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Energy
file

3rd September 1984

→ ~~DPJ~~ - To see and
return to Tessa Gardiner

AT 5/5

Mr Turnbull

To see & return
to Tessa per.

END
5/9

Drew Stagle,

The Miners' Strike

I thought you might be interested in a copy of the full report from Opinion Research and Communication's Survey on public attitudes to the miners' strike.

The report has been widely distributed by Opinion Research and Communication and can be quoted freely.

Y

Head

D.K. Britto
Deputy Director
Press and Communications

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Political Secretary,
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Business Attitudes Guide

The Miners Strike
and The Unions
August 1984

Opinion Research & Communication

THE MINERS STRIKE AND THE UNIONS.

Introduction.

A number of Business Attitude Clients have asked over recent weeks whether we planned to cover the miners' strike--particularly those who feel it might have an impact sooner or later on their business.

No serious study of the attitudes of the general public (and trade union members) has, so far as I know been made. We therefore decided once the British Steel-T & G.W.U. situation started to look serious that we should do an in depth coverage.

Of particular importance is what the TUC conference decides to do next week. A number of questions were therefore included to gauge the public view on what the posture of trade union leaders should be.

As you know we do not normally publish our Business Attitudes Guide surveys but distribute only to subscribers. On this occasion, in view of the wide public interest, we are releasing the main data to the press and, in addition, have offered it to all those with a legitimate interest: the National Coal Board, British Steel Corporation, Mr. Len Murray, General Secretary of the TUC, and other leading union Presidents and General Secretaries.

As you will see the survey shows that Mr. Scargill and his colleagues have comprehensively lost the support both of the general public and the great majority of trade union members

In addition the public is not in favour of the TUC conference giving stronger support to the strike.

Particularly significant we think is that an astonishing 95% of the public think that the other unions at the TUC Conference should start to look seriously for ways to bring the strike to an end.

The survey also gives confirmation that Mr. 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.

TABLES.

Table One.

	<u>General public.</u>	<u>trade union members.</u>
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	21	29
Not in the country's interests	71	63
dont know	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 opposed to the miners on strike to some extent	10	7
completely opposed to the miners	13	12
dont know	40	32
	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

		General public	Trade Union members
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?		
	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.

	General public	Trade Union members
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?		
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
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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.

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 public	Trade Union 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

ables 9.

Table 35

General Trade Union
public 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

The Survey Universe

The universe for the survey was the civilian population aged 18+ resident in England, Scotland and Wales.

The Sample Design

A two-stage sample design was used. At the first stage, 100 Parliamentary constituencies were selected with probability proportionate to size, after stratification by region, conurbation/urban/rural, and social grade (by using % of Labour vote at the last election). Stratification ensures that the sample of constituencies is balanced in terms of region, "urbanness", and social grade.

At the second stage, an equal-sized quota sample of individuals aged 18+ resident in each constituency was set, according to the demographic characteristics of that constituency.

The table below gives a demographic profile of the sample obtained

		Survey %	Quota set & population %
Sex	Male	48	48
	Female	52	52
Age	18 - 24	15	15
	25 - 44	36	34
	45 +	49	51
Social Class	ABC1	38	38
	C2DE	62	62

Fieldwork

All interviews were conducted personally and in the home by Harris interviewers familiar with the sampling procedures described above. All interviewers received a comprehensive written briefing prior to commencing work.

Interviews were conducted with 1074 individuals aged 18+ between August 22 and 23, 1984.

In order to ensure the accuracy of the work conducted, at least 9% of interviews were checked: a minimum of 3% by telephone and 6% by accompaniment and personal backchecks by regional supervisors.

Analysis

All questions were edited and coded at Head Office by the Harris team of coders. They were then transferred to punch cards, and mounted to tape for computer analysis. No weights were applied to the data.

Confidence Limits for Percentages Recorded in the Survey

In the strictest technical sense it is not possible to calculate confidence intervals for data based on quota sampling techniques. However, our experience with samples of this design has shown that the assumption of a "design effect" of 2.4 (equivalent to three standard errors) provides a good estimate of the 95% confidence limit, as representative quotas are issued in a set of 100 constituencies – systematically selected from all constituencies with probability proportionate to size of electorate – in order to avoid response bias.

The table below gives the 95% confidence interval (i.e. only 1 in 20 probability that a difference is due to chance), assuming a quota sample in 100 constituencies is equivalent to a random pre-selected sample with a "design effect" of 2.4 (i.e. assuming 3 standard errors).

Percentage level for total sample: %	Confidence interval around single percentages: %	Minimum difference between two percentages (single-coded question) on the same sample adding to 100% %	Minimum difference between two percentages (Multi-coded question) or the same sample: %
50	5	9	7
60/40	5	9	6
70/30	5	8	6
80/20	5	7	5
90/10	4	5	4

MINERS UP QUESTIONNAIRE

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	61
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 19
Are not 77
Don't know 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 1
approve to some extent 2
disapprove to some extent 3
strongly disapprove 94
Don't know 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 19
With working miners 74
Don't know 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 52
Quite good 37
not very good 6
bad job 4
Don't know 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
Each 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

.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.

approve	17
disapprove	73
don't know	10

25
68
7

.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

.23a The dockers

should	19
should not	75
don't know	6

28
67
6

b The steel workers

should	18
should not	77
don't know	5

26
69
4

c Railwaymen

should	19
should not	76
don't know	6

27
69
5

d Electricity supply workers

should	17
should not	78
don't know	5

24
72
4

e The seamen

should	16
should not	78
don't know	5

24
70
6

f Lorry drivers and haulage

should	19
should not	76
don't know	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..

Do you (a) approve or disapprove of this aim

approve	21	27
disapprove	70	65
don't know	9	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	29
not in country's interest	71	63
don't know	8	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
damage reputation	72	64
don't know	12	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	12
harm reputation of labour party	50	46
Have no effect	32	35
Don't know	9	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?

sensible
not sensible
don't know

82
11
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?

right	12
wrong	85
don't know	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	40
a certain number	30
a few	15
None	11
Don't know	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	75
Will not	18
don't know	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	22
Should not	69
don't know	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

Which do you think is nearest the truth..

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

17

26

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
untrue
don't know

74

19

7

69
25
6

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

approve
disapprove
don't know

14

72

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
move to help miners
don't know

14

76

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

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

would you say *RE-ADJUST*

a great deal to gain	9
a certain amount to gain	9
a certain amount to lose	14
a great deal to lose	62
Don't know	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	95
should not	3
don't know	3

95
3
3

93
2
4

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