

WORKERS FIGHT SUPPLEMENT

Price 11

SUPPORT THE MINERS

IN 1926 the leaders of the TUC called off their undefeated 9 days' General Strike and left the miners to fight on for six months alone until starved into submission.

On Monday February 7th 1972 the twelve members of the Power Workers' national negotiating committee sat round a table to discuss the Electricity Council's offer of 7 3/4% pay increase and seven of them decided to try and repeat the history of 1926 and plunge a knife into the backs of the miners.

This time there is to be no pretence of a battle and the willingness of Judas to boast of his treachery is amazing. Chapple said he advocated acceptance of the offer because of the "grave difficulties caused by the miners' fight" and because their action could "shut down vast areas of industry".

In other words their overtime ban might have been effective for themselves and the miners.

This thought was, it seems, intolerable — better to accept a settlement well short of their demands for 12%, one which means a 5% cut in real wages, and one which satisfies and reinforces the Government's Income policy!

Better postpone demands for reduction of differentials between the lower paid and the rest; and for a shorter working week to combat unemployment and redundancy!

The defeat of the miners in 1926 was bitterly an injury to all. The militant vanguard of the working class, they were put out of action for long days to come — this is their first official national strike since then. The trade unions lost millions of members and the working class faced the coming years of depression with its self-confidence already shattered.

A defeat for the miners today could have similar effects on the working class as a whole. The Government will be able to lower its 'norm' further to 6% for groups of workers such as railmen, steel workers, teachers and nurses whose demands are shortly to come up. The response to the Government's and employers' onslaught would be soured and dampened by demoralisation.

The fact that solidarity is essential for even partial victories should be obvious to a five-year-old child. Yet the traitorous bureaucrats continue their way.

Why are they not toppled by the righteous mass anger of their members?

One act of solidarity like a ripe fruit scatters seeds on fertile ground and calls forth a host of other such acts in response, breeding in the end the unity and consciousness of the class as a whole.

But an act of betrayal sterilises and kills. Its legacy of bitterness, cynicism and apathy provides the ground for its own reproduction, reinforces the foundations and power of the betrayers.

The power workers were defeated last year by the lack of class solidarity which would have countered the press-manipulated 'public outcry'. This encourages Chapple's gang to believe the power men themselves will not resist being manoeuvred into the same neglect of the miners.

What help did the postmen receive from the miners? When Jackson asked for a united claim and united struggle by public employees, Gormley was among those who turned him down.

This vicious circle of abandonment and defeat must be broken! Now!

The power workers must act unofficially for the sake of the miners of the working class as a whole, and for their own rightful claim.

We must demand of Scanlon and Jones:

SOLIDARITY IN STRUGGLE, NOT SOLIDARITY OF BUREAUCRATS. The T&GWU and the AUEW must support power workers' action

Their representatives on the negotiating Committee voted to do so but were outnumbered by the EPTU and the G&MWU.

THEIR DUTY TO THEIR MEMBERS AND TO THE MINERS MUST OVER-RIDE RESPECT FOR THE MAJORITY VOTE OF BUREAUCRATS. They must not allow themselves to be tied down, nor must their members allow them to use the vote of the EPTU and G&M scab leaders as an excuse.

The rank and file power workers paper ADVANCE has issued a leaflet calling for solidarity action from power workers, and is trying to coordinate and push forward militant action to counter Chapple's betrayal. Contact 'Advance', 68 Fountains Road, Stretford, Manchester.

Constance Leve.

Angry miners jeer the Platform at the Trafalgar Square meeting on Feb.6th



The Bosses Know The Score

Ever larger sections of the labour movement know that the miners' struggle is decisive, as far as the working class is concerned.

But let's not forget that the Tories are as keen to smash it as we in the labour movement are to defend it and aid it to win.

The Tories need a miners' defeat as much as we need a miners' victory.

A confidential document produced by the Confederation of British Industries states:

1) That the NUM is in the forefront of the trade unions' struggle at this critical time and must be beaten, particularly if the Industrial Relations Act is to have any effect in keeping up the rate of exploitation.

2) That the CBI's price restraint (bet you hadn't noticed that, brothers and sisters!) will be lifted in about October, allowing prices to rise by 10%: so they want us weak so that they'll reap the full benefits of their schemes.

We don't believe in a conspiracy theory of history, but the boss class sometimes makes us wonder!

At the very least they know which side they are on – and they mobilise their resources.

The tragedy is that the "leaders" of our side – the TUC – haven't a clue which side they are on, with the result that those in the front line, in this case the miners, are left to fight on their own.

Dockers paper calls for solidarity

We reprint an extract from a special broadsheet put out by THE HOOK, rank and file portworkers' paper.

OVER A QUARTER OF A MILLION miners are out on the first official strike since 1926. In 1926 the whole labour movement came out, in a general strike, in solidarity with the miners. The issue then was could the employers force a wage cut on the miners? That is the issue now. With the cost of living rising the way it is, the Coal Board's offer of £2 amounts to a cut in wages. The £2 works out at an increase of 7% – the maximum that the Tory government is allowing any worker to get. According to the official government figures, prices rose by 10.4% last year. If you take increased tax payments into account, the miners are facing a cut in wages of over £2.

But there is more to it than that. Prices rise at the same rate for every worker in the country, whether they be miner, docker or candlestick maker. The Tory maximum of 7% applies to every worker in the country.

It is therefore in the interests of every worker in the country that the miners win.

It is essential for the whole working class that the Tory policy of slashing the standard of living of the mass of people in this country is defeated.

The government and the employers see the miners' strike as a test case – so must it be for us.

The miners will not win if they are isolated. At the beginning of last year the Tories defeated the postmen. Not because the postmen didn't fight hard – they stayed out for 10 weeks without strike pay.

They were defeated because there was no solidarity action from the other unions, who only made token donations to the strike fund.

The miners are in the same position. They are receiving no strike pay. If they are to win then all trade unionists must organise in their support. If not then it will not be just the miners who are defeated.

On the docks this means that all coal and fuel oil for power stations must be blacked. The TUC has said only black out-of-the-ordinary movements of coal. This is a cowardly retreat.

If any coal movements at all are allowed the strike will not begin to bite for another month.

Coal is not a normal cargo at Manchester Docks, BUT WATCH OUT FOR IT. Dockers in Wales and Tilbury have already blacked

supplies, and there is every possibility that imported coal will be diverted to other ports.

Also we must demand that the TGWU puts a total ban on coal movements – not just on the docks but everywhere. It is mainly TGWU lorry drivers that shift the coal.

Many power workers belong to the TGWU. The TGWU is the most important union as far as blacking is concerned. It is up to Jack Jones to give a lead and make sure that no TGWU member handles coal until the miners have won.

But more than blacking will be needed if the Tories are to be defeated. It is vital that the Tories are not allowed to take on the working class one industry at a time.

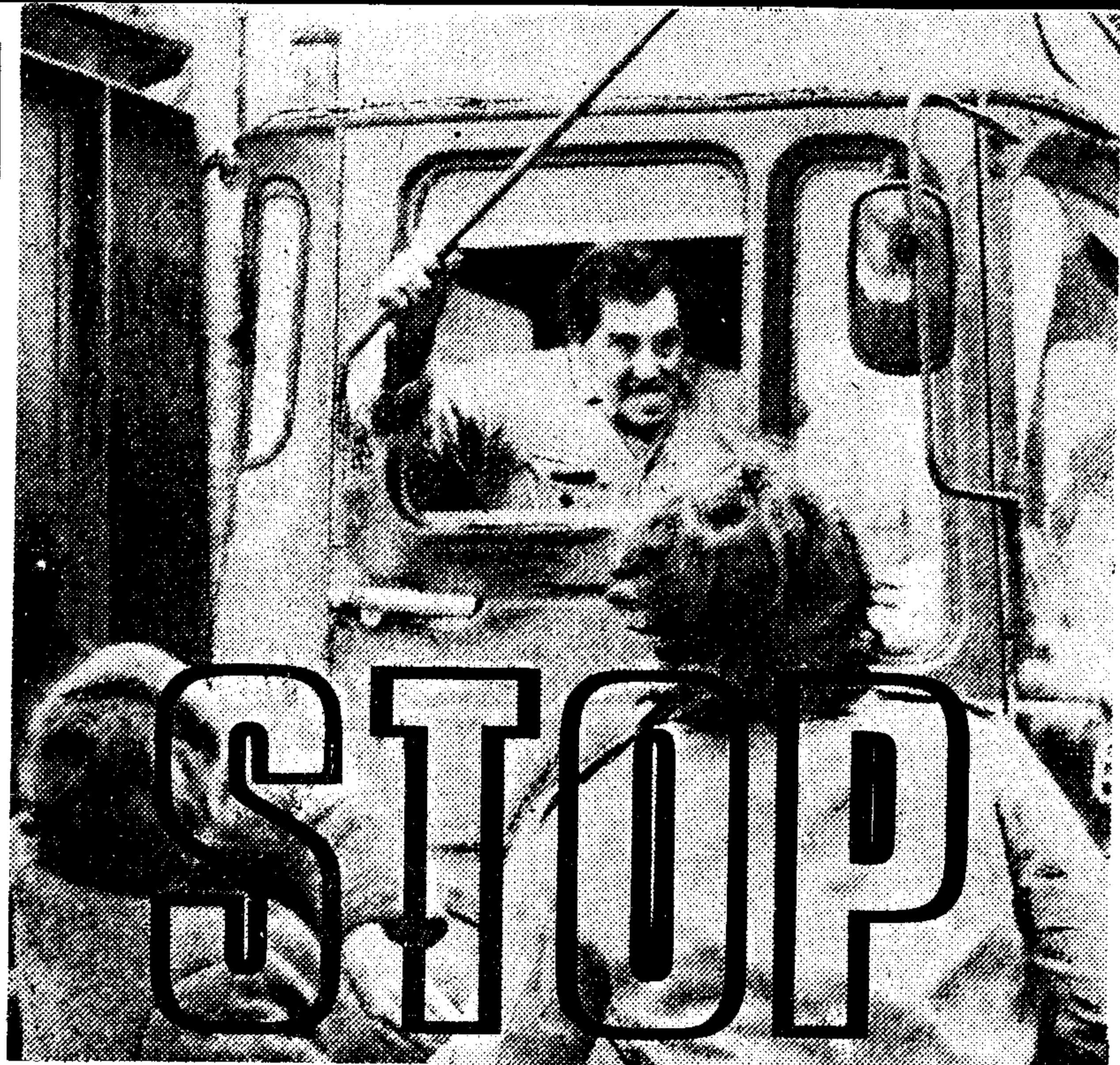
Other industries who have wage claims in the pipeline must bring forward action they are planning in order to create a united front, with the miners, against the Tories.

This applies particularly to the power workers who are due to start their ban on overtime on February 1st.

But it also applies to dockworkers. Dockworkers and miners are in the same boat in one very important matter – in the mines the employers' drive for more productivity has meant that the labour force has been cut by more than half in ten years. It is exactly the same story we know so well in the ports.

The National Shop Stewards Committee is meeting to discuss what should be done about the latest threat to jobs concealed in the employers' plans to put up to 2,000 men on the unattached register.

They must speed up their plan of action against this threat and join with the struggle of the miners. ...



RATTING ON THE MINERS

NERO fiddled – so they say – while Rome burned. Nero was mad – stark, raving mad.

Vic Feather and the TUC have no such excuse for the criminal indifference (at best) with which they placidly watch the dogged, magnificent battle of the miners – and do nothing whatsoever to help.

The miners' strike is a confrontation with the Government and its wage policy, and therefore every worker has a clear stake, a clear bread and butter stake, in seeing that the miners and not the Tories come off best.

The miners have given a lead – and are now isolated and in danger of being slowly starved into submission. There is maximum public sympathy – and a minimum of effective solidarity action.

For the other unions it is business as usual: keep your heads down boys, avoid straight scabbing, but go on with your routine work even when that work is helping to break the miners' strike – that's their line. So far the transport Union and the power workers' Union have withheld the active support for the miners which could hit home hard at the NCB and the Government and would face the Government with the choice of either abandoning its 7% ceiling on wage-claims or else taking on the whole strength of organised labour.

SCABS

Scabbing – downright and blatant – is the only word for the cowardly decision of the EPTU leaders not to link up the power workers' pay claim with

that of the miners in a joint strike. It is scabbing on the miners and scabbing on the power workers. Such a combined strike would smash the 7% norm in a matter of days – and would also strike at the Industrial Relations Act: how would the Government, at this stage, enforce its laws, if miners and power workers decided to defy them?

It is only a year since the Press and TV withhunted the power workers into surrendering to the Government: it can happen again, particularly if the miners go down in defeat. But the EPTU leaders are shortsighted men. The miserable Chappel, a bureaucratic bully-boy within the ETU, even tried to ingratiate himself by thinking out loud about the possibility of waiting for the miners' strike to end before beginning an overtime ban!

The reactionary gang which runs the EPTU like a military dictatorship, having been put in control by a High Court judge to defend 'democracy', make a profession and a good living by scabbing and strike-breaking, usually against the unfortunate members of their own Union.

T.U.C.

The refusal of the TUC to give active support to the miners only escapes the stigma of strike breaking because that term is usually applied to those who cross picket lines. But there is more than one way to scab on a strike.

The scab driver who breaks a picket line is an open and visible enemy. We can see which side he is on. The TUC leaders parade about as leaders of labour. Yet they do immensely more damage than any group of

scab drivers. They could end the strike in a miners' victory in 3 days flat - if they would only exert themselves. In refusing to use its strength to make the miners' strike as effective as possible, the TUC's attitude is nothing short of strike-breaking.

'LEFTS'

Worst of all is the refusal of active support by the Left trade union leaders, Jones and Scanlon. It is the worst because they are left. Because many workers look to them for a lead. Because the responsibility is theirs to mobilise, organise and lead the labour movement in the fight back against the biggest bosses' offensive against working class wages and conditions for more than 30 years, an offensive backed up by all the power of the Tory Government and the state machine.

All of them talk against the Tory pay policy - and all of them regard the miners' strike, which is militantly challenging that policy, as an embarrassment. They act as if they want nothing so much as its end - almost on any terms.

They are acting like men desperately trying to pretend they are in an entirely different situation from that facing the working class now.

But the Tories are attacking the workers. Unemployment is galloping. Reactionary anti-union legislation is on the Statute Books, and they will attempt to use it. There is an effective wage ceiling which is lower than the present annual rise in the cost of living. And that situation won't be changed by pretending it doesn't exist. It will be changed by the flexed strength of the working class, against fierce resistance from the bosses - or not at all.

The head-in-the-sand, do-nothing policy of the TUC leadership is criminal because it is so totally out of touch with the reality of the situation facing the class today.

SOLIDARITY

It is also out of touch with the feelings of growing numbers of workers. The massive popular support for the miners stands in stark and accusing contrast to the inactivity of the official movement. Dockers, the vast majority of T&G drivers and some power workers have taken solidarity action. (For example in Rugeley, Staffordshire, power men have banned the movement of coal inside the power station.) The enthusiastic mass picketing which includes pickets by miners' wives, has had a big effect. Publicity has been given to clashes between pickets and scabs, particularly NCB clerks, but not to the support for the mine strike among NCB clerks in places like Newcastle on Tyne.

But not enough rank and file solidarity has been given. And not in the places where it would be most effective.

So the miners fight on alone. And they fight with everything they have. The report from every area is - 100% solid support for the strike. Areas which voted against strike action in the recent ballot are now amongst the most determined in the country. As the strike continues the attitudes of the miners harden, their will to win growing as inflexible as the flint-faced Toryism of Edward Heath's Government.

DANGER

The danger to the miners now is that their own drawn-out struggle, the widespread public sympathy and the growing talk of making the miners' wage-claim "a special case" (to which Government policy will not apply), will all combine to produce a pay rise - with strings.

Productivity strings - including the closure of certain pits.

The whole recent history of the NUM leadership shows that this is more than a mere possibility, and that they will bear watching on that score. If the miners win a wage increase together with strings which before long put many of them on the dole, it will be a hollow mockery of the great effort miners - and their families - are now making.

HELP THE STRIKE!

Workers must demand that the TUC should instruct all its members to stop all movement of coal (not just 'abnormal' movements). Dockers and transport workers must black all coal. The NUM should call on power workers to refuse to move coal stocks inside power stations. And all movements of oil should be blacked.

And there must be no sell out on productivity bargaining or pit closures! If the NCB wants to use the strike or 'safety' as an excuse to close pits and throw men onto the scrapheap, the response must be that it is their responsibility and their fault. It was their responsibility to end the strike quickly by paying up a decent wage - and it is their responsibility to provide work or full pay for the men at those pits.

RANK & FILE MOVEMENT

The urgent lesson of the strike must be understood: that the Labour and trade union leaders will not lead a real fight; that the vital need is for a rank and file organisation to link up the militants in the different industries and to plan class action, an across-the-class response to the Tory onslaught on the whole class.

In areas like Manchester such links exist, as yet in a weak form, in the Councils of Action which have survived from the high point of the opposition to the Industrial Relations Bill. Similar militant Councils can be created everywhere and must be strengthened wherever they exist.

DEMAND

the full claim

ON FEBRUARY 4th, miners lucky enough to read a copy of the GUARDIAN, could read an article giving detailed facts backing up the NUM pay claim.

The article was a summary of notes produced by the Trade Union Research Unit at Ruskin College. These notes were commissioned by the NUM, at a cost of £400.

The T&GWU commissioned similar notes for their wage claim at Fords last year - and issued the notes in pamphlet form to all members concerned. The result was that the workers knew the basis for their claim.

Why hasn't the NUM put out the Ruskin notes as a pamphlet? Why hasn't it even informed its members that the notes have been commissioned? Is it because the top union officials want the membership to believe that the gap between the claim and the Government's offer is, as Joe Gormley says, narrow, whilst the notes on the other hand show clearly how essential the claim is and how wide the gap is between the claim and the offer.

WAGES

First, the notes show that the Government offer means a cut in real wages. Real take home pay for a surface worker with two children would go down 32p; for a power loader with two children, £1.15p.

These figures are under-estimates. They ignore such factors as the means-tested welfare benefits which miners will lose when their money wages rise, and the increase in rents of NCB houses.

In fact, from April 1967 to April 1971, the 'constant price' wages for all manufacturing industry went up by 12%. Since April 1971 "the purchasing power of the average miner's earnings has fallen further. So that the true figure is about 5% lower 'constant price' earnings in 1971 than in 1967".

"It is ironic" the authors note, "that it was during the later years of the incomes policy that the slide in the relative position of miners' pay became more marked." So much for the idea that the Labour Incomes Policy increased social justice at the expense of inequality.

The result is that "10% of all miners working a full week had gross earnings less than £20. This is of course before deductions and taxation." "Miners would now need an average increase of over £5 a week to put them back to their 1967 position compared with other workers."

PRODUCTIVITY

"Over the last four years from 1967-8 to 1971-2 the proceeds per man-shift for the NCB have risen by between 55% and 60%. But, for the average miner, the four-year comparison in earnings is no more than about a quarter, or 25%.

"The comparison is particularly adverse in the case of face workers. The NCB statistics show that cash earnings of face workers per man-shift rose only 17% in the three years from 1967-8 to 1970-71. ... Thus, a productivity rise of 20% in three years on mechanised faces went hand in hand with an absolute fall in the earnings after adjusting for retail price increases."

And still Gormley talks in terms of productivity bargaining! No wonder he wasn't keen to put out the notes to the NUM membership!

PROFITS

"...Miners have to produce an operating surplus of £100 million a year before the Coal Board accounts start to show a profit." The reason is that "since the mid-1960s the coal industry has been denied the investment grants which were extended to manufacturing and thereby to the oil industry. It has had to borrow at fixed interest." "Subsidies to manufacturing and transport were well over 20 times as great as the subsidies extended to the Coal Industry."

For example, "Had the NCB been given the 'regional employment premium', it would have added about £40 million to Coal Board income..."

So the Coal Industry is saddled with a massive load of interest payments. When the accounts show the Coal Board just breaking even, it is in fact making an operating profit of £7 per week per mineworker!

TEST CASE

Two points come out clearly from the Ruskin notes.

Firstly, that miners must stick out for their full claim is they are to avoid a fall in living standards.

Secondly, that the Government's motives in resisting the miners are nothing to do with the finances of the Coal Board. They are using miners as a test case. Their motive is to keep the norm for wage increases at 7% - that is, 7% in money terms: which means a cut of 5% in real terms.

The issue is whether the Government can force down the living standards of the entire working class.

Martin Thomas



Our deepest sympathies to the

family and comrades

of

FRED MATTHEWS

Killed in action in the class war

National Picket Line

NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE

NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE was one of the areas that failed to produce a majority in the strike ballot. But since then things have changed. The determination of the Government to cut down miners' living standards has produced an equal determination on the strikers' side. No coal is being produced, and no coal or oil is going into power stations.

Support is being given by T&GWU drivers, and even payments of £10 a load aren't persuading non-union drivers to brave the picket lines.

In Rugeley miners' wives have joined the picket lines. And in Stoke the Women's Action Group and the Claimant's Union have organised a meeting for miners' wives to plan more effective ways for them to help win the strike.

CLOSURES

Two faces have been closed in North Staffs: one at Chatterley Whitfield and one at Florence. Both were due to be closed soon anyway. Both could very easily have been sealed off before the strike started. So the NCB's public cries of horror have little impact.

The way the NCB and the Press are operating was shown by a report in a local paper on February 7th. The reporter asked whether there was a danger of explosion on the face at Chatterley Whitfield. The power group president at the colliery replied: "No, not an explosion. The face is dangerous, though."

This came out in the paper as the headline: "City Union chief warns of blast danger at pit!"

SOLIDARITY

Another main theme is the need for solidarity. "You've got to have all the unions acting together; it's no good leaving single unions isolated, like the post office workers."

Militants moving into action are angry about the failures of the official leadership on this front. The full time officials of the Area Liaison Committee have not done their job properly. They have not organised the distribution of publicity putting the miners' case and calling for soli-

arity in the labour movement. They have not done any properly organised collections. They have even been sloppy in organising pickets - coal was allowed to go to one power station, at Kidderminster, for several days before they organised pickets. They have acted as a brake on the strike.

It is often difficult even to find these "leaders". Two days a week they are ... in court, carrying out their functions as JPs! As one militant put it, if they spend half their time in court condemning people who go against the system, you can hardly expect them to give much of a lead to the miners in their fight against the system the other half of the time.

Individual collieries have been stepping in where the Area Liaison Committee has failed. One thing they have done is to set up claimants' committees to make sure that strikers get their full Social Security rights.

But there is still an urgent need for co-ordination between the collieries - even on the simple level of exchanging information.

A MISSED CHANCE

A meeting on January 26th in Hanley, organised by the International Socialists with the backing of several local NUM lodges, brought together over 300 mineworkers and other trade unionists to call for a united front against the Tories.

Gwyn Reed, from Doncaster NUM, insisted that the strike must ensure no redundancies as well as the wage claim: "We should stay out on the question of pit closures as solidly as on the issue of wages."

Wally Preston, secretary of the Manchester Combine of Electricity Supply Shop Stewards, called for rank and file unity.

Paul Nixon gave a message of support from North Staffs NUR. But the fact that coal has nevertheless been moved by NUR men at Birchenwood Gas & Coke Co. points out the need for rank and file organisation of solidarity as well as official resolutions.

Peter O'Neill, Hem Heath branch president, stressed that the demand is for £35/£28/26, not a penny less. *The gap is wide, not narrow.*

Unfortunately, the meeting did not go on to organise around these points. The final speaker from IS, while strongly denouncing the official leadership, made no call for action except to ask people to attend the IS industrial conference.

Members of Workers' Fight and of the International Marxist Group put forward proposals to set up a Council of Action, which were well received - but the platform managed to flannel its way through and dissolve the meeting in a maximum of good intentions and a minimum of definite action.

A COUNCIL OF ACTION

The idea is that where the area Liaison Committee has failed, there the rank and file should step in, in a co-ordinated manner.

The first step is being taken locally at a meeting of mineworkers, power workers, railway workers and other trade unionists prepared to join the common front against the Tories. Further action could centre around producing a strike bulletin and publicity to gain solidarity among other sections of workers.

The attitude of the Area Liaison Committee to any rank and file organisation was shown by their response to the IS meeting, which they denounced with a "warning" that "militant groups of workers who attempt to pursue 'independent' lines of action will be severely reprimanded." Rank and file action is denounced as "disruption", "splitting", "divisive" and so on.

Some good militants, too, will have doubts about the idea. Gwyn Reed said at the IS meeting "The Union officials are not an issue at present." Peter O'Neill said "When this struggle is over, the wind of change will blow in the NUM." But the fact is that the Union officials are an issue at the present.

When they line up with the press in condemning "extremists" and "excessive militancy" among miners, they are being divisive.

Given half a chance, they will sell the miners - and the whole labour movement - down the river. The fight to stop them doing that is not a fight against unity. It is the fight for real unity, rank and file unity.

John Sterling

DURHAM & NORTHUMBERLAND

Miners marched through Washington, Co. Durham, last week chanting "strikes don't last, memories do" in protest against a shopkeeper who was using the strike as an excuse to put his prices up. He was charging up to £20 a ton for pre-packed coal, compared with the pithead prices of £5.

Miners are picketing the North Durham Coal Board Headquarters at Whitburn where, contrary to reports in the press and on TV, many clerical workers are supporting the strikers by not crossing the picket lines.

Miners have experienced "police neutrality" at Woodhorn Colliery, Northumberland. Alex Wallace, local NUM Chairman, said that Police were using "heavy mob" tactics against the pickets: "The Police came in using brute force" Mr. Wallace said. "The pickets were just

pushed to one side, forced against allotment railings and some of them fell down. The Policemen were backheeling and putting the boot in."

Miners at Ellington Colliery are angry because NACODS members are doing miners' jobs and more of them are working at the colliery than usual.

John Foster

LANCASHIRE

7 pickets were arrested at Fiddlers Ferry after Police action which was described by one miner as "abusive, aggressive and obviously planned, and an attempt to intimidate the lads" - they were bound over to keep the peace.

At 8pm on Sunday 6th, pickets were manning lines at Fiddlers Ferry Power Station when 27 police arrived and escorted a tanker (Hydrogen Gas Air Products, reg. VTE 604H) through the picket line. The police then left.

At 2am, Monday morning, 37 police arrived to escort the same tanker out of the power station.

At a meeting between police officers and pickets the Chief Constable admitted his men had overstepped their duty.

However, no policemen were bound over to keep the peace!

Stephen Boyd

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I would like to know more about
Workers' Fight.

NAME

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SOLIDARITY

ACTIONS

NATSOPA, the print union, called a one-hour stoppage in sympathy with Freddy Matthews' family and in support of the miners' claim.

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Austins Longbridge called a one-day strike and joined the picket at Saltley Gas Works on 8th. February. Birmingham East district committee of the AUEW are calling a mass picket for 10th. February at Saltley.

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Unofficial overtime bans are going ahead at a number of London power stations. Workers at Rugeley power station have refused to move coal stocks between the 'A' and 'B' stations in the complex.

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Electricity Supply shop stewards in Manchester, Liverpool, London and Edinburgh have passed resolutions of support for the miners.

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Workers at North Tees power station have assured miners that no new coal will be handled and that pickets are unnecessary.

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At a mass meeting on 18th January Bristol dockers voted 700 to 12 to black all coal for the duration of the strike. Similar backing is being given by dockers in Middlesbrough and elsewhere.

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At the British Leyland Cowley works workers are refusing to allow a coal powered plant to switch to oil and are blacking oil coming in by lorry.

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S.U. Carbuettors in Birmingham called a one-day strike in solidarity with the miners.

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"To mean anything, support for the miners must be more than just so many fine words. We must refuse to handle any coal or coke which is stockpiled to keep plants running during the strike; we must organise financial support for the miners - hold collections in your workplace" - from Teesside steelworkers' bulletin "Real Steel News".

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Shop stewards at Lackenby steel works, Teesside, have agreed to collect for cash and food parcels to help hardship cases among strikers, and have joined miners on the picket lines.

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Workers at Rists Wires and Cables factory in Newcastle, Staffs, have "adopted" Holditch colliery, and are providing regular food parcels for hardship cases.

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Rolls Royce workers in Coventry have collected £350 for the miners.

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In some areas local Councils have pledged support for the miners. In Rugeley (Staffs) the Council have erected huts for pickets, supplied them with cups and saucers, and waived the payment of rents until the end of the strike. In Redworth (Warwickshire) the area's 1500 miners are promised every help to alleviate hardship. In Clay Cross (Derbyshire) similar backing has been given.

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