC 101 on 28th August discussed the possible impact of the dock strike on two major NATO exercises, BOLD GANNET and LIONHEART, due to begin in early September. You may wish to be aware that the first embarkation of Servicemen and their vehicles due to take part in these exercises will now occur tomorrow morning at Harwich.

2. The dock strike is of course not total and I hope that the greater part of our troop and vehicle movements can take place using the ports originally intended, which are continuing to operate. At the moment Harwich is working normally, but as the movement activity for both our exercises increases, instances may occur where military personnel have to cross picket lines. This will of course be handled, in consultation with the other departments concerned, in such a way as to minimise the risk of controversy, and with a suitable PR line.

3. I am copying this minute to other members of MISC 101 and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

Ministry of Defence
30th August 1984

NAT IND
Coal.

Small part

1/2

1/2

11 12 1
10 11 12
9 10 11
8 9 10
7 8 9
6 7 8
5 6 7
4 5 6
3 4 5
2 3 4
1 2 3
11 12 1

30 AUG 1987

24 ST. AUBYN'S
HOVE
EAST SUSSEX BN3 2TD
BRIGHTON (0273) 779679

30 August 1984

Dear Mrs Ryder

I would be very grateful if Mrs Thatcher
could be shown the enclosed.

Yours sincerely

Francis Bennet

Opinion Research & Communication

T.F. Thompson
Chairman

Could fly

2 Wesley Street
London W1M 7PT
Tel: 01-486 8294

30th August.

Dear Mr. Flesher,

Further to our conversation yesterday I now have the survey data in a more palatable and arranged form, drawing some of the conclusions from the marked up questionnaire.

I felt therefore I should let you have it and, again, leave it to your judgement on whether you think it would be useful for the Prime Minister to see.

Personally, in terms of tactics, I think the reading of the commentary might well give her some food for thought,

Many thanks for your help,

Tommy *Thompson*

Tommy Thompson

2 Wesley Street
London W1M 7PT
Tel: 01-935 0741

29th Aug.

Dear Mr. Fisher,

I think the enclosed survey is one the Prime Minister will be most interested to see speedily. I have found, in practice, it is much more sensible to send such material to a senior aide like yourself rather than directly to a member of the Cabinet.

Please read it and judge its importance for yourself.

Yours



Opinion Research & Communication

T.F. Thompson
Chairman

2 Wesley Street
London W1M 7PT
Tel: 01-486 8294

Dear Prime Minister 29th. August, 1984.

The attached survey, which I think you will find heartening and encouraging, will be appearing in part in the Standard tomorrow.

However, in view of its importance in relation to the approaching TUC Conference and the dock strike situation I felt I should get it into your hands in full and as soon as possible.

It is the most comprehensive condemnation of Mr. Scargill and his methods that it is possible to imagine and one of the most sensational polls I can remember.

You will remember that I have wholeheartedly backed and worked for your policy of bringing the trade unions under control ever since I did the marginal surveys for you and the major poll on public attitudes to the unions before the 1979 election. I feel that we are now approaching the climax of the battle and I would do anything (ethical!) I could to help. It is clear that the TUC conference is a vital stage in the present struggle and I believe these findings, if they can be circulated widely enough will help and encourage the sane and moderate elements in the trade union leadership.

The caucuses and delegations will be starting to gather over the next few days and I felt it right to give you and your colleagues time to consider how this material can best be used.

If I can be of any further help I shall be only too glad.

I hope you had a lovely holiday,

Yours sincerely,

T. Thompson

TABLES.

		<u>General public</u>	<u>trade union members.</u>
Table One.			
Question.	Do you think it would be in the country's interests or against the country's interests for the TUC to give much stronger support to the striking miners?		
	In the country's interests	%	%
	Not in the country's interests	21	29
	dont know	71	63
		8	8
Table Two.			
Question.	Do you think it would help or damage the reputation of the unions with the general public and the mass of ordinary workers to give much stronger support to the miners?		
	help the unions reputation	16	21
	damage the unions reputation	72	64
	dont know	12	15
Table three.			
Question.	Some people have said that the TUC Conference should only give help to the striking miners if Mr. Scargill and his colleagues first held a national secret ballot to show whether a majority of miners supported the strike or not. Do you think this would or would not be a sensible attitude for the TUC Conference to take?		
	Sensible.	82	80
	not sensible	11	14
	dont know	6	6
Table four.			
Question.	Do you think the other unions at the TUC Conference should or should not now start to look seriously for ways to bring the strike to an end?		
	Should	95	93
	Should not	3	2
		2	5

TABLES 2.

Table five

	General public	Trade Union members
Question. Do you think it would help or harm the reputation of the Labour Party or have no effect if the TUC give much stronger support to the miners?		
	%	%
Help the reputation of the Labour Party	9	12
Harm the reputation of the Labour Party	50	46
Have no effect	32	35
dont know	9	7

Table Six

Question. How much in sympathy are you with the miners who are on strike?		
Completely in sympathy	13	17
In sympathy to some extent	22	31
Neither for them nor against them	10	7
opposed to the miners on strike to some extent	13	12
completely opposed to the miners	40	32
dont know	2	1

Table Seven.

Question. Some unions who have leadership who admit to being on the left politically are trying to widen the miners strike by getting their membership to help the miners in various ways. I would like you to tell me whether you approve or disapprove of these activities by other unions?		
Approve	17	25
Disapprove	73	68
dont know	10	7

Table Eight.

Question. The trade unions are holding their annual TUC conference at the beginning of September. A number of left wing trade union leaders have said that they are going to try to make the TUC give much stronger support, both in terms of financial help and actual physical support for the miners. Do you approve or disapprove of this aim?		
Approve	21	27
Disapprove	70	65
dont know	9	8

Tables 3.

Table 9

Question. Would you say that the miners strike is going to help or harm the reputation of the trade union movement with ordinary people and with voters?

General public Trade Union members

help	5	8
harm	80	77
have no effect	9	12
dont know	6	3

Table 10

Question. Thinking of the groups on this list would you say whether in your opinion each of these groups of workers should or should not support the miners' strike?

THE DOCKERS

should	19	28
should not	75	67
dont know	6	6

THE STEEL WORKERS

should	18	26
should not	77	69
dont know	5	4

RAILWAYMEN

should	19	27
should not	76	69
dont know	6	5

ELECTRICITY SUPPLY WORKERS

should	17	24
should not	78	72
dont know	5	4

THE SEAMEN

should	16	24
should not	78	70
dont know	5	6

LORRY DRIVERS AND HAULAGE

should	19	28
should not	76	67
dont know	5	4

Table 11.

Question. Who do you think is going to win the miners' strike—Mr. Scargill and the NUM leadership or the National Coal Board and the Government?

Table 11 (Cont'd)

	General public	Trade Union members
--	----------------	---------------------

Mr. Scargill	11	12
NCB	53	49
dont know/neither	36	39

Table 12.

Question. Which of them do you want to win?

Mr. Scargill	21	29
NCB	58	48
dont know/neither	21	23

Table 13.

Question. Some people think that as a result of the mass pickets by miners in the present dispute the Government will bring in tougher laws to limit picketing. Would you be in favour or opposed to such a law?

favour	59	51
opposed	31	39
dont know	10	10

Table 14. Some people think that Mr. Scargill has brought the miners out on strike to safeguard miners jobs. Others think that he is using the miners to change Society in Britain. Which of these views do you think is nearest to the truth?

To safeguard jobs	21	25
Reason is political	72	67
dont know	7	8

Table 15.

Question. Do you think the NUM leadership is right or wrong to keep the strike going for nearly six months without having a national secret ballot to find out what miners want to do?

Right	7	10
Wrong	89	86
dont know	3	3

Table 16.

Question. Do you think the miners are within their rights in trying to bring other miners out by mass picketing tactics?

Are	19	22
Are not	77	73
dont know	3	5

Tables 5

Table 17.

Question.

And do you approve or disapprove of striking miners smashing car windows, setting fire to buses used to carry working miners, and intimidating miners in order to make them support the strike?

General public

Trade Union members

Strongly approve	1	1
approve to some extent	2	1
disapprove to some extent	3	5
strongly disapprove	94	91
dont know	1	1

Table 18.

Question.

In general terms where do your main sympathies lie, with those miners on strike who are trying to bring working miners out or with those miners who want to work and are being threatened and intimidated to get them to join the strike?

With striking miners	19	24
With working miners	74	67
Dont know	7	9

Table 19.

Question.

Why do you think after more than twenty weeks of being on strike the majority of miners are still out on strike? Do you think it is because most of them support the strike or because they are afraid to go back because of intimidation and threats?

support the strike	22	28
afraid to go back	72	65
dont know	6	7.

Table 20.

Question.

And if the National Union of Mineworkers did hold a secret ballot of its members do you think that the majority of miners would be in favour of continuing the strike or of going back to work?

continuing	17	21
going back to work	73	69
dont know	10	11

Table 21

Question.

Would you say that Mr. Scargill and other leaders of the NUM are right or wrong to do the following things...

- (a). Use mass pickets in Nottinghamshire and Lancashire to persuade those miners still working to join the strike?

Tables 6.

Table 21 (Cont'd)		General public	Trade Union members
	Right	16	22
	Wrong	80	75
	dont know	4	3
(b) Use mass pickets to stop production at British Steel works at Ravenscraig, Scunthorpe and Llandwern?			
	Right	9	11
	Wrong	86	82
	dont know	5	7
(c) Use mass pickets to stop coal reaching the Central Electricity Generating Board's power stations?			
	Right	12	18
	Wrong	85	78
	dont know	3	4

Table 22.

Question.	The Steel unions are worried that if the miners pickets stop coal going into the huge Ravenscraig Steel complex and Scunthorpe the end result will be that Ravenscraig, already in serious trouble, will close with the loss of some thousands of jobs. Do you think this is a serious possibility or not?		
	serious possibility	86	88
	not serious	9	10
	dont know	4	2

Table 23.

Question.	Do you think that the miners should ignore this possible threat to Ravenscraig in the interests of winning their own fight or do you think it is right for them to let coal trains into Ravenscraig and Scunthorpe to safeguard steelworkers jobs?		
	should ignore threat	8	10
	let coal trains in	86	86
	dont know	5	4

Table 24.

Question.	Another possibility is that miners pickets will try to bring the power stations to a halt by blockading their supplies of coal and oil. Do you think it is right for miners to do this?		
	right	12	17
	Wrong	85	79
	dont know	3	4

Table 25.

Question.	And what about the railways? If the railway workers refuse to let coal trains operate do you think that the loss of freight business involved will or will not put railwaymen's jobs at risk?		
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Tables 7.

Table 25 (Cont'd)

General public Trade Union members

will	75	69
will not	18	24
dont know	7	7

Table 26.

Question. Some railwaymen have been taking sympathetic action to support the miners strike. Do you think they should or should not do this?

should	22	31
should not	69	60
dont know	9	10

Table 27. ~~the railway unions~~

Question. The railway unions are threatening to start a national work to rule shortly. The Chairman of British Rail has said that there is no real reason for this and has indicated that the whole aim is to support the miners' strike. Which do you think is nearest the truth....?

that the railway unions have a genuine grievance which justifies a work to rule or...	17	25
that there is no real grievance and it is just a cover by their left wing leadership to give support to the miners?	63	57
dont know	20	18

Table 28.

Question. The chairman of British Rail has also said that an unjustified work to rule will damage their business and put a lot of railway workers jobs at risk. Do you think this is true or untrue?

true	74	69
untrue	19	25
dont know	7	6

Table 29.

Question. Do you approve or disapprove of a railway work to rule at this time?

approve	14	21
disapprove	72	65
dont know	14	13

Tables 8

Table 30. General Trade Union
public members

Question. There is also a threat of another national dock strike if British Steel go ahead with unloading a ship bringing vitally needed supplies of coal. Would you say that the dockers threatening a national strike have a genuine grievance or do you think this also is just a move to help the miners' strike?

genuine grievance	14	19
move to help miners	76	71
dont know	10	10

Table 31

Question. Do you think Mr. Scargill has handled this strike well or badly?

Well	13	18
Badly	80	75
Dont know	7	7

Table 32.

Question. At the recent talks the National Coal Board offered Mr. Scargill and his colleagues a number of concessions including withdrawing the threat of closure from five collieries. Would you say the Coal Board has gone as far as it could or do you think it should have met Mr. Scargill's full demands for no colliery to close whether it was making heavy losses or not?

Coal Board went as far as it could	70	63
Coal Board should have met Mr. Scargill's full demands	16	19
dont know	15	18

Table 33.

Question. And do you think Mr. Scargill and his colleagues were right to refuse the deal offered and break off the talks or do you think they made a mistake and lost a good chance to end the strike?

right	14	19
made a mistake	78	71
dont know	8	9

Table 34.

Question. Would you say that if the strike goes on long enough the Government and the National Coal Board will offer more concessions to Mr. Scargill or do you think as time goes on the attitude of the Government and the Coal Board will harden?

Govt. and Coal Board will make more concessions	15	20
As time goes on their position will harden	77	70
dont know	9	9

Tables 9.

Table 35

General public Trade Union members

Question. How much do you think the miners have to gain or lose by keeping the strike going now?

A great deal to gain	9	15
A certain amount to gain	9	12
A certain amount to lose	14	13
A great deal to lose	62	55
dont know	6	5

Table 36.

Question. Do you think the police have handled the mass pickets in Nottinghamshire and other mining areas well or badly.

would you say...

Very well	36	34
fairly well	39	38
fairly badly	11	14
very badly	10	10
dont know	4	4

Table 37.

Question. And who would you say is responsible for the violence at collieries when police and mass pickets have clashed?

The police	6	7
Mass picketing miners	61	55
Both equally	28	31
dont know	5	7

->

MARKED UP QUESTIONNAIRES

ALL
%

TRADE UNION
MEMBERS
%

Q.3 I would now like to ask you about one of the most serious problems faced by a nationalised industry for many years. The miners strike which has been going on now for nearly six months.

How much in sympathy are you with the miners who are on strike? Would you say that you are (read out)

completely in sympathy	13	17
in sympathy to some extent	22	31
neither for them nor against them	10	7
opposed to the miners on strike to some extent	13	12
completely opposed to the miners	40	32
don't know	2	1

Q.4 Some people think that Mr Scargill has brought the miners out on strike to safeguard miners jobs. Others think that he is using the miners to change Society in Britain. Which of these views do you think is nearest the truth?

To safeguard jobs	21	25
Reason is political	72	67
Don't know	7	8

Q.5 Mr Scargill and his colleagues are using mass pickets to try to persuade those miners still working to join the strike. How strongly do you approve or disapprove of these methods?

strongly approve	7	10
approve to some extent	11	13
disapprove to some extent	13	15
strongly disapprove	68	br
Don't know	2	1

Q.6 Do you think the miners are within their rights in trying to bring other miners out by mass picketing tactics?

Are
Are not
Don't know

19
77
3

22
73
5

Q.7 And do you approve or disapprove of striking miners smashing car windows, setting fire to buses used to carry working miners, and intimidating working miners in order to make them support the strike?

strongly approve
approve to some extent
disapprove to some extent
strongly disapprove
Don't know

1
2
3
94
1

1
1
5
91
1

Q.8 In general terms where do your main sympathies lie, with those miners on strike who are trying to bring working miners out or with those miners who want to work and are being threatened and *intimidated* to get them to join the strike?

With Striking miners
With working miners
Don't know

19
74
7

24
67
9

Q.9 I would now like to ask you one or two questions about the Police. In general do you think the police in Britain do a good job or a bad job of maintaining law and order?

Very good
Quite good
not very good
bad job
Don't know

52
37
6
4
1

50
37
6
4
2

Q.10 And the control of the mass pickets.
Do you think the police have handled
the mass pickets in Nottinghamshire
and other mining areas well or badly?
Would you say (read out)

very well	36	34
fairly well	39	38
fairly badly	11	14
very badly	10	10
Don't know	4	4

Q.11 And who would you say is responsible
for the violence at collieries when
police and mass pickets have clashed?

The police	6	7
mass picketing miners	61	55
Both equally	28	31
Don't know	5	7

Q.12 Under recent legislation mass
picketing of places other than
your own place of work is illegal.
would you say that in respect of
recent mass picketing.....

The Government should have taken tougher action	50	43
The Government were right to take the attitude they did	24	29
The Government should have taken less tough action than they did	15	18
don't know	11	9

Q.13 Do you think the NUM leadership is right
or wrong to keep the strike going for
nearly six months without having a
national secret ballot to find out what
miners want to do?

Right	7	10
Wrong	89	86
Don't know	3	3

Q.14 And if the National Union of Miners did hold a secret ballot of its members do you think that the majority of miners would be in favour of continuing the strike or of going back to work?

continuing	17	21
going back to work	73	69
don't know	10	11

Q.15 Why do you think after more than twenty weeks of being on strike the majority of miners are still out on strike. Do you think it is because most of them support the strike or because they are afraid to go back because of intimidation and threats?

support the strike	22	28
afraid to go back	72	65
don't know	6	7

Q.16 Do you believe that the situation in working coalfields would have been better, and the rights of individual miners would have been better upheld if the police had not been present to match the strength of the pickets?

better if police had not been present	21	23
not better if police had not been present	67	66
don't know	13	11

Q.17 Would you say that Mr Scargill and other leaders of the NUM are right or wrong to do the following things.....

a) Use mass pickets in Nottinghamshire and Lancashire to persuade those miners still working to join the strike

right	16	22
wrong	80	75
don't know	4	3

b) Use mass pickets to stop production at British Steel works at Ravenscraig, Scunthorop, and Llandwern steel works

right	9	11
wrong	86	82
don't know	5	7

c) Use mass pickets to stop coal reaching the Central Electricity Generating Board's power stations

right	12	18
wrong	85	78
don't know	3	4

Q.18 Some people think that as a result of the mass pickets by miners in the present dispute the Government will bring in tougher laws to limit picketing. Would you be in favour or opposed to such a law?

favour	59	61
opposed	31	39
don't know	10	10

Q.19 Who do you think is going to win the miners strike-- Mr Scargill and the NUM leadership or the National Coal Board and the Government?

Scargill	11	12
NCB	53	49
don't know/neither	36	39

Q.20 Which of them do you want to win?

Scargill	21	29
NCB	58	48
don't know/neither	21	23

Q.21 Would you say that the miners strike is going to help or harm the reputation of the trade union movement with ordinary people and with voters?

help	5	8
harm	80	77
have no effect	10	12
don't know	6	3

Q.24 The trade unions are holding their annual TUC conference at the beginning of September. A number of left wing trade union leaders have said that they are going to try to make the TUC give much stronger support, both in terms of financial help and actual physical support for the miners.

Do you (a) approve or disapprove of this aim

approve	21	27 65 8
disapprove	70	
don't know	9	

(b) think it would be in the country's interest or against the country's interests for the TUC to give much stronger support to the striking miners:

in country's interest	21	29 63 8
not in country's interest	71	
don't know	8	

(c) think it would help or damage the reputation of the unions with the general public and the mass of ordinary workers to give much stronger support to the miners?

help reputation	16	21 64 15
damage reputation	72	
don't know	12	

(d) think it would help or harm the reputation of the Labour Party with ordinary voters or have no effect on its reputation?

help reputation of labour party	9	12 46 35 7
harm reputation of labour party	50	
Have no effect	32	
Don't know	9	

25
 Q.25 Some people have said that the TUC conference should only give help to the striking miners if Mr Scargill and his colleagues first held a national secret ballot to show whether a majority of miners supported the strike or not. Do you think this would or would not be sensible attitude for the TUC conference to take?

sensible 82
 not sensible 11
 don't know 6

80
 14
 6

Q.26 Welsh miners were recently fined £50,000 for defying the law. Do you think they are justified in defying it to try to win the strike?

should stay within the law 76
 are justified in breaking it 18
 don't know 7

73
 21
 5

Q.27 The Steel unions are worried that if the miners pickets stop coal going into the huge Ravenscraig Steel complex and Scunthorpe the end result will be that the Ravenscraig already in serious trouble, will close with the loss of some thousands of jobs. Do you think this is a serious possibility or not?

serious possibility 86
 not serious 9
 don't know 4

88
 10
 2

Q.28 Do you think that the miners should ignore this possible threat to Ravenscraig in the interests of winning their own fight or do you think it is right for them to let coal trains into Ravenscraig and Scunthorpe to safeguard steelworkers' jobs?

should ignore threat 8
 let coal trains in 86
 don't know 5

10
 86
 4

Q.29 Another possibility is that miners pickets will try to bring the Power stations to a halt by blockading their supplies of coal and oil. Do you think it right for miners to do this?

right	12	17
wrong	85	79
don't know	3	4

Q.30 And what effect do you think such blockading would have on jobs in the electricity supply industry? Do you think it will put a lot of jobs at risk a certain number, or only a few or none

a lot	40	37
a certain number	30	30
a few	15	13
None	11	16
Don't know	4	5

Q.31 And what about the railways? If the railway workers refuse to let coal trains operate do you think that the loss of freight business involved will or will not put railwayworkers jobs at risk?

Will	75	69
Will not	18	24
don't know	7	7

Q.32 Some railwaymen have been taking sympathetic action to support the miners strike. Do you think they should or should not do this?

Should	22	31
Should not	69	60
don't know	9	10

Q.33 The railway unions are threatening to start a national work to rule shortly. The chairman of the British Rail has said that there is no real reason for this and has indicated that the whole aim is to support the miners' strike.

Cont'd

Which do you think is nearest the truth..

that the railway unions have a genuine grievance which justifies a work to rule or 17

25

that there is no real grievance and it is just a cover by their left wing leadership to give support to the miners? 63

57

Don't know 20

18

Q.34 The chairman of British Rail has also said that an unjustified work to rule will damage their business and put a lot of railway workers jobs at risk. Do you think this is true or untrue?

true 74
untrue 19
don't know 7

69
25
6

Q.35 Do you approve or disapprove of a railway work to rule at this time?

approve 14
disapprove 72
don't know 14

21
65
13

Q.36 There is also a threat of another national dock strike of British Steel go ahead with unloading a ship bringing vitally needed supplies of coal. Would you say that the dockers threatening a national strike have a genuine grievance or do you think this also is just a move to help the miners strike?

genuine grievance 14
move to help miners 76
don't know 10

19
71
10

Q.37 At the recent talks the National Coal Board offered Mr Scargill and his colleagues a number of concessions including withdrawing the threat of closure from five collieries. Would you say that the Coal Board has gone as far as it could and should to try to end the strike or do you think it should have met Mr Scargill's full demands for no colliery to close whether it was making heavy losses or not?

Coal Board went as far as it could	70
Coal Board should have met Mr Scargill's full demands	16
don't know	15

63
19
18

Q.38 And do you think Mr Scargill and his colleagues were right to refuse the deal offered and break off the talks or do you think they made a mistake and lost a good chance to end the strike?

right	14
made a mistake	78
don't know	8

19
71
9

Q.39 Would you say that if the strike goes on long enough the Government and the National Coal Board will offer more concessions to Mr Scargill or do you think as time goes on the attitude of the government and the Coal Board will harden?

Govt. and Coal Board will make more concessions	15
As time goes on their position will harden	77
don't know	9

20
70
9

Q.40 Do you think Mr Scargill has handled this strike well or badly?

well	13
badly	80
don't know	7

18
75
7

MENERS' WIVES BACK TO WORK CAMPAIGN

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MRS. MARGARET THATCHER P.M.
10 DOWNING STREET.
WESTMINSTER.
LONDON.

23 Heol Ddeusant
Beddau
Nr Pontypridd
Mid Glamorgan
Wales

Tel : 0443-205597

29 AUGUST 1984.

Madam.

On behalf of the Miners' Wives Back To Work Campaign,
Mrs. Irene McGibbon, Mrs. Pauline Hinton and Mrs. Jane Fjaelberg
request a meeting with Mrs. Thatcher, if possible, regarding the
situation at this time.

We would welcome your urgent advice on this matter.

Yours truly,

J. C. Fjaelberg

Chairman : Mrs Jane Fjaelberg
Secretary : Mrs Irene McGibbon

Daily Coal Report - Wednesday 29 August 1984

40

Pit categories

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Plus on holiday</u>
Working normally	35	10
Turning some coal	8	1
Some men present	11	1
On strike/picketed out	107	1

These totals show that 3 pits have moved from the on strike category to the some men present category since last Friday. These are Frances in Scotland, Bold in Lancashire and Allerton Bywater in North Yorkshire.

129 men worked at Bilston Glen in Scotland today and yesterday, an improvement of 12 on last week's record. The total in Scotland today was 184, 3 more than yesterday and 26 up on last Friday. The NCB have announced that so much gas and water has built up at Polkemmet Colliery in West Lothian that no coal will be produced for up to a year, and even then only if the current damage is repairable. 2 heavy duty submersible pumps are being obtained so that the salvage operations can begin by drying out the shafts. The flooding was caused by lack of NUM safety cover for a week until Monday night. Safety cover has still been withdrawn at Castlehill, Longannet, Frances, Killoch and Monkton Hall collieries.

In the North East Paul Wilkinson continued to work at Easington colliery today, despite nearly 200 pickets. Local MP Jack Dormand led an NUM delegation to complain to the police that Mr Wilkinson had been got into work via a side entrance. Some arrests were reported. Eleven men went to work at Wearmouth colliery again this morning, 500 pickets were present outside the pit but no trouble was reported. The NCB confirmed that 10 of these were members of COSA, and that the eleventh was from another section of the NUM. A single NUM member again defied pickets to go to work at the Monkton coal preparation plant in Jarrow.

28 miners reported for work in Yorkshire today - 9 more than last Friday's record. The breakdown between areas is as follows:
North Yorkshire - Gascoigne Wood 2 (80 pickets), elsewhere in

SECRET AND PERSONAL

Selby 5 (300 pickets), Allerton Bywater 4 (up 1 - 60 pickets), Stillingfleet 2 (new); Doncaster - Markham 1 (100 pickets), Yorkshire Main 1 (new, 50 pickets), Carcroft Park Workshops 2 (new, 150 pickets); South Yorkshire - Kiverton Park 7 (up 1, 600/700 pickets, 2 arrests), Silverwood 2 (up 1, 150 pickets), Brookhouse 2 (new, 700 pickets).

In North Derbyshire, there were a record 142 at Warsop, 14 up on last Friday (250 pickets). Attendance at Shirebrook was 139, 3 below the best last week (450 pickets). Numbers at Bolsover have been building up steadily after their holiday. Today 192 reported for work there - this compares with 157 yesterday and a maximum of around 220 before the holiday.

The best news in Western area is that men have returned to Bold colliery in Lancashire for the first time since the strike began. 6 men appeared on Monday, 5 yesterday and 6 again today.

South Wales, Kent and Barnsley area continue to have all men on strike or picketed out.

Coal Movements

A small quantity, 9,000 tonnes, was dispatched by the NCB on Bank Holiday Monday. Around 98,000 tonnes were moved yesterday, of which about 76,000 were for the CEGB. As 21 pits which usually work normally were on holiday yesterday, this level of movements was greater than expected. Around 25 trains ran. The NCB hope that total movements for the week might reach nearly 500,000 tonnes.

BR management have warned that it may be difficult to maintain the present level of coal trains in the run up to the national work to rule on 10 September, if this has not been called off by then. Talks between London Regional Transport management and unions on Friday may prove crucial.

SECRET AND PERSONAL

Law and Order

The most serious incident today occurred at New Cummock in Ayrshire, where 87 striking miners were arrested for failing to move from outside the home of a miner who is working at Killoch colliery. Police are reported to be considering the use of an 1875 Act which makes it illegal to "beset a house".

More than 20 people were arrested outside Bold colliery in Lancashire this morning, 12 arrests were also made there yesterday. 19 were arrested outside Easington colliery in the North East yesterday; this has regularly been the scene of disturbances. 2 men - a striker and a working miner - were charged with breach of the peace outside Renishaw Park colliery in North Derbyshire this morning. 2 men also appeared in court today in connection with the unpleasant incident in which a working miner was thrown off his motorcycle after a cable was stretched across a road.

Dispute in the Docks

Responses by dockers to the TGWU call for a national strike remain mixed and the number of docks not working continues to vary - some helpful signs have however emerged. The positive points are: dockers in the North East voted by 322 to 156 to return to work from 6 am tomorrow, having been on strike since last Friday; 150 tugboatmen at Southampton have also decided to work on despite other TGWU members there being on strike; and at Grimsby, where all the men walked out yesterday after voting to keep working at the weekend, nearly half the commercial dock workers reported for work. Less helpful developments included the decision by Barry dockers in South Wales to join the strike (after unloading a banana boat!); and the small numbers who actually crossed picket lines at Tilbury and Bristol after the confusion and calls for a return to work there yesterday.

Mass meetings planned at Tilbury, Dover and Felixstowe for tomorrow should provide a further indication of dockers intentions. It is not clear whether the union will allow a ballot to be taken at these three meetings.

SECRET AND PERSONAL

Mr Donald Stringer, chairman of the National Association of Port Employers, said this afternoon that it was "possible" he would approach the TGWU to discuss ways of ending the dispute. He insisted that no meeting would be sought before other groups of dockers decided whether to join the strike in the next few days. He estimated that around 10,000 dockers were currently on strike, and said that the employers had decided against taking legal action against the dockers.

Preparation for the TUC Congress

Today the NUM knocked down suggestions current yesterday that they might be willing to come to an agreement with the TUC General Council about the motions to be tabled at next week's Congress. NUM general secretary Peter Heathfield said today that there would be no meeting between the NUM Executive and the TUC General Council to discuss the pit strike strategy. This makes it more likely that the Council will have to make its own statement on the dispute, which could lead to a left/right split at the Congress. To add to the embarrassment, Mr Scargill issued a statement from NUM headquarters in Sheffield today which said: "The NUM wishes to make it clear that the amendment to our resolution standing in the name of the NUR asking for a levy of 10p per person per week in support of the miners has not been withdrawn."

Line to Take

The return to work seen in the last couple of weeks continues to make progress, particularly in Scotland and Yorkshire. In the last few days we have seen further manoeuvring by union officials in attempts to prevent their members having a say in the decisions of their unions. If dockers, like miners, were all given the right to a ballot, then we would soon see any widespread support for a strike disappear.

Distribution: Members of MISC 101, Mr Gregson (Cabinet Office)

Enquiries: John Neilson, SOS for Energy's Office, 211 6070

SECRET AND PERSONAL

PRIME MINISTER

MISC 101(84)35th Meeting

You will wish to deal with both the miners' and dockers' strikes separately.

Miners' Strike

2. You will wish to hear the usual reports from:-

i. The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State,
Department of Energy

- on the current position in the coal fields;
- on any significant developments in the return to work;
- on the current position between the NUM and TUC in relation to next week's Conference in Brighton;
- on progress on the 'options' study (unless you think it better for this to be handled first in a more restricted group).

ii. The Home Secretary

- on law and order, and particularly how to accelerate court appearances and use of additional stipendiary magistrates;
- on police arrangements for the TUC in Brighton.

iii. The Secretary of State for Transport

- on coal movements.

Dockers' Strike

3. You will wish to hear reports from:-

i. The Secretary of State for Transport

- on the current state of ports at work or on strike;
- on picketing;
- on future prospects - especially at Tilbury and Felixstowe where votes are due today, and Dover (voting tomorrow).

ii. The Home Secretary

- on law and order and any problems of 'overstretch' for the police.

iii. The Secretary of State for Employment

- on any prospects for seeking a settlement of the dispute;
- on the likelihood of legal action against the TGWU.

iv. The Minister of State for the Armed Forces

- e |
- on the prospects for service movements during exercises LIONHEART and BOLD GANNET.

General Issues

4. Depending on developments in the 48 hours since the previous meeting you may wish to review the line for Government spokesmen to take when commenting on:-

- the dockers' strike in relation to the miners' strike;
- the effects of withdrawn safety cover on the future of certain pits;



- either dispute in relation to the TUC at Brighton next week.

It will be particularly important to bear in mind the need to avoid providing "targets" for the strikers or excuses for the TUC to unite effectively against the Government.

Next Meeting

5. The next meeting of MISC 101 has been arranged for Tuesday 4 September at 2.30 pm - which should give an opportunity to discuss the outcome of the TUC debate on the NUM and associated motions (to be held on Monday 3 September) before your visit to Balmoral.

J F STOKER

29 August 1984



10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister

Tom King would

like to take a well-
merited long weekend in

France until Tuesday

morning You might therefore

like to consider who

should lead an interview

over the weekend and on

Monday - possibly Mr

Walker on his return?

—

A. Yes not

PRIME MINISTER

Tommy Thompson has sent the attached copy of a poll which is appearing in the Standard tomorrow. Particular points from the poll include the following:

- (i) 35 per cent of respondents were either completely or partially in sympathy with the miners and 53 per cent completely or partially opposed.
- (ii) 21 per cent thought the strike was to safeguard jobs; 72 per cent thought it was political.
- (iii) 18 per cent approved of mass picketting; 81 per cent opposed.
- (iv) 3 per cent approved of intimidation; 97 per cent were opposed.
- (v) 19 per cent said their main sympathy lay with the striking miners; 74 per cent with the working miners.
- (vi) 75 per cent said the Police had handled mass pickets well; 21 per cent badly.
- (vii) 50 per cent thought the Government should have taken tougher action in respect of mass picketting; 24 per cent thought the action was about right; 15 per cent said less tough.
- (viii) 7 per cent thought the NUM were right not to have a ballot; 89 per cent said they were wrong.
- (ix) 22 per cent thought that miners were still on strike because they supported it; 72 per cent because they are afraid to go back.
- (x) About 75 per cent consistently opposed action by other groups of workers in support of the miners compared with about 17 per cent who favour it.

/(xi)

(xi) 70 per cent thought the Coal Board had gone as far as it could in meeting the NUM demands.

Another interesting point about all these figures is that they are modified only slightly when the sample is limited to trade union members. I am sending copies of the poll to Giles Shaw and the Home Secretary in time for MISC 101.

29 August, 1984

X8443

August 1984

LIFE IN BRITAIN

Based on 1074

Fieldwork 22/33 August 1984

Interviewer Name: _____ No: _____

Constituency _____ No:

--	--	--

Classification: Sex

- Male
- Female

Age

- 18-24
- 25-34
- 35-44
- 45-54
- 55+

Social Class

- ABC1
- C2DE

Trade Union Member

- Member
- Non member

Working Status

- Working full time/part time
- Unemployed, seeking work
- Other

Good morning/afternoon/evening. I am _____ (SHOW ICS CARD) FROM the Harris Research Centre. We are carrying out a large survey of public attitudes towards some of the problems the country is facing in the nationalised industries. I would like your views on these matters--who you think is responsible, how well the problems are being handled, and what ought to be done about them.

Q.1 First of all I would like to ask you how well you think nationalisation has worked in this country. Do you think it has been successful or unsuccessful? *ALL*

	<i>ALL</i>	<i>TRADE UNION MEMBERS</i>
	<i>20</i>	<i>20</i>
Successful	26	32
Unsuccessful	56	54
Don't know	18	14

Q.2 Here is a list of the most important nationalised industries
SHOWCARD A

Q.2a Which two do you think are the best run and most efficient?

National Bus Company	22	<i>20</i>
British Steel Corporation	11	<i>7</i>
National coal Board	7	<i>7</i>
Central Electricity Generating Board	68	<i>69</i>
British Rail	11	<i>9</i>
British Gas	69	<i>72</i>
British Leyland	8	<i>12</i>

Q.2b And which two do you think are the most profitable?

National Bus Company	4	<i>7</i>
British Steel Corporation	5	<i>3</i>
National coal Board	6	<i>6</i>
Central Electricity Generating Board	82	<i>83</i>
British Rail	7	<i>4</i>
British Gas	84	<i>88</i>
British Leyland	4	<i>4</i>

Q.3 I would now like to ask you about one of the most serious problems faced by a nationalised industry for many years. The miners strike which has been going on now for nearly six months.

ALL
20

TRADE UNION
MEMBERS
20

How much in sympathy are you with the miners who are on strike? Would you say that you are (read out)

completely in sympathy
in sympathy to some extent
neither for them nor against them
opposed to the miners on strike to some extent
completely opposed to the miners
don't know

13
22
10
13
40
2

17
31
7
12
32
1

Q.4 Some people think that Mr Scargill has brought the miners out on strike to safeguard miners jobs. Others think that he is using the miners to change Society in Britain. Which of these views do you think is nearest the truth?

To safeguard jobs
Reason is political
Don't know

21
72
7

25
67
8

Q.5 Mr Scargill and his colleagues are using mass pickets to try to persuade those miners still working to join the strike. How strongly do you approve or disapprove of these methods?

strongly approve
approve to some extent
disapprove to some extent
strongly disapprove
Don't know

7
11
13
68
2

10
13
15
61
1

Q.6 Do you think the miners are within their rights in trying to bring other miners out by mass picketing tactics?

Are
Are not
Don't know

ALL
20
19
77
3

TRADE UNION
MEMBERS

20
22
73
5

Q.7 And do you approve or disapprove of striking miners smashing car windows, setting fire to buses used to carry working miners, and intimidating working miners in order to make them support the strike?

strongly approve
approve to some extent
disapprove to some extent
strongly disapprove
Don't know

1
2
3
94
1

1
1
5
91
1

Q.8 In general terms where do your main sympathies lie, with those miners on strike who are trying to bring working miners out or with those miners who want to work and are being threatened and intimidated to get them to join the strike?

With Striking miners
With working miners
Don't know

19
74
7

24
67
9

Q.9 I would now like to ask you one or two questions about the Police. In general do you think the police in Britain do a good job or a bad job of maintaining law and order?

Very good
Quite good
not very good
bad job
Don't know

52
37
6
4
1

50
37
6
4
2

Q.10 And the control of the mass pickets.
Do you think the police have handled
the mass pickets in Nottinghamshire
and other mining areas well or badly?
Would you say (read out)

- very well
- fairly well
- fairly badly
- very badly
- Don't know

ALL
20
36
39
11
10
4

TRADE UNION
MEMBERS
20
34
38
14
10
4

Q.11 And who would you say is responsible
for the violence at collieries when
police and mass pickets have clashed?

- The police
- mass picketing miners
- Both equally
- Don't know

6
61
28
5

7
55
31
7

Q.12 Under recent legislation mass
picketing of places other than
your own place of work is illegal.
would you say that in respect of
recent mass picketing.....

- The Government should have taken tougher
action
- The Government were right to take the
attitude they did
- The Government should have taken less
tough action than they did
- don't know

50
24
15
11

43
29
18
9

Q.13 Do you think the NUM leadership is right
or wrong to keep the strike going for
nearly six months without having a
national secret ballot to find out what
miners want to do?

- Right
- Wrong
- Don't know

7
89
3

10
86
3

Q.14 And if the National Union of Miners did hold a secret ballot of its members do you think that the majority of miners would be in favour of continuing the strike or of going back to work?

All No

TRADE UNION MEMBERS 20

continuing 17
going back to work 73
don't know 10

21
69
11

Q.15 Why do you think after more than twenty weeks of being on strike the majority of miners are still out on strike. Do you think it is because most of them support the strike or because they are afraid to go back because of intimidation and threats?

support the strike 22
afraid to go back 72
don't know 6

28
65
7

Q.16 Do you believe that the situation in working coalfields would have been better, and the rights of individual miners would have been better upheld if the police had not been present to match the strength of the pickets?

better if police had not been present 21
not better if police had not been present 67
don't know 13

23
66
11

Q.17 Would you say that Mr Scargill and other leaders of the NUM are right or wrong to do the following things.....

a) Use mass pickets in Nottinghamshire and Lancashire to persuade those miners still working to join the strike

right 16
wrong 80
don't know 4

22
75
3

b) Use mass pickets to stop production at British Steel works at Ravenscraig, Scunthorop, and Llandwern steel works

right 9
wrong 86
don't know 5

11
82
7

c) Use mass pickets to stop coal reaching the Central Electricity Generating Board's power stations

ALL
no

TRADE UNION
MEMBERS
no

right
wrong
don't know

12
85
3

18
78
4

Q.18 Some people think that as a result of the mass pickets by miners in the present dispute the Government will bring in tougher laws to limit picketing. Would you be in favour or opposed to such a law?

favour
opposed
don't know

59
31
10

51
39
10

Q.19 Who do you think is going to win the miners strike-- Mr Scargill and the NUM leadership or the National Coal Board and the Government?

Scargill
NCB
don't know/neither

11
53
36

12
49
39

Q.20 Which of them do you want to win?

Scargill
NCB
don't know/neither

21
58
21

29
48
23

Q.21. Would you say that the miners strike is going to help or harm the reputation of the trade union movement with ordinary people and with voters?

help
harm
have no effect
don't know

5
80
10
6

8
77
12
3

Q.22 Some unions who have leadership who admit to being on the left politically are trying to widen the miners strike by getting their membership to help the miners in various ways. I would like you to tell me whether you approve or disapprove of these activities by other unions.

All
No

TRADE UNION
MEMBERS
No

approve
disapprove
don't know

17
73
10

25
68
7

Q.23 Thinking of the groups on this list would you say whether in your opinion, each of these groups of workers should or should not support the miners' strike?
SHOWCARD B

Q23a The dockers

should
should not
don't know

19
75
6

28
67
6

b The steel workers

should
should not
don't know

18
77
5

26
69
4

c Railwaymen

should
should not
don't know

19
76
6

27
69
5

d Electricity supply workers

should
should not
don't know

17
78
5

24
72
4

e The seamen

should
should not
don't know

16
78
5

24
70
6

f Lorry drivers and haulage

should
should not
don't know

19
76
5

28
67
4

Q.24 The trade unions are holding their annual TUC conference at the beginning of September. A number of left wing trade union leaders have said that they are going to try to make the TUC give much stronger support, both in terms of financial help and actual physical support for the miners.

ALL
%

TRADE UNION
MEMBERS
%

Do you (a)
approve or disapprove of this aim

approve	21
disapprove	70
don't know	9

27
65
8

(b) think it would be in the country's interest or against the country's interests for the TUC to give much stronger support to the striking miners:

in country's interest	21
not in country's interest	71
don't know	8

29
63
8

(c) think it would help or damage the reputation of the unions with the general public and the mass of ordinary workers to give much stronger support to the miners?

help reputation	16
damage reputation	72
don't know	12

21
64
15

(d) think it would help or harm the reputation of the Labour Party with ordinary voters or have no effect on its reputation?

help reputation of labour party	9
harm reputation of labour party	50
Have no effect	32
Don't know	9

12
46
35
7

25
 Q.25 Some people have said that the TUC conference should only give help to the striking miners if Mr Scargill and his colleagues first held a national secret ballot to show whether a majority of miners supported the strike or not. Do you think this would or would not be sensible attitude for the TUC conference to take?

All
 no

TRADE UNION
 MEMBERS
 20

sensible 82
 not sensible 11
 don't know 6

80
 14
 6

Q.26 Welsh miners were recently fined £50,000 for defying the law. Do you think they are justified in defying it to try to win the strike?

should stay within the law
 are justified in breaking it
 don't know

76
 18
 7

73
 21
 5

Q.27 The Steel unions are worried that if the miners pickets stop coal going into the huge Ravenscraig Steel complex and Scunthorpe the end result will be that the Ravenscraig already in serious trouble, will close with the loss of some thousands of jobs. Do you think this is a serious possibility or not?

serious possibility
 not serious
 don't know

86
 9
 4

88
 10
 2

Q.28 Do you think that the miners should ignore this possible threat to Ravenscraig in the interests of winning their own fight or do you think it is right for them to let coal trains into Ravenscraig and Scunthorpe to safeguard steelworkers' jobs?

should ignore threat
 let coal trains in
 don't know

8
 86
 5

10
 86
 4

Q.29 Another possibility is that miners pickets will try to bring the Power stations to a halt by blockading their supplies of coal and oil. Do you think it right for miners to do this?

All
90

TRADE UNION
MEMBERS
20

right
wrong
don't know

12
85
3

17
79
4

Q.30 And what effect do you think such blockading would have on jobs in the electricity supply industry? Do you think it will put a lot of jobs at risk a certain number, or only a few or none

a lot
a certain number
a few
None
Don't know

40
30
15
11
4

37
30
13
16
5

Q.31 And what about the railways? If the railway workers refuse to let coal trains operate do you think that the loss of freight business involved will or will not put railwayworkers jobs at risk?

Will
Will not
don't know

75
18
7

69
24
7

Q.32 Some railwaymen have been taking sympathetic action to support the miners strike. Do you think they should or should not do this?

Should
Should not
don't know

22
69
9

31
60
10

Q.33 The railway unions are threatening to start a national work to rule shortly. The chairman of the British Rail has said that there is no real reason for this and has indicated that the whole aim is to support the miners' strike.

Cont'd

TRADE UNION MEMBERS %

Which do you think is nearest the truth..	All %	TRADE UNION MEMBERS %
that the railway unions have a genuine grievance which justifies a work to rule or	17	25
that there is no real grievance and it is just a cover by their left wing leadership to give support to the miners?	63	57
Don't know	20	18

Q.34 The chairman of British Rail has also said that an unjustified work to rule will damage their business and put a lot of railway workers jobs at risk. Do you think this is true or untrue?

true	74	69
untrue	19	25
don't know	7	6

Q.35 Do you approve or disapprove of a railway work to rule at this time?

approve	14	21
disapprove	72	65
don't know	14	13

Q.36 There is also a threat of another national dock strike of British Steel go ahead with unloading a ship bringing vitally needed supplies of coal. Would you say that the dockers threatening a national strike have a genuine grievance or do you think this also is just a move to help the miners strike?

genuine grievance	14	19
move to help miners	76	71
don't know	10	10

Q.37 At the recent talks the National Coal Board offered Mr Scargill and his colleagues a number of concessions including withdrawing the threat of closure from five collieries. Would you say that the Coal Board has gone as far as it could and should to try to end the strike or do you think it should have met Mr Scargill's full demands for no colliery to close whether it was making heavy losses or not?

All
No

TRADE UNION
MEMBERS
No

Coal Board went as far as it could	70
Coal Board should have met Mr Scargill's full demands	16
don't know	15

63
19
18

Q.38 And do you think Mr Scargill and his colleagues were right to refuse the deal offered and break off the talks or do you think they made a mistake and lost a good chance to end the strike?

right	14
made a mistake	78
don't know	8

19
71
9

Q.39 Would you say that if the strike goes on long enough the Government and the National Coal Board will offer more concessions to Mr Scargill or do you think as time goes on the attitude of the government and the Coal Board will harden?

Govt. and Coal Board will make more concessions	15
As time goes on their position will harden	77
don't know	9

20
70
9

Q.40 Do you think Mr Scargill has handled this strike well or badly?

well	13
badly	80
don't know	7

18
75
7

TRADE UNION MEMBERS
20

Q.41 How much do you think the miners have to gain or lose by keeping the strike going now?

All no

would you say ^{RE-ADJUST}

- a great deal to gain
- a certain amount to gain
- a certain amount to lose
- a great deal to lose
- Don't know

9
9
14
62
6

15
12
13
55
5

Q.42 And, finally, one more question, Do you think the other unions at the TUC conference should or should not now start to look seriously for ways to bring the strike to and end?

- should
- should not
- don't know

95
3
3

93
2
4



10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister:

Giles Shaw is
seeing Mr Macgregor
on Friday to discuss
"Options". Perhaps
the best time to consider
the Policy Unit paper
attached is in the
context of his report

J.

SECRET

29 August 1984

PRIME MINISTER

MINERS' AND DOCK STRIKES

At MISC 101 yesterday, you asked about options for ending the coal and dock disputes.

The miners' dispute is still the central one. The public see the miners' tactics as a serious and violent threat to our industrial structure and our way of life. The dockers' dispute, if it is about anything, is about the extent of other unions' support for the miners.

Options in the Mining Dispute

Until now, the Government has been hoping that the coal strike will be ended by the drift back to work. But the drift has continued slowly for 6 months, with little sign of any acceleration. Moreover, Scargill has been able to keep hope alive through a series of conferences, marches and other stunts. Attrition may work either through the drift accelerating, or via a split in the NUM executive eventually forcing Scargill into a minority.

It is, however, now time for the Government to consider showing that it still means business: this will damage strikers' morale, and may split moderate unionists further

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away from Scargill. There are many options carrying different degrees of risk. This list is reasonably comprehensive, and includes some very tough measures which could well induce wrong reactions at this stage.

1. Increasing Endurance: Options to increase the supply of coal from non--NUM sources

(a) Encourage NCB to expand open-cast coal. Open-cast coal can be exploited quite rapidly once planning permission has been obtained, and can be extracted by non-NUM labour under licence from the Coal Board, or even in private ownership.

(b) Urge nationalised industries to import more coal. Considerable quantities have already been brought in by private industry, often through small ports.

(c) Ask NCB to license more private deep mines. There are already many small privately-owned deep and drift mines in the country. New reserves could be licensed to private contractors. This is the most inflammatory of these three options.

2. Increase endurance by reducing coal burn

(a) Purchasing new oil-fired or gas-fired generating capacity and/or accelerating the nuclear programme offers a long-term option.

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(b) Offering industry encouragements to switch from coal to other forms of space heating and power. Probably unnecessary, as the abolition of the coal conversion scheme, coupled with the long strike, have put many customers off coal.

3. Options designed to achieve the NCB objectives of pit closures and demanning

(a) Permit voluntary redundancies, even when people are on strike. Their votes could, however, be important. Could the redundancy take effect from the date of the strike's end?

(b) Start announcing closures of uneconomic pits in militant areas.

(c) Alternatively, announce removal of safety cover on uneconomic pits likely to lead to physical and geological reasons for their closure.

4. Options designed to put pressure on non-working miners to return to work

(a) Announce removal of safety cover at certain pits unless men return.

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- (b) Use example of Polkemmet more widely to illustrate the dangers of current Scargill tactics.
- (c) Use speeches and NCB propoganda to drive a wedge between the different factions in the NUM Executive, playing on the split between McGahey and Scargill over safety cover at Polkemmet.
- (d) Consider announcing tougher financial targets for the NCB, and lower capital investment programme, if miners refuse to co-operate - the argument being that the NCB and Government are being more than generous at the moment, and if there is no response from the other side, the policy would have to be reviewed unilaterally. This would be a major shift in policy and would produce very hostile reactions.

5. Options to deal with intimidation and picket-line violence

- (a) Speedier use of stipendiary magistrates and of legal processes so that pickets can see their comrades being prosecuted and punished quickly for criminal offences.
- (b) Mounting serious cases about criminal damage and violence likely to lead to sharp exemplary

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sentences. Publicising any such sentences when they are announced.

- (c) Examining the possibility of mounting a conspiracy charge against union leaders inciting pickets to violence.

6. Options to put pressure on the officials of the NUM

- (a) Encourage use of the civil law against secondary picketing, with a view to fining or confiscating mineworkers' funds.
- (b) Run a propaganda and speech campaign pointing out the way in which current union policy is wrecking a once great union.

7. Options to strengthen the hands of miners wishing to return to work

- (a) Continuing to experiment with the policy of finding pits or areas where a critical mass of people may wish to return to work, and then organising transport and policing for them.
- (b) Use speeches and press briefings to encourage the moderate miner to seek a proper ballot.

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(c) Remind the NUM and its regional branches that the new Employment Act with its rules and ballots becomes effective in the ~~third~~^{fourth} week of September. This Act will enable the NCB to obtain an injunction to prevent inducement to strike if no ballot has been held. We are advised that this can probably be done if a miner goes to work on 27 September and then is "persuaded" not to on 28th. This type of legal action centred around the issue of a ballot is less likely to alienate moderates.

Options in the Docks Dispute

The main hope with the docks dispute is, as Tom King described, that it will crumble quickly; or, at the very latest, after the TUC Conference, when the dockers' leaders will feel less need for conscience-saving strike action in support of the miners.

However, we should not bank on this happening, and the list of options for the dockers is very similar to that for the miners. In brief outline, they are:

1. Encouraging law suits against secondary action. We are told there are very strong grounds for regarding the whole of the docks dispute as secondary action.

-6-
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2. Seeking secret ballots once the new Trade Union Act is effective.
3. Putting financial pressure on the state-owned or state-supported bad ports covered by the NDLS, particularly the PLA.
4. Increasing air freight, use of small ports, and trans-shipment from Rotterdam.
5. Spelling out the way in which foreign ports and non-striking ports will benefit from the dispute.

CONCLUSION

In the miners' dispute, the time has definitely come for some acceleration in the pace of the return to work, and now is the time to experiment with some tougher measures.

During the early days of the dispute, the argument always held sway that tougher action would jeopardise the working records of the Nottinghamshire and other moderate miners. This now looks unlikely in view of the growing violence and extremism of Scargill's campaign, and the substantial investment in moderation made by all those working miners.

The public is appalled by the scenes of violence it sees on television every night, where the Government seems impotent to do anything; and is probably growing weary of the rash of

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strikes which is now characterising the British economy yet again. Whilst it will blame the miners' extremists most, the Government cannot expect to escape some of the aggravation itself.

With this in mind, we would venture the following mixed package of measures:

1. Use of law on incitement to strike and ballots in both miners' and dockers' disputes.
2. A speeding up of the criminal law to deal with the scenes of violence, coupled with maximum publicity for the legal action that is being taken.
3. An escalation in the pace of open-cast mining activities, and an exploration of whether more coal can be imported.
4. Ask NCB to evaluate opening the miners' redundancy programme, and the removal of safety cover at half a dozen of the worst pits that are destined to close.

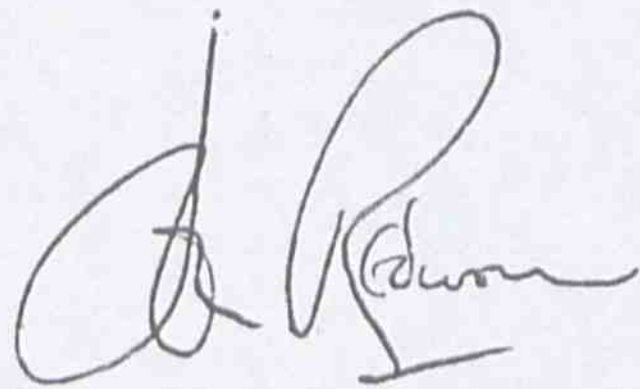
Options to introduce non-coal burning capacity in power stations are by nature much longer-term, and will not influence the outcome of this dispute, but are nonetheless important to reduce Britain's vulnerability to the NUM's forces. An announcement even about designing a new power

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station of a non-coal burning type could be useful psychologically to underline the point about strikes destroying jobs but would call into question the Government's oft-stated belief in a strong new coal industry.

Above all, it is vital to show that the Government's trade union laws are not stillborn, and the Government does not only care, but can do something to enforce the rule of law and strengthen the hands of the moderates.



JOHN REDWOOD

SECRET

S E C R E T

Copy 1 of 7

NO
2
38



Department of the Environment
2 Marsham Street London SW1P 3EB
Telephone 01-212 7601

Minister for Housing and Construction

Pure Mark

29 August 1984

Dear Michael,

JA
29/8

OPENCAST COAL SITE AT SPRINGHILL, STAFFORDSHIRE

With the continuation of the miners' strike, it is essential that the NCB should be able to move coal from as many as possible of its existing stockpiles to maintain necessary supplies both to the CEGB and to other key customers. I understand that the scope for such movement is limited not only by the miners' strike itself preventing access to some stockpiles but also by the refusal of the rail unions in some areas to move coal trains. It is vital to explore all possible means of moving such stocks as are likely to be available. In order to maximise the flow of coal the NCB is concentrating particularly on lifting coal from opencast sites in non-striking areas. The enclosed copy of a letter from Peter Walker underlines the Government's interest in the matter. (14.8.84)

A particular problem has arisen at the Springhill Opencast Site in Staffordshire and it is about this that I am seeking your advice. Authorisation for the exploitation of the site was granted in 1980 under the terms of the Opencast Coal Act 1958. One of the conditions in the direction under Section 2 of that Act given on the grant of the authorisation was:

"Except in case of emergency or as may be agreed between the Board and the County Planning Authority or in default of agreement as may be determined by the Secretary of State the Board shall not transport coal from the site otherwise than by rail from Springhill Disposal Point".

The NUR has been refusing, since the end of March, to operate rail transport from the site. Staffordshire County Council refused in early June a request from the NCB that it be allowed to use road transport until rail facilities become available again and the NCB has asked the Government to take urgent action. I understand that it intends to seek from the Secretary of State a determination of its disagreement with the county.

We are exploring the possibilities. These include a determination within the terms of the consent itself, an appeal under Section 36 of the Town and Country Planning Act 1971 against the refusal of the County Council to give its agreement to the transport of coal by road pursuant to the terms of the planning

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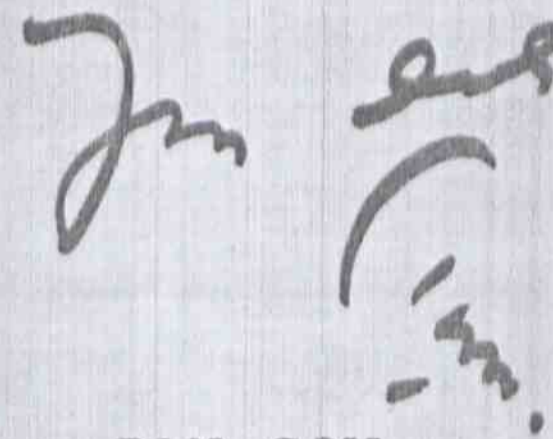
S E C R E T

condition, or an application by the NCB to the High Court for a determination that there is indeed an emergency and the making of a direction under Section 49(4) of the Opencast Coal Act 1958 varying the planning condition. I am seeking your very urgent advice on the first and last of these options.

The points at issue are essentially two. The first is whether an amendment in 1980 to Section 36 of the Town and Country Planning Act 1971 means that it is no longer open to the Secretary of State to determine the matter pursuant to the condition without treating the reference to him as a formal appeal. The second concerns the application of Section 49(4) of the Opencast Coal Act 1958. This can be read as allowing the Secretary of State (now, following a decision by the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for the Environment) to vary conditions specified in directions giving deemed planning permission under Section 2 of the 1958 Act. We understand that the Section has been used in this way in the past but only to achieve minor and non-controversial variations. As set out in the enclosed case for advice there is some doubt about whether the Section does apply to such directions and whether it would be open to the Secretary of State to make a substantial variation in this controversial case. I am advised that there are other opencast sites where similar conditions to that imposed in the Springhill case apply. The issue thus could go wider than this one case.

The issue is one of considerable national importance and growing urgency. I should welcome your advice as soon as possible.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Prime Minister and to Peter Walker.



IAN GOW

The Rt Hon Sir Michael Havers QC MP

S E C R E T

2F

E.P.

JR

PRIME MINISTER

With compliments.

JOHN REDWOOD

Miners' leaders who are afraid to speak their minds

WHATEVER happened to the moderates on the national executive of the Mineworkers' Union? Long ago in March, eight of them held a meeting at a pub near Leicester, at which they solemnly vowed to press for a national ballot at the next meeting of the executive.

When the great day, April 12, came, Mr Scargill — after complaining that he was "constitutionally embarrassed" — ruled them out of order and for the past four and a half months, scarcely a cheep has been heard out of any of them. Since the gathering in the Leicester pub, they have not even met as a group.

They are, at least, perfectly candid about their total ineffectiveness. "Our side has less and less to say on the national executive," admitted one. "I certainly say nothing myself. We've got to the stage where *nobody* on the executive will put his hand up till Arthur does. If anybody opposes him, they're afraid the whole machine will be turned against them.

"I doubt if I could even arrange a meeting of moderates at the moment," said a second man. "For a start, I wouldn't feel able to trust the people I invited not to tell Scargill, who'd then have his mob waiting for you. Even if we did get together, there isn't the guts to do anything." You had great difficulty in even identifying who the moderates were at the moment, agreed a third man.

★
ONE or two are thoroughly ashamed at their non-performance. "I used to stand up and say what I thought," said the first man quoted, "but we're not in that situation now. I've done more dishonest and deceitful things in these last few months than in the rest of my life put together.

"I'm really sick inside. How can we see all this violence, and still sit and say nothing? We have a lot to answer for, because we've not had the courage. But whoever speaks up, the thugs will get at him and his family." One of his colleagues on the NUM executive agreed: "I'm absolutely sick at heart because I've not been able to do what I've done all my life — say what I think."

Why have they been reduced to this state of demoralised silence? To begin with, they live under a régime of terror which would unman most of us. One "got collared" after the Leicester meeting; others were afraid the same would happen to them. Many have had death threats to themselves and their wives. "You wait till you go to the TUC at Brighton," one man was told on the telephone, "we'll get her then!" Not surprisingly, his wife does not like being left alone in the house. She, like

others, cannot wait for her husband to retire.

"I'm sure physical fear is a predominant thing," said one executive member who admits to feeling terrorised. "In fact, the whole set-up of the union is fear. Is it safe for me to go to Brighton? And what do I do when I get there — sit in the hotel and risk a brick through the window or go out and have the boot put in? I never thought I'd live in a Britain like this."

Nor is the terror limited to the streets. There were witch-hunts on the executive itself. "Something very sinister has started," said one moderate. "If there's a leak in the media, they go round the table and ask 'did you do it?' and then one of the Left will shout 'They should be sacked!' I've always been so proud of the union, but I'm not so proud now."

Nor is it merely fear of public exhortation which drives the mod-

erate man about his closest friend on the executive, "but, if they brought me before the disciplinary committee and tried to expel me, I couldn't count on him."

The reasons for this profound distrust are simple enough. All the moderates tell tales of colleagues who have talked one way in private, but voted another in public. They were convinced they could command a majority for a national ballot early in March but, when the vote came, only three men held up their hands.

They have also seen some of those they considered firm allies change their spots or become what one man called "floaters." For example, Sid Vincent of the Lancashire miners, who played a part in organising the Leicester meeting but now often talked like a militant of the militants. "It's unbelievable," said one of his former friends. Others, their colleagues feel, have been wooed away from their real convictions by "perks" like trips to Cuba.

"The fact is," admitted one moderate, "that the Right in the union never has been together in the same way as the Left. We haven't had a leader since Tommy Bartle (of the Durham miners) died and too many of us are individualists pursuing our own ends, this or that office, some personal ambition or other." The Left were ready to sacrifice their ambition for the cause and the Right talked the same way, but not when it came to *doing* something about it.

"When the Left organise," agreed one of his colleagues, "they follow instructions. You should have seen our meetings on the Right, they were chaotic, six different people, six different points of view." The truth, said a third man, was that they were all looking after themselves, and there was nobody worse for that than trade union officials.

★
GIVEN this disarray, the lack of a leader, the supposed financial risks, the anxiety of and for their wives, the consequent waning of both courage and conviction, several of the moderates came to the conclusion that they were fighting a hopeless battle.

"There comes a stage," said one man, "when you realise that there is no point in beating your head against a brick wall and you say 'damn it, I'll just keep my mouth shut and my head down.'"

Barring miracles, moreover, that is the way it is going to stay. The moderates have already decided that the Brighton conference is a lost cause. Some candidly admit that the future of democracy in the NUM lies not with them but with the new grass-roots leadership among the miners opposed to the strike, who have been dragging Mr Scargill through the courts and who have no pensions to worry about.

The NUM executive

meets today. Not all

its members back the

Scargill strategy, but...

GRAHAM TURNER

reports their feelings

erates to silence. Money comes into it, too. "For many years," explained one, "it's been the practice that, when a full-time official retired, he got three years' pensionable salary as a lump sum. On a general secretary's pay, that could be worth £40,000. Then they give you the union car you're driving, usually a Rover or a Granada.

"Now that," he went on, "is not a hard and fast rule. It could all be taken away from you. It's the finance committee which decides in the first instance, but there are only two moderates on that now and the fear is that Arthur could influence its decisions." That had definitely weighed heavily with several of the moderates.

"It is a hold on you," agreed one of his colleagues. "If you do anything which Arthur could claim is detrimental to the union, you think 'there goes my car, there goes my lump sum.' Nobody's ever said it, but we all think it."

But the root of the NUM moderates' weakness goes even deeper. The sad truth is, they do not feel they can trust each other. I asked a number who, of their own persuasion on the executive, they felt able to depend on. The answer was unanimous: not one. "We talk together, we frolic together," said



Minister for Housing and Construction

Department of the Environment
2 Marsham Street London SW1P 3EB

Telephone 01-212 7601

28 August 1984

Dear Peter,

N. 10
J. R.

SPRINGHILL OPENCAST COAL SITE

Thank you for your letter of 14 August to Patrick Jenkin.

I understand the need to consider urgently a variation in the planning condition at the Springhill site which would enable coal to be moved by road if required. Our officials have now met to explore all the options.

You note that action has been taken in the past by successive Secretaries of State for Energy under the Opencast Coal Act to vary planning conditions on opencast sites. There is no doubt that this would be a much faster route to follow than recourse to the Planning Acts. Nevertheless, I understand that there is sufficient doubt about the legality of pursuing this course to warrant an urgent reference to the Law Officers. My officials and yours have been considering the terms of the case and I am about to put the issue to the Attorney General. I intend to emphasise strongly the Government's own view in the matter, and I shall enclose your letter which makes the point so clearly.

No doubt you and the NCB have considered the alternative of seeking a declaration from the Courts that the Board is entitled to move the coal by road because an emergency exists within the terms of the condition. I understand the considerations that would point to a decision not to pursue such a course at this juncture. However I see similar considerations arising over the use of the Opencast powers if the Law Officers confirm their availability. We are consulting publicly on a proposal to abolish these powers in legislation to be introduced next Session. We will need to consider carefully what are the grounds, other than the existence of an emergency, which necessitate the use of powers we have so recently suggested are redundant.

I am copying this to the Prime Minister.

IAN GOW

NATIONAL COAL BOARD
HOBART HOUSE
GROSVENOR PLACE
LONDON SW1X 7AE

Coal HZ

01-235 2020

CHAIRMAN

Ian MacGregor

28th August 1984

Rt. Hon. Stanley Orme, M.P.,
47, Hope Road,
Sale,
Cheshire,
M33 3AH.

Dear Mr. Orme,

In view of the many reports and speculations in the media in the last few days about "The Orme Initiatives" I feel it is only fair to write to you to clarify the NCB's position.

Since our talks with the NUM leaders ended on 18th July you have provided us with 3 alternative versions of paragraph 3(c) of the NCB's proposed discussion document which we left with the NUM on 18th July.

These were:-

- (i) "leave 3(c) as per NUM draft and add:
 - (d) Any other matters relating to collieries, plants, workshops etc to be the subject of discussion in line with Plan for Coal."

- (ii) "delete 3(c) and substitute:

Collieries where it appears that there are no further mineable reserves will be the subject of a joint investigation by Board and Union mining engineers and any decision on the future of that pit will be taken in line with Plan for Coal"

- (iii) "delete 3(c) and substitute:

Collieries other than those referred to in clauses (a) and (b) would be the subject of investigation and discussion in line with Plan for Coal. This will involve an in-depth and comprehensive investigation by the Board and the Unions mining engineers and where there are no further mineable reserves available the Board and the Union will agree that such collieries will be deemed exhausted."

As I told you at the beginning of August, (since when you have come forward with no new initiative) these forms of words do nothing to recognise that only reserves which can be developed to the benefit of the industry should be worked. That is why we do not find any of these suggestions acceptable as an alternative to our discussion document which is entirely consistent with the Plan for Coal.

/Cont.....

PRIME MINISTER

Meeting of MISC 101

The following will be attending:

Lord President

Home Secretary

Secretary of State for Transport

Secretary of State for Employment

?Secretary of State for Wales

Secretary of State for Trade & Industry

Attorney General

Mr. Stanley (MOD)

Mr. Ancram (Scottish Office)

Mr. Shaw (D/Energy)

Mr. Heyhoe (HMT)

CR

28 August 1984

36

cc IND for: Industrial Action
in the Ports
A 2PRIME MINISTERMISC 101(84)34th Meeting

COAL

You will wish briefly to take stock of events of the past three weeks. I understand that the Department of Energy will be circulating a fuller version than usual of the report which has been prepared daily during August: this will provide useful background. You will wish to hear from:

i. Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Energy

- on production and endurance;
- on the drift back to work and the NCB's tactics for increasing it;
- on what was involved in the "Stan Orme" compromise proposal which was presented on 2 August and featured in a televised debate between Mr MacGregor and Mr Scargill on 22 August; and
- on the prospects, if any, for renewed negotiations between the NUM and the Board.

Stan Ormeii. The Home Secretary

- on public order; and
- on the rate of prosecutions.

iii. The Secretary of State for Transport

- on coal traffic (which is set to show the best weekly total for some time, comfortably over 150 coal trains - though this comes after a thin period and at a time when sendings-home remain high);
- on discussions which have taken place between the British Rail Board and the rail unions aimed at avoiding the industrial action planned



for next month.

iv. The Secretary of State for Employment

- on recent court action by working miners and others against the strike; and
- on the prospects for the TUC Conference (the statement made yesterday by 14 unions condemning Mr MacGregor and calling for the resumption of negotiations may have a tactical significance in providing a presentable public stance for unions on the left wishing the TUC to back the miners' demand for total support, and in associating unions in the centre - including NALGO, whose votes, it is thought, may be crucial - with the harder, pro-strike line).

THE DOCKS

2. You will want to take stock generally of events over the weekend and to consider whether, as in July, it would be appropriate to ask the Secretary of State for Transport to arrange for a daily interdepartmental meeting, on the coal model, under his chairmanship; and to ask the Secretary of State for Employment, as before, to take on the job of co-ordinating the Government's public line across the two disputes. You will want to ask the Secretaries of State to report

- on the response to the strike call by TGWU members
 - a. in scheme ports; and
 - b. elsewhere;
- on whether the strike is thought to be sustainable; and on the terms being demanded by the TGWU for calling it off; and



- on any legal action in connection with the strike being contemplated by the British Steel Corporation or others.

3. Whichever Treasury Minister attends will no doubt report on any effect of the strike on the pound and the financial markets.

TIMING

4. We have made provisional arrangements for a meeting of the Group on Thursday 30 August at 11.30: you will want to consider at the end of Tuesday's meeting whether to meet again in the course of the week, bearing in mind that the next meeting definitely arranged is on Tuesday 4 September, after the TUC debate on the miners' resolution, which is down for discussion on Monday 3 September.


J F STOKER

24 August 1984

SECRET



Copy No 1 of 4

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~~GCOL~~

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ENERGY
THAMES HOUSE SOUTH
MILLBANK LONDON SW1P 4QJ

01-211-6402

MISC LOI

file

David Barclay Esq
Private Secretary to
the Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

23 August 1984

Dear David

ENDURANCE

I attach the latest weekly reports on power station endurance and coal and power station statistics.

Copies also go to Margaret O'Mara and Richard Hatfield.

Yours

John

J S NEILSON
Private Secretary

Copy No **1 of 14**
17 August 1984

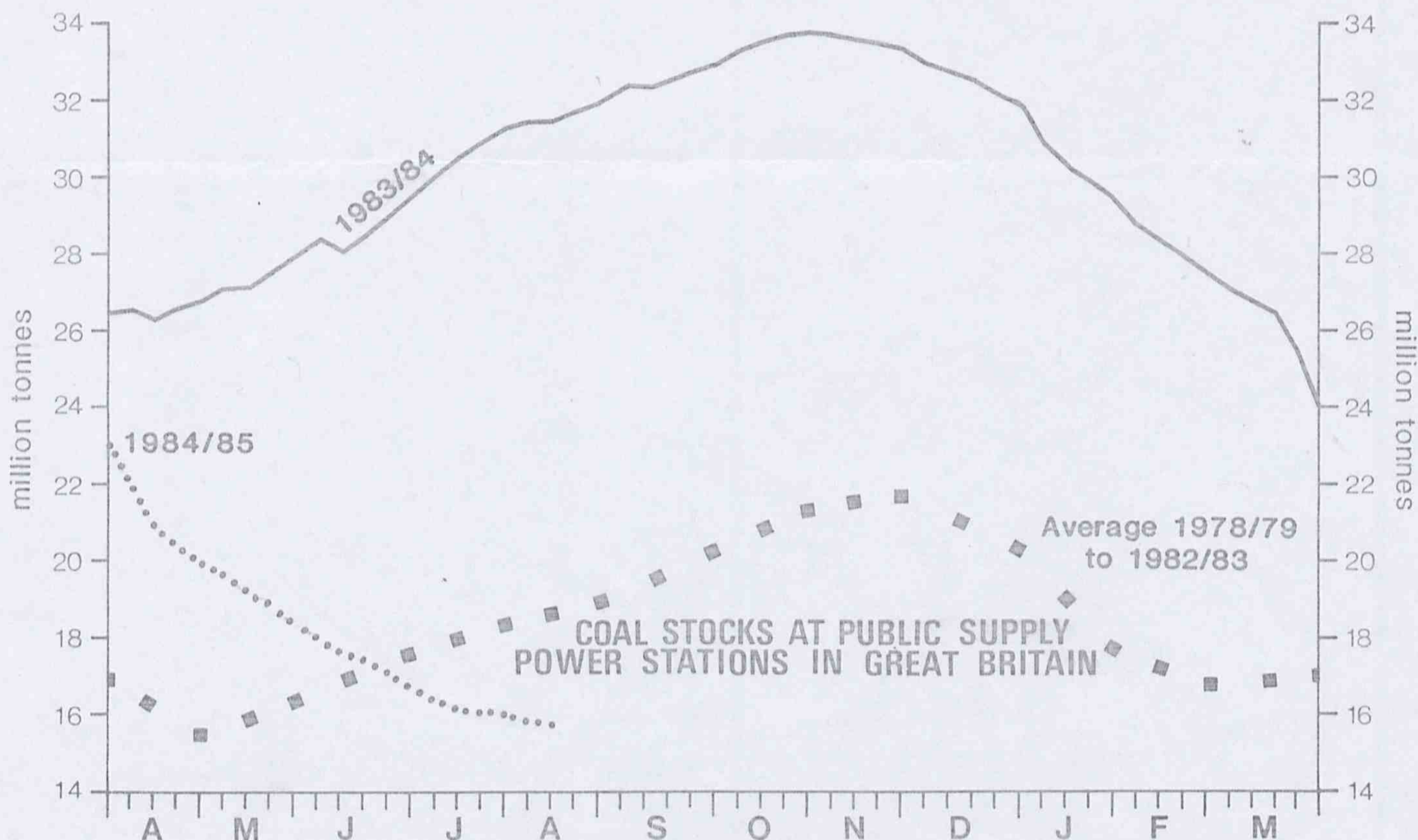
WEEKLY COAL AND POWER STATION STATISTICS (1)

EcS Division, Dept. of Energy, Thames House South, Millbank SW1P 4QJ. Phone: 01-211-6928

Week ending 13-8-83 : 21-7-84 28-7-84 4-8-84 11-8-84

C O A L	PRODUCTION (m. tonnes)		deep mines †	1.62 :	0.43	0.27	0.25	0.41
			opencast †	0.36 :	0.27	0.18	0.21	0.30
			TOTAL	1.98 :	0.69	0.45	0.46	0.71
C O A L	PRODUCTIVITY(2) (tonnes/manshift)		'overall' o.m.s	2.29 :	..	..	..	..
			'production' o.m.s	9.92 :	..	..	..	..
S T A T I O N S	UNDISTRIBUTED STOCK (m. tonnes)		TOTAL	23.71 :	22.49	22.32	22.03	22.47
	COAL STOCKS (m. tonnes)			31.71 :	16.00	15.93	<u>15.79</u>	<u>15.68</u>
S T A T I O N S	COAL CONSUMPTION		"	1.24 :	0.65	0.50	0.57	<u>0.55</u>
	COAL RECEIPTS		"	1.52 :	0.53	0.43	0.43	0.45
S T A T I O N S	OIL STOCKS(3)		"	1.20 :	1.00	0.98	0.89	0.82
	OIL CONSUMPTION(3)		"	0.02 :	0.38	0.42	0.43	0.45
	OIL RECEIPTS(3)		"	0.04 :	0.41	0.38	0.33	0.38
P O W E R	ELECTRICITY SUPPLIED (4) (GWh)			:				
	Nuclear		"	740 :	766	769	622	739
	Other Steam		"	2,873 :	2,936	2,722	2,876	2,997
	TOTAL		"	3,613 :	3,702	3,491	3,498	3,735
	TOTAL - temperature corrected		"	3,667 :	3,702	3,533	3,540	..

(1) Great Britain unless otherwise stated. All latest figures are subject to revision.
 (2) NCB mines only. (3) Oil-fired boilers only. (4) Steam stations only.
 .. data not yet available. † includes licensed production.



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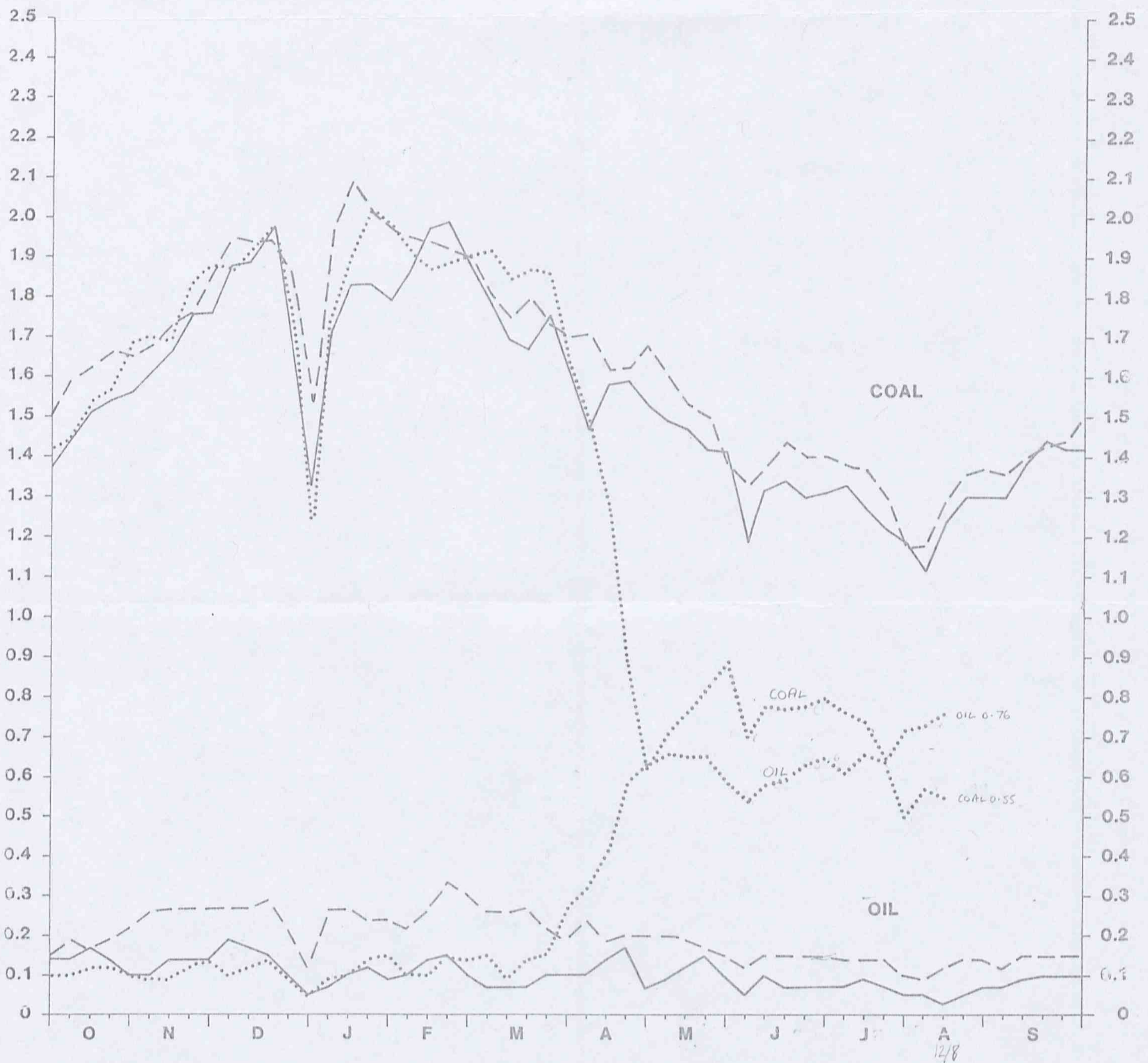
COAL CONSUMPTION AND OIL CONSUMPTION (OIL FIRED) AT
PUBLIC SUPPLY POWER STATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN

Key

- 10/83 to 9/84
- 10/82 to 9/83
- - - - Average 1977/78 to 1981/82

Million
Tonnes
Coal
or Coal
Equivalent

Million
Tonnes
Coal
or Coal
Equivalent



SECRET

12/8

DAILY COAL REPORT - THURSDAY 23 AUGUST 1984

34

PIT CATEGORIES

	NUMBER	PLUS ON HOLIDAY
WORKING NORMALLY	41	4
TURNING SOME COAL	8	1
SOME MEN PRESENT	8	-
ON STRIKE/PICKETED OUT	98	14

THESE TOTALS ARE THE SAME AS YESTERDAY.

MEN ARE NOW WORKING AT 9 OF THE 11 SCOTTISH PITS, IN TOTAL 154 APPEARED TODAY (UP 2).

PICKETING IN YORKSHIRE WAS GENERALLY QUIETER THAN YESTERDAY, WHEN THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE LOOTING AND DAMAGE TO PROPERTY. A TOTAL OF 18 MINERS TURNED UP FOR WORK IN YORKSHIRE TODAY, 4 MORE THAN YESTERDAY AND ONE MORE THAN THE PREVIOUS RECORD SET ON TUESDAY.

COAL MOVEMENTS

MOVEMENTS ON WEDNESDAY WERE ENCOURAGING. 127,000 TONNES WERE DESPATCHED AND 35 COAL TRAINS RAN. THIS WAS THE HIGHEST FIGURE ON A WEDNESDAY FOR 6 WEEKS. FOUR TRAINS RAN FROM WESTHOUSES AGAIN YESTERDAY. HOWEVER, PRESSURE FROM STAFF THERE FOR A SECRET BALLOT ABOUT A RETURN TO NORMAL WORKING OF COAL TRAINS SEEMS TO HAVE DISAPPEARED.

THE NCB IS MANAGING TO SUPPLY 75% OF THE NORMAL DEMAND FROM ITS INDUSTRIAL CUSTOMERS AT THIS TIME OF YEAR. THERE ARE NO REPORTS OF IMMEDIATE DIFFICULTIES FROM INDUSTRY, BUT CONCERNS FOR THE FUTURE REMAIN, PARTICULARLY IN THE FOUNDRY INDUSTRY. THERE ARE SOME SIGNS THAT MORE DRIVERS IN THE MIDLANDS MAY BE PREPARED TO RUN COAL TRAINS, HOWEVER A SIMILAR IMPROVEMENT IN THE ATTITUDE OF GUARDS AND SIGNALMEN WILL BE REQUIRED TO INCREASE THE LEVEL OF MOVEMENTS.

LAW AND ORDER

THE ORGANISED VIOLENCE IN YORKSHIRE YESTERDAY WAS PARTICULARLY SERIOUS. POLICE DISCOVERED MAPS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS WHICH INDICATED TARGETS FOR PICKETING IN YORKSHIRE WHEN THEY SEARCHED A CAR OUTSIDE A YORKSHIRE COLLIERY. THERE HAS BEEN RELATIVELY LITTLE TROUBLE TODAY, AND THE MINERS WHO WISHED TO WORK IN YORKSHIRE ALL GOT IN WITHOUT MUCH DIFFICULTY. HOWEVER, 3 PETROL BOMBS WERE FOUND BY POLICE IN THE VILLAGE OF ARMTHORPE, NEAR MARKHAM MAIN COLLIERY, WHERE SOME OF THE WORST SCENES OCCURRED YESTERDAY. 2,000 PICKETS GATHERED THERE BEFORE DISPERSING WHEN BEING CONFRONTED BY POLICE. 2,000 PICKETS RETURNED TO GASCOIGNE WOOD AGAIN THIS MORNING, ALLERTON BYWATER WAS ONLY LIGHTLY PICKETED.

PICKETS AT NEARMOUTH COLLIERY IN THE NORTH EAST ARRIVED AFTER 16 MEN HAD GONE IN THERE, LATER IN THE MORNING THEY LEFT THE PIT ENTRANCE AND RAN AMUCK IN THE TOWN CENTRE SOME DISTANCE AWAY.

HUNTERSTON AND THE THREATENED DOCK STRIKE

TGWU TUGBOAT MEN AND REGISTERED DOCKERS AT HUNTERSTON WALKED OUT WHEN ISTC EMPLOYEES OF BRITISH STEEL STARTED UNLOADING THE OSTIA THIS MORNING. MR JIMMY GILLIGAN, SCOTTISH DOCKS SECRETARY OF THE TGWU, SAID THE WALK OUT BY HIS HUNTERSTON MEMBERS WAS "THE START OF A SCOTTISH REGIONAL DOCKS STRIKE". HE SAID LATER THAT 7 SCOTTISH PORTS HAD HELD MEETINGS AND DECIDED TO STRIKE, AND THAT DECISIONS ON THE STRIKE CALL FROM THE OTHER PORTS COULD BE EXPECTED EITHER LATER TONIGHT OR TOMORROW.

A DOCKS DELEGATE CONFERENCE OF ALL UK PORTS IS BEING ARRANGED IN LONDON TOMORROW MORNING. MR CLIVE LEVIS, THE ISTC'S SCOTTISH ORGANISER, IS REPORTED TO HAVE REJECTED A PLEA FROM MR SCARGILL THAT ALL TRADE UNION MEMBERS SHOULD REFUSE TO HANDLE THE COAL FROM THE OSTIA. BOTH BSC AND THE ISTC POINTED OUT THAT THEIR CRANE OPERATORS WERE DOING NO MORE THAN THEIR NORMAL JOB. UNLOADING OF THE OSTIA IS EXPECTED TO TAKE ABOUT 4 DAYS. THE OSTIA'S CARGO WILL BE BLENDED WITH OTHER TYPES OF COAL BEFORE BEING SHIPPED TO RAVENSCRAIG IN LORRIES NEXT WEEK. MR JOHN CULLEN, ASSISTANT TGWU CONVENOR AT FELIXSTOWE, SAID TODAY: "THERE IS LIKELY TO BE SOME RELUCTANCE IN THIS PORT TO A STRIKE CALL." ANY STRIKE IS UNLIKELY TO BITE BEFORE NEXT TUESDAY. A MISC 101 HAS BEEN ARRANGED FOR 6PM ON TUESDAY.

CHANNEL 4 DEBATE MR ORME'S 'PEACE PROPOSAL'

THE NCB ISSUED A STATEMENT TODAY ABOUT THE ORME PEACE FORMULA, WHICH MR SCARGILL CLAIMED IN LAST NIGHT'S DEBATE HAD BEEN IGNORED BY THE BOARD. THE STATEMENT MADE IT CLEAR THAT MR ORME HAD BEEN TOLD THAT HIS FORMULA OF 2 AUGUST DID NOT PROVIDE A BASIS FOR PROGRESS, BECAUSE IT FAILED TO FACE UP TO THE PROBLEMS OF DEFINING UNECONOMIC CAPACITY. THIS PROPOSAL FROM MR ORME HAD BEEN PREPARED AFTER 35 HOURS OF FORMAL NEGOTIATIONS WHICH ENDED WHEN THE NUM REJECTED THE NCB'S REQUIREMENT THAT A COLLIERY SHALL BE DEEMED EXHAUSTED IF IT HAS NO FURTHER RESERVES WHICH CAN BE "BENEFICIALLY" DEVELOPED.

STATEMENT BY CBI PRESIDENT

SIR JAMES CLIMINSON SAID TODAY THAT TRADE UNIONISTS WHOSE JOBS WOULD BE PUT AT RISK BY A DOCKS STRIKE SHOULD PRESSURISE THEIR LEADERS NOT TO EMBARK ON "ANOTHER DAMAGING AND UNJUSTIFIED STOPPAGE". HE ADDED: "THERE IS ONE BASIC LESSON THAT SOME TRADE UNIONS HAVE YET TO LEARN - STRIKES DO NOT PRESERVE JOBS, THEY DESTROY THEM."

REPORT ENDS

317

Daily Coal Report - Thursday 23 August 1984*gc press*Pit categories

	<u>Number</u>	<u>plus on holiday</u>
Working normally	41	4
Turning some coal	8	1
Some men present	8	-
On strike/picketed out	98	14

These totals are the same as yesterday.

117 men worked at Bilston Glen in Scotland today, equalling yesterday's record. Men are now working at 9 of the 11 Scottish pits, in total 154 appeared today (up 2). Six men turned up at Polkemmet where the continuing lack of safety cover has led the Board to announce that the mine is under "critical" threat from rising water and gas. Polkemmet colliery produces a particular quality of coal required at Ravenscraig.

Sixteen went into Wearmouth colliery in the North East again this morning. Power has been switched off underground at Easington colliery and in parts of Wearmouth colliery following the withdrawal of safety cover. Blackhall colliery is also in danger of serious flooding following introduction by the NUM of five day a week safety cover instead of continuous cover.

Picketing in Yorkshire was generally quieter than yesterday, when there was considerable looting and damage to property. A total of 18 miners turned up for work in Yorkshire today, 4 more than yesterday and one more than the previous record set on Tuesday. The breakdown between areas is as follows: North Yorkshire - Gascoigne Wood 2, elsewhere in Selby 5, and Allerton Bywater 3; Doncaster - Markham 1; South Yorkshire - Kiverton Park 6 (up 3), Silverwood one. Kiverton Park is thought to offer the best prospect of a more substantial return to work in Yorkshire in the

near future.

In North Derbyshire the attendance at Shirebrook was 141, 8 more than yesterday and one below Tuesday's record (225 pickets). The attendance at Warsop - 128 and up 4 - did set a new record.

Coal Movements

Movements on Wednesday were encouraging. 127,000 tonnes were despatched and 35 coal trains ran. This was the highest figure on a Wednesday for 6 weeks. Four trains ran from Westhouses again yesterday. However, pressure from staff there for a secret ballot about a return to normal working of coal trains seems to have disappeared.

The NCB is managing to supply 75% of the normal demand from its industrial customers at this time of year. There are no reports of immediate difficulties from industry, but concerns for the future remain, particularly in the foundry industry. There are some signs that more drivers in the Midlands may be prepared to run coal trains; however a similar improvement in the attitude of guards and signalmen will be required to increase the level of movements.

Law and Order

The organised violence in Yorkshire yesterday was particularly serious. Police discovered maps and other documents which indicated targets for picketing in Yorkshire when they searched a car outside a Yorkshire colliery. There has been relatively little trouble today, and the miners who wished to work in Yorkshire all got in without much difficulty. However, 3 petrol bombs were found by police in the village of Armthorpe, near Markham Main colliery, where some of the worst scenes occurred yesterday. 2,000 pickets gathered there before dispersing when being confronted by police. 2,000 pickets returned to Gascoigne Wood again this morning; Allerton Bywater was only lightly picketed.

Pickets at Wearmouth colliery in the North East arrived after 16

men had gone in there; later in the morning they left the pit entrance and ran amuck in the town centre some distance away.

Hunterston and the Threatened Dock Strike

TGWU tugboat men and registered dockers at Hunterston walked out when ISTC employees of British Steel started unloading the Ostia this morning. Mr Jimmy Gilligan, Scottish Docks Secretary of the TGWU, said the walk out by his Hunterston members was "the start of a Scottish regional docks strike." He said later that 7 Scottish ports had held meetings and decided to strike, and that decisions on the strike call from the other ports could be expected either later tonight or tomorrow.

A docks delegate conference of all UK ports is being arranged in London tomorrow morning. Mr Clive Lewis, the ISTC's Scottish Organiser, is reported to have rejected a plea from Mr Scargill that all trade union members should refuse to handle the coal from the Ostia. Both BSC and the ISTC pointed out that their crane operators were doing no more than their normal job. Unloading of the Ostia is expected to take about 4 days. The Ostia's cargo will be blended with other types of coal before being shipped to Ravenscraig in lorries next week. Mr John Cullen, Assistant TGWU Convenor at Felixstowe, said today: "There is likely to be some reluctance in this port to a strike call."

Channel 4 Debate - Mr Orme's "Peace Proposal"

The NCB issued a statement today about the Orme peace formula, which Mr Scargill claimed in last night's debate had been ignored by the Board. The statement made it clear that Mr Orme had been told that his formula of 2 August did not provide a basis for progress, because it failed to face up to the problems of defining uneconomic capacity. This proposal from Mr Orme had been prepared after 35 hours of formal negotiations which ended when the NUM rejected the NCB's requirement that a colliery shall be deemed exhausted if it has no further reserves which can be "beneficially" developed.

Statement by CBI President

Sir James Cleminson said today that trade unionists whose jobs would be put at risk by a docks strike should pressurise their leaders not to embark on "another damaging and unjustified stoppage." He added: "there is one basic lesson that some trade unions have yet to learn - strikes do not preserve jobs, they destroy them."

Line to Take

A statement issued by the Secretary of State for Employment today said: "If there is a national docks strike it will imperil the jobs of hundreds of thousands of trade unionists up and down the country." He questioned whether a strike call would be heeded by all dockers and added: "no one is threatening dockers' jobs. The only threat to dockers' jobs at Hunterston would be if Ravenscraig closed, because that is the only work they do there. I think dockers are likely to ask 'Just what are we being asked to go on national strike about?' BSC's decision will be understood by the overwhelming majority of people."

A statement issued by the Rt Hon Douglas Hurd MP, Minister of State, Home Office, said: "Violence is increasing in the miners' dispute because the strike is beginning to crumble." He added that he had complete confidence that the police would cope with the new "destructive tactics being used to intimidate working miners."

Distribution: Members of MISC 101, Mr Gregson (Cabinet Office)

Enquiries: John Neilson, SOS for Energy's Office, 211 6070.

PRIME MINISTER

Teleprinted to Switzerland
(21.8)

Coal Strike: Media

You may like a further note about the two media points that came up in the course of your conversation with the Lord President this afternoon.

First, the Channel 4 programme tomorrow night. It appears that the information given to MISC 101 about the format of this programme was based on hearsay, and it has proved incorrect. Mr. Scargill will indeed be speaking from Selby, while Mr. Smith will be interviewed at Hobart House, the NCB headquarters. But Mr. Scargill will be on his own in a room and not surrounded by supporters, as first feared.

The programme will open with an introduction from Peter Sissons who leads for Channel 4 on current affairs. He will sketch the origin of the dispute about figures and invite both Mr. Scargill and Mr. Smith to make opening statements. These will be prepared in advance. After the statements, Mr. Sissons will chair a discussion which he intends to allow to range beyond statistics into the more fundamental issues at stake. The programme is scheduled to take 45 minutes in all.

This seems much more satisfactory, though much of course will turn on how well Mr. Smith performs.

The second point you raised with Lord Whitelaw was Mr. MacGregor's reported remark that the Government and legal authorities should consider taking Mr. Scargill to court over picket-line violence.

/We have

Tim; to see o.a.

We have not been able to confirm that this is in fact what Mr. MacGregor said. But in order to clarify matters, the Home Office will be issuing a low key statement tonight in response to enquiries:

"Certainly the police have been, and will be vigilant for evidence of any serious offences committed during the course of the miners' dispute. Any such evidence collected against any individual will be considered by the prosecuting authorities in the normal way."

Privately, I understand that the Home Office remains sceptical that sufficient evidence will in fact come to light to enable charges to be considered against Mr. Scargill.

DAVID BARCLAY

21 August, 1984

31

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MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER

S E C R E T AND P E R S O N A L

DAILY COAL REPORT - MONDAY 20 AUGUST 1984

PIT CATEGORIES:

	NUMBER	PLUS ON HOLIDAY
WORKING NORMALLY	41	4
TURNING SOME COAL	8	1
SOME MEN PRESENT	6	-
ON STRIKE/PICKETED OUT	100	14

5THE ONLY CHANGES IN THESE TOTALS FROM FRIDAY ARE CAUSED BY A REDUCED NUMBER OF PITS BEING ON HOLIDAY.

THIS MORNING IN WESTERN AREA - COVERING LANCASHIRE, STAFFORDSHIRE, NORTH WALES AND CUMBRIA - 200 MORE MEN REPORTED FOR WORK ON THE DAY SHIFT THAN AT THE SAME TIME LAST WEEK.

COAL MOVEMENTS:

AROUND 125,000 TONNES WERE DESPATCHED LAST FRIDAY, MAKING A PROVISIONAL TOTAL OF 613,000 TONNES FOR LAST WEEK. 34 COAL TRAINS RAN ON FRIDAY AND 140 OVER THE WEEK - THE HIGHEST NUMBER FOR 4 WEEKS. NCB DELIVERIES TO THE CEEB WERE ABOUT 423,000 TONNES.

LAW AND ORDER:

THE DRIFT BACK TO WORK IN A NUMBER OF AREAS HAS FORCED A CHANGE IN THE NUM'S PICKETING TACTICS, WITH STRIKING MINERS PICKETING NEARER THEIR OWN COLLIERIES.

30 PICKETS WERE ARRESTED DURING VIOLENT SCENES OUTSIDE WEARMOUTH COLLIERY IN SUNDERLAND THIS MORNING AS 14 MEMBERS OF COSA, THE WHITE COLLAR UNION, CROSSED A PICKETT LINE, OF 400.

MEDIA:

TOMORROW (TUESDAY) MR MACGREGOR WILL BE VISITING DAW MILL, A WORKING COLLIERY IN WARWICKSHIRE, WHERE HE IS LIKELY TO ANNOUNCE PLANS FOR A POSSIBLE NEW COLLIERY DEVELOPMENT IN SW WARWICKSHIRE, AND ALSO ASFORDBY, WHERE THE FIRST CONTRACTORS ARE JUST STARTING WORK. A TV DEBATE ON CORTONWOOD WILL BE INCLUDED IN THE CHANNEL 4 NEWS AT 7.00 PM ON TUESDAY. ARRANGEMENTS FOR WEDNESDAY'S TV DEBATE ON MR SCARGILL'S CHALLENGE TO THE BOARD'S STATISTICS ABOUT THE RETURN TO WORK ARE STILL BEING DISCUSSED.

DAVID BARCLAY

20 AUGUST 1984

MESSAGE ENDS

Recommendation passed in
confidence to Robert Maxwell,
virtually verbatim.

used
or 822 3001

Sub
25/8

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

ROBERT MAXWELL TELEPHONED AGAIN OVER THE WEEKEND TO FOLLOW UP HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH TIM FLESHER LAST WEEK.

HE ASKED ME TO TELL YOU THAT "A MAJOR INITIATIVE" IN THE COAL DISPUTE WAS BEING CONTEMPLATED BY THE TUC. THE LEAD IS SUPPOSED TO BE TAKEN BY TERRY DUFFY WITH "ENCOURAGEMENT" FROM MR MAXWELL.

MR MAXWELL AND MEMBERS OF HIS BOARD ARE HOPING TO MEET MR SCARGILL IN SHEFFIELD TOMORROW (TUESDAY). HE WOULD LIKE TO BE ABLE TO PROPOSE AT THAT MEETING A FURTHER, TRIPARTITE, MEETING BETWEEN THE TUC (SIC), THE COAL BOARD, AND MR WALKER. BUT HE WOULD NOT WISH TO PUT THIS FORWARD WITHOUT YOUR KNOWLEDGE, AND HE HOPES TACIT APPROVAL.

COMMENT

I THINK YOU WILL WANT TO SUP WITH WITH A PRETTY LONG SPOON. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ NOW WOULD BE A BAD TIME FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO DEPART FROM ITS NON INTERVENTIONIST STANCE, JUST WHEN THE TIDE IN PUBLIC OPINION - AND TO AN EXTENT WITHIN THE NUM - SEEMS TO BE TURNING AGAINST MR SCARGILL. IF MR WALKER WERE TO ATTEND SUCH A MEETING HE WOULD NECESSARILY BE PRESSED TO PROVIDE MORE MONEY TO FINANCE A SOFTER LINE ON UNECONOMIC CAPACITY.

IN SHORT IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THERE IS NO ADVANTAGE IN MR MAXWELL'S IDEA FOR THE GOVERNMENT AND A LOT OF DANGER.

RECOMMENDATION

MAY I PASS BACK THE FOLLOWING RESPONSE IN CONFIDENCE:

- (I) YOU ARE MOST GRATEFUL TO HIM FOR KEEPING YOU IN TOUCH
- (II) YOU WOULD NATURALLY WELCOME A RESUMPTION OF TALKS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES IN THE COAL DISPUTE. BUT YOU SEE LITTLE PROSPECT OF SUCH TALKS MAKING HEADWAY UNLESS AND UNTIL THE NUM LEADERSHIP ARE PREPARED TO MODIFY THEIR TOTALLY UNREASONABLE VIEW THAT PITS SHOULD BE KEPT OPEN WHETHER OR NOT THEY ARE BENEFICIAL TO THE INDUSTRY.
- (III) YOU SEE NO ROLE FOR THE GOVERNMENT IN ANY TALKS AT THE PRESENT TIME. THE GOVERNMENT HAS DONE ITS PART PROVIDING RECORD INVESTMENT, GENEROUS TERMS FOR VOLUNTARY REDUNDANCY, AND SOCIAL GRANTS. IT MUST BE FOR THE COAL BOARD AND THE NUM TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A RETURN TO WORK.

DAVID BARCLAY

Note
Recommendation passed in
confidence to Robert Maxwell,
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or 822 3001

Sub
25/8

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DAVID BARCLAY

20 AUGUST 1984

C—L

Prime Minister

Robert Maxwell telephoned again over the weekend to follow up his conversation with Tom Fleisher last week.

He asked me to tell you that "a major initiative" in the coal dispute was being contemplated by the TUC. The lead is ^{supposed} ~~apparently~~ to be taken by Tom Duff, with "encouragement" from Mr Maxwell.

Mr Maxwell and members of his Board are hoping to meet Mr Scargill in Sheffield tomorrow (Tuesday). He would like to be able to propose at that meeting a further, tripartite, meeting between the TUC (sic), the Coal Board, and Mr Walker. But he would not wish to put this forward without your knowledge, and he hopes tacit approval.

Comment

I think you will want to sup this with a pretty long spoon. Now would be a bad time for the Government to depart from its non-interventionist stance, just when the tide in public opinion - and to an extent within the NUM - seems to be turning against Mr Scargill. If Mr Walker were to attend such a meeting, he would necessarily be pressed to provide more money to finance a softer line on uneconomic capacity.

In short, it seems to me that there is no advantage for in Mr Maxwell's deal for the Government, and a lot of danger.

Recommendation

May I pass back the following response in confidence:

(i) You ~~were~~ ^{are} most grateful to him for keeping you in touch. ~~and you would~~
~~rather~~

(ii) You would naturally welcome a resumption of talks between the two sides in the coal dispute, ~~though~~ ^{But} you see little prospect of such talks making headway unless and until the NUM leadership are prepared to modify their totally unreasonable view that pits should be kept open whether or not they are beneficial to the industry.

(iii) You see no role for the Government in any talks at the present time. The Government has done its part by providing record investment, generous terms for voluntary redundancy, and social grants. It must be for the Coal Board and the NUM to reach agreement on a return to work.

PRIME MINISTER S BRIEFING 17 AUGUST 1984

MAJOR INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

National Coal Board, (NUM)

[Dept of Energy is briefing separately on this]

1 At a meeting on 18 July representatives of the NCB and the NUM failed to reach agreement on a formula for a settlement; and a special delegate conference held on 10 August rejected the NCB's proposals. No date has been set for further talks between the NCB and the NUM.

2 An overtime ban has been operating since 31 October 1983 in protest at the NCB's closure programme and its pay offer of 5.2% on basic pay rates.

3. On 8 March the NUM National Executive Committee approved the local strikes which had been called from after work on 9 March in Yorkshire and Scottish Areas of the NUM, and approved in advance any strike action called in other areas. Decisions on whether to strike were left to individual areas, rather than to a national ballot. Ballots on strike action in various areas produced majorities against striking. A special delegates conference held on 19 April decided not to hold a national ballot at that stage. The conference also agreed that future national ballots would need a simple majority to authorise strike action, rather than the 55% majority which the rules had previously required.

4. On 18 July the High Court ruled that disciplinary rule changes agreed at the NUM conference were 'void and of no effect'.

5 In the early days of the strike, after extensive unlawful picketing in various areas, the National Coal Board obtained an injunction against the Yorkshire Area of the NUM. This ordered the union to withdraw its instructions to members to engage in picketing at pits other than their own and required the union not to encourage or assist in unlawful picketing on Coal Board premises, including financing and encouraging flying pickets. On 19 March the NCB was granted an indefinite adjournment of its application for contempt of court proceedings against the Yorkshire NUM. The NCB can return to the High Court on giving two days' notice to the Yorkshire NUM.

6. Two private haulage contractors went to the High Court on 26 July to seek the enforcement of an earlier injunction against picketing of their lorries at Port Talbot. On Monday 30 July the Court gave the South Wales area of the NUM 48 hours to pay fines of £50,000 for contempt of court. The fine has been paid from the area's assets which have been sequestered.

7. A High Court action, begun by two miners from the Yorkshire area, has been adjourned until 24 September. They want a strike ballot, branch elections, no picketing until the ballot and elections are held and new disciplinary rules declared invalid. Similar action is being taken by a group of Scottish miners; whilst the case continues today of the 3 Staffordshire miners who are taking action against the Area NUM alleging wrongful dismissal from office.

Cammell Laird, Birkenhead (1300 CSEU)

8. The dispute which began on 28 June, is about planned redundancies. About 100 workers are occupying a gas accommodation platform and a destroyer. 1200 men have been laid off following this action. Following a request by the union, representatives of both sides met on 24 July but failed to resolve the dispute.

9 Some of the laid-off workers have asked the union to call a mass meeting to vote on support for the sit-in but this request has been resisted.

DHSS Longbenton and Durham (CPSA 350 SCPS 50)

10. The strike began on 14 May over plans to change shift patterns at the computer centres which handle pensions sickness pay child benefits and national insurance contributions. The union claim that these changes would lead to considerable loss of earnings.

11. Officials from the unions and DHSS began a series of meetings on 1 August. These will continue on Tuesday 21 August.

British Aerospace Filton (2400 AUEW and others)

10. 450 manual workers began a sit-in 3 weeks ago over productivity payments and were joined a week later by 2000 workers in the aircrafts division who are in dispute over a pay parity claim. About 7,000 workers are unable to work as a result of these actions but the company has arranged alternative working facilities for some staff.

11. On 8 August the High Court ordered the workers to end their occupation of the plant by 4 00 pm 9 August. They failed to do so and British Aerospace obtained an eviction order; but this has not yet been enforced.

DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT

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u. 02
30

17 August 1984

SECRET

David Barclay Esq
Private Secretary to the
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

*ms
20/8*

Dear David,

MINERS' STRIKE: COAL FOR RAVENS CRAIG

My Secretary of State has seen a copy of Ruth Thompson's letter of 15 August to you on the above subject.

Mr Younger has asked me to register his very great concern about the threat which the TGWU action poses to Ravenscraig. While he recognises the need to go through the NDLB procedures he strongly supports Mr Tebbit's conclusion that, if the NDLB decision is adverse, BSC should be authorised to berth and unload the 'Ostia'. However Mr Younger is concerned lest the time taken by the NDLB procedures may mean that the point of no return for preventing damage to the coke ovens at Ravenscraig is passed. He understands that by halving production at the coke ovens, BSC has bought a little more time but that even taking this into account, a decision must be taken not later than Friday, 24 August - and ideally before then as it should be kept in mind that this deadline assumes that the berthing of the vessel will not be delayed by bad weather.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries of other Ministers on MISC 101 and to Richard Hatfield.

Yours sincerely
Eddie Gowans
EDDIE GOWANS
Private Secretary

BF 40 PB 2112

TOTAL COPIES 20

SECRET

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Secretary of State for Trade and Industry

17 August 1984

David Barclay Esq
Private Secretary to the
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
London SW1

Dear David,

MINERS' STRIKE: COAL FOR RAVENSCRAIG

This letter is to bring you up to date and to set the scene for decisions next week.

2 As you and others know, yesterday (Thursday) the tugmen and dockers at Hunterston asked to see the state of coal stocks at Ravenscraig and, in the light of what they found, voted to lift their blacking of the "Ostia" and to help unload it. Late this morning, however, they reversed their decision after intervention by the TGWU regional docks secretary, Mr Gilligan.

3 The NDLB procedures which began earlier this week now therefore need to be completed urgently. On Wednesday, the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the NDLB considered an application, jointly by BSC and the Clyde Port Authority, for a ruling on whether the Dock Labour Scheme (DLS) would be breached if the "Ostia" were berthed and unloaded without the use of tugmen and dockers. The issue turns on the fact that the ship can not only manage to dock without tugs if it has to, but can also be substantially unloaded by BSC crane-drivers (who are ISTC members and who normally undertake this work under a local agreement) without the use of dockers to clear the remnants of the cargo. In the event, the Committee concluded by calling for further information, including a legal opinion, and referred the issues for decision at an early meeting of the full NDLB.

4 That meeting is now arranged for 11.00am on Monday. Its duration is unpredictable. Meantime, BSC are this afternoon issuing a press statement in which they explain why they believe that the "Ostia" can be unloaded without registered dockworkers and without breaching the DLS and why the coal is so urgently needed at Ravenscraig.

JH4AGH

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5 The urgency is in no doubt. BSC have coal stocks at the plant but cannot continue using them for coke-making without adding the particular blend aboard the "Ostia". Following my Secretary of State's message to the BSC on Wednesday - that the ship should not be brought in while the NDLB procedures continue - the Corporation have today started to run down coke-making at Ravenscraig. If no coal arrives, this means that by about Tuesday 28/Wednesday 29 August output from the coke ovens and blast-furnaces will have ceased and they will have been banked up to prevent damage. Soon after, the works as a whole will be brought to a halt. To avert this, the "Ostia" must be ordered in by no later than Thursday 23/Friday 24 August. But even this gives no margin at all for logistical hitches, in particular any break in the weather which could prevent docking without tugs. So the earlier the decision can be made, the less will be the risk to Ravenscraig's continued operation.

6 The issues that Ministers may have to consider, and whether a MISC meeting in fact proves necessary, will depend on what happens at the NDLB:

(a) If the NDLB rules in BSC's favour, the Corporation would be looking for quick approval to bring in the boat. In those circumstances, and since the Hunterston dockers' willingness to work is likely to emerge publicly before the NDLB meeting, we would expect that this could be agreed without the need for a MISC 101 meeting.

(b) If the NDLB for some reason defers a decision beyond Monday, the issue would be whether the boat could be brought in before the procedures are exhausted.

(c) If the NDLB is hung, or worse, rules against BSC, the Corporation realise that the position would be very difficult. Ideally, they would want to berth and unload the boat regardless. And they have also been considering an injunction against the TGWU to bring the blacking to an end. (As a contingency measure, they are finalising the precise purpose and scope of any such injunction over this weekend.) They would need to complete their assessment of the position quickly and refer it to Ministers for decision.

7 A MISC 101 meeting to allow consideration of the situation following the NDLB meeting has been provisionally arranged for 2.00pm on Tuesday (21 August), with a preparatory official meeting at 4.00pm the previous day. Meantime, there needs to be an agreed line on what, if anything, Ministers should say about the issues over the weekend.

8 As regards the abortive decision by the Hunterston dockers to co-operate, we judge that it would be counter-productive for Ministers either to reveal it themselves or to play on it if it

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emerges publicly. To do so would risk hardening attitudes among TGWU members at Hunterston and prevent any rekindling of the spark of realism which briefly emerged.

9 As regards the future of Ravenscraig, there is a more difficult tightrope to walk than was reflected in John Neilson's letter to you of 16 August. If Ministers hint that closure of Ravenscraig because of the coal blockade might be permanent, they risk alienating the steelmen and driving them back into the Triple Alliance and the defence of jobs against alleged Government attack. In any case, such a veiled threat would be at odds with the fact that both BSC and the Government would strive to the maximum to secure alternative fuel supplies and so make any closure as brief as possible. If, on the other hand, Ministers suggest that Ravenscraig will be safe provided coal gets through, that could be quoted back as a guarantee of the plant's future in the face of any later attempt by BSC or the Government to reassess the unresolved question of the Corporation's surplus capacity. The message, if any, should therefore be that all BSC's plants face a struggle for survival, despite recent improvements in efficiency, and that the prospects for Ravenscraig cannot be improved if unions outside the industry succeed in shutting it down temporarily. Even a brief closure would be damaging, but the longer it went on, the greater would be the danger that BSC would lose markets and hence Ravenscraig's future would be jeopardised.

10 I am sending copies of this letter to the Private Secretaries of other Ministers on MISC 101, and to Richard Hatfield in Sir Robert Armstrong's office.

Yours ever,

RUTH THOMPSON
Private Secretary

SECRET

JH4AGH

Sent to Inlan
17/8.

PRIME MINISTER

HUNTERSTONE/RAVENSCRAIG

DESPITE THE WILLINGNESS OF LOCAL T AND G DOCKERS TO UNLOAD THE 'OSTIA' THE SCOTTISH DOCK SECRETARY OF THE UNION (MR GILLIGAN) HAS SUCCEEDED IN MAINTAINING A STALEMATE UNTIL THE NDLB REACH A DECISION. NEVERTHELESS, NEWS OF THE GRASS ROOTS SYMPATHY FOR THE RAVENSCRAIG STEELWORKERS IS LIKELY TO LEAK OUT OVER THE WEEKEND, AND THIS COULD BE HELPFUL.

THE NDLB WILL MEET ON MONDAY AT 1300. THEY WILL HAVE BEFORE THEM A LEGAL OPINION TO THE EFFECT THAT IT WOULD NOT BE A BREACH OF THE DOCK LABOUR SCHEME FOR ISTC MEMBERS TO UNLOAD THE 'OSTIA' PROVIDED THEY DID NOT GO SO FAR AS TO 'TRIM' THE CARGO. ALTHOUGH THIS IS ENCOURAGING, EMPLOYER ATTITUDES ON THE NDLB ARE LESS THAN ROBUST, AND THERE IS STILL A DANGER THAT THEY MAY ACCEPT SOME UNSATISFACTORY COMPROMISE IN THE FACE OF A THREATENED DOCK STRIKE. MR KING WILL BE TALKING TO ONE OR TWO OF THEM OVER THE WEEKEND, IN AN EFFORT TO STIFFEN THEIR RESOLVE.

SOMEWHAT RELUCTANTLY, BRITISH STEEL HAVE AGREED TO TAKE NO ACTION WHICH COULD RAISE THE TEMPERATURE OF THE DISPUTE UNTIL THE NDLB DECISION IS KNOWN. MR WALKER REPORTS THAT MR MACGREGOR BELIEVES THAT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE COAL STRIKE ARE ENCOURAGING, AND THEREFORE WARNS AGAINST ANY ACTION THAT COULD GIVE THE NUM NEW AMMUNITION. MINISTERS WILL MEET EITHER LATE ON MONDAY OR ON TUESDAY TO CONSIDER WHAT GUIDANCE TO GIVE TO BSC IN THE LIGHT OF THE NDLB'S CONCLUSION AND MR MACGREGOR'S ADVICE.

FROM DAVID BARCLAY
17 AUGUST 1984

PRIME MINISTER

HUNTERSTON / RAVENSCRAIG

THE MAIN DEVELOPMENT TODAY IS THAT LOCAL DOCKERS AT HUNTERSTON HAVE BEEN TO RAVENSCRAIG TO REVIEW THE PLANT'S SUPPLY POSITION AND HAVE COME AWAY IMPRESSED WITH ITS' SERIOUSNESS. THEY ARE SAYING OPENLY THAT, IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE FUTURE OF RAVENSCRAIG, THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO UNLOAD THE '9'5 'OSTIA' THEY ARE. HAVE ADSKED FOR A MEETING WITH THEIR LOCAL UNION REPRESENTATIVE WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE LATER TONIGHT (THURSDAY). TOMORROW MORNING, THEY WILL REPORT THE OUTCOME TO THE LOCAL MANAGEMENT. MEANWHILE IT LOOKS AS IF THE DOCK LABOUR BOARD GAVE THEIR WAY THERE MAY BY THEN BE NO DISPUTE TO DECIDE.

MR WALKER, MR KING, AND MR TEBBIT ARE ALL BEING KEPT IN TOUCH. THEY AGREE THAT A GRASS ROOTS MOVE TO UNLOAD THE OSTIA WOULD BE BE THE BEST POSSIBLE OUTCOME AND BRITISH STEEL IS THEREFORE BEING ENCOURAGED TO KEEP ITSS' HEAD DOWN. BUT IF THE LOCAL DOCKERS FAIL, AND THE NDLB DECISION IS UNFAVOURABLE, THERE MAY NEED TO BE A MEETING OF MINISTERS UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF LORD WHITELOW ON MONDAY.

DAVID ID BARCLAY

16 AUGUST 1984

PRIME MINISTER

HUNTERSTON / RAVENSCRAIG

THE MAIN DEVELOPMENT TODAY IS THAT LOCAL DOCKERS AT HUNTERSTON HAVE BEEN TO RAVENSCRAIG TO REVIEW THE PLANT'S SUPPLY POSITION AND HAVE COME AWAY IMPRESSED WITH ITS' SERIOUSNESS. THEY ARE SAYING OPENLY THAT, IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE FUTURE OF RAVENSCRAIG, THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO UNLOAD THE '9'5 'OSTIA' THEY ARE HAVE ADSKED FOR A MEETING WITH THEIR LOCAL UNION REPRESENTATIVE WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE LATER TONIGHT (THURSDAY). TOMORROW MORNING, THEY WILL REPORT THE OUTCOME TO THE LOCAL MANAGEMENT. MEANWHILE IT LOOKS AS IF THE DOCK LABOUR BOARD GAVE THEIR WAY THERE MAY BY THEN BE NO DISPUTE TO DECIDE.

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DAVUD ID BARCLAY

16 AUGUST 1984

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Copy No | of 4

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ENERGY
THAMES HOUSE SOUTH
MILLBANK LONDON SW1P 4QJ

01-211-6402

Tim Flescher Esq
Private Secretary to
the Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

GR
Pse send blue
annex to PM.

16 August 1984

DMS
16/8

Dear Tim

ENDURANCE

I attach copies of the latest report on power stations endurance, and the weekly coal and power station statistics.

Copies also go to Margaret O'Mara and Richard Hatfield.

*Yours
John*

J S NEILSON
Private Secretary

SECRET



POWER STATION ENDURANCE

1. Coal deliveries to CEGB power stations last week were 0.45 mt (including non-NCB sources), with fewer working pits on holiday. Coal burn was 0.49 mt giving a stockdraw of only 0.04 mt. CEGB coal stocks last Sunday night were just under 14.7 mt with a further 1.1 mt at Scottish power stations.
2. Total NCB deliveries last week were 0.57 mt, of which about 0.15 mt went to customers other than power stations.
3. The average rate of coal deliveries to power stations over the whole period of the strike has been 0.43 mt per week. The average over the past 8 weeks has been 0.46 mt.
4. The range of endurance outcomes is estimated by the CEGB as follows:-

<u>Average coal deliveries</u> (mt/week)	Oil burn (% of Max)	
	<u>90%</u>	<u>100%</u>
0.30	early Jan	late Jan
0.35	mid Jan	early Feb
0.40	late Jan	late Feb
<u>0.45</u>	<u>mid Feb</u>	early March
between 0.45 and 0.52	-	(see Note)
above 0.52	-	Autumn 1985

N.B. Between 0.45 and 0.52 mt/week it is particularly difficult to forecast endurance with confidence. The margin needed to extend endurance from Spring (March/April) throughout the Summer is small, as Sir Walter Marshall has explained.

DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY
16 August 1984

Copy No *1.07.14.*
10 August 1984

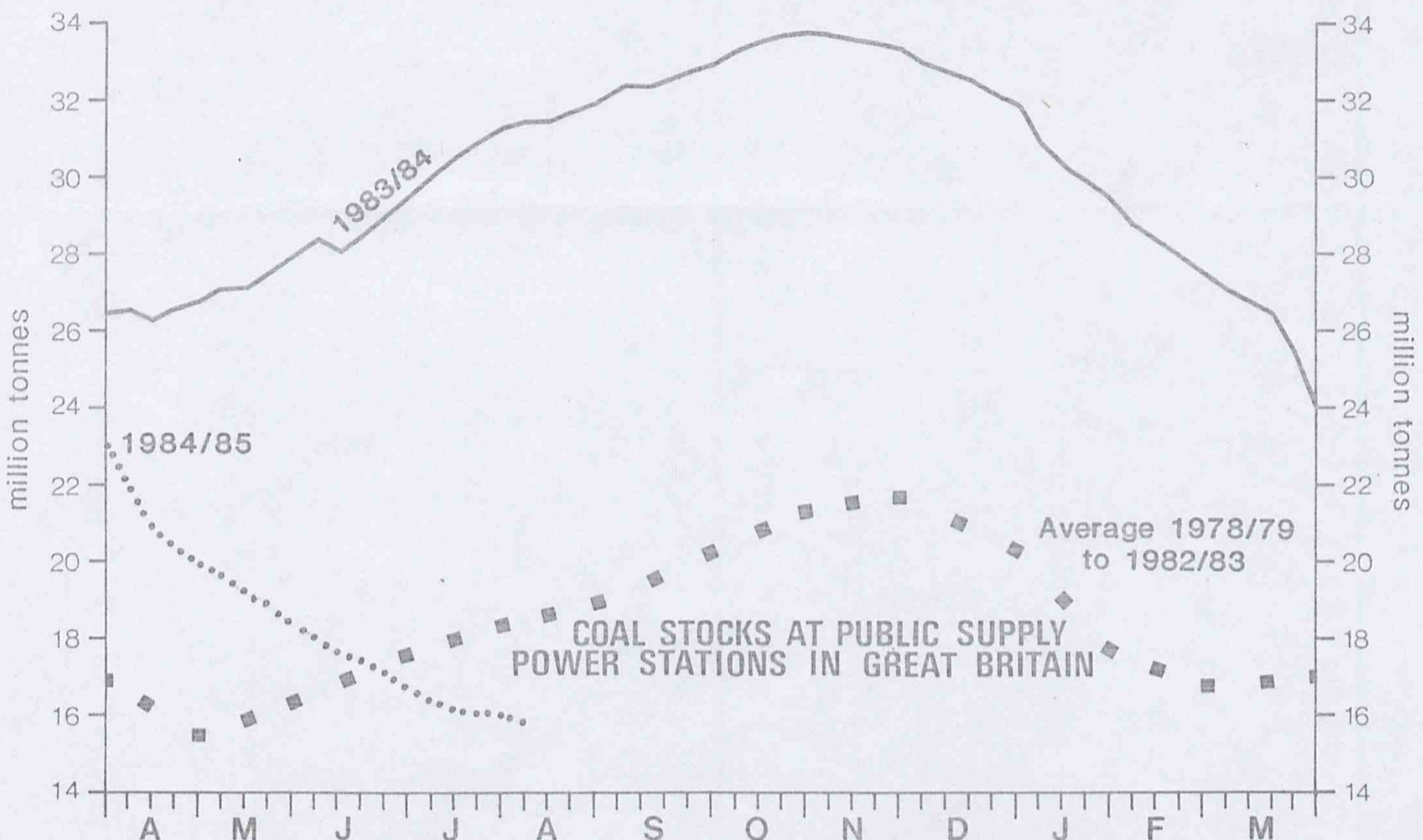
WEEKLY COAL AND POWER STATION STATISTICS (1)

EcS Division, Dept. of Energy, Thames House South, Millbank SW1P 4QJ. Phone: 01-211-6928

Week ending 6.8.83 : 14.7.84 21.7.84 28.7.84 4.8.84

COAL	PRODUCTION	deep mines <i>f</i>	0.71 :	0.43	0.43	0.27	0.25
	(m. tonnes)	opencast <i>T</i>	0.22 :	0.30	0.27	0.18	0.21
		TOTAL	0.93 :	0.73	0.69	0.45	0.46
COAL	PRODUCTIVITY(2)	'overall' o.m.s	1.86 :	2.14	..	..	..
	(tonnes/manshift)	'production' o.m.s	9.45 :	10.41	..	..	..
UNDISTRIBUTED STOCK							
	(m. tonnes)	TOTAL	23.79 :	22.49	22.49	22.17	22.03
STATIONS	COAL STOCKS	(m. tonnes)	31.43 :	16.13	16.00	15.93	15.79
	COAL CONSUMPTION	"	1.12 :	0.74	0.65	0.50	0.57
	COAL RECEIPTS	"	1.13 :	0.47	0.53	0.43	0.43
STATIONS	OIL STOCKS(3)	"	1.17 :	0.98	1.00	0.98	0.89
	OIL CONSUMPTION(3)	"	0.03 :	0.39	0.38	0.42	0.43
	OIL RECEIPTS(3)	"	0.08 :	0.28	0.41	0.38	0.33
POWER	ELECTRICITY SUPPLIED (4) (GWh)		:				
	Nuclear	"	672 :	695	766	769	622
	Other Steam	"	2,622 :	3,124	2,936	2,722	2,876
	TOTAL	"	3,294 :	3,819	3,702	3,491	3,498
	TOTAL - temperature corrected	"	3,249 :	3,893	3,702	3,533	..

(1) Great Britain unless otherwise stated. All latest figures are subject to revision.
 (2) NCB mines only. (3) Oil-fired boilers only. (4) Steam stations only.
 .. data not yet available. *T includes licensed production.*

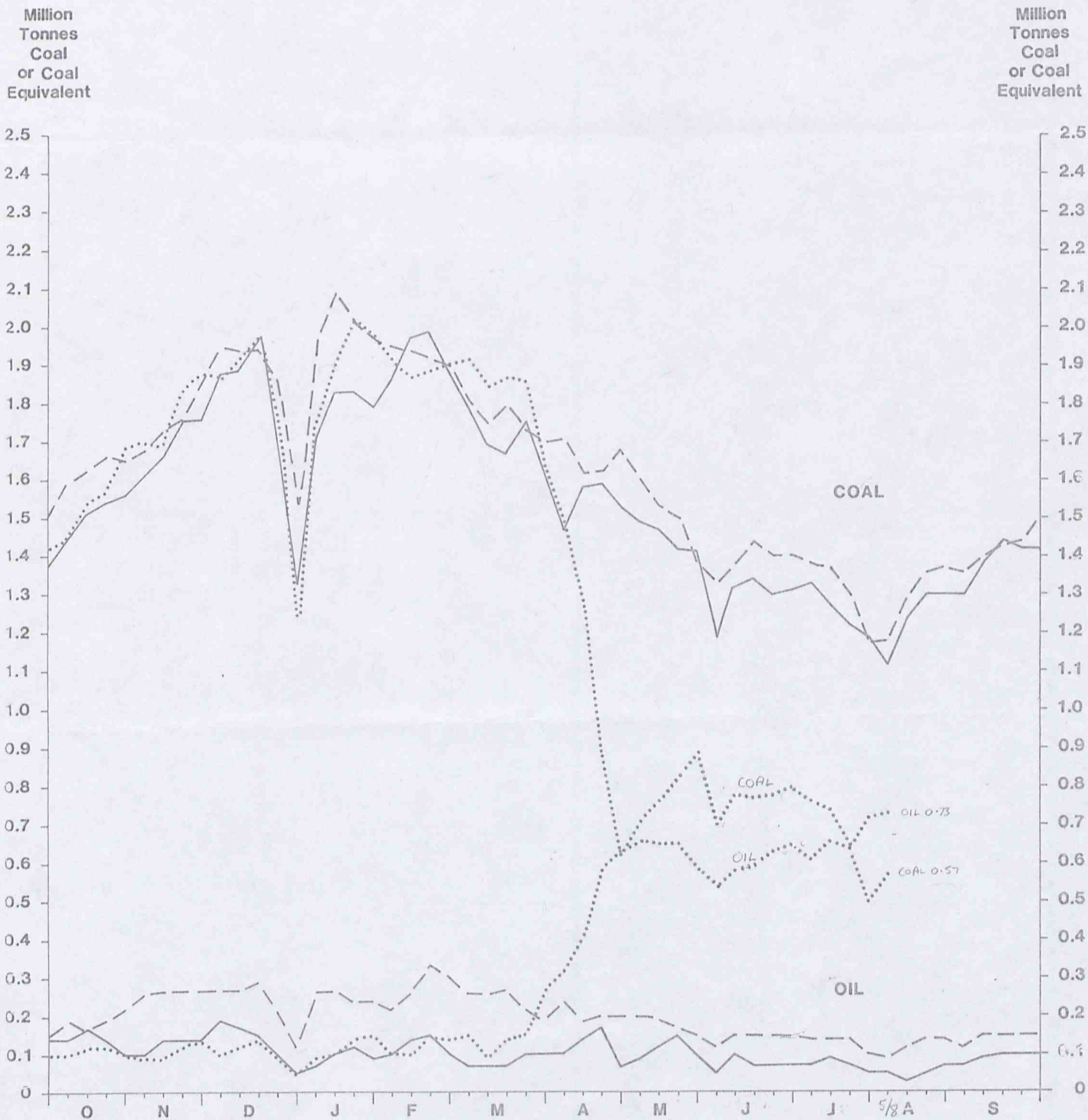


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COAL CONSUMPTION AND OIL CONSUMPTION (OIL FIRED) AT PUBLIC SUPPLY POWER STATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN

Key

- 10/83 to 9/84
- 10/82 to 9/83
- - - - Average 1977/78 to 1981/82



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COPY NO 1 OF 20



SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ENERGY
THAMES HOUSE SOUTH
MILLBANK LONDON SW1P 4QJ

01-211-6402

David Barclay Esq
Private Secretary to the
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

*Dub
16/8*

16 August 1984

Dear David

MINERS' STRIKE: COAL FOR RAVENSCRAIG

Ruth Thompson copied to me her letter of 15 August to you about the latest position on the "Ostia", with its cargo of coal for BSC Ravenscraig.

My Secretary of State, to whom I have spoken about this matter, agrees entirely with Mr Tebbit that it would be a mistake for BSC to bring in the "Ostia" before all the National Dock Labour Board procedures have been exhausted.

Beyond this, he is sure that it would be wrong to take any decision now to bring in the "Ostia", before the outcome of the National Dock Labour Board procedures is known, and without full Ministerial consultation. Ian MacGregor spoke to my Secretary of State on the telephone this morning to say that he could see very real prospects of an improvement in the position on the coal strike in the next week or two. There were strong signs of a further development of the return to work and of further legal actions which would embarrass the NUM and put them on the defensive. In these circumstances Mr MacGregor considered that it would be a serious error to bring in the "Ostia" since this would be "a gift to the NUM militants." It would produce a strong likelihood of strike action by the TGWU which the NUM would exploit to the utmost to prevent any drift back to work. Ian MacGregor represented this view very firmly to my Secretary of State.

Ruth Thompson's letter does not discuss the question whether the TGWU would try to take strike action if the "Ostia" were brought in. There are senior members of the TGWU sympathetic to the NUM who would obviously wish to ferment strike action, regardless of whether the decision of the National Dock Labour Board went in favour of BSC or against them.

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My Secretary of State attaches importance to mobilising opinion in Scotland against the TGWU line. No doubt DTI and BSC are now considering this, and I know that Mr Buchanan-Smith and Mr Younger have been discussing it already. Both my Secretary of State and Mr MacGregor take the view that further speculation about the whole future of Ravenscraig being put at risk by the lack of this coal would not be unhelpful in the next day or two. It might usefully be made clear that if the coal is not made available by a specified date, then Ravenscraig will be on the path to closure.

My Secretary of State will continue to keep closely in touch with developments. If a Ministerial meeting is necessary when the decision of the National Dock Labour Board is available, Mr Buchanan-Smith or Mr Shaw will be available to attend from this department.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Private Secretaries of other Ministers on MISC 101, and to Richard Hatfield in Sir Robert Armstrong's office.

Yours

John

J S NEILSON
Private Secretary

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PRIME MINISTER

HUNTERSTON

THE NDLB TODAY DEFERRED A DECISION. DEPT OF EMPLOYMENT OFFICIALS ARE PRESSING THEM TO CONVENE A FURTHER MTG THIS WEEK BUT THERE ARE DANGERS IN PRESSING TOO HARD AND THE MTG MAY NOT TAKE PLACE UNTIL EARLY NEXT WEEK.

BSC ARE FRUSTRATED. THEY SAY THAT THEY WILL NEED TO START REDUCING THE OUTPUT OF THE RAVENSCRAIG COKE OVENS ON SAT IF NO COAL HAS BEEN DELIVERED BY THEN. THIS WOULD MEAN LESS PRODUCTION, A SMALL RISK OF DAMAGE TO THE OVENS, BUT NO IMMEDIATE LAYOFFS.

MR TEBBIT IS CONSULTING LORD WHITELOW AND MR KING TONIGHT. HE IS INCLINED TO RECOMMEND TO BSC THAT THEY SHOULD REDUCE COKE OUTPUT IF NECESSARY, RATHER THAN START TO UNLOAD, WHILE THE NDLB PROCEDURES ARE STILL RUNNING. IF THE NDLB DECIDE AGAINST BSC, HE WOULD RECOMMEND THEM TO UNLOAD THE SHIP, AND IF NECESSARY APPLY FOR AN INJUNCTION TO ENSURE THAT THE COAL GETS THROUGH.

IF COKE OUTPUT IS REDUCED THIS WEEKEND, THE FACT IS BOUND TO BE KNOWN PUBLICLY. BUT THERE COULD BE SOME VALUE IN DEMONSTRATING HOW CRITICAL IS THE PLANT'S SUPPLY POSITION.

DB 15.8.80

26

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HUNTERSTON

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DB 15.8.80



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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

15 August 1984

David Barclay Esq
Private Secretary to the
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
London SW1

Dear David,

MINERS' STRIKE: COAL FOR RAVENSCRAIG

I have spoken to you today to bring you up to date on the latest position which BSC finds themselves in following the decision of the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the National Dock Labour Board this morning to defer a decision on the rules governing the unloading of the "Ostia", carrying coal to Hunterston for BSC Ravenscraig.

2 I explained to you that the decision of the NDLB to defer a decision until they had received further legal advice and had a meeting of the full Board would probably mean that there would be insufficient coal available to keep Ravenscraig running at normal levels after the end of Friday (17 August). BSC, understandably, are most concerned about the implications of this and would have welcomed an earlier meeting of the NDLB. I know that Mr King and officials in the Department of Employment are seeing whether there is any possibility that the Board might meet earlier, but we clearly cannot rely on this.

3 In the meantime, I have consulted my Secretary of State about the line he would like to adopt, given the deadline that BSC are up against and given the possibility which must remain that the NDLB would anyway return an adverse decision. My Secretary of State feels that it would be potentially most damaging, and very rash, if BSC brought in the "Ostia" before all the NDLB procedures had been exhausted, given the possibility that the legal advice, and the decision of the Board, could be adverse. His feeling is, therefore, that the procedures should be followed (as quickly as can be arranged). In the event that the Board's decision is adverse, the Secretary of State would be inclined to recommend to

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colleagues that the ship should be brought in, and unloaded, and if necessary that BSC should apply for an injunction to ensure that coal gets through. In the meantime, the output of the coke ovens at Ravenscraig would have to be reduced. The implications of this are uncertain; I understand from Mr Haslam, Chairman of BSC, that this would not involve the laying off of men, but it would clearly mean reduced production and could do damage to the ovens themselves. If BSC were still unable to get coal supplies to Ravenscraig by the first few days of next week, they would be obliged to bank the furnaces, which would have much more serious implications.

4 Mr Tebbit has asked me to stress that his view is provisional, and he will be consulting the Lord Whitelaw and Mr King further this evening to see whether they are content with it. I have relayed the view my Secretary of State expressed to Mr Haslam, subject to the caveat that Mr Tebbit has not been able to consult colleagues about it, and Mr Haslam has expressed himself willing to go along with it, and not to move the "Ostia" into Hunterston in advance of the NDLB ruling.

5 I am sending copies of this letter to the Private Secretaries of other Ministers on MISC 101, and to Richard Hatfield in Sir Robert Armstrong's office.

Yours ever,
Ruth

RUTH THOMPSON
Private Secretary

JH5AFN

SECRET



MISC 101

11 Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

12 Lord President
Privy Council Office
Whitehall
LONDON SW1

13 Home Secretary
Home Office
50 Queen Anne's Gate
LONDON SW1

14 Chancellor of the Exchequer
HM Treasury
Treasury Chambers
Parliament Street
LONDON SW1P 3AG

15 Secretary of State for Energy
Department of Energy
Thames House South
Millbank
LONDON SW1



- 16 Secretary of State for Defence
Ministry of Defence
Main Building
Whitehall
LONDON SW1
- 17 Secretary of State for Scotland
Scottish Office
Dover House
LONDON SW1
- 18 Secretary of State for
Employment
Department of Employment
Caxton House
Tothill Street
LONDON SW1
- 19 Secretary of State for Transport
Department of Transport
2 Marsham Street
LONDON SW1
- 20 Attorney General
Royal Courts of Justice
LONDON
WC2
- 21 Sir Robert Armstrong
Cabinet Office
70 Whitehall
LONDON SW1

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COPY No 2 OF 6

24

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ENERGY
(JAMES HOUSE SOUTH)
MILLBANK LONDON SW1P 4QJ

01-211-6402

15/8

The Rt Hon Patrick Jenkin MP
Secretary of State for the Environment
2 Marsham Street
LONDON
SW1P 3EB

14 August 1984

Dear Secretary of State
SPRINGHILL OPENCAST COAL SITE

As you will know, officials of our two Departments have been meeting to discuss the possibility of very early action by yourself to vary a planning condition applying at the Springhill Opencast Site. At present the planning consent is limited to rail traffic except in an emergency or as maybe agreed by the local planning authority and the NCB or, failing that, determined by the Secretary of State. Staffordshire County Council, under pressure from NUM members of their council, have so far refused to agree to vary the condition, though we suspect they would accept being overruled. Action by the rail union is currently preventing any coal movement by rail from the site.

I believe myself that there are sound precedents for action by a Secretary of State to vary a planning consent in this way. Under the Opencast Coal Act 1958 which applies to opencast operations, such action has been taken in the past. I hope therefore that you will be able to agree to determine rapidly the disagreement between Staffordshire County Council and the NCB so as to permit lorry movement in this case in the very near future and for as long as rail movement remains unavailable.

I am copying this to the Prime Minister.

Yours sincerely
Peter Walker
PETER WALKER

Approved by the Secretary of State
and signed in his absence.

SECRET

c.c. John Haslam, Esq.
T.J. Flesher, Esq.

M.E. Head,

M.F. Reidy



plus petition

BALMORAL CASTLE

13th August, 1984

I am writing to advise that the petition which you brought to Buckingham Palace on Saturday has been laid before The Queen. As Sir Philip Moore advised in his letter of 2nd August, The Queen can be petitioned only through Her Majesty's Ministers, and the petition has therefore been referred to the Secretary of State for Energy.

W. HESELTINE

Mrs. A. Scargill.

DEPARTMENT OF

ENERGY

August 13, 1984

Thames House South, Millbank, London SW1P 4QJ.
Press Office Direct Line: 01-211 4545 Out of hours: 01-212 7071/2/3

PRESS NOTICE

The Rt Hon Peter Walker, Secretary of State for Energy, said today:

"This morning there has been a substantial increase in attendance at Bilston Glen where on Friday there was a record attendance of 47. Today the attendance rose into the 70s. Also, there is a record attendance at Warsop which again marks an increase on the previous record attendance. What is interesting is that at both of these pits massive picketing took place, violence occurred and many arrests had to be made.

"Yesterday, Mr Kinnock said that he was against violence on the picket lines. I now call on Mr Kinnock to denounce the totally unjustified violence that took place at Bilston Glen and Warsop today.

"Will Mr Kinnock now declare that he supports the TUC's guidance on picketing? Indeed, the guidance originally provided by the NUM itself when it said there should be only six pickets at any one colliery, picketing peacefully?

"If Mr Kinnock would support me in urging Mr Scargill's compliance with this guidance, then I have no doubt that throughout the country thousands more miners will join the miners at Bilston Glen and Warsop and return to work over the coming days.

"If Mr Kinnock is sincere in deploring violence, there is no better opportunity for him doing so than in commenting on what has occurred today."

Handwritten initials and date:
10/12

LOLO R U THERE K

VMESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER

S E C R E T AND P E R S O N A L

DAILY COAL REPORT - MONDAY 13 AUGUST 1984

PIT CATEGORIES

	NUMBER	PLUS ON HOLIDAY
WORKING NORMALLY	40	5
TURNING SOME COAL	8	1
SOME MEN PRESENT	8	-
ON STRIKE/PICKETED OUT	91	21

THIS IS A VERY ENCOURAGING TREND. IT MEANS THAT COMPARED WITH FRIDAY THERE ARE THREE MORE PITS EITHER WITH MEN PRESENT OR TURNING COAL.

SIGNIFICANTLY, THERE WAS A VERY SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN MEN ATTENDING AT BILSTON GLEN WHICH REACHED A RECORD ON FRIDAY WITH 47 MEN PRESENT. THIS MORNING 73 MEN WERE PRESENT IN SPITE OF VERY HEAVY PICKETING. ALSO IN SCOTLAND MEN RETURNED TO KILLOCH AND BARONY.

AT THE OTHER AREA OF HEAVY PICKETING THE WARSOP COLLIERY IN NORTH DERBYSHIRE, 89 MEN WERE PRESENT, BEATING THE PREVIOUS RECORD BY 20.

THERE WAS A RECORD ATTENDANCE AT SHIREBROOK.

THERE IS A SERIOUS FIRE AT FRYSTON PIT IN NORTH YORKSHIRE.

COAL MOVEMENTS:

COAL MOVEMENTS LAST WEEK WERE BETTER THAN HAD ORIGINALLY BEEN ANTICIPATED. IN TOTAL 578,000 TONNES WERE MOVED, OF WHICH 400,000 TONNES WENT TO THE POWER STATIONS.

LAW AND ORDER:

MORE THAN 2,000 PICKETS WERE AT WARSOP AND 500 AT BILSTON GLEN. SUBSTANTIAL ARRESTS WERE MADE.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS:

THE UNION OF COMMUNICATION WORKERS HAS JOINED THE ENGINEERS, POWER WORKERS AND ELECTRICAL TRADE UNIONS AND THE INLAND REVENUE STAFF FEDERATION IN PUBLICLY INDICATING THEY WOULD NOT BE SUPPORTING MR SCARGILL AND THE TUC.

BSC HUNTERSTON:

TALKS ARE STILL TAKING PLACE BETWEEN BSC AND THE CLYDE DOCK LABOUR BOARD. IF THESE ARE UNSATISFACTORY THE MATTER WILL BE TAKEN TO THE NATIONAL DOCK LABOUR BOARD TOMORROW. I HOPE TO GET A REPORT TO YOU LATER.

LINE TO TAKE:

IT IS ENCOURAGING

OMIT LINE TO TAKE

TIM FLESHER

13 AUGUST 1984

MESSAGE ENDS

Mr. Peter Wacher said today

There can be few more absurd claims than ^{has} ~~the claim~~ by Mr Scargill ^{that} support for the strike is solid.

One in three miners, the one in three that have had the right of a ballot, have remained working and totally opposed to the strike action.

Of the two-thirds that are prevented from going to work it is well known that the great majority would be at work if only they were given the opportunity.

If Mr Scargill really believed that support for the strike is solid, why are NUM funds being used to pay for mobs to prevent men from going to work?

If, next week, the NUM followed their own guidelines on picketing, the violence and intimidation would cease and thousands would return to work.

As to the delegate conference, the public have now seen the type of treatment that has been given to delegates who expressed their democratic views. These decent men have been spat at, their cars kicked in. All the methods of abhorrent violence, which the country has witnessed in recent weeks, have been used by the mob.

The reality is that the miners have a good pay offer. Not one miner is faced with compulsory redundancy. The coal mining industry has available to it the biggest investment programme in its history.

No wonder that the third who have balloted have decided to stay at work. No wonder that the two-thirds who are denied a ballot desperately want the opportunity to get back to work.

No wonder they and their families desperately wish to be free of

violence and intimidation.

Several months ago, when Mr Scargill first tried to manipulate the rules for balloting, Mr Kinnock plucked up courage to call for a national ballot. Since then there has been a deafening silence.

Surely the time has come for him to acknowledge that the miners, who have never been on strike before without a ballot, should have the right which he ^{originally} claimed for them.

It is in the interests of the mining communities, the industry and the country that ordinary decent miners are given the direct opportunity of expressing their own views, instead of having the views of a violent minority forced upon them.

10 August 1984

Tim

ARTICLE BY EMPLOYMENT SECRETARY TOM KING FOR
'NEWS OF THE WORLD', AUGUST 12, 1984

'The longer it goes on the nastier it will get' - these were the prophetic words of one union leader to me in the very early days of the miners strike. He was certainly right and yet I wonder if he ever guessed to what depths of nastiness it would sink.

For many weeks the country has had to endure night after night scenes of mass picketing and violence, as police have striven manfully to maintain the rights of all those who wished to go to work. These scenes have been unpleasant enough, and many people have been charged with serious offences which could carry substantial sentences.

Yet even these are now overshadowed by the appalling events of the past week. All pretence that this is somehow being conducted as a normal industrial dispute, that the mobs we saw in action last week are somehow lawful pickets, or that violence only arises from the presence of the police, all these pretences have been thrown aside, and a nastier and more ugly face revealed.

In nights of terror mobs have gone on the rampage smashing property and terrorising individual miners in their own home. But these weren't mindless thugs, or some drunken brawlers after closing time. These were carefully co-ordinated attacks planned by people who care no longer for any standards of conduct in industrial disputes, or for the future of the industry that they have been claiming to defend. These terror squads pose the clearest challenge to us all. Do we want to live in a country where its citizens can be equally protected under the law, or one in which mob violence and terror rule the day?

That's the question, and it can't be ducked any longer by anybody who actually cares about what happens to this country. This violence is quite intolerable and must be stopped NOW.

What I now want to hear is that same total condemnation from others as well - Mr Kinnock and his Labour colleagues, other trade union leaders, and particularly Mr Scargill and his colleagues.

It is clear that these latest terror attacks are being carefully planned and co-ordinated. I understand the NUM are denying that they are planning and co-ordinating them but that denial alone won't do. If they wish to carry credibility it is not enough to say they are not organising the violence: they must denounce it and take every step they can to help stop it. Otherwise those who fail to condemn it will themselves be condemned.

And now in this of all weeks there are stories that other trade unionists are going to be asked to give further support to the NUM, some crazy "Big Bang" strike theory, that the extremists are trying to sell. Are people really going to be asked to take action in support of the rioters, hoodlums and thugs who seem to have taken over this dispute, and when the NUM has failed to persuade all its own members to strike?

Every day tens of thousands of miners, denied their right to vote in a ballot, are voting with their feet not to join the battle of the mob. They are working on, bravely standing out against the disgraceful violence and intimidation. And even among the miners brought out on strike the bewilderment and resentment is growing by the day.

Moreover, trade unions would be ordering their members to strike in support of miners who have been offered:

- a pay offer keeping miners 25 per cent above average earnings and giving face workers about £10,000 a year.
- a job for everyone who wants to stay in the industry
- the most generous terms for those who volunteer to leave.
- the promise of £3,000 million of investment, funded by the taxpayer.

That's an offer most negotiators would be delighted with. No wonder Arthur Scargill dare not risk a ballot.

So who does want a "Big Bang" strike? Those union leaders who want to show their political muscle and curry favour with the militants. The bully-boy gangs who can be seen most evenings on television disgracing the name of the Trade Union Movement. Foreigners would gain because they would pick up the jobs we threw away. But above all the militants would gain because they want to change society by force rather than by the ballot box.

And who will the losers be? The trade union leaders who do care about their members and their prospects. Ordinary trade union members who would be forced to sacrifice their pay and in the process put their own jobs at risk. The unemployed whose best hope of a job must lie in a Britain at work and not on strike.

The TUC, which has seen its best efforts to bring some order and decency to the conduct of industrial disputes treated with contempt. Its codes of practice on the conducts of disputes and peaceful picketing lie trampled in the dust of Orgreave, Llanwern and Bilston Glen. But above all, the greatest loss would be to the British traditions of democracy, tolerance and respect for the law.

All I know about "Big Bangs" is that a lot of people usually get hurt. This would be no exception. What the miners actually need is not a "Big Bang" but a big ballot. All the bitterness and misery of the last six months that have made this strike so divisive and nasty stem directly from not having the ballot that the rules require. That is what must now happen and anyone with a tongue to speak should say so loud and clear.

8th August 1984

Mr. R.A. Viggars,
61, Promenade,
Southport,
Merseyside,

W
13/11

Dear Mr. Viggars,

Thank you for your recent letter to Mr. MacGregor (who is away from the office at present).

The current law of the land does not permit us to turn pits over to the NUM or anyone else. The laws provide that only the National Coal Board can work the mines as the coal reserves are vested in the Board by Parliamentary action. We can license mines to others but the legislation provides that such mining activities are confined to very small sized mines. Most of our pits are considerably bigger than the maximum permitted under the license arrangement. Therefore, it would be impossible for us to license the NUM or anyone else to run these pits unless the laws are changed, and that, while possible, would take a considerable time and debate in Parliament.

At the same time I am sure that the mines we hope to phase out because of their uneconomic nature would present a real financial problem to anyone who tried to run them. I fear that it would be difficult to convince the NUM that they should take on these burdens.

Thank you again for writing.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) J. R. COWAN

c.c. P.M.'s Office

3016/8/84/B/57/GLT

NCB

With Compliments

R10

Chairman's Office
National Coal Board
Hobart House, Grosvenor Place
London SW1X 7AE
Tel. 01-235 2020

CF

Ian MacGregor

7th August 1984

The Rt. Hon. Lord Shawcross, G.B.E., Q.C.,
Morgan House,
One Angel Court,
London,
EC2R 7AE.

Coal News

Thank you for your recent letter about the present dispute in the coalmining industry.

I am sure that you will understand that the public presentation of the NCB's case is only part of the publicity campaign we have mounted over the past few months. We have also been concentrating on publicity aimed directly at our employees both those on strike and those at work. For example, I have twice written personal letters to the mineworkers and we have been using our internal newspaper "Coal News" to get the facts of the issues across. You might be interested to see the attached copy of "Coal News" which is the latest edition we have published which has been sent to the home of every man in the industry.

The spokesmen on national television and radio form only part of our publicity campaign. In the field our Area Directors are very active in local radio and television as indeed are some of our other managers. We have always found that local radio and television has more impact on the people in the industry than national news bulletins and I think it is important that we have recognised that the National Coal Board has more than one "public".

You say that few of your acquaintances in the mining industry are regular readers of the quality newspapers. You may be interested to know that the series of advertisements we ran a few weeks ago was placed in every national newspaper including the tabloids which may be more popular amongst the mineworkers. In any case, the adverts were aimed as much at educating the general public about the facts of the dispute which seemed to have become clouded by the rhetoric and misleading statements of some of the NUM leaders as they were to persuading mineworkers to return to work. We also placed some of the advertisements although not the whole series, in local regional newspapers.

/Cont

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You suggest that the word "beneficial" is meaningless. This was, of course, a word which was introduced during our negotiations with the leadership of the NUM in an effort to define a category of closures other than exhaustion or safety which has now become necessary because of the public stance of the leadership of the NUM who have gone on record as saying that there will be no pit closures other than when a pit is exhausted or when it is unsafe. I am sure you will agree with me that that is totally unacceptable and therefore we must find a way and a form of words which will define "other reasons" for pit closures which we have always had in the mining industry.

As to your final point about the law, arrests and sentencing are not, of course within the prerogative of the National Coal Board although I agree that the perpetrators of these dastardly, cowardly crimes of violence and intimidation should be punished appropriately for their deeds.

I think in all our actions we must keep hold of the fact that the NUM leadership called this dispute and only they can call it off. That is most likely to happen when they take heed of the views of the vast majority of their membership who clearly do not want this strike to continue and we must do all we can to encourage them to let their voices be heard.

I appreciate your thoughtfulness in writing to me to try to help.

Sincerely,

c.c. The Prime Minister ✓
The Secretary of State for Energy

3016/8/84/B/27/GLT



10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister

mf

MISC 101

Substitutes:

Financial Secretary for
Chancellor

(Mr Moore recently had
a minor operation and is
on crutches)

Mr Stewart for Sq S Scotland

Solicitor General for Attorney

D

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ccol

Daily Coal Report - Tuesday 7 August 1984

P. W. ...

Pit categories

	<u>Number</u>	<u>plus on holiday</u>
Working normally	35	10
Turning some coal	7	2
Some men present	4	-
On strike/picketed out	91	25

Attendances at all the Nottinghamshire pits back from holiday is better than yesterday.

Bilston Glen in Scotland again has 40 men in.

However Frances (Scotland) and High Moor (N. Derby) have lost the handful of men who turned up yesterday.

Attendance at Bolsover is down to 177 men - the drift away is probably in anticipation of the pit holiday which begins next week.

Coal Movements

Yesterday 112,000 tonnes of coal were moved. This is approaching the level achieved before the Notts pits went on holiday.

Train movements to power stations remain depressed. 13 coal trains ran yesterday, 5/6 less than hoped. BR expect to run 15/16 today.

There are two problem areas: ASLEF and NUR headquarters are believed to be applying intense pressure on railwaymen at the Coalville and West Houses depots to black coal trains. BR's proposal to close the West Houses depot (currently the subject of consultative proceedings) and to move the men to the (more militant) Totton depot is also a factor.

The NCB are therefore relying increasingly on road transport in the Midlands area. Of the 86,000 tonnes of coal moved from there yesterday, 71,000 went by road.

Department of Energy officials will be meeting BR, the NCB and CEGB to consider ways of easing the situation.

Law and Order

There are 1000 pickets at Markham in N. Derby (8 men in).

600 pickets at Gedling in Notts (but attendance there better than yesterday)

Parkside (Lancs) has 300 pickets, against the 1200 who created disturbances yesterday.

In South Wales there are 50 pickets at Garw pit, and a further 50 at the home of the single man who reported for work yesterday.

There have been several reports of violence and vandalism at other locations: a fairly typical Tuesday, in fact.

Industrial relations

The NUM are holding a special delegate conference on Friday.

The background to this is Scargill's recent threat to consider widening and extending the strike, and the further attempt by the NUM leadership to legitimize the new disciplinary rules declared void by the High Court last month.

Action in the Courts

Two faceworkers at Manton pit in Yorkshire have issued writs against the NUM seeking orders for a national ballot. A preliminary hearing of the case will take place in the High Court tomorrow.

Other Issues

Serious situation at Hunterston/Ravenscraig. See letter from SOS for Trade dated 6 August.

Line to Take

Increasing signs that many miners recognise there are no industrial grounds for the dispute, and wish to disassociate themselves from violence and intimidation being undertaken for political ends.

(Avoid direct comment on Yorkshire miners' legal action).

Distribution: Members of MISC 101; Mr Gregson (Cabinet Office)

Enquiries: Michael Reidy, PS/SOS for Energy 211 6070



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ms

PRIME MINISTER

MISC 101(84)32nd Meeting: Hunterston

The meeting has been called to discuss arrangements being contemplated by the British Steel Corporation (BSC) for the docking and unloading at Hunterston of the bulk carrier "Ostia", presently moored in Belfast Lough with coal for Ravenscraig.

Flag A

2. The arrangements being contemplated, and their implications, are described at paragraphs 3-4 of the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry's letter of 6 August. The Secretary of State for Trade and Industry should be able to report further at the meeting on what BSC plan to do: a meeting is to take place on the morning of 8 August between the Corporation, the Transport and General Workers' Union (T&GWU) and the port authorities.

MAIN ISSUES

3. Subject to further developments at the local meeting in the morning, the main issues are:

i. What would be the implication of docking and unloading the "Ostia" without the help of T&GWU tugmen, boatmen and trimmers?

ii. Would best advantage be gained by:

a. docking and unloading now without the T&GWU;

b. seeking to delay a decision;

c. not pressing the point with the T&GWU?


SECRET

Implications of unloading

4. Given the consequences for Ravenscraig, the BSC would be understandably reluctant to give up any attempt to bring in the "Ostia" without any further serious efforts to do so. On the other hand, the consequences of a national dock strike are clearly understood by the Group and would be most unwelcome. The Group will wish to consider:

- i. the latest intentions of the BSC, as given by the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry in the light of the local meeting which will have taken place in the morning;
- ii. how far, bearing in mind that the current intention of BSC is not only to unload, but also to dock the ship without normal T&GWU participation, is it likely that a dispute over the action contemplated in the Secretary of State's letter could be prevented from escalating and dealt with "carefully, with full use of the consultative procedures starting at local level" (paragraph 4);
- iii. what degree of risk exists that unloading on the basis currently proposed by the BSC could lead to a sustained national dock strike?

Timing

5. The Secretary of State for Trade and Industry says in paragraph 2 of his letter that if the cargo of the "Ostia" is not landed tomorrow, BSC have no option but to begin to run down Ravenscraig from 20 August. The Group will want to know how and why this second date follows from the first; and what scope, if any, exists for delaying an attempt to berth the ship without T&GWU cooperation. Such delay might perhaps open up the possibility of delaying irrevocable action on the "Ostia" while the prospect of an eventual shutdown at Ravenscraig generated pressure on the T&GWU from the steel unions to allow the ship to land its cargo in

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SECRET

the normal way. How long could unloading be delayed without irrevocable effects on the viability of Ravenscraig?

Further action

6. The Secretary of State says that the BSC would be prepared to seek an injunction against the T&GWU if they were not prepared to abide by normal consultation procedures to settle a dispute arising from the berthing of the ship. What is the latest thinking of the BSC on this, following the morning's meeting? Taking account of any views which the Secretary of State for Employment and the Solicitor General may have on the legal and technical aspects of such a move, does the Group think it advisable on grounds of tactics and policy?

HANDLING

7. You will want to ask the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry to report on the morning's meeting at Hunterston. The Secretary of State for Scotland may have further points to make, particularly about the mood of the steel and docks workforces involved. The Secretary of State for Transport will have views on whether the course currently proposed by the BSC would be likely to lead to industrial action; and how widespread it would be. The Solicitor General should be given the opportunity to comment on any legal action contemplated by BSC. The Secretary of State for Energy will have views on the implications for the miners' strike; the Secretary of State for Employment will also wish to comment, particularly if legal action under employment legislation is under consideration. The Chief Secretary, Treasury may wish to comment both generally, and on the effect of further strike action in the docks on confidence and financial markets.

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CONCLUSIONS

8. The Group will wish to invite the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry to discuss next steps with the Chairman of BSC in the light of views expressed at the meeting; and to report further. On the basis of what is currently known about the BSC's intentions, it is likely that the Group will wish to register its views on:

- i. the likely effect of proceeding with berthing and unloading the "Ostia" without T&GWU cooperation; and
- ii. the tactical options, including:
 - a. the scope for, and any likely tactical advantage from delaying the berthing and unloading; and
 - b. any possible role for the civil law.

9. If it appears that the BSC will proceed to unload the "Ostia" without T&GWU cooperation, it might be a good idea to make provisional arrangements for a further meeting, perhaps at the beginning of next week, with the Lord President of the Council in the Chair. If no immediate action is likely, you will wish to invite the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry to keep the Group informed by correspondence, consulting the Secretaries of State for Transport, Energy, Employment, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Law Officers as appropriate on issues of substance which may arise.

M.S.B.

M S BUCKLEY

Cabinet Office
7 August 1984



20

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ENERGY
THAMES HOUSE SOUTH
MILLBANK LONDON SW1P 4QJ
01 211 6402

Andrew Turnbull Esq
Private Secretary to the
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

7 August 1984

Dear Andrew

POWER STATION ENDURANCE

I attach the latest report.

Copies also go to Margaret O'Mara and
Richard Hatfield.

Yours sincerely
E G

E G HUKE
Private Secretary



POWER STATION ENDURANCE

1. Coal deliveries to CEGB power stations last week were 0.43 mt (including non-NCB sources), with many working pits on holiday. Coal burn was 0.44 mt leaving a stock draw of only 13000 t. CEGB coal stocks last Sunday night were 14.7 mt with a further 1.3 mt at Scottish power stations.
2. Total NCB deliveries last week were 0.53 mt, of which about 0.14 mt went to customers other than power stations.
3. The average rate of coal deliveries to power stations over the whole period of the strike has been 0.43 mt per week. The average over the past 6 weeks has been 0.47 mt.
4. The range of endurance outcomes has been revised by the CEGB as follows:-

<u>Average coal deliveries</u> (mt/week)	<u>Oil burn (% of Max)</u>	
	<u>90%</u>	<u>100%</u>
0	mid Nov	late Nov
0.4	late Jan	mid Feb
0.5	late Feb	September*

7 | N.B. The CEGB are still refining the calculations on which these endurance estimates are based with a view to a fuller presentation in future.

* This reflects what Sir
Walter Marshall has
told you but X
is a substantial
reservation

DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY
1 August 1984

D
7/8

Coal
over

NATIONAL COAL NEWS ASSOCIATION

No. 4735 • August 6, 1984

OSM Upholds Co.'s Rights to Wilderness Coal

The Office of Surface Mining has determined that Otter Creek Coal Co., a subsidiary of Island Creek Coal Co., has "valid existing rights" to its coal reserves in a wilderness area inside West Virginia's Monongahela National Forest.

Otter Creek had purchased the mineral rights in the area in 1924, and in 1975 the Otter Creek Wilderness Area was created. The company filed suit against the federal government in 1978, claiming that OSM and the U.S. Forest Service regulations had, without compensation, denied them the right to mine their reserve.

OSM made its finding of "valid existing rights" under the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act, which prohibits surface mining in wilderness areas, except where an operator has valid existing rights. "In establishing valid existing rights status, Congress intended to avoid a taking of property without compensation under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution," OSM said.

The agency said its previous and current regulations provide that valid existing rights determinations be made on a case-by-case basis.

OSM said the recognition of valid existing rights "does not mean that the company has a right to mine. No mining can occur in the Otter Creek Wilderness Area unless the company applies for and receives permits approved by OSM and the U.S. Forest Service."

ETSI Terminates Coal Slurry Project

Energy Transportation Systems, Inc. announced last week it has cancelled plans to build a 1,800-mile-long coal slurry pipeline.

ETSI President Paul G. Doran said the decision to terminate "is a result of protracted railroad opposition that has brought about costly delays in securing all necessary permits, rights-of-way and other clearances for the project. The increased costs, uncertainties and delays resulting from this opposition leave the ESTI partners no other recourse but to take this action."

The ESTI pipeline was the largest of the slurry projects under consideration in the U.S. Several other pipelines have been proposed, but because of railroad opposition, all have encountered problems in obtaining rights-of-way which would allow construction. The defeat in Congress last year of legislation that would provide federal eminent domain for coal slurry pipelines made the likelihood of rapid development of this transportation alternative remote for

the near future.

Doran said he believed a coal slurry pipeline industry "will eventually be developed in the nation. A competitive alternative to rail transportation of coal is imperative in a free market economy to strengthen utilization of our vast coal resources, bring cost savings to consumers and enable the U.S. to compete in international coal markets."

The \$3 billion ESTI project would have been a large-diameter pipeline carrying 25 million to 30 million tons of coal annually from Wyoming to utilities in Texas and Louisiana. At present, the only coal slurry pipeline operating in the U.S. is a 273-mile-long Black Mesa line, owned and operated by the Southern Pacific Railroad, which carries coal from a Peabody Coal Co. mine in northeastern Arizona.

The ESTI joint venture consisted of subsidiaries of Bechtel Group Inc., InterNorth Inc., KN Energy Inc. and Texas Eastern Corp.

Coal Scores Increases in First Quarter

Coal scored strong increases in virtually every major production and consumption category during the first quarter of 1984, according to the Energy Information Administration's *Quarterly Coal Report*.

EIA said the figures for coal reflected the industry keeping pace "with the nation's strong economic performance" over the period. Among the data cited in the report:

- Coal production through March registered a record first quarter total of 224 million tons "in response to sharply increased demand for coal for electric power generation and for general industry." This represented a 16.1 percent rise over production from the first quarter of 1983.
- Electric utility coal consumption was 14.2 percent higher than a year ago, rising from 146.2 million tons to 167 million tons.
- Overall coal consumption rose 15.7 percent, from 173.1 million tons to 200.3 million tons. Consumption at coke plants rose 38.2 percent above last year's first-quarter level while use in other industry jumped 16.5 percent.

In addition, the EIA report noted the average price of coal delivered to electric utilities in the first quarter of 1984 was \$34.47 per short tons, compared with a figure of \$35.44 in the first quarter of 1983.

In addition, coal exports registered 15.1 million tons in the first quarter, virtually the same figure as a year earlier. The unemployment rate for the industry remained a high 24 percent, with 48,000 miners out-of-work, while 152,000 were employed during the first quarter.

The publication, DOE/EIA-0121 (84/IQ), can be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, telephone (202) 783-3238.

Carl E. Bagge, President
1130 17th St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036-4677
Telephone (202) 463-COAL

Coal Exports Increase Through June

Total U.S. coal exports through the first half of 1984 registered 38.7 million tons, 3.4 million tons above the pace for 1983.

Metallurgical coal exports were the primary impetus behind the increase, registering a total of 29.2 million tons through June, a 6.6-million-ton increase over the same figure a year ago. Steam coal exports, on the other hand, showed a 3.1-million-ton drop from last year to 9.6 million tons.

Overall coal exports during June were 7.8 million tons, 5.5 million for

met coal and 2.3 million tons for steam coal.

Overseas coal exports for the first six months of 1984 hit a figure of 30.4 million tons, 178,000 tons below the figure a year ago. Met coal shipments were up 5.3 million tons to 25.8 million tons, while steam coal shipments, at 4.6 million tons, were 5.5 million tons below the first half of 1983.

Overseas coal shipments in June totaled 5.3 million tons, compared with 5.1 million tons in June 1983.

U.S. COAL EXPORTS
(Millions of Tons)

	June		January-June	
	1983	1984	1983	1984
Total				
Met	4.61	5.51	22.6	29.2
Steam	2.62	2.28	12.7	9.6
Total	7.23	7.79	35.3	38.7
Overseas				
Met	3.64	4.52	20.5	25.8
Steam	1.60	.80	10.1	4.6
Total	5.24	5.32	30.6	30.4

(Some figures may not add due to rounding)

SOURCE: *International Coal Review*

Bagge Urges Increased Coal Research

America's energy future depends on increased research efforts designed to answer unresolved questions about the effects of coal utilization. The results will help dispel politically-motivated fears about making greater use of the United States' most abundant energy resource, NCA president Carl E. Bagge said last week.

"We need research that breaks the shackles of the past and deals with the technical problems as well as the political problems," Bagge told the Energy Department's energy research advisory board. "We need R&D in utilization and combustion, and into the poorly understood environmental phenomena that accompany combustion."

Scientific study is the best means of countering unfounded and poorly-reasoned attacks against increasing coal use, Bagge added, alluding to the current debate about acid rain. The case against increased coal use "arises from the selective application of science, often sloppy science, to create fear," he explained. "And only careful, painstaking and well-financed basic

science applied to the points of fear can set this straight."

Bagge said research should be focused on coal utilization and combustion. "We need a thorough understanding of what happens after emission and before deposition. We need to know what happens, when and why it happens, and what its real effect is. We need a reliable data base from which to assess the problem and its possible regulation, so that any controls will be effective, efficient and as inexpensive as possible."

Bagge cited published estimates that the U.S. has invested \$450 billion in private and public funds to improve the environment during the 1970s, and an additional \$675 billion is expected to be spent this decade.

Past efforts have reaped impressive results. The Environmental Protection Agency reports a 25 percent decline in sulfur dioxide emissions since 1970. And, between 1975 and 1982, EPA reports a 33 percent drop in sulfur dioxide concentrations nationwide. This has occurred at a time when coal use has increased eighty-five percent.

Mine Inspectors Pay Surprise Visit

About 800 federal mine inspectors and technicians paid surprise visits to more than 1,000 surface mines recently, and cited more than 550 suspected safety violations.

The Mine Safety and Health Administration said the most numerous safety violations involved faulty brakes on coal trucks, missing guardrails on steep roads and defective or missing backup alarms on mining vehicles.

Violators were given a few hours or as much as five days to correct the deficiencies, MSHA said. The agency said most of the problems probably have been corrected, but that federal inspectors would return to the mines in the next few days.

MSHA spokesman Frank O'Gorman said the agency was pleased with the exercise, the first time a massive inspection program had been conducted on a single day. He said a purpose of the operation was "to stress the importance of maintenance and the importance of exercising common sense and safety while using the equipment."

O'Gorman said coal operators and maintenance personnel "were not in the least bit adverse to having us come there and tell them about this."

CORRECTION

The *Coal Burning R&D Technologies Conference: A Congressional Perspective*, mentioned in the calendar in last week's *Coal News* (7-30-84) will be held in Evansville, Ind., not Kentucky. The conference will be held at the Ramada Inn on Aug. 24.

U.S. Firm, Japanese Form Joint Venture

Wormser Engineering Inc., of Woburn, Mass., has formed a joint venture with Marubeni Corp. and Ube Industries, both of Japan, to build and market a coal-fired fluidized bed boiler.

Under terms of the agreement, Wormser will hold 40 percent of the joint venture, called Ube Wormser Ltd., while Ube will hold 40 percent and Marubeni the remaining 20 percent.

The venture will market Wormser's fluidized-bed boiler in Japan and throughout southeast Asia. The company has already sold a unit that will generate 65,000 pounds per hour of steam, to be installed at a plastics plant in Ube City, in a factory owned by Ube-Cycon, a joint venture of Ube and Borg-Warner.

Report Looks at Petroleum Risks

Continued dependence on petroleum in electric generation "exposes utilities to a variety of risks," including impact on profits and insecure fuel supplies, according to the Energy Information Administration's latest *Electric Power Quarterly*.

In a discussion of utility petroleum consumption since the oil embargo of 1973, the report notes that converting existing power plants from petroleum to coal "has been seen as a means of achieving operating economies and reducing petroleum imports."

The study says utilities who continue relying on petroleum risk impact on profit levels. "When the price of petroleum rises rapidly, operating costs also escalate. Even with an automatic pass through of increased fuel cost, revenues may decline."

Another risk, the report notes, is "a significant supply interruption." This can be controlled to some extent by the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, the study says, but "if supply disruptions are protracted, generating capability could be significantly reduced."

The book notes that in 1981, about 3,000 megawatts of petroleum-fired capacity had been converted back to coal, and that while some utilities still use substantial amounts of oil, none are constructing large, petroleum-fired steam units. "In addition, more utilities are converting to coal and switching fuels where dual-fired capacity exists."

Statistical Summary

In its statistical summary, *Electric Power Quarterly* said that coal accounted for 55.6 percent of all electricity produced for the first quarter of 1984. Overall electricity production was up nearly 10 percent over the first quarter of 1983, and coal consumption by utilities rose 14.2 percent. Coal stockpiles nationally were 12 percent below the figures for a year ago.

The average cost of coal receipts was 163.5 cents per million Btu, compared to 167.5 cents per million Btu for the first quarter of 1983. Petroleum costs for January through March 1984 averaged 494.9 cents per million Btu, an increase of 51.0 cents above the first quarter of 1983. The average cost of natural gas was 343.5 cents, 4.8 cents higher than a year ago.

The report noted that four coal-fired units with a combined generating capacity of 2,481 megawatts came on-line in the first quarter.

Coal Wire

The **Illinois Center for Research on Sulfur in Coal** has been awarded nearly \$1.3 million to continue its study of sulfur and other substances in Illinois coal.

The money, from the Illinois Coal Research Board, will fund six new research projects and 13 already underway. In addition, the money will support computerized storage of information about coal for researchers, expansion of a storage bank of coal samples, and an economic analysis of several projects currently funded by the research board.

The CRSC is a consortium of six major research institutions in Illinois—Argonne National Laboratory, the Illinois Geological Survey, Northwestern University, Southern Illinois University, the University of Illinois at Chicago and the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

The **Appalachian Regional Commission** has published *Coal Export Financing: Methods and Trends*, which provides information on new trends and developments that have occurred since late 1982 "as a result of intense price competition from other coal exporting nations."

The report is designed for use by coal producers, brokers, traders, lawyers, bankers, shippers and others in the coal exporting business. The book was prepared by ARC, in cooperation with the International Trade Administration, as part of its program to support

economic development throughout the 13-state Appalachian Region. It can be obtained from Kathleen Gujral, ARC, 1666 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20235.

Dravo Corp.'s Weyher/Livsey Constructors Inc. subsidiary has been awarded a \$4.28 million contract to complete a unit-train coal loading facility at the Skyline Mines near Scofield, Utah.

The contract involves construction of a coal truck dumping facility, conveyors, storage silos and a bulk train loading system. Work on the project will be completed in the summer of 1985.

Skyline Mines is a joint venture of Coastal Corp.'s Utah Fuels Co. and Getty Mining Co.

The **Department of Energy's Morgantown Energy Technology Center** has compiled a list of abstracts for energy-related publications that have been published in Fiscal Year 1984. They include a number of coal related categories, including coal gasification, fluidized-bed combustion and underground coal gasification.

The abstracts include information on how to order the booklet. For further information, contact METC at P.O. Box 880, Collins Ferry Road, Morgantown, W.Va. 26505, telephone (304) 291-4679.

New NCA Book Focuses on Environment

The major advances in combustion technology and strategies that allow coal to be mined and burned in compatibility with the environment highlight NCA's publication, *Coal and Your Environment*.

The 28-page, full-color publication features an in-depth, comprehensive look at three major areas—land reclamation, air quality and water quality—incorporating graphs, tables, case studies, photographs and other pertinent data on coal industry environmental activities.

The publication details the extensive coal industry financial and operational

commitment to complying with rigorous federal and state environmental laws and regulations and notes the major progress that has been made in recent years in such areas as reclaiming mined land, reducing sulfur dioxide and particulate emissions, and controlling acid mine drainage and sedimentation problems.

Coal and Your Environment can be ordered for \$2 a copy for NCA members and \$3 a copy for non-members. For further information, see the flyer attached to this issue of *Coal News*, or contact Katheleijne Zambrowicz at (202) 463-2631.

EPRI Reports Look at Coal Research

The Electric Power Research Institute has announced the availability of a series of reports dealing with research in coal utilization.

"Capacity Factors and Costs of Electricity for Conventional Coal and Gasification-Combined Cycle Power Plants," available for \$14.50, discusses a system expansion model showing that "savings from deploying gasification-combined-cycle units rather than conventional coal plants are potentially much greater than traditional methods have indicated."

"Dry SO₂ Particulate Removal for Coal-Fired Boilers," \$13.00, reveals tests at a 22-megawatt coal-fired power plant showing trona, a commercially available product, to be a new low-cost alternative for flue gas desulfurization.

"Fugitive Emissions from Coal-Fired Power Plants," \$20.50, is a literature survey of fugitive emission data revealing that "available data are of generally poor quality, often contradictory, and rarely validated in the field."

"Recovery of Metal Oxides from Fly Ash," (three volumes, \$51.00), shows that by processing fly ash to obtain metal oxides and other commercial products, utilities can realize both sales revenues and reduced disposal costs.

"Market Survey of Fly-Ash-Derived Magnetite," \$8.50, notes that utilities located in regions where considerable coal washing is necessary "may find it

Great Plains Facility Produces First Gas

The nearly complete Great Plains Coal Gasification plant near Beulah, N.D., recently produced its first large quantity of synthetic gas from coal—30 million cubic feet during the first 24 hours of operation.

The quantity of gas produced by the plant, which will eventually have 12 Lurgi gasifiers (plus 2 spares) on line, will ultimately be less than the initial test run, according to Department of Energy officials. The facility is expected to go through a 53-week start-up period and will eventually produce commercial pipeline gas for about \$6.15 per million Btu.

The plant, now 99 percent complete, was built for what will be a total private investment of \$561 million, plus \$1.5 billion from the federal government. Great Plains is seeking further federal aid in the form of a loan guarantee from the Synthetic Fuels Corp.

cost-effective to extract magnetite from their fly ash. According to this market survey, however, current demand for magnetite does not justify numerous extraction facilities."

"Nuclear Assay of Coal," \$34.00, discusses a nearly complete 10-year research and development effort to establish nuclear techniques for on-line coal analysis.

All of the reports can be obtained from EPRI's Research Reports Center, P.O. Box 50490, Palo Alto, Calif. 94303, telephone (415) 965-4081.

Court Strikes Down Rail Coal Surcharge

A federal appeals court in Denver recently struck down a surcharge on coal transportation levied by Burlington Northern Railroad on shipments to a Kansas power plant.

The court decision overturned an August 1982 ruling by a federal district court, which upheld the surcharge. The court dispute arose when Burlington Northern imposed a 75-cent-a-ton surcharge on coal shipments to the plant on the assumption that a 1972 contract between the railroad and the utilities was dissolved by the Staggers Rail Act.

The appeals court held that the contract is valid. Kansas Power and Light Co., one of four utilities owning the power plant, said the ruling should trigger a \$19 million refund to customers.

Zimmer Conversion To Be Completed

Three Ohio utilities which previously announced plans to convert the Zimmer nuclear power plant to coal said last week they will complete the conversion at a total cost of \$3.4 billion.

The companies—Cincinnati Gas and Electric, Dayton Power and Light, and Southern Ohio Electric Co.—said the converted plant should be operating in 1991 with a 1,300-megawatt coal-fired generating unit. That is a 62.5 percent increase in generating capacity from the 800-megawatt capacity the Zimmer nuclear reactor would have had.

The utilities said about 45 percent of the \$1.7 billion spent on the incomplete Zimmer nuclear plant went for equipment that can be used in the converted coal-fired plant. The conversion will cost another \$1.7 billion, they said.

However, it would cost \$3.1 billion if a comparable coal-fired plant were to be built from scratch, the utilities said.

Melcher Offers Indian Measure

Sen. John Melcher (D-Mont.) last week introduced legislation that would implement Indian regulation of surface mining operations on Indian lands.

The bill, entitled the Indian Coal Mining Regulatory Act of 1984 (S 2879), would provide for cooperation between the Interior Department and Indian tribes with respect to regulating the mines on reservations, including the acquisition and reclamation of abandoned mines.

"This bill is adapted to place Indian tribes that have now or will have in the future coal strip mine operations on their own land to have the same rights or to be in the same position as the states with the option to run their own reclamation program," Melcher said.

"If the tribes do not exercise that option of running an approved reclamation program, then the secretary of the interior will be in charge of the program as required in the 1977 Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act."

Melcher said the bill was put together after a review of a special study by the Interior Department of surface mining on Indian lands, as required by the Surface Mining Act. The study included proposed legislation designed to allow Indian tribes to elect to assume full regulatory authority over the administration and enforcement of regulations of surface mining of coal on Indian lands within the exterior boundaries of the reservation. Where a mining operation extends beyond those boundaries, an Indian tribe may enter a cooperative agreement with the state or states where the operation is located to provide for Indian participation.

"I believe this bill is a constructive opportunity for Indian tribes in the management of their own coal resources and will meet their needs and properly safeguard their interests and their lands," Melcher said.

Production

Week ending	Tonnage
July 21, 1984	18,586,000
July 22, 1983	14,148,000
July 14, 1984	16,778,000
July 15, 1983	13,454,000

Year To Date

1984	498,685,000
1983	418,029,000
Tonnage increase	80,656,000

Source: Energy Information Admin.

NOW AVAILABLE FROM NCA

COAL

and Your Environment

NCA's newest publication offers an in-depth, extensive look at one of the most critical issues affecting coal production and use—how they relate to our environment.

Public opinion research shows the public is greatly concerned about coal's effects on our land, air and water resources. Many people are unaware of the stringent legislative and regulatory requirements governing coal mining and use, or the extent to which coal mining companies, electric utilities and other coal consuming industries are working to maintain a liveable environment while meeting the needs of a growing economy.

In 28 full-color pages, *Coal and Your Environment* clearly delivers the message that coal can be mined and used compatibly with our surroundings. The book is divided into three major sections—Land Reclamation; Air Quality; and Water Quality—each containing photographs, case studies, statistics and other pertinent data on such topics as surface mining and the law, coal and the Clean Air Act, acid rain, and treating water quality problems. Much of the information has never before appeared in a single coal industry publication.

Written and presented in an easy-to-understand format, this publication is designed for use by teachers and students, the media, state legislators, government officials, coal company personnel, and anyone interested in the most current information on coal and the environment. Copies are available to NCA members for \$2 each, and to non-members for \$3 per copy. To order, fill out the coupon below and mail it to: Ms. Katheleijne Zambrowicz, Publications Department, National Coal Association, 1130 17th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Payment must accompany orders—no invoices will be issued.

Please send _____ copies of NCA's *Coal and Your Environment*. My check for _____ is enclosed (the price is \$2 per book for members, and \$3 each for non-members). Please ship to:

Name _____ Title _____

Company Name _____

Business Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

Check here if you would like information about other NCA publications.



Secretary of State for Trade and Industry

SECRET

Prime Minister
to note
Asst Secy Clerk
6/8/84
12

DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY
1-19 VICTORIA STREET
LONDON SW1H 0ET

Telephone (Direct dialling) 01-215) 5422
GTN 215)
(Switchboard) 215 7877

6 August 1984

The Rt Hon Peter Walker MBE MP
Secretary of State for Energy
Department of Energy
Thames House South
Millbank
London SW1P 4QJ

D Peter.

HUNTERSTON

I am writing to let you and colleagues know the difficult situation that is developing at Hunterston, where we may on Wednesday be called to make important decisions.

2 Hunterston is the deep-water port supplying Ravenscraig. An important load of coal is aboard the bulk carrier "Ostia", presently moored in Belfast Lough. It is of a blend necessary for the operation of the Ravenscraig coke ovens. If it is not landed at Hunterston this Wednesday, BSC tell me that they will have no option but to start a rundown of Ravenscraig activities from 20 August.

3 The normal operation at Hunterston for BSC-destined cargo is divided between ship operations, carried out by registered TGWU dockers employed by the Clyde Port Authority and shore operations, carried out by ISTC non-registered employees of BSC. Basically, the TGWU members comprise tugmen, boatmen who moor the ships, and dockers who trim the cargo; the ISTC BSC employees operate the grabs which remove the coal. Without the dockers trimming the coal, something like 90% of the contents of any ship can be unloaded. It is therefore possible for a ship to be brought in without tugs, for the crew of the ship to take off the hatches, and for above 90% of the cargo to be removed without any involvement of TGWU members. BSC are keen, if the TGWU continues to refuse to co-operate, to operate in this way. They believe that this can be done without infringing the agreement reached governing the operations at Hunterston. There must, however, be a danger that any action of this sort could lead to a claim by the TGWU that what

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is being done is contrary to the NDLB agreement, and provides the basis for a resumed dock dispute.

4 I have explored this carefully with the BSC Chairman. He has assured me that they will take things carefully, with full use of the consultative procedure, starting at local level. If appropriate, BSC would seek to put the matter to the arbitration of the NDLS. They are clear that they have the right to proceed as they intend; and they are adamant that they must test this, or else face the prospect of Ravenscraig being rundown. If a dispute does arise, and if it does not prove amenable to settlement through normal consultative procedures, they would be prepared to seek an injunction against the TGWU to combat what they would in those circumstances regard as clearly politically motivated action.

5 In the meantime, BSC are taking pains to avoid any comparable dispute arising at Immingham, so as to avoid fighting on two fronts simultaneously.

6 I am copying this letter to members of MISC 101, and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

NORMAN TEBBIT

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PRIME MINISTER

Derbyshire

The Home Secretary's Private Office gave me an account of a meeting he had this morning with Mr. Hall, the President of ACPO.

Mr. Hall believes that recent incidents point to a change of tactics on the part of the NUM. Frustrated by the failure of mass picketing, he thinks they are taking to "guerilla warfare", based on intimidation of individuals and companies.

Mr. Hall reported that the Chesterfield Division of the Derbyshire Constabulary have logged 30 cases of assault, 269 cases of causing damage and 132 of intimidation. As you will be aware, their response includes the provision of "freephone" lines to police stations, the establishment of dedicated detective squads to counter intimidation, and the provision of uniformed patrols in villages.

The senior police officers concerned recognise the need for better co-ordination across forced boundaries, and there is a meeting to discuss this tomorrow. In addition, mutual aid is available through NRC, as for picketing. Mr. Hall is himself going to Derbyshire tomorrow to speak to the Assistant Chief Constable who is temporarily in charge.

DAVID BARCLAY

6 August, 1984

POA
DUB
7/8

DUB

MB

01 211 6070

6 August 1984

TO PRIVATE SECRETARIES OF MEMBERS OF MISC 101

Dear Private Secretary

I attach the first of the daily coal reports which my Secretary of State is arranging to circulate to members of MISC 101 during the month of August.

I would be grateful if you would ensure that the reports, which will all be classified "Secret and Personal" are handled in exactly the same way as other MISC 101 papers, except that where a senior Minister who is a member of MISC 101 is absent, the junior Minister deputed to act in his absence should have access to the report.

Yours sincerely

Michael Reidy
Private Secretary



File
CCPC
17

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

6 August 1984

Intelligence related to the Miners'
Dispute

The Prime Minister has noted without comment the Home Secretary's minute of 3 August on this subject.

I am sending copies of this minute to Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office) and to Sir John Jones.

C D Powell

Hugh Taylor, Esq.,
Home Office

SECRET

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>1332</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract/Item details: <i>Home Secretary to PM dated 3 August 1984</i>	
CLOSED FOR YEARS UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	<i>25/9/2013</i> <i>S. Gray</i>
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	
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MISSING	
NUMBER NOT USED	

Instructions for completion of Dummy Card

Use **Black Pen** to complete form

Use the card for one piece/item number only

Enter the Department, Series and Piece/Item references clearly
e.g.

DEPARTMENT/SERIES	.....
PIECE/ITEM	.....<i>GRA 168</i>
(ONE PIECE/ITEM NUMBER ONLY)	.....<i>49</i>

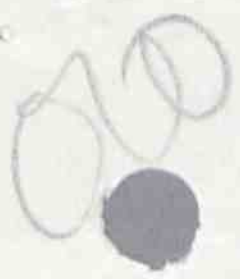
Please Sign and Date in the box adjacent to the description that applies to the document being replaced by the Dummy Card

If the document is Closed under a FOI exemption, enter the number of years closed. See the TNA guidance *Preparation of records for transfer to The National Archives*, section 18.2

The box described as 'Missing' is for TNA use only (it will apply to a document that is not in its proper place after it has been transferred to TNA)

COVERING SECRET

Copy No 1 of 4



Prime Minister 16
To note

AT
3/8

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ENERGY

THAMES HOUSE SOUTH
MILLBANK LONDON SW1P 4QJ

01 211 6402

File

Andrew Turnbull Esq
Private Secretary to the
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

3 August 1984

Dear Andrew

WEEKLY COAL AND POWER STATION STATISTICS

I attach the latest edition.

Copies also go to Margaret O'Mara and
Richard Hatfield.

Yours Sincerely
E G Huke

E G HUKE
Private Secretary

COVERING SECRET

Copy No *1 of 14*
3 August 1984

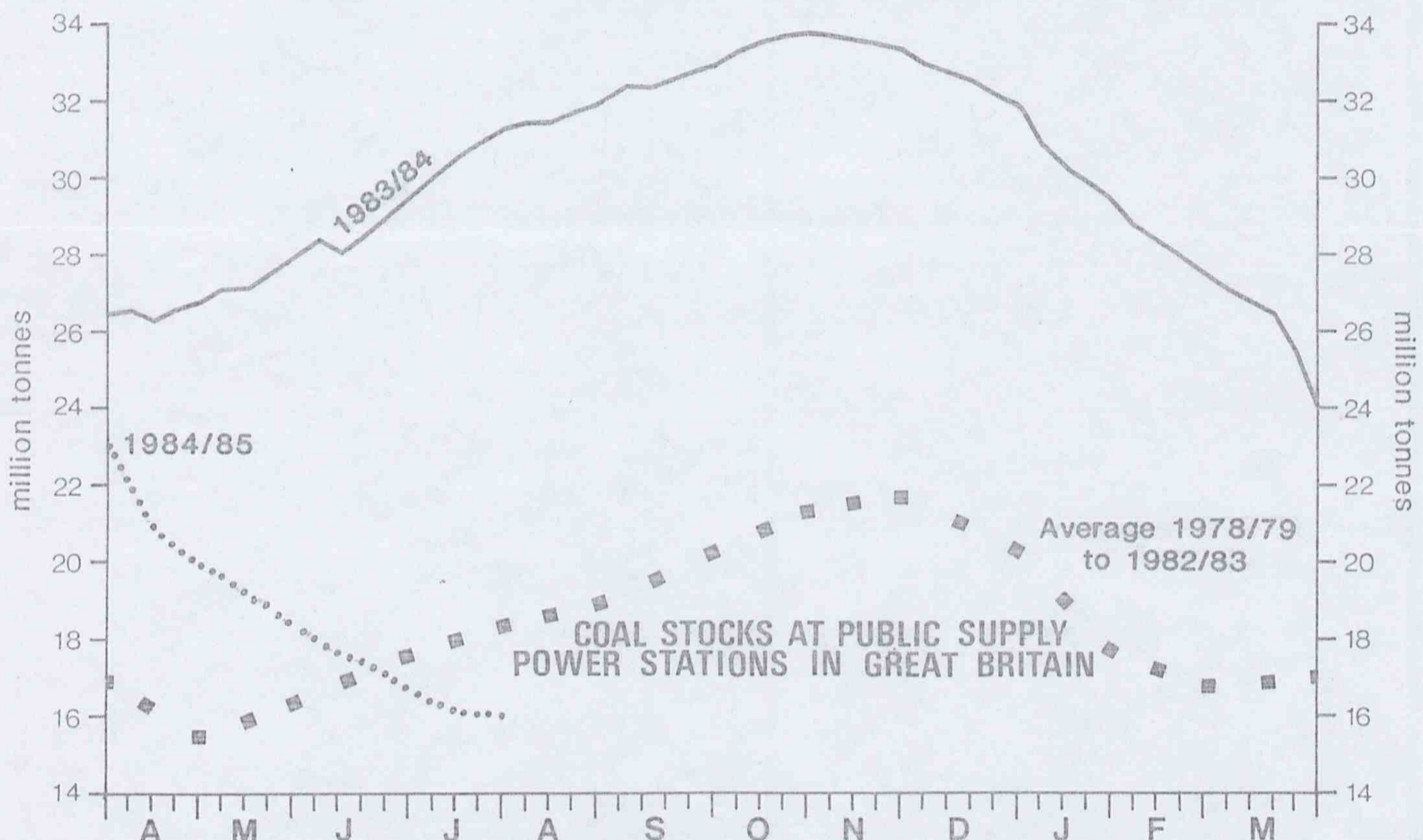
WEEKLY COAL AND POWER STATION STATISTICS (1)

EcS Division, Dept. of Energy, Thames House South, Millbank SW1P 4QJ. Phone: 01-211-6928

Week ending 30.7.83: 7.7.84 14.7.84 21.7.84 28.7.84

COAL	PRODUCTION	deep mines †	0.83:	0.41	0.43	0.42	0.27
	(m. tonnes)	opencast †	0.17:	0.31	0.30	0.27	0.18
		TOTAL	1.01:	0.72	0.73	0.69	0.45
COAL	PRODUCTIVITY(2)	'overall' o.m.s	1.99:	2.16	2.14	..	..
	(tonnes/manshift)	'production' o.m.s	10.10:	10.38	10.41	..	..
UNDISTRIBUTED STOCK							
	(m. tonnes)	TOTAL	24.06:	22.45	22.49	22.49	22.17
STATIONS	COAL STOCKS	(m. tonnes)	31.42:	16.39	16.13	16.00	<u>15.93</u>
	COAL CONSUMPTION	"	1.18:	0.76	0.74	0.65	0.50
	COAL RECEIPTS	"	1.28:	0.45	0.47	0.53	0.43
STATIONS	OIL STOCKS(3)	"	1.12:	1.08	0.98	1.00	0.98
	OIL CONSUMPTION(3)	"	0.03:	0.36	0.39	0.38	0.42
	OIL RECEIPTS(3)	"	0.06:	0.31	0.28	0.41	0.38
POWER	ELECTRICITY SUPPLIED (4) (GWh)						
	Nuclear	"	634:	671	695	766	769
	Other Steam	"	2683:	3,151	3,124	2,936	2,722
	TOTAL	"	3,317:	3,821	3,819	3,702	3,491
	TOTAL - temperature corrected	"	3,466:	3,821	3,823	3,702	..

(1) Great Britain unless otherwise stated. All latest figures are subject to revision.
 (2) NCB mines only. (3) Oil-fired boilers only. (4) Steam stations only.
 .. data not yet available. † includes licensed production.



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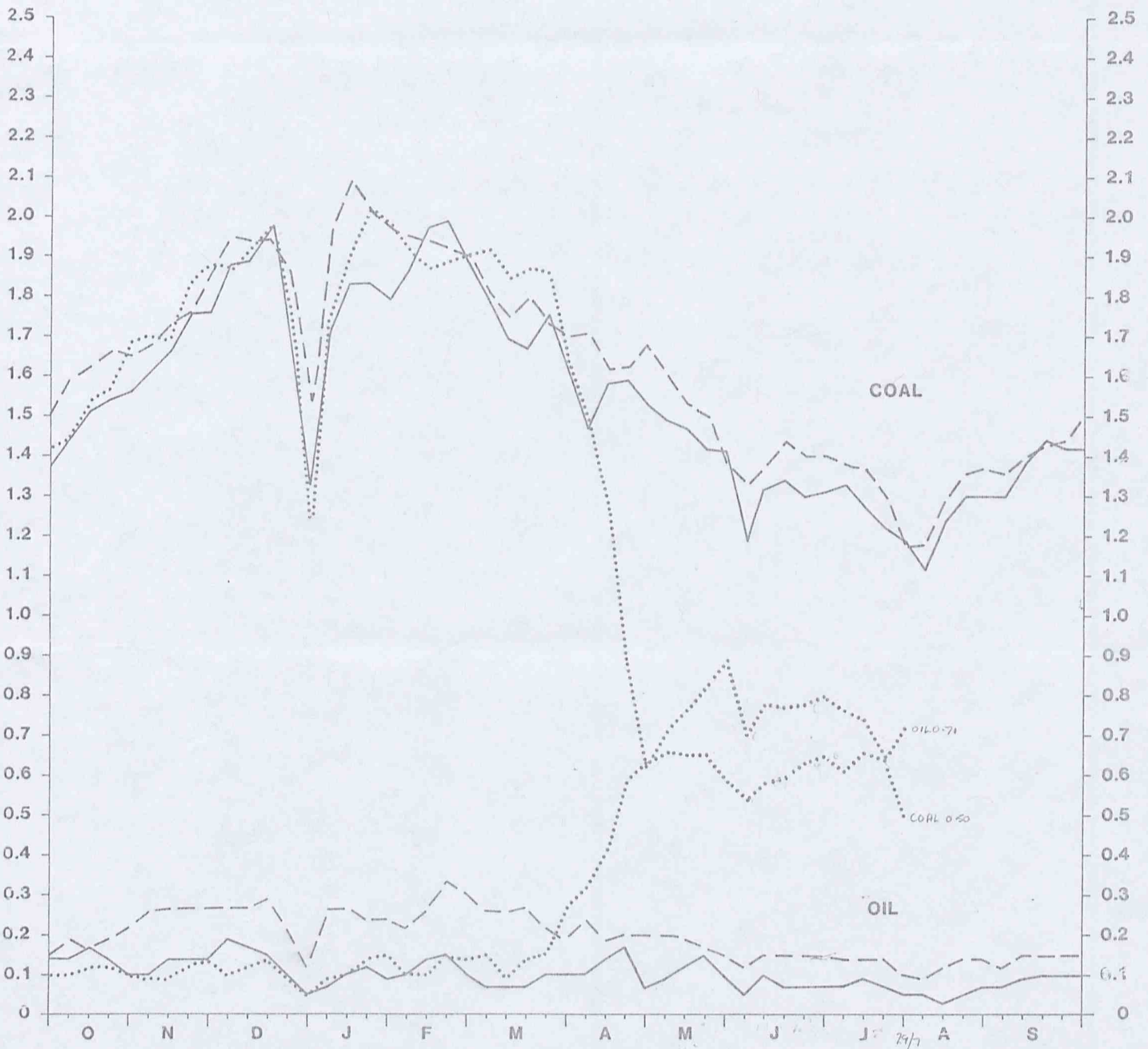
COAL CONSUMPTION AND OIL CONSUMPTION (OIL FIRED) AT
PUBLIC SUPPLY POWER STATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN

Key

- 10/83 to 9/84
- 10/82 to 9/83
- - - - Average 1977/78 to 1981/82

Million
Tonnes
Coal
or Coal
Equivalent

Million
Tonnes
Coal
or Coal
Equivalent



SECRET

E. R.

2

PRIME MINISTER

COAL DISPUTE: INTIMIDATION

At Cabinet yesterday, the Home Secretary reported that, while some success was being had in containing intimidation in Nottinghamshire, the situation in Derbyshire was still unsatisfactory. In part, this might be because Derbyshire is more deeply divided and because it is closer to the Yorkshire coalfields. It was also suggested that failure to tackle the problem might reflect the fact that the Derbyshire Police are now commanded by the Assistance Chief Constable, the Chief Constable having been suspended by his police authority.

There have been a number of nasty incidents today, the worst being an attack on the house of an NUM official who supports the return to work. Serious damage was done to the property which, I am told, included the tearing out of a bay window.

Mr. MacGregor has been in contact with both No. 10 and the Home Office, with David Young acting as intermediary, to plead for great efforts to stop intimidation and to protect working miners. He fears that not only could such intimidation slow the return to work, it could frighten miners currently working into staying away.

The Home Secretary is sending one of the Inspectors of Constabulary to Derbyshire on Monday. The officer concerned has recently completed a study of anti-intimidation methods in Nottinghamshire and should, therefore, be well placed to advise on how to tackle the problem. At the same time he can no doubt do a bit of stiffening of backs.

AT

3 August 1984

JKRADZ



Coal file

CABINET OFFICE

Mr Turnbull

No 10

With the compliments of

PLG

P L GREGSON

70 Whitehall, London SW1A 2AS

Telephone 01 233 8339

FROM: P L GREGSON CB, DEPUTY SECRETARY



CABINET OFFICE

70 Whitehall, London SW1A 2AS Telephone 01-930 5122 ext 233 8339

P.01370

Mr M F Reidy
Private Secretary to the
Secretary of State for Energy
Department of Energy
Thames House South
Millbank

3 August 1984

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Reidy.

COAL DISPUTE: REGULAR REPORTS

You will by now have seen the Prime Minister's Personal Minute (M8/84) of 2 August to your Secretary of State about the arrangements for dealing with the coal dispute during August. Sub-paragraph ii. refers to the "brief report and line to take" which is to be prepared and circulated to the members of MISC 101 after each of your regular meetings in the Department of Energy. It says that the format and circulation of this report should be agreed between the Cabinet Office and the Department of Energy.

I attach a suggested format for the report which reflects discussions which I have had with Ivor Manley in your Department and Andrew Turnbull at 10 Downing Street. It is designed to cover the kind of information which has been conveyed by your Secretary of State (and other Ministers as appropriate) to members of MISC 101 at their regular meetings. I should stress the following points:

i. It is, as the Prime Minister and your Secretary of State are agreed, meant to be a brief report. Under each heading a few figures, or one or two sentences at most should normally suffice.

ii. Weekly figures (eg for coal movements and rundown of power station coal stocks) need to be included only at weekly intervals as they become available.

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CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

iii. If there are no significant developments under some items (eg items 5.-8.), it will be in order to say no more than that; the headings are meant to provide a check list.

We shall look to your office to prepare and circulate the reports as quickly as possible after the end of your regular meetings to the offices listed at the end of the suggested format. The reports should be classified "Secret and Personal", like the MISC 101 papers. You should also ask Departments to handle the reports in the same way as they have been handling the MISC 101 papers except that where the senior Minister who is a member of MISC 101 is absent, the junior Minister deputed to act in his absence should have access to the reports.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Andrew Turnbull, 10 Downing Street.

Yours sincerely

Peter Gregson

P L GREGSON

- 2

CONFIDENTIAL

COAL DISPUTE: REPORT AND LINE TO TAKE as at

1. Pits working
Daily figures (allowing for holidays)
Any significant change?

2. Comment on number of miners working
Any significant change (allowing for holidays)?

3. Coal movements
Daily and weekly figures

4. Power station coal stocks
Most recent figure for stock level and weekly run down

5. Law and order
General assessment
Major individual incidents, if any

6. Industrial relations
Any significant developments affecting:
 NUM
 Other mining unions
 Other trade unions

7. Action in the courts

Any significant developments relating to:

civil cases

criminal cases

8. Any other points of interest

9. Line to take

Circulation:

(by Secretary of
State for Energy's
Private Office)

Private Secretaries to:

Prime Minister

Lord President of the Council

Home Secretary

Chancellor of the Exchequer

Secretary of State for Defence

Secretary of State for Scotland

Secretary of State for Trade and Industry

Secretary of State for Employment

Secretary of State for Transport

Attorney General

Minister of State, Department of Employment
(Mr Gummer)

Sir Robert Armstrong

NUMBER OF MINES PRODUCING HARD COAL IN EEC

	<u>Germany</u>	<u>France</u>	<u>Italy</u>	<u>Netherlands</u>	<u>Belgium</u>	<u>UK</u>	<u>Ireland</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
1973	53	35	1	2	18	261	5	375
1974								
1975	46(7)	30(5)	1	-(2)	14(4)	241(20)	5	337
1976	43(3)	26(4)	1	-	12(2)	239(2)	5	326
1977	43 -	26 -	1	-	10(2)	231(8)	5	316
1978	42(1)	25(1)	-(1)	-	9(1)	223(8)	5	304
1979	40(2)	23(2)	-	-	8(1)	219(4)	5	295
1980	39(1)	22(1)	-	-	6(2)	213(6)	5	285
1981	38(1)	22 -	-	-	6 -	200(13)	5	271
1982	37(1)	22 -	-	-	6 -	194(6)	5	264
1983	34(3)	21(1)	-	-	6 -	181(13)	5	247
Total Closures:	(19)	(14)	(1)	(2)	(12)	(80)	-	(128)

figs in brackets = closures

Source: Eurostats.



FERB

DB

CM.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE

*With the Compliments of
Sir Philip Moore*

c.c. The Master of the Household
Mr. John Haslam
Mr. Robin Butler
Mr. Michael Head

2nd August, 1984.

I am writing to thank you for your letter to The Queen of 30th July 1984 about the petition you wish to present to Her Majesty. The constitutional position is that The Queen can only be petitioned through Her Majesty's Ministers. If however you wish to bring your petition to Buckingham Palace on Saturday 11th August 1984 at 10.00 a.m., it will be received at the Privy Purse Door by a member of the Royal Household and, in accordance with constitutional practice, will be referred to Her Majesty's Ministers for advice. Only two people will be permitted within the Palace Gates to hand over the petition.

SIR PHILIP MOORE

Mrs. A. Scargill.

Subject

SECRET

cc BIC

Je 15
cc Master
OPS



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

Personal Minute

No. M8/84

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ENERGY

ARRANGEMENTS FOR DEALING WITH THE COAL DISPUTE DURING AUGUST

I should be grateful if you and other Ministers concerned would make arrangements for dealing with the coal dispute during August on the following lines:

i. There should continue to be regular and frequent (if need be daily) meetings at the Department of Energy under your chairmanship, or that of your Minister of State or Parliamentary Under Secretary of State (Mr. Shaw), to exchange information and consider tactics.

ii. At the end of each of these meetings a brief report and line to take should be prepared and circulated to the members of the Ministerial Group

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on Coal (MISC 101). The format and circulation of this situation report should be agreed between the Cabinet Office and the Department of Energy.

iii. Day-to-day responsibility for Ministerial supervision of the media arrangements, which are being coordinated at official level by Miss Christopherson, should rest with you, or the Department of Energy Minister deputed to act in your absence, maintaining frequent and regular contact with, and consulting as necessary, the Lord President and the Secretary of State for Employment on these matters. It may be convenient for the latter or the Minister of State, Department of Employment (Mr. Gummer) to attend the meetings at i., as appropriate.

iv. If during my absence it is essential for MISC 101 to meet to consider an issue of policy requiring to be settled by Ministers collectively, I should be grateful if the Lord President or, if for any reason he cannot do so, the Home Secretary, would chair the meeting.

v. The Home Secretary, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretaries of State for Trade and Industry, Employment and Transport should ensure that a Minister from each of their Departments is available in this country at all times throughout August to receive reports and take part in whatever discussions (by telephone or at meetings) are required.

I am sending copies of this minute to the Lord President of the Council, the Home Secretary, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretaries of State for Defence, Scotland, Trade and Industry, Employment and Transport, the Attorney General, the Minister of State, Department of Employment (Mr. Gummer) and Sir Robert Armstrong.

Margaret Thatcher

2 August 1984

SECRET



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

2 August, 1984.

I am taking advantage of the attached letter to you from the Prime Minister to thank you for your letter of 21 July and for the enclosure.

It is clear that the old master has not lost his touch! Unfortunately, your piece arrived too late for the Prime Minister's speech in the House on Tuesday, but it is full of valuable ideas, and we are keeping it by us as a quarry for future use. Alas, it looks as if the strike may yet go on long enough to provide occasions for it.

E. E. R. BUTLER

Sir Philip de Zulueta

PRIME MINISTER

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You may be interested to see the
attached copy of a speech made by Lord Marsh
in the Lords debate on the economy yesterday.
Lord Marsh makes the point strongly that pit
closures went on all the time in the 1960's
and that they were tacitly supported by the
NUM when he was Minister for Power.



2 August 1984

[LORD HARRIS OF GREENWICH.]
glad to have that reassurance from the noble Earl. It would be quite intolerable if it were going to be left simply to Mr. Richard Read and Mr. George Read to use the civil remedies which exist to prevent these continual breaches of the law.

Nobody on these Benches would derive any pleasure from seeing this great union, the National Union of Mineworkers, grievously and perhaps irretrievably damaged by this dispute. I can remember, as can many of my noble friends, many fine men who have devoted their lives to building up the National Union of Mineworkers—men such as my old friend and colleague Sam Watson and the noble Lord, Lord Gormley. The union's present course of action cannot possibly succeed. When, following the decision of Mr. Justice Park on Monday to fine the South Wales area of the National Union of Mineworkers £50,000 for contempt, Mr. Scargill called on the trade union movement—and I quote him—“to give total physical support” to his union he was demonstrating once again, in my view, that this dispute is not, to him, a normal dispute between a trade union and an employer. He was calling on the trade union movement to join him in a full-blooded assault upon the rule of law.

We on these Benches want there to be a reasonable solution to the present deeply damaging dispute in the coalfields. I am sure that that is the view of all sensible people in all parts of the House. However, on one matter we must make our position entirely clear. The attack by Mr. Scargill on the rule of law is not a matter upon which anybody who believes in the fundamental principles of our parliamentary democracy can possibly remain neutral. I believe that everybody who wants Britain to remain a liberal and tolerant society must speak out and do so without any ambiguity. Mr. Scargill cannot be allowed to succeed.

5.12 p.m.

Lord Marsh: My Lords, one of the very real problems of membership of this House, as I have discovered, is that so many of its Members have worked together so closely in the past that they share the experiences of each other. I am bound to say that when I listened to the noble Lord, Lord Diamond, with whom I worked as a colleague and from whom I learned a great deal, I had to remind myself that we had sat in the same Government around the same Cabinet table. There certainly seemed to me to be no recollection by the noble Lord of the economic horrors through which we lived during that period: the dashed hopes and dreams, the realisation of the limitations of governmental power, faced with a hostile international economic situation. Those aspects were certainly borne in on me.

I remember at that stage being badly treated by the noble Lord, Lord Diamond—as all Ministers are by all Chief Secretaries to the Treasury—in his every effort to grasp back every penny that he conceivably could in order to cut public expenditure in every direction that he conceivably could. This is the same noble Lord to whom I was summoned—members of the public are not aware that Chief Secretaries summon Cabinet Ministers—during a great battle about the number of traffic wardens who could be employed in Central

London, because of the need to cut back on public expenditure. If the noble Lord remembers a calm, stable economy—all of us, having heard the noble Lord, Lord Cockfield, are in danger of sliding into a lyrical way of speech—with Ministers confidently steering the nation through the economic troubles of those days, I am bound to tell him that I remember a very different picture. Indeed, the key reason why I moved from the Labour Party to, technically, these Cross-Benches, but in practice possibly slightly further—

A noble Lord: My Lords, in reality.

Lord Marsh: Certainly; I am grateful for the compliment. One of the reasons in my mind was not the change—I shall come to that in a moment—in political power and direction within the Labour Party, as applied to some people subsequently after failing to be elected to the National Executive of the Labour Party. The main reason why I moved across was because that period proved to me that the measures upon which the entire socialist approach to economic matters was based did not work. I remember 14th March 1968, when we looked over the edge and saw how close we were to total economic collapse at that period and how grateful we were that the International Monetary Fund, like the Eleventh United States Cavalry in a bad “B” feature movie, came to our rescue and forced us to do things that we were longing to do but which politically we were unable to do.

That was the situation in those days. Of course we have problems today, but it is foolish to exaggerate them. The noble Lord referred to the continuing drop in the value of the pound, and the Motion speaks of the “the lack of confidence in sterling”. That simply is not true. As the noble Lord, Lord Barnett, gently pointed out, the pound in common with virtually every other currency, is “off” against the United States dollar, but it is not down against the majority of other currencies. It is a problem, but it is an international problem. Until we get used to the idea (this was the problem when I was a member of the Government) that this is a very small island which cannot manage its economy internally as if it were on a different planet, and that it is affected by matters in other, bigger and more important countries, we shall not solve the problem.

The noble Lord mentioned the drop in the London stock market. Again, most of the stock markets around the world outside the United States are down. Even the Tokyo stock market is down. This is a world-wide phenomenon. This is not to suggest that we have no problems. The most serious problem we face, which is referred to in every debate of this type, is unemployment. That is an incredibly serious and sad problem, but it is a problem which exists at present in most Western European countries. It is not a peculiarly British problem. Nevertheless, it is a serious, deep, endemic and complex problem.

The right reverend Prelate the Bishop of Coventry referred to the effect on communities of the contraction in the automobile industry in the Coventry area. May I mention just one element in that problem. The reason why the automobile industry has recovered to some extent in the United Kingdom is

not because of anything that the Government have done but because the people working in the industry, at long last and just in time, in some cases, realised that they themselves were destroying their industry. The reason why the British car industry could not compete in third markets and, even worse, could not compete even in its own domestic market was largely because of the actions of people within the British car industry.

This is not to say that all of the problems we face over unemployment are due to the people who work in industry. It is a much more complex problem than that. It is one problem among very many. Anybody who suggests that there is a single cause of British unemployment is either naive or stupid. There are very many different reasons. Our problems go back a very long way. One factor which is very clear in my mind and which is at the basis of this debate is that what was described as Butskellism—a sort of Galbraithian approach to the economy and politics—simply did not work. Both parties tried it. There was very little difference between the two parties. With the greatest respect, there is little difference between the majority who sit now on these Benches and a large number of Conservative Back-Benchers. There are differences of emphasis and differences of argument, but the idea that there was a central, cosy approach to British politics and to the British economy is dead, because it did not work.

What happened at the general election of 1979 was that for the first time this country embarked upon a radical change of approach in direction on both the economic and the political front. It was bound to be a very uncomfortable ride; you cannot change the attitudes, habits, and thinking of a nation overnight simply by changing the Prime Minister—though I think she has had that effect on some of her immediate colleagues. But what you can do, I think, is to see clear evidence that fundamentally the country is now beginning to move towards a very different but more stable approach with a likelihood that we can now survive the problems of the future. I think the country is on a more hopeful course now than at any time in the last 25 years.

The problems of the steel industry, the coal industry and the railway industry have demonstrably not been solved or even reduced since I was a member of the Government dealing with those nationalised industries in the 1960s. Indeed, we are seeing today the consequences of trying, and failing completely, to ignore the pressure of market forces in those industries. Contrary to popular opinion, if the nationalised industries had been allowed to contract steadily, there would have been far less hardship.

What happened under both parties? Certainly, I played my part in this. We believed that we could halt the move towards contraction, so time and again in every one of those industries we went to the men and said: one more heave, a plan for coal, a plan for steel, a plan for the railways; let us have this number of redundancies and then you are on a plateau. Five years went past and there was another crisis, and another 10,000, 15,000 or 20,000 men suddenly found themselves out of work when they had been promised security. So we came back and we produced another plan for coal, another plan for steel and another plan for the railways and said: another 15,000

redundancies and then you have a career for life. It was a wicked deception but one which was based on ignorance and not on any desire to deceive.

It is true of coal as much as anything. In the 1960s I was closing pits. I do not know how many I was responsible for closing but it was certainly quite a lot. This was with the full support of the entire Labour Cabinet at that time and, to their credit, with the tacit support of some of the leaders of the National Union of Mineworkers then who knew full well that these pits could not stay open, and they wanted the best deal they could get for their members in the process. That, I think, is the role of a trade union leadership.

Towards the end of his speech the noble Lord read a fascinating letter from his Moscow friend about the miners' strike and violence on the picket lines. I am sure it would worry any audience in the world. I am sure that which we see is terrifying to any person living in this country.

I was amazed to hear the noble Lord, Lord Barnett—another member of the National Union of former Chief Secretaries to the Treasury. I found his arguments very persuasive. I do not think some of them would be very popular among many of the leading or more powerful figures in his party; I found his arguments very persuasive. I was amazed to hear him hint that the Government should intervene in the present dispute in the coal industry. They can only intervene in this dispute at this stage by surrendering. If that were to happen it would be the most disastrous thing which had happened to this country for many years. I believe it would be a disastrous thing for the Conservative Party as well. Fortunately, there is no possibility of that happening.

I return to a theme of the noble Lord, Lord Harris of Greenwich. Night after night we are seeing, until we now accept it, a state of total lawlessness in this country. It is not a question of failing to observe trade union legislation; we are talking about criminal law. We know—because they boast of it—that there are men in the present dispute who meet (because they tell us when they have had a meeting) and they discuss and plan violence and intimidation: violence against people and damage to property. It does not happen by accident; you do not have 10,000 pickets to have a cosy chat with 30 miners going to work; you do it to frighten people; you smash windows to frighten them. I am not a lawyer but I cannot believe that that which we are seeing night after night is legal. I think the time is coming when we have to take action on that basis. I think the line has been reached now when we can no longer sit back and fine people £500 when we know that they are just puppets of men who are orchestrating the whole campaign. If that means we have to reach a stage where the egocentrics of the Left have to go to gaol, then so be it; because there were nice cosy Liberals in the thirties who balked at the bad behaviour of ruffians and louts in the streets but did nothing about it. In the end they suffered—and many other people suffered with them.

In the past we would never have accepted the right of the Army, the CBI, the unions or anybody to challenge an elected Government. Today we do accept it; everybody speaks about it; no problem. Last Sunday the agenda for the forthcoming conference of the TUC was published. Over and over again, as if in

[LORD MARSH.]

the course of cocktail chat, the resolutions are designed to use industrial power to bring down the Government. On this issue I do not care whether it is a Labour Government, a Conservative Government, or, to be fanciful, a Liberal Government in office: I will defend to the end the right of the Government to see out its period on the basis of the votes of the people which put it there. If that is being challenged, then I think Parliament has to pick up that challenge.

The other day an article came into my possession. We cannot pretend we do not know what is going on. The article referred to Mr. Scargill, who is only one of many. They are not under the bed any more; we know who they are: Mr. Ted Grant is well-known to Members of these Benches; he is a powerful figure in the land regarding selection conferences of sitting Members of Parliament. Mr. Ken Livingstone's charm is exceeded only by his sinisterness. Ted Knight is another. There are many of them. They explain in the article quite clearly what they want to do. Mr. Scargill was interviewed in 1975 in the *New Left Review*. He was looking back at the strikes of 1969, 1972 and 1974. He took a little peep into the future. Of the strike in 1969 he said:

"a number of us had launched an organisation called the Barnsley Miners' Forum, of which I was secretary. This forum was a platform for the left and a platform for ideas within the movement. You cannot have this sort of forum without having a concentration of ideas, and some kind of unity developing in the coalfields. . . In 1970 we had an abortive strike in Yorkshire. This was mainly because the issue at stake was the wrong one; we couldn't get the unity we wanted among the left and there were splits".

That was a quite conscious decision as far back as that. Then he refers to 1972:

"You see, we took the view that we were in a class war. We were not playing cricket on the village green, like they did in '26. We were out to defeat Heath and Heath's policies because we were fighting a government. Anyone who thinks otherwise was living in cloud-cuckoo land. We had to declare war on them and the only way you could declare war was to attack the vulnerable points. . . The miners' union was not opposed to the distribution of coal. We were only opposed to the distribution of coal to industry because we wished to paralyse the nation's economy".

He seems to be a very open sort of character.

"It's as simple as that. We were fighting a class war and you don't fight a war with sticks and bladders. You fight a war with the weapons that are going to win it".

Finally, he said:

"you will not get common ownership of the means of production, you will not get real control of the society in which we live, unless you commit and convince the working class of the need to struggle".

This, bear in mind, was in 1975.

"It may be that we get a strike situation on our hands similar to '72 or '74 where another Saltley [mine] can occur. If we get another Saltley then the whole picture can change from one where you have a peaceful road to one where you do not have such a peaceful road."

I think the challenge has been spelt out very clearly. In the 1970s people decided the only way they could get power in this country was to infiltrate the Labour Party. The noble Lord, Lord Underhill, who is not here now, made a major effort to prevent them doing it—a very gallant effort at some risk to his own employment—but he failed because it was too late.

I remember the screams when Andy Bevan became the Labour Party's youth officer, because he was a dedicated "Trot". That is now commonplace. We now see the natural, logical conclusion. We see people who would not be seen dead in the same conference

chamber as the noble Lord, Lord Barnett—and he would make a pretty good effort to get out before they entered, anyhow!—in positions of great power and influence in the Labour Party, in positions of power controlling our great municipalities throughout the country. Do not believe that rate capping is the result of some theoretical, constitutional argument. It is an effort to stop the use of public money for very dubious purposes. We see the same trend in areas of the trade union movement.

We have stayed quiet for so long that the Government now have a duty to pick up that challenge in the very near future and fight back. When ordinary people are too delicate and too gentle, they always get trodden on by the nasty people. The ordinary people of this country have reached the stage where they are entitled to demand protection from the violence of thugs seeking to gain political power through sheer brutality and intimidation.

5.31 p.m.

Lord Taylor of Gryfe: My Lords, your Lordships will forgive me if I try to reduce the temperature of this debate. It is not that I am without sympathy for some of the observations which have been made by the noble Lord, Lord Marsh, and by my noble friend Lord Harris of Greenwich, but I am afraid that this important debate on the broad spectrum of the economy of this country will be somewhat overshadowed by the issues which have been raised by those two noble Lords. That would be a pity, but inevitably the headlines will be directed towards the matters they have raised to the exclusion of some of the major issues which we have to discuss this afternoon.

I was somewhat disappointed with the speech of the noble Lord, Lord Cockfield. That is not because I am not an admirer of the noble Lord, because I admire his lucidity and competence. But what shook me was his confidence and complacency. It is a confidence that is not justified by events. I hope that he will take cognisance of some of the comments made by the noble Lord, Lord Bruce-Gardyne: that it is not easy to forecast the trend in international economic affairs. The upset in the price of oil which is well on the way will have substantial effects on the state of the United Kingdom's economy.

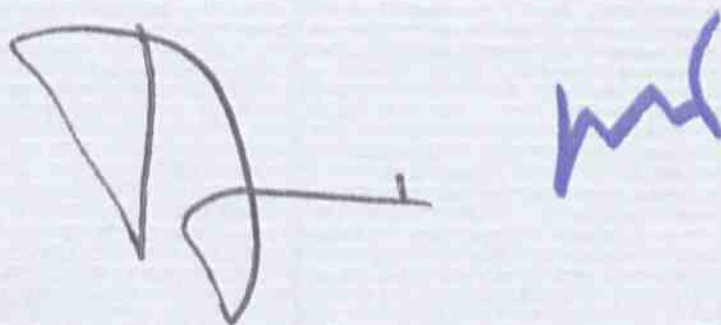
Some noble Lords may be interested to learn that I lunched today with the noble Lord, Lord Lever of Manchester, and will not be surprised to hear that I was impressed by his lack of confidence in the international banking situation. Noble Lords might direct their attention to the interesting situation concerning Continental Illinois Bank in the United States. Of all the free enterprise countries, there the government had to move in and the Federal Reserve had to guarantee Continental Illinois, one of the largest banks in the United States. These are all indications of a degree of uncertainty in the international situation. There is also the problem of high interest rates and their impact on the indebtedness of third world countries, to which my noble friend Lord Walston will no doubt refer later. These are all major areas of uncertainty which can easily upset the confidence expressed by the noble Lord, Lord Cockfield, this afternoon.

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You might be interested to see the attached speech by Lord Ezra in the Lords debate on the economy. It is chiefly remarkable for how feeble it is on the coal dispute. Only the last three paragraphs are devoted to the dispute and Lord Ezra's remarks boil down to the suggestion that the Government should put together what is on offer to the miners in a single policy document to bring this home to the miners and the public. All in all, pretty pathetic.



2 August 1984

The third point I should like to make is on the question of investment. That has been discussed quite widely during the debate. Investment, particularly in high tech industries in this country, is not only investment in industry but investment in people. We are already finding that there are flourishing firms who are looking to expand their products and their markets and already find that they cannot get a sufficient number of trained electronic and computer engineers to handle these jobs. They are not only the jobs of tomorrow, as they are so often called, but they are already the jobs of today. This is something at which I believe the Government should look with all urgency.

I ask the Government to consider this. In the 'seventies in the United States 30 per cent. of young people aged 20 were still in higher education. In Japan there were 25 per cent. But in Europe the figure varied from 11 to 17 per cent. If we are going to benefit from the programme of information technology with which this country is meant to be developing its future industries something must be done about it. You have only to consider that six out of eight of computers in this country come from the United States and nine out of 10 video recorders come from Japan. I understand that the McKinsey Report which was prepared quite recently for the European Commission (which I must confess I have not read but I have merely seen the details that were reported) said that there are about 4 million jobs at risk. I understand that by 1990, if the right measures are not taken by European governments, including that of the United Kingdom, to deal with research, development, training and investment, we can lose 2 million jobs. If we do the right thing and follow the correct policies as outlined in the McKinsey Report there can be 2 million new jobs. This is only in the field of information technology. We cannot afford to lose the opportunities available to us.

The final words of Lord Diamond's Motion refer to a return to stability, to a stable society. We have had remarkable speeches today from the noble Lord, Lord Marsh, and the noble Lord, Lord Harris of Greenwich. I think that they were really informing this House that we actually have a stable society; we are not returning to one. Our problem is to retain the stable society which we have and to resist the attacks which are now trying to undermine democracy and the elected Government of this country. I would certainly hope that all sides of this House would be willing to pay tribute to the 60,000 miners and their families who nightly have to resist physical intimidation and physical violence by those who are using weapons which I, in my lifetime, and I am sure the majority of noble Lords in this House will have known as the signs of totalitarianism—a form of government and a form of régime that I hope will never be acceptable to noble Lords on any side of this House.

6.10 p.m.

Lord Ezra: My Lords, the big advantage that my noble friend Lord Diamond has conferred on us this afternoon is not only the timeliness of the Motion that he has put to the House but also the wide ranging way in which it has been framed. It enables those who speak to choose particular aspects instead of going

over the same ground again. I should like to choose the aspect of the levels of industrial production and the state of the infrastructure. I should like to get there by considering for a moment some of the difficulties that I feel we are confronting as a nation. Whether these difficulties are due to external or internal factors, they are nevertheless difficulties. They are emerging in different ways. For example, one rather unsettling report in the newspapers this morning is the CBI quarterly review. It is the most disturbing quarterly review for the past 18 months—still, on balance, optimistic but the measure of optimism has been very much reduced.

Reference has been made to the exchange rate and to the interest rate increase. These are also disturbing factors, whatever might be the cause. The prospect of unsettlement in oil prices could be a very serious matter for this country bearing in mind our involvement in the North Sea. The fact that unemployment has remained so stubbornly at its present level—indeed, tending to increase—is another adverse factor. Others are the facts that our manufacturing capability has tended to reduce over recent years and the fact that our balance of payments on manufactured goods has shown a really dramatic decline in relation to imports. In 1982 we showed a balance-of-payments surplus on manufactured goods trade of £2.5 billion, converted in 1983 to a deficit of £2 billion. In the first quarter of this year, we incurred a deficit of £650 million; in the second quarter £990 million. I am not listing these items to contend that things are all going wrong. I merely think that at this stage we should be thoroughly objective, identify the things that are causing difficulties, and then see whether, out of this variety of problems that have suddenly beset us, something emerges that might suggest a change of emphasis in policies.

I believe that there is a certain factor which is a source of weakness in our affairs. Although the oil in the North Sea is an undoubted and undisputed asset, its possession has created difficulties that need to be counter-balanced. The fact is that sterling soared to its highest level in recent years not because of anything that was happening in the general economy of Britain but because the oil price was very high at that period. Sterling not only is now weakened because of the dollar position but could be further weakened because the oil price might be coming down substantially. In other words, I believe that we are becoming unduly dependent on our oil assets.

So the question that we can honestly ask ourselves, in trying to be totally objective, is, "Should we do something to counter-balance that situation? Without in any way diminishing the benefits to be derived from the possession of oil, should we seek to insure ourselves against a situation in which we seem to be pushed around by world forces because of our possession of the oil?" The way in which this needs to be counter-balanced is for us to pay more attention to our industrial and manufacturing capability and our infrastructure. I am afraid that Government policies, and certainly speeches made in this House, have given the impression that the Government feel; that it is not particularly important if our manufacturing capability diminishes because other things can take its place, for

[LORD EZRA.]

example, service activities, banking activities, high technology, and so on.

I do not believe that this is a valid proposition. The simple fact is that we are going to require, as far ahead as we can see, the products of manufacturing industry. If we do not produce those things ourselves, we shall have to get them from elsewhere. We are already seeing the signs and shape of things to come. What makes it doubly serious is that even though the prospects of oil reserves are now stated to be rather better than we had at one time thought, it is nevertheless the consensus of opinion among the experts in the oil industry that we are likely to reach our peak in oil production in this country in about two years' time. From then on there will be a progressive diminution in our overseas earnings from oil, even though we may remain for a long time capable of meeting our own needs in oil. If, at the same time, this unfortunate trend in the balance of payments on manufactured goods continues on the lines on which it is proceeding at the moment, it does not take much imagination to see the difficulties that we could be in.

The question, of course, arises, "How can this emphasis be changed?" I was interested by an article in the *Economist* recently, where it was shown, in an analysis of the American industrial resurgence, that this was not exclusively a matter of high technology, not exclusively a matter of expanding service industries. What was now beginning to happen was that high technology was being applied more and more to what had become known as the smoke-stack industries. The *Economist* concluded:

"The question for Britain is not whether to spend £400 million on a fifth generation computer project, but what can the micro-chip do for existing industries in Bolton and Bradford?"

I believe that there is here a challenge that we ought to be facing up to more effectively than appears to be the case at the moment. We have the benefit of the oil. We have still a very large manufacturing base. We have also developed exceptional skills in high technology. We have to create a blend of these three components which will give us a greater prospect of international stability than it looks as if we shall have. I am talking particularly about stability in the balance of payments.

I fear also that the apparent neglect of the infrastructure—I know that this is a rather boring topic for some noble Lords on the Government Bench but nevertheless we must keep coming back to it—is exacerbating the difficulties to which I have referred. Any improvement in the infrastructure leads to more jobs and more contracts for the private sector of industry. There are large segments of the private sector entirely dependent on the contracts that they can get for the infrastructure. This in itself would be no justification for launching into major projects in order to give them contracts. However, I have been examining fairly closely the various aspects of the infrastructure and talking to many of those involved over the past couple of years or so.

I must say that I have come to the conclusion that whether one talks about the water industry, sewerage, roads, or the state of house disrepair, there is a great amount of work to be done in all these sectors. We know all about it. There have been an enormous number of highly-detailed reports on these subjects. If

the number of pages which have been written in recent years on these subjects had been converted into positive investment, we would have solved the problem; so there is no cause for any further inquiries.

On roads, we have had very full reports, one recently by the CBI. On the water supply system, your Lordships' own House produced a report through the Select Committee on Science and Technology; we debated that last year; and there have been many others. On housing, there has been the recent survey of English housing, which has demonstrated the problems. So the issues are extremely clear, and it seems to me that we need to take another look at this whole infrastructure position if we are committed, as any Government in this country must be committed, to sound economic growth. We cannot have that economic growth without having an adequate infrastructure on which to base it in physical terms. This indeed is the point that was made by the CBI in their recent report, *The Fabric of the Nation*.

Infrastructure investment for desirable purposes will itself stimulate greater activity through manufacturing industry, because one thing leads to another. The contracts are taken up; the roads have to be built; the houses have to be repaired. The people who manufacture the components then get into activity, and so it works its way through. At the same time we have this stimulus at the consumer end of the economy and at the high-technology end. A stimulus at the lower end could then mean that we could have a more balanced movement throughout the whole of the industrial sector.

I invite the Government to have another look at this question of the infrastructure. When we on this side of the House raise questions about the infrastructure, almost invariably we are told, "Yes, of course these things might be desirable, but it's a question of what money we have". I do not know how the money availability is calculated. If infrastructure projects are left right to the end of the queue it is no surprise that there is very little money left. If they were treated with rather higher priority, as I believe they should be, then we could be taking a different view of what we could afford and what we could not afford.

I believe we have now come to a period when perhaps we should be trying to redress the balance of the economic activity of our country, and accept, as has now been recognised in other major industrialised countries, that we should not be making a wholesale transition away from manufacturing industry into other activities. The transition we should be making is a transition into a new sort of manufacturing industry, infused with the benefits of high technology so as to expand those industries on that new basis, and not progressively to give them up.

Overshadowing the whole of our industrial scene at the moment is the unfortunate dispute in the coal industry. Having been involved in that industry for many years, I witness it all with a great feeling of sadness. It was an industry of great achievement and it has a great potential, but the longer this dispute lasts, the more it widens its scope, the more that future prospects is going to be damaged for all—those in the industry and those who they serve. Like everyone else in this House, I deplore thoroughly what has been

happening on the picket line. I do not believe that that represents the average British miner expressing his opposition in an industrial dispute. I am at a loss personally, as most people must be, to suggest how we can quickly resolve this issue on a proper basis. I regret that the most recent negotiations held between the Coal Board and the NUM ended in failure. I thought the Coal Board had gone a very long way to meet what I thought were the stated claims of the NUM. I should have expected the dispute to be settled on that basis. I was extremely surprised that it was not.

There is only one suggestion that I should like to make for consideration and in an attempt to help. From time to time members of the Government—the Secretary of State for Energy in particular; occasionally the Prime Minister and other leading ministers—have indicated their intention to continue to support the coal industry by investment and in other ways. The Coal Board also have made their various offers in negotiations. I think it might be timely, at an appropriate moment for all this to be put together in a single, simple document which would make clear to the public and to the mineworkers what the Government's policy is. I think that there is some confusion in the public mind, although those of us who follow these things are perfectly well aware of what the Government have said; but it has been said on a number of occasions and in different places.

I should like to see this dispute ended quickly. But for it to be ended quickly it has to be brought back to being a dispute within the coal industry and not a political one. If the Government were to issue at the appropriate time a clear statement of their policy towards coal, this might help to achieve that desirable objective.

6.27 p.m.

Lord Wilson of Langside: My Lords, the noble Lord, Lord Ezra, said that the Front Bench opposite might well find boring the subject of infrastructure. I imagine that not only the Front Benches but perhaps the rest of the House would find even more boring the subject of social stability and its retention of restoration. We are all agreed that we are much in debt to the noble Lord, Lord Diamond, for his presentation of this extremely wide Motion.

I would not venture into any other aspects of the Motion—at least, not in this company, for I am only a more or less hard-working lawyer—but I should like to take up the point raised by the noble Lord, Lord Marsh; and I am sorry he is not in his place. He referred graphically to the nightly scenes of violence on the picket lines, and he asked whether or not they were legal. I have no doubt at all that, at least in the jurisdiction with which I am familiar, they are very far from legal. Then he went on to say that it was time the Government took up the challenge. Many of your Lordships on the other side of the House expressed warm and wholehearted agreement with that.

What puzzles me is why the Government have not already taken up this challenge. It has been obvious from a very early stage that, to the Scargill-McGahey axis, this was a political strike. Of course, they are perfectly entitled to their points of view. I think Mr. McGahey is a member of the Communist Party. In

this free country they are perfectly entitled to these views; but their purpose is to create instability. That is their declared purpose. This we know. Why, then, did the Government not take up the challenge?

I can understand that, if intervention could mean nothing else except buns and beer in Downing Street with the bully boys of the Scargill-McGahey axis, there would be little to be said for it. But why at an early stage did the Government not make it clear that, while the settlement of the dispute between the National Union of Mineworkers and the National Coal Board would be left, at least at the early stage, to them to resolve, they would exercise the full powers and authority of government to ensure, for example, that a supply of fuel, coal, coke and iron ore to in particular, Ravenscraig, Llanwern and Scunthorpe was maintained? The only reason those steelworks are still in operation—and this point appears to have escaped a great many people—is due to the action of the police. As I see it, we are indebted to the police for the preservation of these great steelworks. If the police had not been there, those steelworks would be gone by now, and gone for good. That is merely one of the aspects as regards which we are indebted to the police.

But why did the Government leave it to the police? Why did not the Government say explicitly right from the beginning that they would exercise all the legitimate authority and powers of government to ensure that whatever happened between the National Union of Mineworkers and the National Coal Board, supplies to industry would be maintained? Indeed, they could have gone further and they could have said, "If our powers are inadequate to this end, then we shall ask Parliament for more". They have not done that. They have not done it yet. My impression is that the Scargill-McGahey axis has found the Government's approach of a combination of rhetorical denunciations of mob rule and a passive lack of positive action, utterly resistible. Indeed, there was one time a few days ago when the press were beginning to talk as if the axis would win. You cannot compromise politically with people like that.

It is a elementary political lesson that I thought most politicians learned in their political cradle that the basis of parliamentary democracy is agreement on fundamentals. If you do not have that, you cannot have compromise and consensus. So there is no point in thinking that the Government can compromise with Scargill, McGahey and company. I know that they have denounced them, but that is not enough. Have Ministers not learned that the Scargills and the McGaheys of this political world love to be in a position to exchange denunciations? They are experts in rhetorical denunciation. They love to be asked what they have to say about violence on the picket line. They are demagogues. They have no conscience in saying that of course it is all the fault of the police. My own impression of the Government in this context is that they have been (to use a good old Scottish word which at least the noble and learned Lord, Lord Cameron of Lochbroom, will know) a bit "dwaibly". Your Lordships can ask the noble and learned Lord for the translation. It was a favourite word of Robert Louis Stevenson.

I took up the point made by the noble Lord, Lord Marsh, because, like him, I was in the Labour Party



10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister

Under cover, you may want
to discuss the best way
to counter the Labour
defence that procedures rather
than the principle of uneconomic
pits lie behind the dispute.

There is one danger. Emphasis
on NCB's willingness to
observe procedures makes
it more difficult to secure
closures unilaterally
during the course of the
dispute.

AT

1/8

Colliery Closure Procedures

There were misunderstandings in the House of Commons debate on Tuesday about the colliery closure procedure. To make the position clear the National Coal Board today (Wednesday) issued the following statement:

Arrangements were agreed with all the industry's unions at the beginning of 1973 for the introduction of a colliery review procedure. Certain changes were made in 1976, again with the agreement of all the unions, to meet the requirements of the Employment Protection Act of 1975, under which employers had to give longer notice to employees.

Under the procedure, every three months each NCB Area Director holds a general colliery review meeting with representatives of Area unions at which the results of all the Area's collieries are considered and ways of improving those results are discussed. At these meetings the Director also identifies collieries where special action is required.

About three weeks later the Director reconvenes the meeting which is also attended by union representatives from collieries to be specially considered. If the Director's view is that a pit should close he announces his decision at that stage.

If at this reconvened meeting the local unions agree to closure, the date can be settled. When the unions do not agree to closure, they are given the opportunity to make a technical inspection of the colliery.

The Director's view that he can see no justification for keeping the colliery open is communicated to the National Board who, if they agree, will so inform the unions nationally who then have a month in which to decide whether to ask for a national appeal meeting.

Representatives of the National Board hear the appeal and report the points made at that meeting to the full Board who take the final decision.

This procedure has, in the opinion of the NCB, worked well. In the last ten years 79 closures have been dealt with. Of these, the majority - 58 - were agreed locally. The remaining 19 were referred to national appeal meetings. Of these, ten were closed and nine continued in operation but subsequently closed by local agreement. In the case of two other pits it was informally agreed that their reserves should be worked from neighbouring collieries.

The NCB have proposed no change in these jointly-agreed procedures. In the case of Cortonwood Colliery in their South Yorkshire Area, the Director expressed the view that he could see no justification for continuing production beyond a certain date. He proposed there should be another meeting locally. This offer was accepted by two of the three unions. The National Union of Mineworkers, however, have not been prepared to take the case through the agreed procedures.

SECRET

File Note:

14 AT

I have spoken to Catherine McLoughlin and Michael Reidy to see what they think of the Minister's view. They point out that it is not helpful to have the link between

PRIME MINISTER

When Mr. Walker came to see you to discuss endurance, he said that the energy efficiency campaign of his Department could augment the efforts of the CEGB. He reported that Sir Terence Beckett would be urging CBI members to back the energy efficiency campaign enthusiastically. He also said that Sir Terence would contact the Chief Executives of the main energy users on a confidential basis to point out that the support for this campaign could make a crucial contribution to the outcome of the coal dispute.

see energy efficiency campaign made so crudely.

AT 318

My understanding was that confidentiality was desirable in order not to taint the campaign, which was justified fully in its own right, with being part of the Government's efforts to defeat the miners.

As you will see from the letter, Sir Terence has unhelpfully and overtly connected the campaign with the dispute. I understand Mr. Walker had difficulty in restraining Sir Terence, even to this extent.

I have drafted a reply to Sir Terence which avoids making the connection. I think it would be helpful if Mr. Walker had a further word with him to explain that his approach is likely to blow the cover for the campaign.

✓

AT

ANDREW TURNBULL

1 August 1984

SECRET

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>1332</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
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(ONE PIECE/ITEM NUMBER ONLY) <i>49</i>

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Coal file

BRIEFING FOR THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: 1 AUGUST 1984

CORTONWOOD COLLIERY

Line to take

At a meeting with the Unions on 1 March, the Area Director of the NCB's South Yorkshire Area proposed the closure of Cortonwood colliery. He pointed out that the reserves available to the colliery were limited and, since the colliery would have to close within a few years, he suggested that its closure in 1984 would reduce production (as was necessary) without damaging the area's longer term future. There would be no need for compulsory redundancies.

Whilst the Area Director proposed that production at the colliery should cease in April, he made it clear that the normal Colliery Review Procedure would be followed. No developments would be stopped or equipment withdrawn before (if the Unions wished) all the various steps in the Procedure had been completed and a final decision taken. He asked for a Reconvened Colliery Review Meeting as a first step in the normal colliery review process agreed with the Unions. I understand that the NUM have not so far indicated that they would be prepared to participate in such a meeting.

Background

The following papers are attached:-

- a) NCB South Yorkshire Area Director's letter of 28 March to workers at Cortonwood.
- b) Mr MacGregor's letter of 23 March to Peter Hardy, the constituency MP
- c) Peter Walker's letter of 27 April to Stanley Crowther MP (para 2 refers).
- d) Hansard of PNQ of 25 April when Cortonwood was raised by Alec Woodall MP
- e) Extract from NCB's recently published 1983/84 Report and Accounts.

1 August 1984

National Coal Board
South Yorkshire Area Golden Smithies Lane,
Wath-upon-Dearne, Rotherham S63 7EW
Telegrams Coalarea Wath-upon-Dearne
Telex 882161 (CBHOB G)
'Station Code' SYK

NCB

28th March, 1984

Our ref
Your ref

For the past few weeks the normal methods of communication between us have not been open and we have had, in effect, to talk to each other through the media. I think it is right for me now to write to you personally, to give you the full facts about the future of your colliery and, hopefully, rid your mind of any nagging doubts you may have.

The first thing I must stress is that every man who wants a job will have the opportunity of transferring to another local pit. What I said at the Area Review Meeting, attended by all Trade Unions' Representatives, was that I intended to offer men over the age of 50 the opportunity of voluntary redundancy and the younger men the chance to transfer elsewhere with the usual transfer allowance of up to £1,550. But nobody will have to leave the industry against his will.

All the younger men at the colliery who still have long careers ahead of them are well aware that Cortonwood has only a short life, even if all the reserves were to be worked out. In two years' time when the North area is exhausted, there would have to be a big reduction in manpower, and three years after that the remaining reserves would all have gone. By bringing forward these inevitable transfers of men, I can guarantee everybody a job. At this stage I cannot possibly give such a guarantee for up to five years from now.

At the Area Review Meeting I proposed that we should meet again quickly with the local representatives of each Union present. Two of the Unions have agreed to such a meeting but the N.U.M. have not. After the meeting with the local Branches, it is still open to any of the Unions to appeal against my decision to bring forward the closure. I also gave an undertaking, which still stands, that until the Review Procedure had been fully exhausted and the outcome known, I would take no steps to implement the closure. No developments will be stopped or production districts salvaged.

The majority of the other pits in South Yorkshire Area have reserves to last for many years to come and most of them are already profitable. The Area is still investing at a rate of £30 million a year to guarantee a prosperous coal-mining industry in South Yorkshire well into the future.

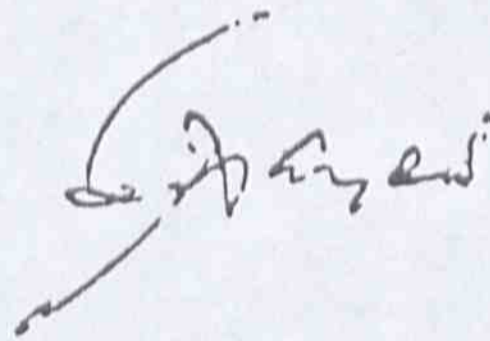
cont.....

I am well aware that more than 80 of you have only moved from Elsecar within the last few months and are obviously concerned at the prospect of a further upheaval. I am sorry if any of you feel misled by the advice which was given to you in good faith at the time. Those of you who did move from Elsecar, however, will be entitled to the same conditions as everybody else on Cortonwood's closure, and those who want to stay in the industry will, of course, be entitled to the normal transfer allowance when they move to another pit.

I hope this letter has cleared up some of the misunderstandings that have occurred in recent weeks. On an important issue such as this, however, there are obviously many points that need to be raised and many details settled that can only be done when we are able to get together round a table.

I hope that before long this will be possible.

Yours sincerely,



G. Hayes
Director

HOBART HOUSE
GROSVENOR PLACE
LONDON SW1X 7AE

01 235 2020

CHAIRMAN
Ian MacGregor

Peter Hardy, Esq., MP,
House of Commons,
LONDON SW1A 0AA

23rd March 1984
Our Ref. MP 82/136

→ Mr Seaney,

Dear Mr Hardy,

Thank you for your recent letter about Cortonwood Colliery.

I understand that, at a meeting with the Unions on 1st March, the Area Director proposed the closure of this colliery. He pointed out (as you have done) that the reserves available to the colliery were limited and, since the colliery would have to close within a few years, he suggested that its closure in 1984 would reduce production (as currently necessary) without damaging the Area's longer term future. There would, he said, be no need for compulsory redundancy.

Cortonwood produces 400 rank coking coal, for which BSC now have only a very limited demand. So the coal tends to go for low-priced export to Immingham or to stock at the colliery.

Whilst the Area Director proposed that production at the colliery should cease in April, he made it clear that the normal Colliery Review Procedure would be followed. No developments would be stopped or equipment withdrawn before (if the Unions wished) all the various steps in the Procedure had been completed and a final decision taken. He asked for a Reconvened Meeting under the Colliery Review Procedure, which (because of the Yorkshire strike) has not yet taken place.

I am assured that the Area were not criticising the attitude of the workforce or suggesting that this was a contributory reason for the proposals.

Sincerely,

Copy to: Area Director, SYK

3001/3/84/B/21/PMR

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ENERGY
THAMES HOUSE SOUTH
MILLBANK LONDON SW1P 4QJ

01-211-6402

cc MS Beaton
Mr Seaman
Dr Williams

Stanley Crowther Esq MP
House of Commons
LONDON
SW1A 0AA

27 April 1984

N. Sturt

Thank you for your letter of 9 April. I well understand the anxiety of the members of your Constituency Labour Party, and the suggestion that they have made. Can I say that there has been agreed with the National Union of Mineworkers a proper procedure for pit closures that has operated over a number of years. This procedure is still available.

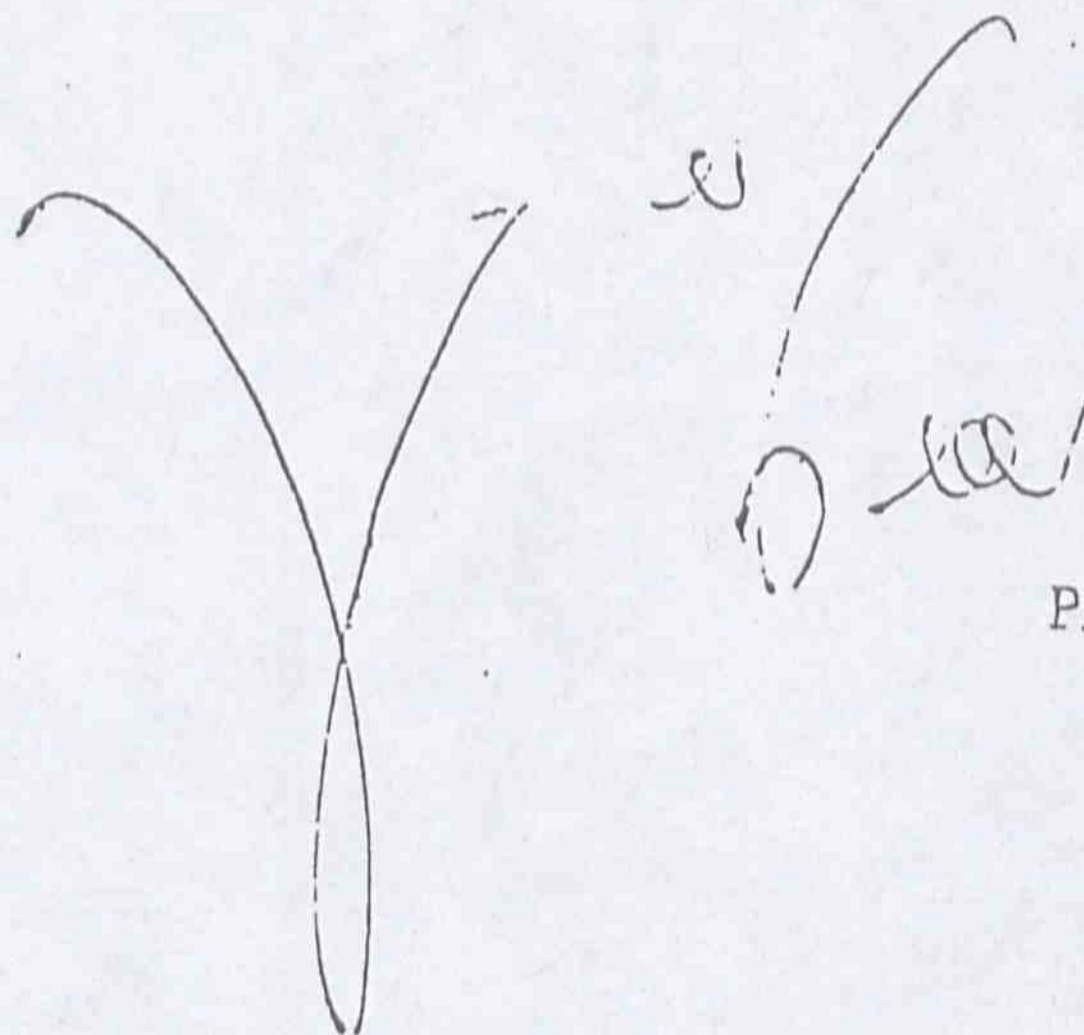
As regards the future of Cortonwood, I can assure you that the Board is prepared to convene a colliery review meeting, as a first step in the normal colliery review process agreed with the unions, before any final decision is taken. I understand that the NUM have not so far indicated that they would be prepared to participate in such a meeting.

I think also your Constituency Labour Party will be aware that pit closures on a very substantial scale have taken place under all postwar Governments. Indeed, over the last eleven years of Labour Government pit closures were at the rate of thirty a year, a far higher figure than anything that has recently been envisaged. I hope they will also consider that the present management of the National Coal Board have succeeded in getting Government approval for capital investment in the industry which in cash terms is double the level of capital investment during the Labour Government of 1974 - 1979, and in real terms is a substantial improvement on what has previously been achieved.

My desire, and I know that of the National Coal Board as well, is to ensure that we have an industry with up-to-date machinery, good pits and able to supply an expanding market.

Your Constituency Labour Party will know the efforts I have made with substantial Government grants to persuade industry to convert to coal. I have recently persuaded ICI to undertake the biggest coal conversion in history - a conversion that would have required 450,000 tonnes of coal a year. Alas this campaign is being totally frustrated by a feeling amongst industrialists that the security of coal supplies cannot be relied upon.

As you know, the closure of uneconomic pits suggested will only affect 10% of the industry's workforce. The Board intend that any miner who wishes to continue working will be able to in another pit, and that the entire 10% reduction will be achieved from volunteers, either going for voluntary early retirement or voluntary redundancy under the exceedingly generous terms which I recently approved.

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a large 'Y' shape with a loop at the bottom and a flourish on the right side.

PETER WALKER

Mr. Shaw: I certainly give my hon. Friend that assurance. He will know that the commitment to the Point Ayr development is just as strong.

Mr. A. J. Beith (Berwick-upon-Tweed): Why will the Secretary of State not take the positive step of summoning a meeting of the chairman of the board and the president of the union with one item alone on the agenda—"Plan for Coal"—and how it can best be implemented?

Mr. Shaw: The hon. Gentleman must recognise that, given the present position in the industry, the board and those who work in it have the capacity to resolve this issue. Clearly, the NUM is split on this matter. It is not feasible for the hon. Gentleman to suggest that somehow this can be resolved by a wave of the wand from outside.

Mr. Andy Stewart (Sherwood): As the Nottinghamshire miners have voted to continue to work, and have shown that they will continue to do so, is it not time that the NCB implemented the new wage proposals that have been on the table since last year? Out of respect for those miners who voted against a strike, it would be only right if they received the increased pay award.

Mr. Shaw: I note what my hon. Friend says, and the House will be aware that the Nottinghamshire miners have been forthright in their acceptance of their duty to work for the future of their industry. The matter of payment is one for the National Coal Board.

Mr. Alec Woodall (Hemsworth): The Minister has just made great play about the large stocks held by the Central Electricity Generating Board—enough, he says, to keep the electricity supply going for the next few months. Is he aware that a few weeks ago, an appeal was made to the officers of the Yorkshire area of the NUM, by the British Steel Corporation at Scunthorpe for 16,000 tonnes of coal to be released to keep that steelworks open? Is the hon. Gentleman aware that the coal required is high quality coking coal, the coal that is produced at Cortonwood, but the National Coal Board cannot supply those 16,000 tonnes of coal for Scunthorpe? This is where the dispute started. Will the Minister give an assurance that he will tell Mr. MacGregor to withdraw the closure notices and bring this silly dispute to an end?

Mr. Shaw: No, I shall not give any assurance on that, because, as the House should know by now, the National Coal Board runs its business and it is not the business of the Government to intervene. As to the hon. Gentleman's question, I am glad that arrangements have been made to ensure supplies to the Scunthorpe steelworks. However, as I think I have said to the hon. Gentleman before, consultative procedures can be initiated on Cortonwood if the NUM is willing to do so.

Mr. John Hannam (Exeter): Will my hon. Friend refute the unfounded allegations made by Mr. Scargill on "The World at One" yesterday that in some way the Government have broken the terms of "Plan for Coal" of 1974? Is it not the case that the Government have upheld their agreement by investing in the coal industry throughout the years and that it is the NUM that has broken the agreement by preventing the agreed closure programme of the uneconomic pits?

Mr. Shaw: My hon. Friend is right. Investment is one of the important factors in "Plan for Coal", and the amount invested is far higher than envisaged. The productivity

increase of 4 per cent. per annum that was aimed at has not been achieved, and it was only last year that we achieved a 4.7 per cent. increase. The reduction in capacity was expected to be about 3 or 4 million tonnes per year, but less than half that has been achieved. My hon. Friend is right. The Government have kept their promises in terms of "Plan for Coal."

Mr. Alexander Eadie (Midlothian): For how much longer will the hon. Gentleman deceive the House and the country that this is just a local dispute, when 80 per cent. of the miners are on strike? Are the hon. Gentleman and his Government prepared to do something constructive? Why do they not call a meeting of the tripartite inquiry, over which his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Scotland could preside, to try to bring an end to this dispute through conciliation rather than confrontation?

Mr. Shaw: If the hon. Gentleman is after conciliation, why does he not advocate a national ballot on this issue?

Sir William Clark (Croydon, South): Does my hon. Friend agree that the proposed number of pit closures is smaller than the number of pit closures carried out by the Labour Administration? Is not this strike nothing to do with pit closures and everything to do with politics? Is it not a disgraceful fact that Mr. Scargill, as head of the National Union of Mineworkers, refuses to negotiate?

Mr. Shaw: It is a fact that the president of the NUM has drawn his own conclusions as to what the dispute is about. It is equally incontrovertible that the future of the industry is critical, but the people who are being most damaged by what is going on are the miners, and the future of the industry is at stake.

Mr. Martin Redmond (Don Valley): How does the Minister equate Mr. MacGregor's recent statement about his willingness to phase in the colliery closures programme over a longer period with the Prime Minister's statement, made on two occasions to the House, that the closure programme is being scheduled? Would not the country be better served on this occasion if the Prime Minister went back to the corner shop?

Mr. Shaw: The chairman of the National Coal Board has made it clear in the consultative committee—it met again this morning—that he is prepared to discuss matters with those who are concerned with the long-term future of the industry and that the restructuring of the industry is an essential part of those discussions. Those discussions have been held with several unions in the industry. So far, the National Union of Mineworkers has refused to be a party to them.

Mr. Richard Hickmet (Glanford and Scunthorpe): Does my hon. Friend agree that the gravest consequence of the strike is upon our steel industry and those who work in it whose jobs depend on coal, and upon our coal miners whose jobs depend on supplying the steel industry? Does he agree, further, that it seems apparent that the National Union of Mineworkers and its leadership are quite prepared to see the steel industry sacrificed upon the altar of Arthur Scargill's political ambition?

Mr. Shaw: I understand fully my hon. Friend's concern with the steel industry. So far the arrangements are very tenuous. They have been made to try to maintain some supplies of coal into the steel industry. It must be recognised that this is a very fragile arrangement and that the future of the steel industry is clearly at risk.

mining industry, they see their objective of creating a high-volume, low-cost industry being met by applying the basic principles of the Plan for Coal, which are to continue to build up output at long-life, low-cost pits and introduce new, low-cost capacity, to replace old capacity reaching the end of its useful life.

The NUM dispute

At the National Union of Mineworkers' (NUM) Conference in Perth in July 1983, resolutions were passed on the coming wage claim and on the Union's opposition to pit closures and manpower reductions. Both resolutions called for ballots of the membership if satisfactory responses were not obtained from the Board.

The NUM wage claim, which was developed from the composite wage resolution passed at the Conference, was formally presented to the Board at a meeting of the industry's Joint National Negotiating Committee (JNNC) on September 27 1983. The claim was for a substantial increase in wages, payment on a salary basis, consolidation of the Incentive Scheme, a reduction of working hours and an increase in unsocial hours payments. At a further meeting of the JNNC on September 30, the Board outlined the problems facing the industry – the continuing imbalance between supply and demand for coal and the poor financial results in recent years – and also the progress made in 1982/3 and the first part of 1983/4. In the belief that this progress could be maintained, the Board said that they were willing to offer an increase of 5.2 per cent on grade rates, which would maintain the mineworkers' position at the top of the wages league for large industrial groups.

At the NUM Special Delegate Conference held on October 21, this wage offer was rejected as 'totally unsatisfactory'. The Conference heard a report from the National Executive Committee (NEC) on the state of the industry and re-affirmed its total opposition to pit closures and reductions in manpower. An overtime ban was imposed from Monday, October 31.

During the negotiations and in their public statements, the NUM leaders repeatedly asserted that there was a link between wages and closures. The wage offer by the Board, however, was not conditional on acceptance of any level of closures.

At a further meeting of the JNNC on October 27, the NUM reported the rejection of the Board's offer and the overtime ban went ahead as the Board refused to increase their offer.

Overtime in the coal industry is not normally worked to produce coal directly but to perform safety inspections and to carry out repair and maintenance work, often statutorily required, which cannot be done within the normal working shift. Consequently, in normal circumstances most mineworkers work little overtime, but certain groups such as craftsmen work a considerable amount.

6

weeks, although a certain amount of NUM safety cover in overtime was provided in some Areas. Workings at one colliery, Bogside in Scotland, had to be abandoned when a failure to provide safety cover led to it being flooded and filled with methane. The Scottish Area of the NUM rejected strike action against the cessation of operations at Bogside and the proposal to close Polmaise colliery. As the overtime ban proceeded, men had to be laid off on an increasing number of occasions when essential work, usually done at weekends on an overtime basis, had to be completed during the normal working week, with consequent interference with production. Short sporadic strikes also occurred at a number of pits, generally related to the national dispute, while the imposition of the overtime ban led to a number of protests – most notably by winders in North Staffordshire.

At the beginning of March 1984 there were a number of strikes taking place, particularly in Yorkshire and Scotland. In the Board's South Yorkshire Area, Manvers, Wath and Kilnhurst collieries were on strike in protest at proposed changes to shift starting times for men working on the surface at Manvers. In Doncaster Area, Goldthorpe and Yorkshire Main collieries were on strike over relatively minor issues unrelated to the overtime ban. Bullcliffe Wood colliery in Barnsley Area was on strike in protest at the allocation of some reserves from a nearby colliery. In Scotland, Seafield colliery was on strike over the disciplining of a craftsman and Polmaise over the colliery's proposed closure.

On February 28, the NUM South Yorkshire panel called a strike of all pits in the South Yorkshire Area from March 5 in support of the Manvers strike. On March 1 the South Yorkshire Area Director indicated that Cortonwood, an unprofitable colliery with limited reserves, could not be regarded as a continuing unit within the context of the Area's strategy, and he therefore proposed that the pit should cease production, subject to discussions within the Colliery Review Procedure, in April. Over the weekend of March 3/4, NUM branch meetings at eight of the 15 South Yorkshire Area pits voted not to join the strike called for the following Monday. Despite this, on March 5, all but four pits in the South Yorkshire Area were prevented from working as men refused to cross picket lines of men from other pits in the Area. The following day all the Area's pits were either 'picketed out' in this way or on strike. A Special Council Meeting of the Yorkshire NUM – with representatives from all the branches in Yorkshire – decided on March 5 to call a strike across the whole of Yorkshire from March 9, in protest at 'the Coal Board's decision to escalate the attack upon our industry'.

On March 6, a meeting of the Coal Industry National Consultative Council (CINCC) was held at which the Board outlined in full, at the request of the industry's unions, their plans for the year 1984/5. It was also intended that this meeting would discuss an agenda for a possible tripartite meeting between Government, Unions and the NCB. The Board emphasised their determination to create a high-volume, low-cost industry which would enable British coal to compete in the world and UK

C. Press

NEIL KINNOCK - INTERVIEW ON CHANCELLOR'S REMARK ABOUT MINERS STRIKE

Transcript from: BBC Radio 4, World at One, 1 August 1984

INTERVIEWER : (..... 1.....) Shortly after these exchanges I spoke to Mr Neil Kinnock and suggested to him that what Mr Lawson and Mr Tebbot had said about paying for the strike were in fact statements of the obvious about the Government's position. Why was Labour so outraged?

KINNOCK: It wasn't so much a statement of the obvious but a confession by the Government for the first time that they're willing to spend any sum and generate any difficulties for as long as they wish to do so in order to perpetuate the strike. And that they actually regard the running up of vast bills, hugely in excess of anything that Nigel Lawson admitted last night, in order to try to get their political way.

INTERVIEWER : The specific bit of money that I think he was talking about was the money being spent on extra oil to keep the power stations going, are you opposed to them doing that?

KINNOCK: The statement made by Nigel Lawson was that this was the total public expenditure undertaking of which a substantial proportion was on the oil. Now the figure actually is as much as 4 times that which Nigel Lawson actually admitted in the Commons last night. The oil costs are running at around £300 million, or about £18 million a week. But he is not taking account - as indeed all other independent commentators and assessors have - of the National Coal Board costs; the lost income tax, the British Rail costs; policing costs, social security costs or the cost to the British Steel Corporation which are very difficult to establish.

INTERVIEWER : As part of your contribution to the reaching of peace he complimented you last night on the Party having, as he said, changed its position and now accepting that uneconomic pits should close. He said this narrowed the gap between you?

KINNOCK: That's always been the position. And what Mrs Thatcher does when she quotes, very selectively, from the Plan for Coal document, the 1974 document which she repeatedly quotes, is to leave out the sentence before the one that she quotes that refers to the fact that because of the strategy then being adopted the need to close uneconomic pits would probably be reduced. Now if we

have a Government that's prepared to understand the economics of the coal mining industry, the geology of the coal mining industry, the way in which loss making pits can be transferred in a short time into profit making pits by the application of intelligent investment then perhaps we can talk about what is economic and what is not an economic pit.

INTERVIEWER : Now Mr Tebbet described you this morning with usual gift for unstatement as crawling along like a puppy at Scargill's heels: could you in fact where your position differs from Mr Scargill's in the conduct of the strike?

KINNOCK: The attitude of the Labour Party, and myself indeed, over many, many years - long before I came into the House of Commons and still very much now - is that we should sustain the mining communities and the mining industry as a productive industry and that the follies of the 1960s - as I saw them then and still see them - of closing pits under the mistaken impression that there was a dependable alternative fuel for then or for the future was not the strategy that should be adopted. Now on that basis I have supported for years past, and still support, a formula, a procedure, a plan, between the Board and the NUM and other mining unions and the Government to ensure that we don't repeat that folly.

INTERVIEWER : The question I asked you Mr Kinnock was about the conduct of the strike and the immediate issue now before us is whether or not the South Wales miners should pay the £50,000 contempt fine. We hear this morning that they've refused to do so. Will you be advising them sooner or later to pay up?

KINNOCK: Ultimately of course the court will have its way and the union and the under the law as it now stands will by one means or another have to make their contribution and will have to pay the fine.

INTERVIEWER : On the question of sequestration; Mr Emlyn Williams said this morning that he expects the TUC and the Labour Party to "put their muscle where their mouth is in defending the NUM against the payment of the fine". I take it from what you've just said that you would not actually do what he invites you to do?

KINNOCK: The courts, as I repeat, will have thier way. The national Union of Mineworkers I think is being unfairly dealt with. But much more important in ny ways than that, it's being delt with in a way that cannot assist in the resolution of the strike. The whole law against secondary picketting and sympathetic action is foolish. In many ways it is unjust. And if we were to have a law it would be one that actually forbad any kind of co-ordintive action between companies that came together in order to prosecute their interests. It's a hopelessly unbalanced law that's why we're going to repeal it but in the meantime it is a law.

INTERVIEWER: But they must nonetheless pay up?

KINNOCK: They unavoidably, because of the way in which the law is constructed and the powers that can be exercised by the court, the court can redeem that money. There's no doubt about that and nobody should be in any doubt. I don't expect the National Union of Mineworkers to volunteer to sign the cheque for sequestration because that would be an invitation as far as they saw it for anyone to bankrupt that union £50,000 by £50,000. I don't expect people to volunteer for that but the court ultimately, clearly, obviously will have its way because it has the power that it can exert.

PRIME MINISTER

1 August 1984

THE COAL DISPUTE

As we enter August, Scargill and his militants are becoming increasingly isolated and frustrated. The Government is no longer perceived as being on the defensive and it is clear to all that we are engaged in a political rather than an industrial strike.

The collapse of the docks' strike, the failure of the NCB/NUM talks and the higher profile adopted by the Government have all contributed to this change of mood. The instigation of civil proceedings has re-emphasised that the NUM is not above the law and that secondary picketing is unacceptable. It is extremely helpful that these actions are being taken by small independent employers.

All this should be set against an encouraging endurance background. We are in a strong position and we should be able to withstand this strike well into 1985 and probably longer.

In this situation, we must continue to press home the futility of this dispute for the majority of moderate miners.

1. The Return to Work

The return to work remains a trickle - not much more than 500 during July. Scotland (with the exception of Bilston Glen), the North East, North Yorkshire, Doncaster, Barnsley, South Yorkshire and South Wales are all solidly on strike. North Nottinghamshire, South Nottinghamshire and South Midlands (with the exception of Kent) are solidly at work and producing coal.

This leaves North Derbyshire and the Western region where the position is:

	<u>Producing normally</u>	<u>Some Production</u>	<u>Men but no Production</u>	<u>On Strike</u>
<u>North Derbyshire</u>	-	3	2	4
<u>Western</u>				
Lancashire	2	2	-	2
Staffordshire	5	1	1	-
North Wales	1	-	-	1
Cumbria	1	-	-	-

DAWAAS

SECRET

Any campaign for a return to work should therefore concentrate on these areas. A significant return to work which isolated Scotland, Yorkshire, the North East, South Wales and Kent would put us in a position where we could not lose. Endurance would be secure. If this situation could be achieved, we would expect the strike to begin to crumble either through splits in the NUM or by a more general return to work.

2. Redundancies and Closures

Although we are in a strong position, this strike is causing damage to the economy and to the mining industry. With the failure of talks and faced with Scargill's ever increasing demands, the NCB should now adopt a tougher approach to redundancies and pit closures. This would have the twin advantage of ensuring that we gain something from this long dispute and would also convince moderate mining opinion that the strikers cannot win.

We have demonstrated that there is nothing to stop the NCB introducing the redundancy programme during the dispute but that this has so far not been their policy. This policy should now be reversed.

The judgement on pit closures is more difficult and the NCB are reluctant to abandon the colliery review procedure which has served them well in the past. This requires consultation between local management and the NUM before any pits are closed. The NUM would certainly boycott any review procedure during the dispute.

Nevertheless, the Board could still uphold the principle of review procedures but with the non-attendance of the NUM. It is difficult to see what the Coal Board would lose if it adopted this course. Closing uneconomic pits in militant areas would not affect the Nottinghamshire miners. Nor is it likely to affect the slow return to work in the less militant areas.

3. Open Cast

There has been much talk but little action on open cast. We must accelerate our development of open cast mining in this country. It is both economic and will reduce our dependency on the NUM.

Recommendations

1. A detailed return to work campaign should be focussed on North Derbyshire and the Western Region (principally Lancashire and Staffordshire).

SECRET

- 3 -

2. The NCB should press ahead with voluntary redundancies and closure of uneconomic pits in militant areas.
3. The development of open cast mining should be accelerated.

DLP

DAVID PASCALL

DAWAAS

SECRET

Coal file

CHANCELLOR - INTERVIEW ON COMMONS REMARK ABOUT MINERS STRIKE

Transcript from: BBC Radio 4, Today, 1 August 1984

INTERVIEWER: (Brian Redhead) ... At the end of the debate in the Commons yesterday on the Government's economic strategy the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Nigel Lawson, was spelling out the cost of the ~~the~~ miners strike. "Even in narrow financial terms", he said, "it represents a worthwhile investment for the good of the nation". Well the Opposition was outraged, and the Prime Minister herself looked none too pleased because the Chancellor's remark appeared to support Labour's charge that the Government is deliberately turning the coal dispute into a political strike. Well Mr Lawson is in our radio car now. , you gave the impression that the Government is happy to pay money to prolongue the strike - is that so?

CHANCELLOR: No I didn't give that impression, and of course the Government is not at all happy about the strike. I think one has to see this storm in a teacup in perspective. We had this debate about the coal strike last night in which the Prime Minister won the debate hands down, won the argument hands down and Mr Kinnock was completely routed. And this I think is the verdict of this morning's press. And in order to ~~xx~~ try and salvage something from the wreckage the Labour Party is now trying to use my remark as a diversion.

INTERVIEWER : But weren't you saying two things; one, that the strike isn't costing very much and that it is money well spent?

CHANCELLOR: The question of the cost was raised, as you will recall, by Mr Hattersely and I thought it was sensible to put the true figures into the debate and to contrast the cost, which is not inconsiderable, but the cost, with the immensely higher cost of ~~xxxx~~ £3 million a day which is the cost of subsidies from the taxpayer to the Coal board, the cost of keeping open the uneconomic pits. Because everybody knows that that is the problem. The problem is the huge subsidies being paid to the Coal Board and the need to close economic (uneconomic) pits. And to close them, I may say, in giving the most generous redundancy terms that have ever been given. And, as you know, no miner has been made compulsorily

redundant, they are all given the the opportunity to have other jobs in the coal mines if they wish to do so. And those who take voluntary redundancy, and very, very large numbers are queuing up to take voluntary redundancy, are given exceptionally good terms.

INTERVIEWER : But you're still making it sound as if you'd prefer to pay to finance the strike than come to a negotiated settlement for fear that the negotiated settlement will simply maintain the present level of subsidies?

CHANCELLOR: No, I don't want this strike. Nobody wants this strike, certainly nobody in the Government, nobody in the Conservative Party. And I was Energy Secretary for 2 years before the election and there was never any coal strike then. No I don't want this strike but the fact is we've got a strike because Mr Scargill insisted that there should be a strike and he has refused to allow the miners a ballot. And that's the way to get the strike to an end, that's what I'd like to see, a ballot in which the miners themselves expressed their own views freely.

INTERVIEWER : But the miners are expressing their views, 120,000 of them, by not going to work. Does your attitude not reveal, as one of the Labour Members said yesterday, both a callous attitude and an inability to understand the essentials of the strike, which is that people feel that their jobs are threatened and that their community is threatened?

CHANCELLOR: I don't think that is the case. As I say, the terms on which redundancy is offered is extraordinarily generous. And you have to remember that 60,000 miners are continuing to work. Pretty well everywhere in the country where the miners were able to have a local ballot they balloted to go on working and they are working. The areas where they are not working are the areas where they have not been given a chance to express their views in a free ballot.

INTERVIEWER : You're not seriously suggesting that 120,000 miners, supported by their wives and children, are striking reluctantly - except in the sense that every strike is reluctant? Clearly they are expressing a point of view. They do not regard £17,000 as hugely generous to give up a lifetime's work?

CHANCELLOR No, they regard the money as generous and there is the most appalling intimidation going on in many many parts of the country. And a reign of terror in many of the mining areas of this country. So let's put it to the test. Let's see which of us is right. Let ~~the~~ the National Union of Mineworkers have a ~~ballot~~ ballot, as they should do, under the constitution of the union.

INTERVIEWER : But they're not going to have a ballot and if they don't have a ballot does this mean to say that you will go on paying the money to prolong the strike?

CHANCELLOR : We have a ~~heavy~~ duty to, ~~and~~ and the Electricity Board has a duty, to keep the power stations going. Because, as I said in my speech, for the overwhelming majority of electricity users in this country security of supply is paramount. And the Electricity Board has a duty to its customers to keep the power stations going and that is what they're doing.

INTERVIEWER : But hasn't Her Majesty's Government a duty to reach a settlement in this dispute, to put pressures on both sides to come to the negotiating table and to see if they can't find a satisfactory agreement?

CHANCELLOR : The Government is not a party to ~~the~~ this dispute. This dispute is between the Coal Board, which is seeking to put the industry on a sound footing, and Mr Scargill. That is where the dispute is. Of course the Government backs the Coal Board in this because what the Coal Board is doing is in the national interest.

INTERVIEWER : But the Government must be a party to the dispute because it's a nationalised industry, the nation owns it and you are acting on behalf of the shareholders?

CHANCELLOR : No, the Coal Board is the management. They are charged with the job of running the industry. They have been charged with the job of turning the industry round, ending these massive subsidies at the expense of the taxpayer and the expense of the ~~rest~~ rest of industry, securing cheap coal for our future so that we can have lower priced electricity than would otherwise be the case. That is what what the Coal Board have been charged to do and they have to decide how to go about it. And they have been challenged by Mr Scargill who has his own political motives,

as everyone knows, but they've been challenged by Mr Scargill. And now very regrettably none of the Government's ~~s~~making, none of the Government's desiring, we have a strike. And now we have to hope that that strike will end on satisfactory terms as soon as possible.

INTERVIEWER : But with the Coal Board saying that it doesn't now intend to ~~negotiate~~ negotiate, that the next move must come from the national union of mineworkers, with the Prime Minister accusing Mr Scargill ~~and~~ and his supporters of being the ~~main~~ enemy within, what hope is there of a settlement?

CHANCELLOR: All strikes get settled. And ⁱⁿ this particular one the Coal Board has gone a very long way. Mr ~~Sc~~ Scargill, so far as I'm aware, has not moved ~~an~~ *an* inch. The ball is in his ~~own~~ court.

INTERVIEWER : And you're prepared to wait until he makes the move?

CHANCELLOR: ~~xxxxxxx~~ We have got to be prepared to wait if that is what is necessary. But a long strike is not in any body's interests and I hope that it won't be very much longer.


SECRET

13

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PRIME MINISTER

Cabinet: Industrial Affairs: Coal

You will first wish to have the usual reports on the current situation and then invite a discussion on tactics during August.

Reports

2. The main reports will be from:

- i. the Secretary of State for Energy
 - on the number of pits and miners working
 - on whether there is any evidence that the "Silver Birch" movement is having, or is soon likely to have, any marked impact
- ii. the Home Secretary
 - on law and order
- iii. the Secretary of State for Employment
 - on the civil action against the South Wales NUM and its likely consequences and implications
- iv. the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry
 - on the situation at BSC and in particular the chances of avoiding a confrontation over the loading of iron ore at Immingham
- v. the Secretary of State for Transport
 - on rail movements
(movements of coal by rail have continued to deteriorate, even allowing for the fact that the

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Nottinghamshire pits are on holiday; fortunately lorry movements have increased; out of 60,000 tonnes delivered to power stations on Monday, only 11,000 tonnes were carried by rail).

Tactics during August

3. You may wish to refer to the arrangements for handling the coal dispute during August, about which you are minuting the Ministers mainly concerned. These arrangements will enable Ministers to be kept closely informed of the developing situation and there will be regular coordination of publicity under Ministerial supervision.
4. It may nevertheless be useful to have some discussion about:
 - i. the handling of publicity over the coming weekend, bearing in mind the return to work of the Nottinghamshire pits on Monday;
 - ii. the general publicity stance during August (although it will need to be kept constantly under review in the light of developments, for example the NUM Delegate Conference on 10 August);
 - iii. whether any developments relating to pit closures and redundancies are likely during August;
 - iv. whether, in the light of the South Wales case, there are likely to be more civil actions brought against the NUM, or indeed other unions involved in the dispute and, if so, what bearing this would have on the TUC Conference.
5. On iii. (closures and redundancies) you will recall that the Secretary of State for Energy has made it clear that the NCB would

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be unlikely to act until the Nottinghamshire miners are safely back at work next week. He has also said that the NCB are examining the possibilities in detail and that it should be left to the NCB's tactical judgement to decide whether and when such an initiative should be taken. Before they disperse however Ministers are likely to want some indication of whether action of this kind is to be expected during August and, whether it is or not, to understand the NCB's current thinking on this matter.

Next meeting

6. In the light of developments and the Cabinet discussion you will wish to consider whether you want to ask Ministers to come together for a final pre-holiday meeting of MISC 101 on Monday or Tuesday of next week, or whether it is sufficient to operate from now on in accordance with the August arrangements you are promulgating.

PL

P L GREGSON

1 August 1984

SECRET

Colliery Closure Procedures

There were misunderstandings in the House of Commons debate on Tuesday about the colliery closure procedure. To make the position clear the National Coal Board today (Wednesday) issued the following statement:

Arrangements were agreed with all the industry's unions at the beginning of 1973 for the introduction of a colliery review procedure. Certain changes were made in 1976, again with the agreement of all the unions, to meet the requirements of the Employment Protection Act of 1975, under which employers had to give longer notice to employees.

Under the procedure, every three months each NCB Area Director holds a general colliery review meeting with representatives of Area unions at which the results of all the Area's collieries are considered and ways of improving those results are discussed. At these meetings the Director also identifies collieries where special action is required.

About three weeks later the Director reconvenes the meeting which is also attended by union representatives from collieries to be specially considered. If the Director's view is that a pit should close he announces his decision at that stage.

If at this reconvened meeting the local unions agree to closure, the date can be settled. When the unions do not agree to closure, they are given the opportunity to make a technical inspection of the colliery.

The Director's view that he can see no justification for keeping the colliery open is communicated to the National Board who, if they agree, will so inform the unions nationally who then have a month in which to decide whether to ask for a national appeal meeting.

Representatives of the National Board hear the appeal and report the points made at that meeting to the full Board who take the final decision.

This procedure has, in the opinion of the NCB, worked well. In the last ten years 79 closures have been dealt with. Of these, the majority - 58 - were agreed locally. The remaining 19 were referred to national appeal meetings. Of these, ten were closed and nine continued in operation but subsequently closed by local agreement. In the case of two other pits it was informally agreed that their reserves should be worked from neighbouring collieries.

The NCB have proposed no change in these jointly-agreed procedures. In the case of Cortonwood Colliery in their South Yorkshire Area, the Director expressed the view that he could see no justification for continuing production beyond a certain date. He proposed there should be another meeting locally. This offer was accepted by two of the three unions. The National Union of Mineworkers, however, have not been prepared to take the case through the agreed procedures.

G. Munn
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31st July, 1984.

F.E.R. Butler, Esq.,
Principal Private Secretary,
10, Downing Street,
LONDON, S.W.1.

Dear Robin,

When we met the other day I expressed my concern that the overwhelming case against Mr. Scargill had not really been put effectively and that in consequence public opinion was not as favourable to the government as it should be. I realise that this was rather incoherent as an idea and so I have tried my hand at a draft speech for the Prime Minister. It is the sort of first draft that I used to do for Harold Macmillan: ideas for the master rather than a final text and, even if generally acceptable, needing much refinement. But
** I enclose my effort in case it could be of use - and to amuse you anyway I hope.

It was a pleasure to see you.

*Yours ever
Philip de Z.*

The Labour government of the day nationalised the coal mines in 1947. Since then they have belonged not to the individual or companies but to the nation - to you and me. They have not been the property of those who work in the mines; nor are the National Coal Board the owners. Since 1947 the Coal Board have been trustees for all of us. In 1947 there were 600,000 working in the coal industry / Check figure / and 400 pits. Now there are 250,000 working in the industry and X pits.

Why has this happened? One reason is that mines do not have an indefinite life - any more than you or I or the miners themselves do. Any miner knows that a coal mine does not last for ever - nor does any other source of natural resource whether a mine or an oil field. Another reason is that coal has become more expensive both in itself and relative to other forms of energy like oil or nuclear power. Britain's industrial revolution in the last century was possible because of coal - in those days a cheap source of energy - King Coal as it was called. And on this cheap and abundant energy British industry was built. By the second half of the century, however, many British mines were running out while the miners expected higher wages and better working conditions. I do not blame them. I am glad that conditions for miners have improved so much. But coal - and British coal in particular - is no longer cheap to produce. It is just not true - and anyway is irrelevant - to say that Britain has the cheapest deep-mined coal in the world. In world terms British coal costs on average £8 a ton / check / more than Australian coal landed here / and as much as American coal / . Since 1947 £10,000 million / check / of taxes has been spent on our coal mines. Even without the cost of the overtime ban, let alone the strike, the deficit on the N.C.B.'s account last year was £600 million - over £40 a week for each miner. But most of this loss - over 80% or nearly £500 million - came from X pits employing Y people. No wonder our trustees, the Coal Board, want to reduce this loss and put our money to better use.

In fact the Coal Board are proposing much less of a cut than strict economies would dictate. And both the Board and the government are ready to invest in the new coal fields which are now being developed in Lincolnshire, Rutland and elsewhere. We have indeed the good fortune to have huge coal reserves: even the fields now known will

last 100 years or more. There is a secure future for coal mining in this country if this resource can be economically developed. Of course if energy in Britain costs more than other countries have to pay, all British industry will be handicapped, perhaps fatally. Far more jobs are at stake outside the mining industry than in it. Some people seem to think that coal mines were developed to provide jobs for the miners - a sort of perverted welfare system. But of course they were developed to provide wealth for the owners of the mines and now for the country as a whole. That is why they exist and if they do not benefit all of us they will not be worked.

The last two hundred years have seen the biggest changes in history in our way of life. This is most obvious in agriculture. 150 years ago most people worked on farms, now only two per cent do so although they produce more food than ever before. What a transformation has occurred in country life as a result! Village communities have disappeared or altered beyond recognition. How sad and even tragic that has been for many people. But no-one suggests turning the clock back. Things are no different in the mining areas. What is different is the speed with which change has come and the concentration of mining communities. That is why all of us recognise the special needs of miners and mining communities and why all of us as taxpayers are ready to be taxed to help miners who lose their jobs. No-one thought of doing the same for agricultural labourers. And there is another reason for our sympathy and understanding for the miners. Coal mining has always been hard and even dangerous work - mercifully now less arduous and risky than in the past but not the same as a factory or an office. These hard conditions and the need for co-operative effort - every miner depending for his safety and even for his life on his work mates - has created a breed of men who are some of the finest in this country. They showed their mettle in our country's service in two World Wars and their virtues shine as bright as ever. They are seen not only in the mines themselves but also in the mining communities - often a little isolated, always self-contained and above all with a sense of community so often lacking in our sophisticated society.

I have often thought how sad, and perhaps short-sighted, it was of Mr. Attlee's government when nationalising coal just to substitute a bureaucracy in London for the coal-owners. At least in the old days

the miners knew who the owners were even if they disliked them. It would have been more imaginative - but I suppose less socialist - to try to build more co-operatives in the mines. Perhaps even now we could build up some co-operative mines with the miners producing and selling their own coal. I should like to see this tried but perhaps the union would not - unless they just took the economic mines and left the rest of us to pay for the worked out pits.

I have heard it suggested that the present strike in part of the coal mines is caused by some strange design which the government has to break the miners, to starve them out, to show who is boss. In a dictatorship perhaps that could happen but why should such a thought be possible here in our democratic land? If the coal mines produced wealth for us all and did not drain tax money into them, if the energy produced by coal was cheap enough to make our industry competitive in the world, we should be delighted - any government would. But if we find a small group trying to hold the country to ransom are we supposed just to hand over our money - your money - to buy some brief respite? That is not what you elected this government to do. Even less were we elected to give in to intimidation and violence, to organised disorder and unscrupulous demagogy. I have fought for the legitimate interests of this country overseas and for the rights of British people everywhere. While I live I shall never cease to do so. Is it not even more vital to uphold the democratic system at home, to preserve our respect for an elected government; to prevent individual special interests, however powerful, however appealing in themselves, from coercing the country? The right to give one's labour, to work, is at least as important as the right to withhold it, to strike. And in this case the strike in so many of the mines is not even against some private owner, it is against the trustees for the national interest and against common sense.

If therefore I say, and I do say, that the present leaders of the N.U.M. threaten our country by their actions and our standards of decency by their behaviour, it gives me no pleasure. I do not seek some partisan victory for devious party political reasons or for some personal gratification. How much easier to fudge up some compromise - at your expense. No. I must be true to the trust which you have voted me. You would rightly think little of me if I did not.

That is why I do now ask for the miners on strike to consider again. Their loyalty to the union leaders is, I accept, admirable in its way. Sometimes I could do with some of the same kind of support. But leaders, alas, are not ever wise nor are they always disinterested. Lemmings, so the naturalists tell us, have a way of blindly following their leaders even over a cliff - but to their own destruction. Sad as this spectacle is, at least the lemmings are on their own: they do no harm to others. The miners strike harms the miners most but all of us as well. It must end.

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WOMEN AGAINST PIT CLOSURES,
C/O N.U.M. HEADQUARTERS,
ST. JAMES HOUSE,
VICAR LANE,
SHEFFIELD.

30th July, 1984

The Queen,
Buckingham Palace,
London.

Your Majesty,

We are a representative group of women from the mining communities who have been collecting signatures for a petition to be presented to yourself at approximately 10 a.m. on the morning of 11th August, 1984.

Our group will be comprised of 16 women, and we will be bringing some of our children with us.

We would be grateful if you would inform us of the precise place for delivery of the petition.

Yours sincerely,

A Scargill

B. Heathfield

Anne Scargill

Betty Heathfield



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

Prime Minister

You could use this meeting with Mr. Tebbit to assure him that you have been over the arithmetic of para statia endurance with Peter Walker and Sir Walter Marshall and have drawn the following conclusions

- (i) endurance can be extended into next summer and beyond provided
- (ii) "Notts" coal is mined and moved
- (iii) civil action would put (ii) in jeopardy.

Mr Tebbit is worried that these calculations may not provide adequately for the coal industry needs to run its heating boilers. I suggest you ask him to put one of his officials in touch with Ken Couzens.

AT 30/7

510

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GR
PC type to PM's
signature
use form

Ref. A084/2195

MR BUTLER

Following your recent minute, I attach
the draft of a minute for the Prime Minister
to send about arrangements for dealing with
the coal dispute during August.

R

Approved by
ROBERT ARMSTRONG
and signed - his absence.

30 July 1984

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DRAFT MINUTE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S SIGNATURE

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ENERGY

ARRANGEMENTS FOR DEALING WITH THE COAL DISPUTE
DURING AUGUST

I should be grateful if you and other Ministers concerned would make arrangements for dealing with the coal dispute during August on the following lines:

- i. ^(if need be daily) There should continue to be regular and frequent meetings at the Department of Energy under your chairmanship, or that of your Minister of State or Parliamentary Under Secretary of State (Mr Shaw), to exchange information and consider tactics.
- ii. At the end of each of these meetings a situation report should be prepared and circulated to the members of the Ministerial Group on Coal (MISC 101). The format and circulation of this situation report should be agreed between the Cabinet Office and the Department of Energy.
- iii. Day-to-day responsibility for Ministerial supervision of the media arrangements, which are being coordinated at official level by Miss Christopherson,

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should rest with you, or the Department of Energy Minister deputed to act in your absence, maintaining frequent and regular contact with, and consulting as necessary, the Lord President and the Secretary of State for Employment on these matters. It may be convenient for the latter or the Minister of State, Department of Employment (Mr Gummer) to attend the meetings at i., as appropriate.

iv. If during my absence it is essential for MISC 101 to meet to consider an issue of policy requiring to be settled by Ministers collectively, I should be grateful if the Lord President or, if for any reason he cannot do so, the Home Secretary, would chair the meeting.

v. The Home Secretary, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretaries of State for Trade and Industry, Employment and Transport should ensure that a Minister from each of their Departments is available in this country at all times throughout August to receive reports and take part in whatever discussions (by telephone or at meetings) are required.

2. I am sending copies of this minute to the Lord President of the Council, the Home Secretary, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretaries of State for Defence, Scotland, Trade and Industry, Employment and Transport, the Attorney General, the Minister of State, Department of Employment (Mr Gummer) and Sir Robert Armstrong.



SECRET

v. Attorney General

- the likely outcome of the case brought by haulage companies against the South Wales NUM.

Next meeting

2. Although we have a meeting of MISC 101 provisionally arranged for 5.00pm on Wednesday 1 August, it may be sufficient - unless something new seems likely to come up - to have the next discussion under the Industrial Affairs item at Cabinet the following day.

PLG

P L GREGSON

27 July 1984

CONFIDENTIAL

VSCAEK .



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG

ORGANISATION TO COVER THE COAL STRIKE IN AUGUST

The Prime Minister was grateful for your minute of 26 July (AO84/2148), which she discussed with you this morning.

The Prime Minister is generally content with the arrangements envisaged in paragraph 6 of your minute. In particular, she agrees with the proposals in paragraph 6(5) for Ministerial supervision of the media arrangements and wants the Secretary of State for Employment and the Chairman of the Party to feel that they are involved in these arrangements. In addition to regular contacts between the Secretary of State for Employment and the Secretary of State for Energy, this could be reinforced by the Secretary of State or Mr. Gummer attending the morning meeting at the Department of Energy, which I understand that the Secretary of State intends should take place on a daily basis and be chaired by a Minister.

I should be very grateful for a draft of a minute for the Prime Minister to send incorporating these proposals and taking account of the need to involve the Secretary of State for Employment and the Chairman of the Party in the arrangements.

E. E. R. BUTLER

27 July 1984

CONFIDENTIAL

MS

PRIME MINISTER

Coal Dispute: Endurance

After your meeting with Mr. Walker last night, we spoke about the need to reassure the colleagues most closely concerned (Chancellor, Home Secretary and the Secretaries of State for Transport, Employment and Trade and Industry) that work was in hand to extend endurance. I suspect that the problems encountered in MISC 101 are borne of anxiety which in turn arises from Mr. Walker's understandable desire to keep his cards close to his chest. There are three ways in which the colleagues could be reassured:-

✓ MS

- i) You could speak to each of them individually to say that you had been over the endurance position with Peter Walker and Sir Walter Marshall. This had shown that it was possible to extend endurance into the summer months of next year provided the Notts miners were kept working and the coal they produced was transported to power stations.
- ii) You could ask Mr. Walker to speak to them in turn and we could make it clear to their Private Offices that he was doing so with your endorsement.
- iii) You could hold a short meeting of the inner group of MISC 101, possibly at 1800 hours next Thursday at which Mr. Walker would give an abbreviated version of Sir Walter Marshall's presentation.

There is something to be said for each course. Under (i) it would be made clear that, as Mr. Walker had promised at MISC 101, he had briefed you fully but this course would leave you in effect as guarantor of statements about endurance. It would avoid Mr. Walker having to deal with

SECRET

-2-

his colleagues directly. The advantage of (ii) is the converse, for Mr. Walker would have to take responsibility but it is not clear how open he would be. Under (iii) all the colleagues would get the same presentation but the atmosphere could be too close to that of MISC 101.

Which do you prefer?

We will need to think further about the nature of MISC 101 meetings. Either they can stay as they are, being largely a forum for the exchange of information and for the development of a publicity line being backed by smaller ad hoc meetings; or we should reduce them in size, allowing only principals and no alternates, with meetings only once a week rather than twice. We do not need to decide this now but should return to it after the holidays.

Duty Clerk
MP. V.T.

26 July 1984

SECRET



SECRET

1. Mr. ~~Townbank~~ - to see
2. Pl. file

9

P.01360

MR BUTLER

COAL STRIKE: WAYS OF PROLONGING ENDURANCE

I assume that the Prime Minister will not now be looking for further substantial comments from me on items i.-iv. in your minute of 20 July in the light of last night's talk with Sir Walter Marshall.

2. As he demonstrated, items i. and ii. are well in hand. On item iv., as I explained before and he confirmed, diesel standby generators can only be used for short periods; the contribution from private steam generating capacity can only be marginal (perhaps one week) and there are tactical and cost disadvantages. However, Sir Walter said that he was looking into what might be done in a low key way at 46 installations, if need be. On item iii., Sir Walter's reaction was that no worthwhile contribution was likely from that source and that is my impression also from earlier assessments by the Department of Energy and CEGB; however, I am sure that Sir Walter will, in the light of the Prime Minister's comments about it, satisfy himself that nothing can usefully be done in this direction.

PLG

P L GREGSON

26 July 1984

SECRET

Prime Minister
 The recommendations
 are in para. 6. .
 Are you content with them?

Ref. A084/2148

PRIME MINISTER

Organisation to cover the Coal Strike in August

FERB

26.7.

The Lord President will be in this country, mostly in Cumbria, throughout August.

2. The Home Secretary will be in this country, mostly in the north, throughout August.

3. The Secretary of State for Energy plans to be at home in Worcestershire from 4 to 14 August and then in Greece until 1 September. Mr Buchanan-Smith is at home in Midlothian throughout August (except for a visit to Norway from 20 to 22 August). Mr Giles Shaw will be abroad from 3 to 18 August; and thereafter in this country.

4. The Secretary of State for Employment will be in this country, mostly at home in Wiltshire, throughout August.

5. The present arrangements are:

- (1) The Secretary of State for Energy has a daily meeting with senior officials from his Department, from the other Departments primarily concerned, and often from the NCB and the CEBG. This meeting is to pool information and consider tactics, rather than policy.
- (2) You chair meetings of MISC 101 once (or more recently twice) a week, to receive information, review policy and agree or confirm the line to take with the media.
- (3) There is a similar discussion in Cabinet under Industrial Affairs.
- (4) The Secretary of State for Employment holds a meeting about once a week or as necessary to co-ordinate publicity.
- (5) Mr Ingham co-ordinates the line for the media with the Chief Information Officers of the Departments principally concerned, calling meetings as necessary.

6. I recommend:

(1) There should continue to be regular and frequent meetings at the Department of Energy under the chairmanship of an Energy Minister to exchange information and consider tactics. This meeting should be held as often as necessary, but it may not need to meet daily in August: twice a week (Tuesdays and Fridays) might be sufficient, if supplemented with close telephonic contact in between times. The Secretary of State for Energy should either take these meetings himself (until he goes to Greece) or depute Mr Buchanan-Smith or Mr Shaw to do so in his absence.

Mr. Walker envisages that there will be a daily meeting, under a Minister or, if on one or two

(2) You may like to have one meeting of MISC 101 shortly before you depart for your holiday. Thereafter, until the end of August, MISC 101 should meet only if and when there is some policy issue requiring consideration and not just for exchanging information and stocktaking. The Lord President should take the chair; if for any reason he cannot do so, the Home Secretary should do so.

(3) At the end of each of the Department of Energy meetings referred to at (1), a situation report should be prepared and circulated to members of MISC 101 (this would be a substitute for the Secretary of State for Energy's oral briefings). The format and circulation of this situation report should be agreed between the Cabinet Office and the Department of Energy. The Minister in charge of the Department of Energy should be responsible for deciding whether a significant change in the situation calls for an interim report between meetings.

This will include a daily report to you.

(4) Miss Christopherson should be responsible for co-ordinating the Government information/PR response, subject to any Ministerial meetings on the issue, holding meetings of Heads of Information/Chief Press Officers regularly, and making recommendations for action to Ministers and, as necessary, to you (this is agreed with Mr Ingham).



- (5) Day-to-day responsibility for Ministerial supervision of the media arrangements should be for the Secretary of State for Energy (or the Energy Minister in charge in his absence), who should maintain frequent and regular contact with and consult as necessary the Lord President and the Secretary of State for Employment on these matters.
- (6) The Secretaries of State for the Home Department, Trade and Industry, Employment and Transport should ensure that a Minister from each Department is available in this country at all times throughout August to receive reports and take part in whatever discussions (by telephone or at meetings) are required.
7. The Cabinet Office will be able to service any meetings that are required in August. At least one member and for much of the time two members of the MISC 101 Secretariat will be in the office. Mr Gregson will be in the country throughout August, always contactable by telephone, and never more than 150 miles from London.
8. If you are content with these proposals, I will prepare a draft of a minute for you to send, giving instructions accordingly.

R
Approved by
ROBERT ARMSTRONG
and signed in his absence.

26 July 1984

PRIME MINISTER

Misc 101

The Secretary of State for Energy telephoned to suggest that you should reserve discussion of ideas for your later meeting with him and Sir Walter Marshall this evening; and that the meeting of Misc 101 would be best confined to a short reporting session about latest developments.

F.R.B.

25 July, 1984.



10 DOWNING STREET

8 4 22
File 175
cc David Casall

From the Private Secretary

25 July 1984

Dear Michael

During the recent discussion on the cost of the coal dispute there was disagreement between your Department and the Treasury on the figures. The paper produced by your Secretary of State on 29 May estimated the net cost at £25m. per week. At the recent meeting, your Secretary of State said he now put the estimate at around £12½m. per week, the main differences being a revision in the gross cost of oil burn from £50m. to £40m. a week plus a larger estimate for the saving on NCB investment.

It would be very helpful to the Prime Minister for these differences to be resolved. If, indeed, the costs are substantially lower than estimated previously, it may help to get this information into the public consciousness in some way as virtually all outside estimates are substantially higher. Most, indeed, are higher even than the original estimate. For example, the recent Greenwell's Bulletin puts the cost per month at £200-250m.

I am copying this letter to David Peretz (HM Treasury) and Peter Gregson (Cabinet Office).

*Your sincerely
Andrew Turnbull*

Andrew Turnbull

Michael Reidy Esq
Department of Energy.

TABLE II

Influences on PSBR Profile in 1984/5

<u>£m</u>	<u>First Half</u>	<u>Second Half</u>
EEC rebate	-400	-650
Asset sales	-600	-1,300
Extra VAT	-50	-1,500
End of N.I.S.	-	+350
	<u>-1,050</u>	<u>-3,100</u>

It should be noted that on a non-seasonally adjusted basis almost the whole of the PSBR is expected to occur in the first half of the year, £6½bn compared with £½bn. The published figure of £4.7bn (£3.4bn seasonally adjusted) for the first quarter of the fiscal year is quite consistent with this estimate.

The miners' dispute is likely to have a further impact on the PSBR profile, as well as putting the total under some pressure if it is not settled fairly soon. Our estimate of the weekly rate of loss for the NCB and the rest of the public sector is shown in Table III.

TABLE III
Weekly Accounting Losses

	<u>£m</u>	
NCB: reduced revenue from lower sales	65	
reduced expenditure	<u>-35</u>	(30)
CEGB: increased expenditure on oil	43	
reduced expenditure on coal	<u>-26</u>	17
British Rail		4
British Steel		4
Police		4
Income tax lost and benefits paid		<u>7</u>
		<u>66</u>

The impact of the dispute on the PSBR will be different from the accounting losses shown above because it will lead to a fall in the NCB's stocks of coal and the CEGB's stocks of coal and oil, which will release finance. The NCB's coal stocks were virtually unchanged in April but the CEGB's coal and oil stocks fell by £130m and £50m respectively. Data for May and June have not yet been published but reductions in stocks are likely to be lower because the CEGB increased its purchases of fuel oil and because the seasonal reduction in the demand for electricity enabled coal stocks to be conserved.

Allowing for the finance released by the fall in stocks, our estimates of the effect of the miners' dispute on the PSBR during April, May and June are £115m, £240m and £200m respectively. If the dispute were to end by the beginning of August, which does not now look likely, there would be a PSBR increase of some £230m in July. The rebuilding of coal stocks by the NCB and CEGB and the continuation, for a few months, of a higher than normal oil burn by the CEGB would continue to raise the PSBR in subsequent months. These additional effects could amount to some £300m, of which £100m would increase the 1985/6 PSBR.

On the assumption that the miners' dispute ends within a month, its total impact on the PSBR this fiscal year will be less than £1,000m, as compared with a contingency reserve of £2½bn for the year as a whole.



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PRIME MINISTER

MINERS' DISPUTE

I am much concerned about the miners' dispute. I need not stress the importance of our both winning in practice, and being seen to win: our supporters expect it of us, and, as important, the outcome will undoubtedly be seen as a signal with long-term implications for relations with organised labour.

2 My concern is quite simply that, on our present course, I do not see that time is on our side. I do not have detailed figures of the stocks available, and the best information made available to date is that set out in the paper attached to Peter Gregson's minute of 4 July to Andrew Turnbull. This showed that, on the recent average rate of coal deliveries to CEGB power stations, endurance extends until mid-January. This is also the public perception (based, for example, on the recent Phillips & Drew report). In practice, of course, we could not go right up to the brink, but would have to take measures sometime well in advance. On present trends, therefore, it will become clear sometime in the Autumn to miners on strike that the end of the dispute is approaching, and they will be fortified in their resolve. My own guess is that we may come to that point as early as October.

3 Faced with this, I believe we need to look at a number of options, which we have not hitherto considered collectively. We need to consider what is the prospect for endurance on the

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SECRET & PERSONAL

basis of present policies and access to existing pithead stocks, both in the pits which are at present open, and also in pits at present closed. This was, of course, covered to some extent in the paper attached to the Peter Gregson minute. Second, I should like to go beyond this to consider what can be done to extend endurance through increased access to imports. I am not clear about the physical constraints in terms of port capacity which limit our import of coal and coke, and the extent to which these constraints can be relaxed. It would be useful to know, for example, whether the constraints are in terms of port handling equipment (and if so what can be done about this); whether the transport exists within this country to move coal and coke from the ports to power stations and industrial users; and, if this were to happen, the effect of likely picketing on our police resources. Central to these questions is not the position of the miners, except insofar as their likely response has implications for police resources and the practicality of different methods of transport, but rather that of the transport unions. I am much concerned that the NUR and ASLEF actions which are so reducing the transport of coal and coke to the power stations are being carried out at very little cost to the unions, and at no cost to the individuals taking this action. If we are to extend our endurance, as I believe we must, the transport of coal, rather than the provision of new supplies from within this country, becomes the central issue.

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SECRET & PERSONAL

4 There is a further sort of question which I should like to see examined. This is what further pressure can be exerted on both the NUM and other unions. Should we, for example, be considering announcing closures of particular mines as a demonstration of our resolve, or would this, without full consultations, adversely effect the existing working areas? How can we bring the NUR and ASLEF to bear the costs of their damaging actions? Should we again be considering injunctions, possibly only against the transport unions? What do we know about the finances of the NUM (Eric Varley, with whom John Wakeham and I had a discussion last night, suggested that the NUM might be in a position where it would find resistance to an injunction difficult and debilitating)?

5 As you know, I have found it difficult to get these sorts of question raised in MISC 101. I believe, nevertheless, that they are critical. I should very much like to suggest to you that the factual questions which I have dealt with in para 3 above should be tackled, along with a detailed account of what is actually happening in the "drift back to work", by the Cabinet Office, under Peter Gregson's chairmanship; and that you should convene, as soon as we have the results of that analysis, a meeting of a small group of Ministers to discuss the options which we have. I have no wish to rock the boat, and believe it essential that we should continue to present our existing public face. But it is

SECRET & PERSONAL

Copy no 1 of 2



SECRET & PERSONAL

just as important that we should be utterly realistic among ourselves about what is actually going to happen.

6 For obvious reasons, I have retained only one copy of this minute. Please will you make sure that no copies are taken within No 10.

NT
N T

25 July 1984

Department of Trade & Industry

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PRIME MINISTER

COAL DISPUTE

Having encountered difficulty in engaging Mr. Walker in open discussion, Mr. Tebbit is seeking, by more tangential means, reassurance that facts are being gathered and options studied in a number of areas:-

- (i) power station endurance.
- (ii) transport of coal and coke.
- (iii) redundancies and closures.
- (iv) civil action.
- (v) the extent of the drift back to work.

He suggests that Peter Gregson be commissioned to establish the facts on (i), (ii) and (v), which should then be reported to one more meeting of a smaller group of Ministers before people disperse. You will be discussing endurance tonight, but further work could be undertaken on the other items.

✓ Agree I set up a meeting of the inner group of MISC 101 either for the end of next week or the beginning of the week after before you depart?

25 July, 1984

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subject
cc master

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25/7

RECORD OF A MEETING HELD AT NO.10 DOWNING STREET ON
WEDNESDAY 25 JULY AT 1830 TO DISCUSS POWER STATION ENDURANCE

Present were:

Prime Minister
Secretary of State for Energy
Sir Walter Marshall
Sir Kenneth Couzens
Mr Gregson
Mr Buckley

Sir Walter Marshall gave a presentation on CEGB's work to extend power station endurance. He showed the Prime Minister a chart which plotted coal supplies on one axis and power station endurance on the other. He said that in addition to coal supplies the other main variable for extending endurance was the extent to which the CEGB could enhance the performance of oil and nuclear generation.

Over the past three weeks coal supplies from Notts mines (shorthand for all the working areas) had been 0.47 mt. This was an improvement on the average of the past 20 weeks of 0.42 mt. If supplies were maintained at this level the safe date for endurance was June 1985. The CEGB's internal target which discounted performance by 7%, gave endurance to November 1985. The chart showed that nuclear generation plus oil generation plus Notts coal almost exactly matched the summertime needs so that once endurance could be extended into the spring of 1986 it would be possible to extend it into the following winter.

Sir Walter said that these calculations were extremely sensitive to variations to the supply of Notts coal. A small increase would extend endurance considerably. In the last week coal deliveries to power stations had been 0.52 mt

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-2-

and this extended the safe date to Christmas 1985 with the possible date of January 1986. Conversely a 10% shortfall could create difficulties as there would be a point around March 1985 when stocks would be very low.

Mr Walker said he had cross-examined Sir Walter to eliminate optimism from these estimates. The projections for nuclear availability were conservative. Sir Walter said that Magnox generation was a well tried system for which it was possible to make reasonably confident estimates. CEGB were reasonably sure that they could enhance the output of Magnox stations. There were two AGRs operational, Hinkley Point and Heysham I. These were now performing well but were due for overhaul in October 1985 and March 1986 respectively. Sir Walter was confident that a case could be made to the Nuclear Installations Inspectorate to postpone these dates. If that were done it would be worth 1000 MW to the system.

The AGRs under construction, Dungeness, Hartlepool and Heysham II were due to be operational by 1986. Sir Walter said he was not counting on more than 30% availability from these stations.

As an aside, Sir Walter said that the safety standards of the regulators were continuously being advanced. To build an AGR to current standards would make them vastly more expensive than PWRs.

On oil fire stations, Sir Walter said Grain had four sets (the fifth set had never been built). It had been manned to operate only two sets but he had persuaded the unions to operate first the third set and now the fourth set. The CEGB had succeeded in getting the capacity at Littlebrook, Kingsnorth and Ince to operate beyond its rated capacity. The NEI rotors had a design fault so that in normal circumstances the CEGB was two rotors short.

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-3-

Normally the gaps appeared at Pembroke and Ince as these were stations that were generally out of use. The CEGB, by an elaborate subterfuge, hoped to be able to cannibalise the Ferrybridge station which was in the strike-bound area, in order to provide the missing rotors.

Sir Walter explained that the original founder of the CEGB had been Lord Citrine. Under his influence the CEGB had been unionised from top to bottom. It was, therefore, an extremely delicate operation to get the CEGB staff to undertake a number of activities outside their normal range. He had had to proceed carefully but so far he had been successful. The leadership of the various unions within the CEGB had privately told him that their ability to provide moderate leadership would be totally undermined if the hard left leadership of the NUM were successful.

Sir Walter said that this analysis indicated the following priorities:

- (i) It was essential to maintain the output of the Notts coalfields. Small improvements in supplies increased endurance dramatically; small shortfalls curtailed it dramatically. Very little else mattered. The contribution from other forms of generation was trivial by comparison. All decisions should be measured against the test of whether they kept Notts miners at work and that coal being delivered.
- (ii) It was essential to maintain transport from the Notts pits. Though road transport had done well in meeting the shortfall, deliveries by rail were essential. This meant that every effort had to be made to keep the railway unions working. It might therefore be necessary yet again to make some concessions next winter in the pay negotiations.

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-4-

- (iii) The CEGB should maintain as low a profile as possible. Their motto was "it is not our dispute" and "by law our job is to keep the lights on".
- (iv) It was essential to maintain oil supplies.

Sir Walter then turned to the various questions which the Prime Minister had raised and which I had communicated to him by telephone.

- (i) Private generating capacity could make only a small contribution. 80% of the capacity was in 46 installations. Sir Walter's concern was whether activating this capacity could be done discreetly without losing a propaganda point to the NUM. If so it was worth doing.
- (ii) Diesel generators and gas turbines were extremely expensive to run and were designed to meet sudden surges in demand and not to be operated continuously. They therefore had little contribution to make to endurance.
- (iii) On the maintenance of oil stations the CEGB was hoping to negotiate for an extension of the statutory overhaul.
- (iv) Sir Walter said the timetable for the cross channel link had slipped three months. There had been problems of civil engineering, particularly with hard rock near Folkestone. The first half of the project was likely to be completed by 31 January 1986. Though the second cable was running later it was not on the critical path; the difficulty lay with completion of the converter stations.

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-5-

(v) Sir Walter said that importing coal would be a mistake. This would have an emotional appeal even to the Notts miners. It was better to dedicate imports to industry and avoid getting the CEEGB embroiled in this argument.

(vi) The effect of extending summertime was extremely small though it might be worth considering.

Mr Walker said that the estimates provided by Sir Walter had been on the basis of normal demand. He was confident that it would be possible to reduce demand through his Energy Efficiency Campaign. Although extending endurance was not its ostensible purpose it would have that effect. He was planning to launch a major publicity exercise in the autumn and had agreed with Sir Terence Beckett that the CBI would approach all major energy users confidentially to explain that a significant response to this Campaign would add to endurance.

Mr Walker said there were a number of up side and down side risks. On the up side there was the possibility that the Notts miners could be persuaded to drop their overtime ban though in practice they were not enforcing this vigorously. In addition it was hoped to be able to negotiate a change in the planning controls on the Cannock open cast pit. At present movements were restricted to rail; it was hoped to secure permission for road movements. On the down side there was the fact that the margin for error in March was extremely small, and was therefore vulnerable to a small reduction in supplies. There was evidence that the rail unions were campaigning actively to secure greater industrial action and that further support could emerge following the TUC Conference. It was to be hoped, however, that regardless of the resolutions the response on the ground would be limited.

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-6-

The Prime Minister thanked Sir Walter Marshall for his presentation. It was agreed that in public nothing would be said beyond the fact that electricity supplies "could endure well into 1985".

The discussion then turned to improving endurance in the longer term. Sir Walter said it was necessary to prepare against the likelihood of a further strike in the late 1980s in which it should be assumed that the Notts miners would come out. The system should provide itself with at least 12 months generation compared with the 6 months provided for in the current plans.

Sir Walter set out the steps necessary:

- (i) Rebuild coal stocks at pit heads to 30 million tonnes immediately. Even if another miners' strike was unlikely straight after the present one there was always the possibility of a rail strike.
- (ii) Subsequently increase pit head stocks to 40 million tonnes. This would need planning permission, some capital expenditure and would tie up a lot of money in coal stocks. Furthermore its purpose would be obvious.
- (iii) Examination of coal stations which could burn oil either as an alternative to coal or as a mixture. To be strike-proof this would require the construction of pipelines. The CEGB should try to identify stations which could tap in to existing pipelines. This could be done within three to four years.
- (iv) Maintain oil stations fully operational. This would require full staffing even though they would

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-7-

would require full staffing even though they would only be used in exceptional circumstances.

- (v) Within the capacity of the currently planned channel link a decision could be taken to buy both regular and back-up supplies.

(Sir Kenneth Couzens said the UK was in a position to bargain very hard as the French had a lot of surplus capacity and EdF needed the money.)

- (vi) Build the fifth set at Grain for dual firing.

- (vii) Expand capacity for open cast mining and arrange operations so that the handling was done entirely by contractor staff. At present mining was done by contractors but the loading was done by NUM members.

- (viii) Accelerate the nuclear programme building PWRs.

- (ix) Possibly construct a second channel link.

- (x) Maintain the loyalty of CEGB staff.

Sir Walter Marshall said it was ironic that the continuing threat of an NUM strike would increase the demand for coal quite substantially. Mr Walker agreed but pointed out that this did not mean the extra coal had to be supplied by keeping old pits open; it could be found from new pits.

The meeting concluded at 2010.

SECRET

Ref. A084/2142

PRIME MINISTER

Cabinet: Industrial Affairs: Coal

You will wish to ask for the usual reports from:

- i. the Secretary of State for Energy
on the number of pits and miners working
on the latest publicity efforts
on the Nottinghamshire miners' "back to work"
campaign
- ii. the Home Secretary
on law and order (in view of the resurgence
of picket line violence)

Next Meeting

2. The next meeting of MISC 101 has been arranged for 5.30 pm on Monday 30 July.

REA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

25 July 1984

Sir Robert Armstrong is accelerating the
note on the August arrangements for
handling the coal strike and hopes to
give it to you tomorrow morning.

SECRET

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ms

PRIME MINISTER

Power Station Endurance

Peter Walker is coming with Sir Walter Marshall and Sir Kenneth Couzens to discuss ways of increasing power station endurance. (Mr. Gregson will also be attending.) They will have had a meeting at 9.30 in the morning and will be able to report its outcome to you.

When I spoke to Sir Walter Marshall to invite him to the meeting I explained that you would probably want to take the meeting in two parts:

- (i) Extending endurance during the current dispute.
- (ii) Measures in the longer term to make endurance indefinite.

Under (i) I listed a number of proposals which you have raised or which have been put to you and on which you might like comment:

- Accelerated commissioning of nuclear stations.
- Streamlined arrangements for maintenance of oil-fired capacity.
- Use of diesel/flashing oil to eke out coal supplies.
- Acceleration of cross-Channel link.
- Imports of coal direct to coastal power stations.
(This has been considered by Mr. Gregson's group but is currently being held in abeyance.)

/- Imports

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- Imports of coal to be transported to inland power stations.
- Supply by lorry to Didcot.
- Extended summer time.

Car Induseri

Under (ii) I listed:

- Contribution of nuclear capacity coming on stream over the next few years.
- Dual firing. (Is what costs the money and takes the time the conversion of boilers, the provision of storage capacity or the construction of supply pipelines?).
- An expansion of the cross-Channel link beyond the planned 2000 MW capacity.
- Larger areas at power stations to allow all coal to be stockpiled at power stations rather than at pit heads.

Sir Walter Marshall responded to the invitation with enthusiasm as he believes he has a good story to tell you. He said that rather than answer these individual points, he would prefer to start with a general presentation. I think he will want to emphasise the improvements in generation which he is securing by better "tuning" of oil-fired and nuclear capacity.

You will need to handle the meeting carefully. If Sir Walter's natural enthusiasm is allowed a free run, it

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-3-

it may not be possible to cover the whole agenda in a reasonable time. I believe Mr. Walker may have a private dinner engagement.

AT

ANDREW TURNBULL

24 July 1984

Attached are

- (i) Mr Gregson's paper on increasing coal movements (A)
- (ii) Mr Gregson's note on other measures to increase endurance (B)
- (iii) The original MISC 57 report on endurance at power stations (C)

SECRET

- 1 Mr ~~Temple~~ : to see
- 2 Mr ~~Wingham~~ : to see
- 3 Bus to ~~Barclay~~

R25

pa. date
26/7

With the Compliments
of

The Rt. Hon. Lord Shawcross, G.B.E., Q.C.

PO BOX 161, MORGAN HOUSE
1 ANGEL COURT, LONDON EC2R 7AE

TELEPHONE
01-600 2300

The Rt. Hon. Lord Shawcross G.B.E., Q.C.

MORGAN HOUSE
ONE ANGEL COURT
LONDON EC2R 7AE

01-600 2300

24th July 1984

Ian McGregor Esq
Chairman
National Coal Board
Hobart House
Grosvenor Place
London SW1

Dear Mr. McGregor:

I hope you will not think it an impertinence on my part to write to you about the public relations aspect of the present dispute - in which I think the Coal Board's case should really be quite convincing - if only it were convincingly put forward. My excuse must be a long experience in public life and of public relations. Long ago I was Independent Chairman of the Kent District Coal Mine Board and also of the Catering Wages Commission. I was a member of the Labour Party and successively Attorney General who in those days did a very great deal of Court work and had to know something of advocacy. I was then President of the Board of Trade, broadly similar to the present Ministry of Trade and Industry, then for many years leader of the English Bar as Chairman of the Bar Council. Subsequently I became a Director of the Times newspapers, Chairman of a Royal Commission on the Press, Chairman of Thames Television in its formative first 4 years, then Chairman of the Press Council and am now, for my sins, a Director of the Observer. All this is apart from numerous company directorships and the Chairmanship of the International Council of one of the biggest U.S. banks.

Finally I should add that ever since the end of the Attlee Government in 1951 I have maintained a formal association with moderate Trade Union leaders.

I mention all this not because I am in the least proud of a mis-spent life but in the hope of showing that I am not wholly unfamiliar with industrial problems and the world of affairs.

Now what I want to say is that the NCB's public presentation of their case has, in the view of most informed people, including a number of Conservative MP's with whom I have discussed it, been quite deplorable.

First on the personal side. Mr Scargill has developed a certain degree of charisma. Not a day passes without his being reported on the radio or seen on the television. No previous Union leader that I can remember has shown himself so successful in obtaining publicity in the media. Of course he is putting an unarguable and frequently false case. But no-one on the NCB side argues the real case or sufficiently exposes the falsity of Mr Scargill's. Here I venture

contd:

24th July 1984

very diffidently to suggest that you might consider whether you yourself are in fact the best person to seek more media exposure? What is it that is said about "diamond cut diamond"? There are amongst your members several men who started life in the Industry and worked their way to the top: men too who have been familiar with all the problems of the Industry a very long time. I think that if one of these became the spokesman for the NCB on normal media occasions the "Great British Public", and particularly the miners, might feel that they were listening to one more of their own class - especially if he spoke with a strong North country accent - and not to one who has been given the image of an American tycoon.

Then there is the newspaper advertising that the NCB has, rather belatedly, started. Few of my acquaintances in the Mining Industry are very regular readers of the Financial Times, The Times, the Telegraph or the other quality papers! Of course if you are paying for these expensive advertisements in order to benefit the Press that is splendid: some of the quality papers can do with it! But I assume - and I hope I am correct? - that you do advertise in the popular papers and particularly in the locals and weeklies. These are the obvious ones. But quite apart from what papers they are put in, the content of these advertisements is abysmal. They lack snap and pith. What is needed I think is a few short bold statements - rather more on the lines I have (half seriously) attached. And this word to which you are attaching so much importance - "beneficial" is quite meaningless. And "economic" is not really understood by the mass of our rather illiterate population. The NCB want to get across - in words of one syllable - that it is no good spending money you have not got on getting coal out of the ground if you can't sell it at what it cost. Even most miners would understand that. The NCB should employ some firm like Saatchi & Saatchi. This would cost a good deal but would be worth it. Or they could employ me for nothing. Which would be worth less!

I hope you will not resent this criticism. It is well and earnestly meant. And I am indeed, also critical of the Government. Nobody really believes that the Government is standing aloof. And if they are they ought not to be. They are spending a great deal of the taxpayers' money on the Industry: the public are the shareholders and the Government should be exerting their influence as trustees for the public. The first really useful intervention was by Peter Walker at the weekend. I thought he made an excellent speech which secured good coverage.

contd:

24th July 1984

Finally - the Law. Ah yes - I am after all a lawyer. I agree with the general view, that invoking the recent legislation might at present exacerbate the situation. But the Common Law remains. Scargill has I think actually been charged with Riot. That is a grave offence. But why has he not - or the thousand others who have been charged - been brought to trial. Quite obviously Scargill and a few of his associates are conspiring together to organise (and pay from Union funds?) illegal picketing and breaches of the peace. I feel strongly that the police should arrest a few of those involved in the worst cases of violent intimidation and destruction and charge them and the organisers with the good old common law offence of conspiracy to create unlawful assemblies. And have the trial in London where very possibly the Lord Chief Justice would consider it a case proper for him to take.

This is an open letter which I am copying to the Prime Minister. But I send it with all good wishes for a successful outcome of this more and more damaging dispute - which must be won if anarchy is not to prevail.

(SGD.) HADLEY SHAWCROSS

cc The Prime Minister
cc The Rt Hon Peter Walker MP

THE MINERS' STRIKE

DO YOU KNOW THE TRUTH?

MR SCARGILL DOES BUT HE HAS NO USE FOR IT.

MR SCARGILL SAYS THE STRIKE IS ABOUT JOBS AND THAT 70000 MINERS WILL LOSE THEIR JOBS

THE TRUTH

NO MINERS WILL LOSE THEIR JOBS. BUT UP TO 20,000 MAY TAKE VOLUNTARY REDUNDANCY IF THEY WANT. ON TERMS FROM £5000 TO £35000

MR SCARGILL

KEEPS SAYING THAT MANY PITS WILL BE CLOSED BY THE NATIONAL COAL BOARD

THE TRUTH

A FEW PITS WILL CLOSE WHEN IT IS AGREED IN THE AREAS CONCERNED THAT THE COAL FROM THEM COULD ONLY BE SOLD AT A LOSS. AND NOBODY WOULD BE SACKED. WOULD YOU KEEP THESE MINES GOING.

MR SCARGILL

BUT NOT WITH HIS MONEY.

THE TRUTH.

WOULD YOU PUT YOUR MONEY INTO AN ENTERPRISE IN WHICH YOU KNEW YOU WOULD LOSE IT?

MR SCARGILL

SAYS MINERS ARE UNDERPAID

THE TRUTH

MINERS ARE WELL AT THE TOP OF THE LEAGUE. AND £4.90 UP TO £6.80. HAS BEEN ON OFFER SINCE NOVEMBER

DO NOT BE MISLED

BE LED BY TRUTH

INTO DESTROYING YOUR INDUSTRY - AND LEADING TO A COMMUNIST BRITAIN. BACK TO WORK AND EVEN GREATER PROSPERITY IN A THRIVING INDUSTRY.



10 DOWNING STREET

cc Mr Butler ✓
Miss Janet Lewis-
Jones
Miss Christopherson
Miss Jean Caines

From the Press Secretary

SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG

ORGANISATION TO COVER COAL STRIKE DURING HOLIDAYS

This is the note promised by Robin Butler in his minute to you of July 20.

It will be necessary during August to maintain close coordination at Information level of the principal Departments concerned in the coal strike:

- Department of Energy
- Treasury
- Home Office
- Department of Trade and Industry
- Department of Transport
- Department of Employment
- Scottish Office
- Welsh Office

I intend to be away for the whole of August - August 3 to September 2 inclusive. But I shall be available on the telephone August 2-18 inclusive.

My deputy at No 10, Miss Christopherson, is moving to Department of Energy as Head of Information from August 1, but will be available to cover No 10 during the second half of August when her successor, Miss Jean Caines, will also be away.

Accordingly, I have asked Miss Christopherson to take formal responsibility for co-ordinating the Government Information/PR response from August 3, subject of course to any Ministerial meetings on the issue.

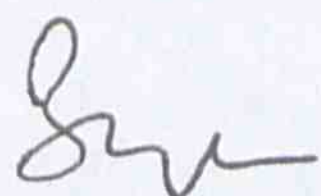
Mr. Turnbull
DF/BB 29/7

2.

Miss Caines will attend all the meetings on behalf of No 10 until August 17.

Miss Christopherson will hold meetings of Heads of Information/Chief Press Officers regularly, and will make recommendations for action to the Minister with coordinating responsibility and, as required, to the Prime Minister.

Subject to your agreement, I would propose to write as attached to Heads of Information of the Departments concerned.



BERNARD INGHAM
24 July 1984

DRAFT LETTER TO HEADS OF INFORMATION

It will be necessary during August to maintain an active information group for coordinating the Government's information/public relations effort in connection with the miners' strike.

I have asked Romola Christopherson, my current deputy who becomes Chief Information Officer at Department of Energy from August 1, to take the lead in this. She will call required meetings for this purpose throughout August.

Miss Christopherson will be supported by Miss Jean Caines, her successor at No 10. She will make recommendations for action on behalf of the Information Group to Ministers responsible for coordination during the holiday period.

I very much hope that you will ensure that your Department is represented at the most senior Press Officer level available. It is important that the Government mounts an effective information effort during the holiday.

Prime Minister

The AG could be asked to report the units being brought by two coal merchants in the Forest of Dean against 5 Wales NUM.

SECRET

AT 24(7)

4

P.01353

PRIME MINISTER

MISC 101(84)30th Meeting: Coal

Stored

You will want to ask for the normal reports:

- i. from the Secretary of State for Energy
 - on the number of pits and miners working (there are reports today of an increase in those working at Bilston Glen and also of a return to work at a private pit in Scotland)
- ii. from the Home Secretary
 - on law and order (there has clearly been a renewed offensive: blockading tactics on the Humber Bridge; heavy pickets at several working pits and at BSC Port Talbot)
- iii. from the Secretary of State for Transport
 - on train movements
- iv. from the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry
 - on BSC and coal-burning industry.

All windows
taken.
One other - 46?

100 a day

See
Rw.
P.F.
L.

31
10th Aug.

Engineering.
2-3 mths.

2. You may wish to concentrate the discussion on:

- i. the handling of publicity in relation to this week's National Executive Committee meeting of the NUM;
- ii. any pointers emerging from the first meeting of the new Area Council in Nottinghamshire.



SECRET

3. There will be an opportunity for a further discussion under the Industrial Affairs item at Cabinet on Thursday 26 July. The next meeting of MISC 101 is arranged for 5.30 pm on Monday 30 July.

P L GREGSON

24 July 1984

SECRET

COVERING SECRET

Copy No *1* of 4



3A.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ENERGY
THAMES HOUSE SOUTH
MILLBANK LONDON SW1P 4QJ
01 211 7214

M

Andrew Turnbull Esq
Private Secretary to the
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

23 July 1984

Dear Andrew

WEEKLY COAL AND POWER STATION STATISTICS

I attach the latest edition.

Copies also go to Margaret O'Mara and
Richard Hatfield.

*Yours
John*

J S NEILSON
Private Secretary

COVERING SECRET

Copy No ... 1. of 14
20 July 1984

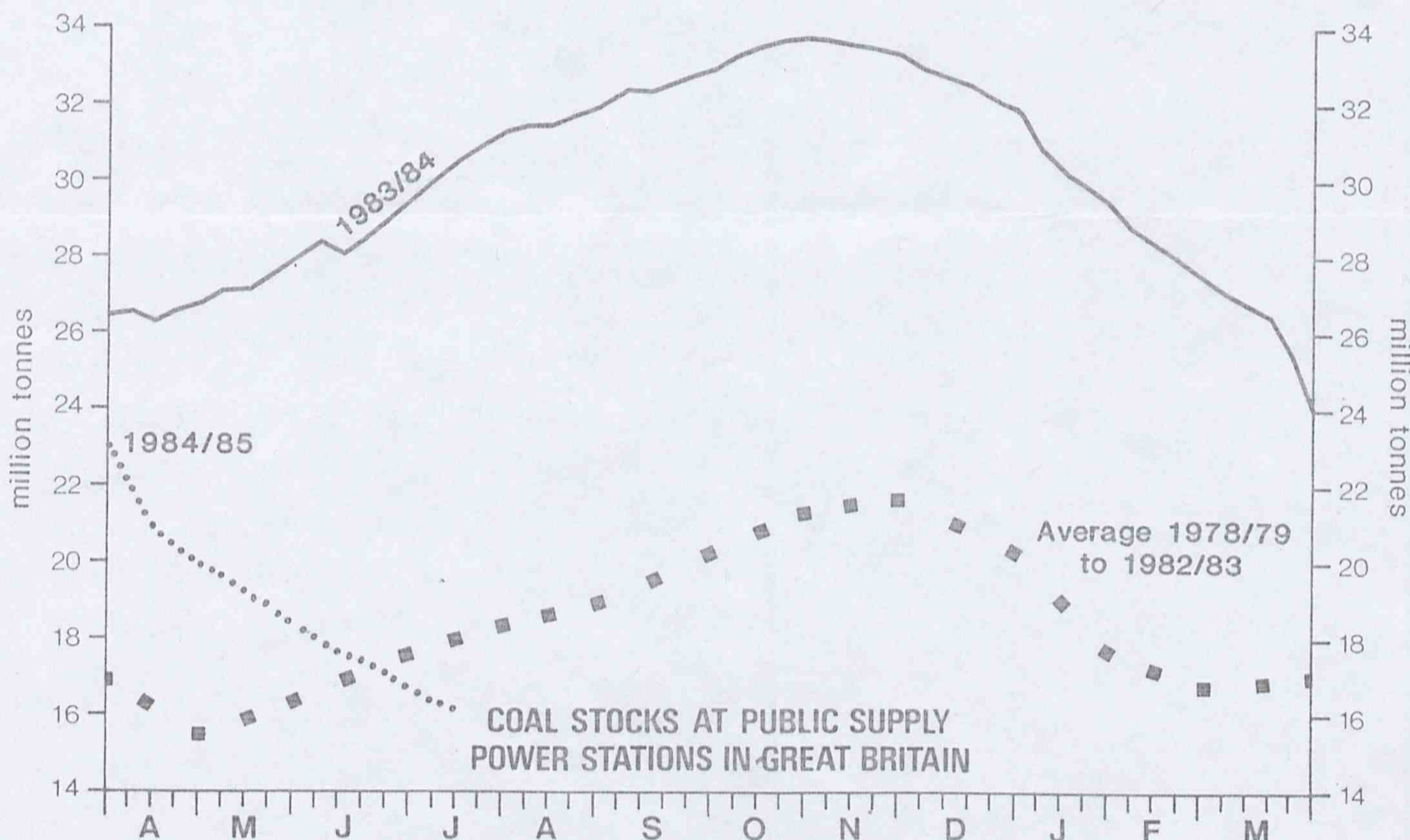
WEEKLY COAL AND POWER STATION STATISTICS (1)

EcS Division, Dept. of Energy, Thames House South, Millbank SW1P 4QJ. Phone: 01-211-6928

Week ending 16.7.83: 23.6.84 30.6.84 7.7.84 14.7.84

COAL	PRODUCTION (m. tonnes)	deep mines †	1.98:	0.48	0.46	0.41	0.43
		opencast †	0.30:	0.29	0.28	0.31	0.30
		TOTAL	2.28:	0.77	0.75	0.72	0.73
COAL	PRODUCTIVITY(2) (tonnes/manshift)	'overall' o.m.s	2.48:	..	..	..	..
		'production' o.m.s	10.82:	..	..	..	..
UNDISTRIBUTED STOCK (m. tonnes)		TOTAL	24.65:	22.38	22.38	22.33	22.33
STATIONS	COAL STOCKS (m. tonnes)		30.92:	17.05	16.71	16.39	16.13
	COAL CONSUMPTION	"	1.27:	0.78	0.80	0.76	0.74
	COAL RECEIPTS	"	1.72:	0.47	0.46	0.45	0.47
STATIONS	OIL STOCKS(3)	"	1.06:	1.04	1.14	1.08	0.98
	OIL CONSUMPTION(3)	"	0.05:	0.37	0.38	0.36	0.39
	OIL RECEIPTS(3)	"	0.04:	0.44	0.48	0.31	0.28
POWER	ELECTRICITY SUPPLIED (4) (GWh)		:	:	:	:	:
	Nuclear	"	705:	709	640	671	695
	Other Steam	"	2987:	3,184	3,236	3,151	3,124
	TOTAL	"	3,692:	3,893	3,876	3,821	3,819
	TOTAL - temperature corrected	"	3,969:	3,969	3,810	3,821	..

(1) Great Britain unless otherwise stated. All latest figures are subject to revision.
 (2) NCB mines only. (3) Oil-fired boilers only. (4) Steam stations only.
 .. data not yet available. † Includes licensed production.



SECRET

COAL CONSUMPTION AND OIL CONSUMPTION (OIL FIRED) AT PUBLIC SUPPLY POWER STATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN

Key

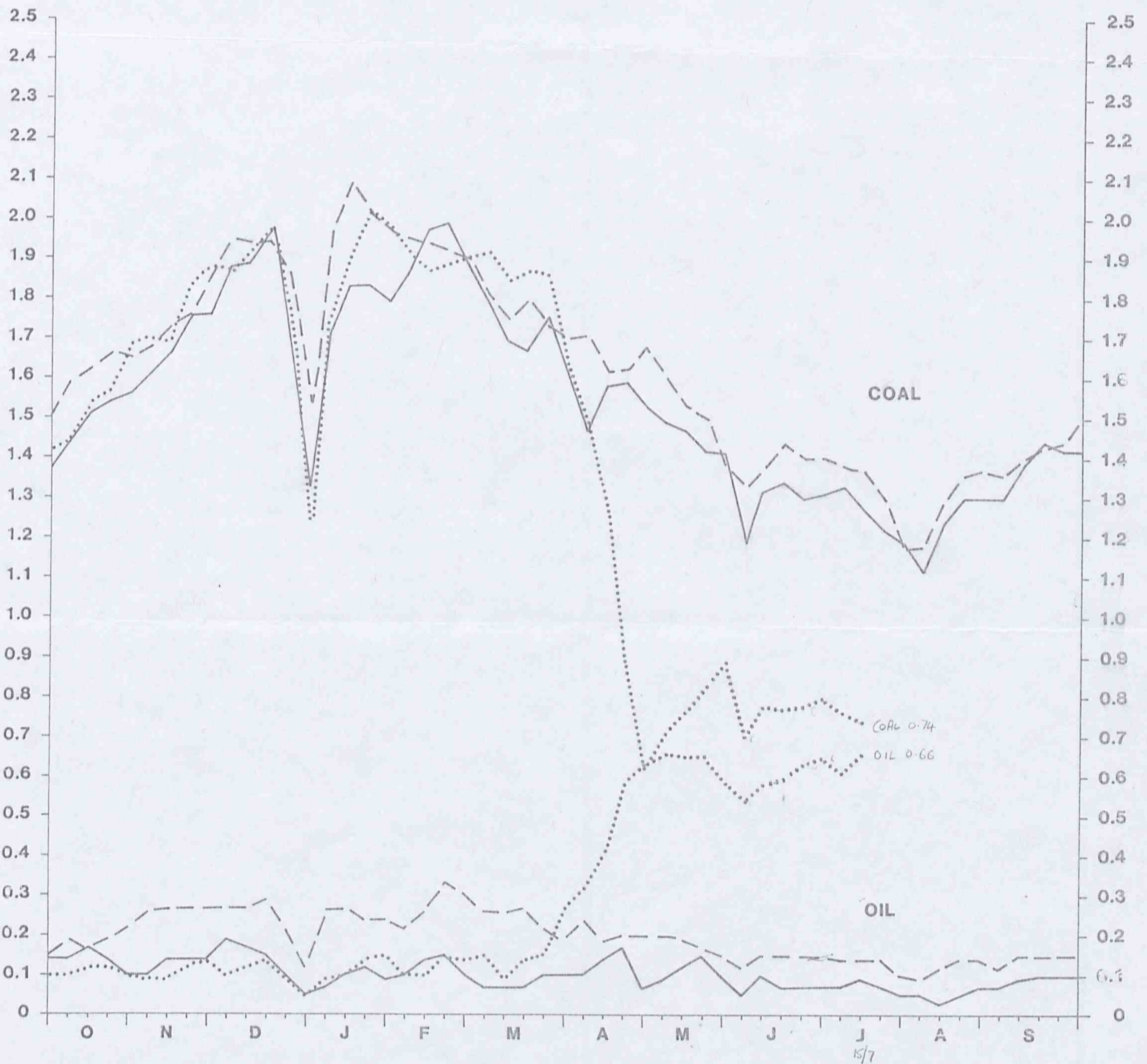
..... 10/83 to 9/84

———— 10/82 to 9/83

- - - - Average 1977/78 to 1981/82

Million
Tonnes
Coal
or Coal
Equivalent

Million
Tonnes
Coal
or Coal
Equivalent



SECRET



DEPARTMENT OF TRADE & INDUSTRY
1-19 Victoria Street
London SW1H 0ET

Telephone (Direct dialling) 01 215)
GTN 215) 5422
(Sitchboard) 215 7877

With the Compliments of the

Private Secretary to the
Secretary of State for Trade
and Industry

Callum McCarthy

CS 248

File

PS/SECRETARY OF STATE

cc PS/Mr Lamont
 PS/Sir Brian Hayes
 Mr Liesner
 Mr Wright - GP
 Miss Bowe - Inf
 Mr Close

COAL STRIKE: DRIFT BACK TO WORK

You asked me for an update of the attendance figures collected by the D Energy from the NCB. The latest figures of miners at work are shown below with the change from the previous week. If that comparison is distorted by holidays, the comparison is with the same day in the last week before the pit went on holiday. The comparisons are on a strict pit by pit basis.

			<u>Miners</u> <u>at work</u>	<u>Change</u> *	<u>Strikers</u> <u>Returned</u>
Mon	9 July	....	34741	+ 371	77
Tues	10 July	....	35891	+ 229	29
Weds	11 July	....	36287	+ 909	41
Thurs	12 July	....	36135	+ 1177	26
Fri	13 July	....	33352	+ 318	nil
Mon	16 July	....	35695	+ 50	27
Tues	17 July	....	36900	- 163	8
Weds	18 July	....	36702	- 589	9

**on one week earlier, adjusted for holidays.*

2. You will see that there are considerable fluctuations in the numbers at work even among the non-strikers. As I have reported before, NCB are concerned that they may not get all those who have been working back after the holidays. Last week's figures are disappointing (it will be a day or two before the figures for 19 and 20 July are available).

3. The figures show only small numbers of strikers returning to work.

M Howe

M HOWE
 GP2
 Rm 547 V/S
 215/3831

23 July 1984



file
to

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

23 July, 1984.

I attach a copy of a message from the President of the United States to the Prime Minister, which was received through the hot line. I am also sending the signed copy of the Prime Minister's reply, which has also been transmitted through the hot line back to the White House. Please will you arrange for the top copy of this reply to be sent on to the White House.

File FB

Len Appleyard, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

VSR

PERSONAL



Peter Munster³
interesting anecdotal
evidence
AT 24/7

Treasury Chambers, Parliament Street, SW1P 3AG

Rt Hon Peter Walker MP
Secretary of State for Energy
Department of Energy
Thames House South
Millbank
LONDON
SW1P 4QJ

23 July 1984

Alan H.W.

Six Miners from the East Kent pits came to see me on Saturday morning at their request. This is the first time that this has happened during the strike. They were not known to me personally, but seemed to me relatively a-political. Their general theme was that they were thoroughly sick of the strike, they were sick of the dishonest intimidatory tactics of the officers of the NUM in their area and nationally, that they wanted a steady job in an industry free from politics and that whatever the outcome, some of them - and many other unrepresented miners too - would accept the redundancy terms and leave the Industry.

They made four practical points - some of which are only relevant to East Kent:

(i) Without prompting from me, they suggested that the NCB should accept applications for redundancy terms now. They said that this would siphon off a great number of mine workers and would undermine Scargill's case.

(ii) They asked whether the NCB could not make it possible for them to go back to work by, for instance, running buses with wire mesh screens over the windows, which could be advertised on TVS. They did not want individual letters since this might single them and their families out for intimidation.

PERSONAL

PERSONAL

They suggested that the NCB management in East Kent was at the moment not keen to do this - presumably because of the trouble and violence that it might involve.

(iii) They asked why NUM Representatives were still allowed on NCB property in East Kent. I have not checked on the facts of this. It will, however, be remembered that some NUM Members occupied one of the pits after two Miners, one of whom is a member of my Association and is therefore perhaps not typical, tried to report back for work, but were subsequently ordered out by the Courts.

(iv) As regards Tilmanstone pit they reported that two out of the three faces being worked before the strike would hardly be worth re-opening - although I did not judge that this was due to lack of maintenance during the strike.

I hope that this may be helpful to you

Yours ever
Peter Rees

PETER REES

P.S - I am sending copies of this letter to the Prime Minister and Leon Brittan.

National Coal Board
Robert House, Grosvenor Place, London SW1X 7AE

- BT
- AT
- Lopez all Pgs.

NCB

CHAIRMAN
Ian MacGregor

File

July, 1984.

- Sent July 13 by post

- NCB issuing it to Sunday
press.

Jw.

Dear Colleague,

As you know, the NCB and NUM have been talking together for the last few days and we are due to meet again next Wednesday, July 18. I thought it would be helpful to let you know what we agree about and what we don't agree about:

We agree there are no compulsory redundancies in our plans for the industry.

We agree that investment in our industry should continue at a high rate.

We agree that the NCB should seek to expand its markets both at home and abroad.

We agree that miners should be well above the average of industrial pay (the NCB offer 5.2% back dated to November 1983 still stands and is more than the offers accepted by power workers, water workers and railmen).

We agree that when a pit has to close, any miner who wants to stay in the industry will be offered another job with transfer benefits provided by the Coal Board. There are well-known generous arrangements for men made redundant.

We agree that miners should share in the benefits of improved profitability and growth.

We agree that exhausted pits should be closed.

We agree that unsafe pits should be closed.

We agree that there are "other reasons" for closure.

SO FAR SO GOOD

What do we not agree about?

We do not agree about the "other reasons" for pit closures.

The NCB say that when a pit cannot be beneficially developed we should not continue to waste human or financial resources or equipment on it and we should come to an agreement on such pits.

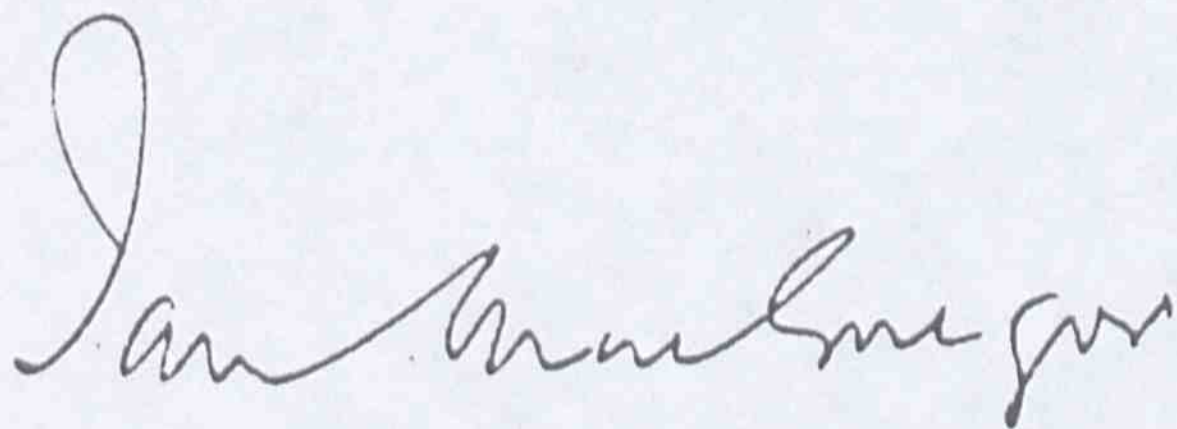
The NUM does not agree. They say pits should be kept open even when they are of no benefit to the industry.

The NCB cannot accept the NUM's position on this point, as the NCB will not sanction a policy which might do harm to the industry.

This is why the NCB refused to withdraw the proposals they put forward on March 6 which will provide security and stability in the industry. We, however, agreed to re-examine those proposals to take account of the changes that have occurred in the needs of the market and the loss of output resulting from the dispute.

So there you have it. It's a small but significant point. On the other hand, in view of the very large amount of agreement we have achieved, it seems to me, it would now be in the best interests of all of us to go back to work and resolve this dispute. That is what the Board will be trying to achieve when the negotiations resume on Wednesday.

Yours sincerely,



Concessions by NCB in talks

BY PHILIP BASSETT, LABOUR CORRESPONDENT

DRAFT agreements on pit closures put forward by each side in secret talks between the National Coal Board and the National Union of Mineworkers show significant concessions by the NCB—but also differences between the two parties which will require hard negotiating to resolve.

Texts of the agreements, released last night and published below, show how constructive has been the latest round of talks, compared to previous often bitter exchanges in earlier negotiations.

The board agrees that its proposals of March 6, calling for 4m tonnes less capacity in the industry, implying a loss of 20 pits and 20,000 jobs, will be revised, to take account of different market conditions and the loss of output from the strikes.

The NCB has agreed to reconsider pits, including Cortonwood in Yorkshire and Polmaise in Scotland which it said would close.

These are significant concessions, which for its part, on the evidence of the texts, the NUM has not yet matched. Mr Ned Smith, the NCB's industrial relations director, said last night the differences between the two sides are more than semantic—but even the NCB's wording on the definition of an

uneconomic pit allows the NUM considerable scope for argument at local level.

There are three main differences between the proposed agreements:

● The NUM wants the NCB to "withdraw" the March 9 pit closure programme. The NCB will only go as far as saying it will "re-examine" these proposals.

● The NUM is pressing that the five collieries listed by each side "will be kept open;" the NCB say that they "will be the subject of further consideration."

● While both sides agree on the key phrase, "further mineable reserves" as part of the definition of an uneconomic pit, to be found by a joint investigation by mining engineers, they differ sharply on the further definition of what that means.

The NUM says such reserves should be those which are "workable or which can be developed," while the NCB wants the word "beneficially—a substitute for 'economically'—inserted.

This is the crux of the argument—and despite the optimism from many of the parties yesterday, it is still there, still unresolved, still substantially unconceded by the NUM.

NUM DRAFT AGREEMENT:

THE National Coal Board and the National Union of Mineworkers have examined the current situation in an effort to resolve the present dispute and provide a basis for the future of the industry. Consequently, it is agreed that:

1—In light of the changed circumstances, the board has reconsidered its proposals announced on March 6 and agrees to withdraw the programme of pit closures contained therein. Any future decisions relating to collieries will be dealt with in accordance with the guidelines below.

2—In order to establish more clearly the parameters for exhaustion of reserves in line with the Plan For Coal, the following categories and procedures will apply:

(a) Collieries which are deemed exhausted in line with the Plan For Coal will be closed by joint agreement.

(b) Collieries facing severe geological difficulties, i.e.,

safety, will, again in line with the Plan For Coal, be closed by joint agreement.

(c) Where a comprehensive and in-depth investigation by the board and union's respective mining engineers shows that a colliery has no further mineable reserves that are workable or which can be developed there will be agreement between the board and union that such a colliery shall be deemed exhausted.

3—In accordance with the above procedures, the following collieries currently under discussion will be kept open in line with the union's submissions: (a) Polmaise; (b) Herrington; (c) Cortonwood; (d) Bullcliffe Wood; (e) Snowdown.

4—On the basis of the above arrangements which will establish a developing and expanding coal industry to meet future energy requirements, the board and mining unions will jointly discuss the Plan For Coal and any proposed revisions.

NCB DRAFT AGREEMENT:

THE NCB and the NUM have examined the current situation, in an effort to resolve the present dispute and provide a basis for the future of the industry. Consequently, it is agreed that:

1—In the light of the changed circumstances the board will revise the March 6 proposals and re-examine those proposals for individual areas, taking account of the changes that have occurred in the needs of the market and the loss of output resulting from the dispute.

2—The following collieries referred to specifically by the NUM—namely (a) Polmaise, (b) Herrington, (c) Cortonwood, (d) Bullcliffe Wood, (e) Snowdown will be the subject of further consideration.

3—In order to establish more clearly the parameters in respect of exhaustion of reserves—in line with principles of the Plan For Coal—it is agreed that in the future the following categories and procedures will apply:

(a) Collieries which are

exhausted in line with the principles set out in the Plan For Coal will be closed by joint agreement.

(b) Collieries facing severe geological difficulties, i.e., safety, again in line with the principles of the Plan For Coal, will be closed by joint agreement.

(c) The NCB and NUM agree that where a comprehensive and in-depth investigation by their respective mining engineers shows that a colliery has no further mineable reserves that are workable or which can be beneficially developed, there will be a joint agreement between the board and union that such a colliery shall be deemed exhausted.

4—On the basis of the above arrangements the board and the unions will jointly discuss the Plan For Coal and any proposed revision. It is agreed that these discussions will seek to identify the basis for jointly establishing and developing an expanding coal industry equipped to meet future energy requirements.

Coal Lib.

The NCB and the NUM have examined the current situation in an effort to resolve the present dispute and provide a basis for the future of a sound industry.

1. On 6 March the NCB put forward proposals designed to influence the prospects of the industry and to equate production with market requirements. There have been losses of output resulting from the dispute and changes in the needs of the market. In the light of the changed circumstances the Board will re-examine the proposals for the industry and revise the objectives for the individual areas.

2. The following collieries referred to specifically by the NUM namely (a) Polmize (b) Herrington (c) Corton Wood (d) Bullcliffe Wood and (e) Snowdown will continue in operation. Any future decisions relating to these (and other collieries) will be dealt with in accordance with the guidelines under Section 3 below.

3. In order to establish more clearly the parameters in respect of exhaustion of reserves - in line with the principles of the Plan for Coal - it is agreed that in the future the following categories and procedures will apply;

(a) Collieries which are exhausted in line with the principles set out in the Plan for Coal will be closed by joint agreement.

(b) Collieries facing severe geological difficulties ie safety again in line with the principles of the Plan for Coal will be closed by joint agreement.

(c) The NCB and the NUM agree that where a comprehensive and in depth investigation by their respective mining engineers shows that a colliery has no further mineable

reserves that are workable and which can be beneficially developed such a colliery shall be deemed exhausted.

4. On the basis of the above arrangements the NCB and the unions will jointly discuss the Plan for Coal and any proposed revision. It is agreed that these discussions will seek to identify the basis for jointly establishing the developing and expanding coal industry equipped to meet future energy requirements.

NBSRM
AT
24/7

23 July 1984

MR TURNBULL

Following our meeting with the Prime Minister on Friday, the three things we ought to follow up are:

1. Access to decent opinion data in individual mining areas - the need for more general public opinion data has been satisfied by the Sunday Express poll.
2. The need to press on with contingency planning, particularly updating the plans for a variety of possible industrial stoppages.
3. The need to do something about Coal Board publicity.



JOHN REDWOOD

SUBJECT
u Master
Ops



- O. 23.1442²
via WHCA.

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

**PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T.132/84**

Dear Ron,

I was greatly touched by your message of 18 July, and I am grateful for your thoughtfulness in sending it to me.

I did not reply immediately because I hoped that the dock strike might be settled within a few days. An agreement has now been reached and the ports are open again. The miners' dispute has not yet been resolved, but a substantial portion of the industry is at work and producing coal, and we have several months before the strike would do any substantial damage to our economy. I am confident that in due course firmness and patience will achieve a victory for the forces of moderation and commonsense which are Britain's traditional sources of strength. The issues underlying the miners' strike are serious and important and in tackling them it is good to know that we have the support of our friends.

Every good wish,

Yours ever

Raymond

The President of the United States of America.

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CABWTE 001/23

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FM CABINET OFFICE LONDON
TO THE WHITE HOUSE
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S E C R E T
MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

DEAR RON.

I WAS GREATLY TOUCHED BY YOUR MESSAGE OF 18 JULY, AND I AM GRATEFUL FOR YOUR THOUGHTFULNESS IN SENDING IT TO ME.

I DID NOT REPLY IMMEDIATELY BECAUSE I HOPED THAT THE DOCK STRIKE MIGHT BE SETTLED WITHIN A FEW DAYS. AN AGREEMENT HAS NOW BEEN REACHED AND THE PORTS ARE OPEN AGAIN. THE MINERS' DISPUTE HAS NOT YET BEEN RESOLVED, BUT A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF THE INDUSTRY IS AT WORK AND PRODUCING COAL, AND WE HAVE SEVERAL MONTHS BEFORE THE STRIKE WOULD DO ANY SUBSTANTIAL DAMAGE TO OUR ECONOMY. I AM CONFIDENT THAT IN DUE COURSE FIRMNESS AND PATIENCE WILL ACHIEVE A VICTORY FOR THE FORCES OF MODERATION AND COMMONSENSE WHICH ARE BRITAIN'S TRADITIONAL SOURCES OF STRENGTH. THE ISSUES UNDERLYING THE MINERS' STRIKE ARE SERIOUS AND IMPORTANT AND IN TACKLING THEM IT IS GOOD TO KNOW THAT WE HAVE THE SUPPORT OF OUR FRIENDS.

EVERY GOOD WISH,
YOURS EVER
MARGARET

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P.01347

PRIME MINISTER

Coal and Docks: MISC 101(84)29th Meeting

DOCKS

If the dock strike is called off tomorrow and there is a general return to work on Monday, you may like to begin with that item and ask for brief reports from the Secretaries of State for Transport and Employment:

- to tell colleagues how the dispute was finally resolved
- to draw out the implications for the handling of the coal dispute.

2. You may be interested to know that departments, through the machinery of the Civil Contingencies Unit, have been asked to pool the experience gained in the dock strike, with a view to developing, and perhaps radically revising, the plans for Service assistance.

COAL

3. You will wish to ask for the usual reports from:

- i. the Secretary of State for Energy
 - on the number of pits and miners working
 - on the publicity campaign
- ii. the Home Secretary *(Whely to be represented by the Head)*
 - on law and order

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- iii. the Secretary of State for Transport
 - on coal movements

- iv. the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry
 - on the situation at the British Steel Corporation and the effects on coal burning industry.

4. The most fruitful theme for discussion may be to consider how best to maintain the momentum for the Government and the NCB in this new phase in the campaign. We have made a fresh start with the breaking off of the talks and the publication of NCB proposals which can be generally presented as reasonable. This has been followed up by a press campaign designed to isolate Mr Scargill as intransigent and undemocratic. What are the next moves and how are they to be paced over the coming month or so, so as to stimulate an accelerating drift back to work?

NEXT MEETING

5. If there are no outstanding problems relating to the talks, and no immediate new issues relating to coal you may wish to stand down the MISC 101 meeting provisionally arranged for 3.45pm on Wednesday 25 July. There will of course be an opportunity for a discussion under the Industrial Affairs item at Cabinet on Thursday 26 July.

PLG

P L GREGSON

20 July 1984

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COVERING SECRET

Copy No 1 of 4



SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ENERGY
THAMES HOUSE SOUTH
MILLBANK LONDON SW1P 4QJ
01 211 7214

Andrew Turnbull Esq
Private Secretary to the
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

20 July 1984

Dear Andrew

POWER STATION ENDURANCE

I attach the latest report.

Copies also go to Margaret O'Mara and
Richard Hatfield.

Yours

John

J S NEILSON
Private Secretary

COVERING SECRET



POWER STATION ENDURANCE

1. Coal deliveries to CEGB power stations last week were 0.47 mt. Coal burn was 0.69 mt giving a stockdraw of 0.22 mt. CEGB coal stocks last Sunday night were 14.8 mt with a further 1.3 mt at Scottish power stations.
2. Total NCB deliveries last week were 0.65 mt of which about 0.2 mt went to customers other than power stations.
3. The average rate of coal deliveries to CEGB power stations over the period of the strike has been 0.42 mt per week. Maximum oil burn continues. The range of endurance outcomes remains as before:

<u>Average coal deliveries</u> (mt/week)	<u>Oil burn (% of max)</u>	
	<u>80%</u>	<u>100%</u>
0	late Oct	early Nov
0.3	late Nov	mid Dec
<u>0.42</u>	mid Dec	mid Jan
0.5	early Jan	early Feb

Department of Energy
18 July 1984

CONFIDENTIAL



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

MR. GREGSON
CABINET OFFICE

COAL STRIKE
WAYS OF PROLONGING ENDURANCE

The Prime Minister asked Lord Weinstock, who was lunching with her on Wednesday, whether he had any ideas about measures to prolong endurance if the coal strike continued. Lord Weinstock telephoned me yesterday, having spoken to some people at GEC and to Sir Walter Marshall, with four ideas:

- i) Nuclear stations near completion should be accelerated;
- ii) Manufacturers should be brought together to ensure that oil power stations were maintained and promptly repaired, if necessary by taking in each other's equipment;
- iii) There were a number of gas turbines available around the country which should be brought into use for generating electricity;
- iv) The present penalty in the tariffs which local electricity boards applied to people who used their own diesel generators to supply their requirements for electricity should be suspended.

Lord Weinstock will be following up these points with the Secretary of State for Energy, and there is no need for you to follow them up yourself. But the Prime Minister would be grateful for your comments on the merits of these ideas.

E. E. R. BUTLER

20 July 1984

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10 DOWNING STREET

File No
a M Ingham

From the Principal Private Secretary

B.F.

SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG

ORGANISATION TO COVER THE COAL STRIKE DURING THE HOLIDAY PERIOD

It now looks likely that the coal strike will continue during August. The Prime Minister will want to know that a satisfactory organisation is in place at Ministerial and official level to deal effectively on a daily basis with issues arising from the coal strike during the holiday period. The organisation will need to include arrangements under Ministerial supervision to put over the Government's position effectively in the media and respond quickly to outside events.

In the light of the information which your office will be collecting about Ministerial movements during the holiday period, could you please advise the Prime Minister by Friday 27 July on arrangements covering August. We will need to consider subsequently the period from 14 to 27 September when the Prime Minister is due to be abroad on an official visit.

I am copying this minute to Bernard Ingham who will be letting you have a note on his proposals for the media arrangements.

RLB

20 July 1984

PRIME MINISTER

Coal Strike: Lord Weinstock

Responding to your conversation with him at lunch yesterday, Lord Weinstock telephoned to say that he had talked to Walter Marshall and to his own people and had four specific ideas about prolonging endurance:-

- 1) Bringing into earlier operation nuclear stations near completion;
- 2) Getting the manufacturers together to ensure that oil power stations were maintained and repaired, if necessary by taking in each others equipment;
- 3) Using some gas turbines which are available around the country;
- 4) Removing the present penalty applied by Local Electricity Boards against using privately owned diesel generators to generate electricity.

Lord Weinstock said that he would put these ideas to the Secretary of State for Energy and let us know if he did not think that they were being adequately followed up. Meantime I suggest that I might get Peter Gregson's comments. Agree?

Yes not

F.E.R.B.

19 July 1984

PART 10 ends:-

HMT to AT 18.7.84

PART 11 begins:-

FERB to PM 19.7.84