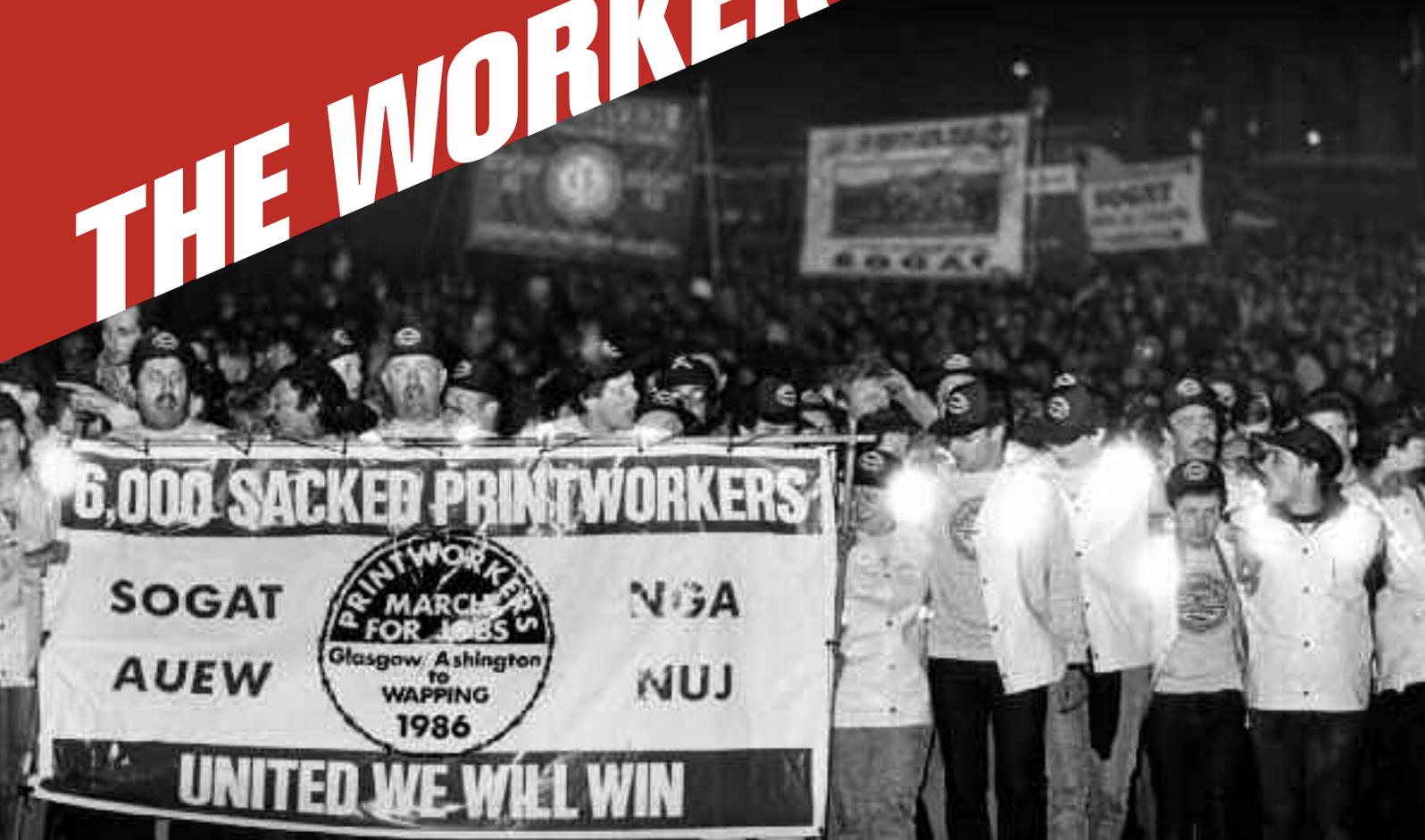


SOGAT NGA AUEW NUJ

NEWS INTERNATIONAL WAPPING - 25 YEARS ON

THE WORKERS' STORY



DEDICATION

This Guide, *The Workers' Story* and the Exhibition *The News International Dispute: 25 years on*, have been put together by print workers and trade unionists involved in the dispute.

The Exhibition is being held throughout May 2011 at the Marx Memorial Library in Clerkenwell, an area long associated with the labour movement and the printing industry. It will be displayed in other locations later in the year.

Those of us involved in the compilation of the material acknowledge the generous support of Unite/GPM sector, the National Union of Journalists, the Campaign for Press & Broadcasting Freedom and the Marx Memorial Library that has made this venture possible.

While reflecting the point of view of the supporting organisations, the Exhibition and the Guide give a voice to the sacked workers and their families whose lives were changed for ever by the dispute. We dedicate our efforts to them and to the principles for which they fought.



These were the trade unions involved in the News International dispute:

SOGAT

Society of Graphical & Allied Trades

NGA

National Graphical Association

AUEW

Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers

NUJ

National Union of Journalists

THE WORKERS' STORY

In January 1986, a momentous year-long industrial dispute began when Rupert Murdoch, the owner of the *The Sun*, *News of the World*, *The Times* and *The Sunday Times*, plotted to move production of his papers overnight from central London's Fleet Street to a secretly equipped and heavily guarded plant at Wapping, a docklands district to the east.

This led to the strike by print unions at Murdoch's papers who fought to save thousands of jobs and the basic rights of workers to organise in defence of their conditions.

The Wapping dispute, as it became known, was a revolution in Fleet Street. It brought to an end centuries of tradition in one of London's last manufacturing industries. Six thousand men and women lost their jobs, many suffering long-term consequences.

During the dispute clashes between the Metropolitan Police and strikers and the use of controversial new industrial relations laws designed to shackle the unions' traditional freedoms, led to other newspapers rapidly enforcing changes in technology and industrial relations at their own titles.

Within a few years all the major newspaper and news organisations had left Fleet Street. Journalists, transport workers, electricians, local government workers, academics and others were also caught up in the dispute that had international ramifications for Murdoch's burgeoning press and broadcasting empire in the United States and around the world.

It all took place during a turbulent period in Britain's post-war history as Margaret Thatcher presided over an economic, political and social upheaval.

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HISTORIC FLEET STREET

The Wapping dispute marked the beginning of the end of Fleet Street newspaper production. Newspapers were first published there in the early eighteenth century: *The Times* dates back to 1785 and the *News of the World*, with its diet of crime, scandal and sport, first appeared in 1843. By the early twentieth century, Fleet Street was synonymous with national newspapers, a highly commercialised, competitive industry whose owners enjoyed political clout and social prestige.

Literate and skilled, printers were among the first to organise trade unions. Previously craft guilds had regulated prices, discipline and entry to the trade. The new unions inherited many of their traditions. These included the word chapel that became the name for workplace or department union organisation.

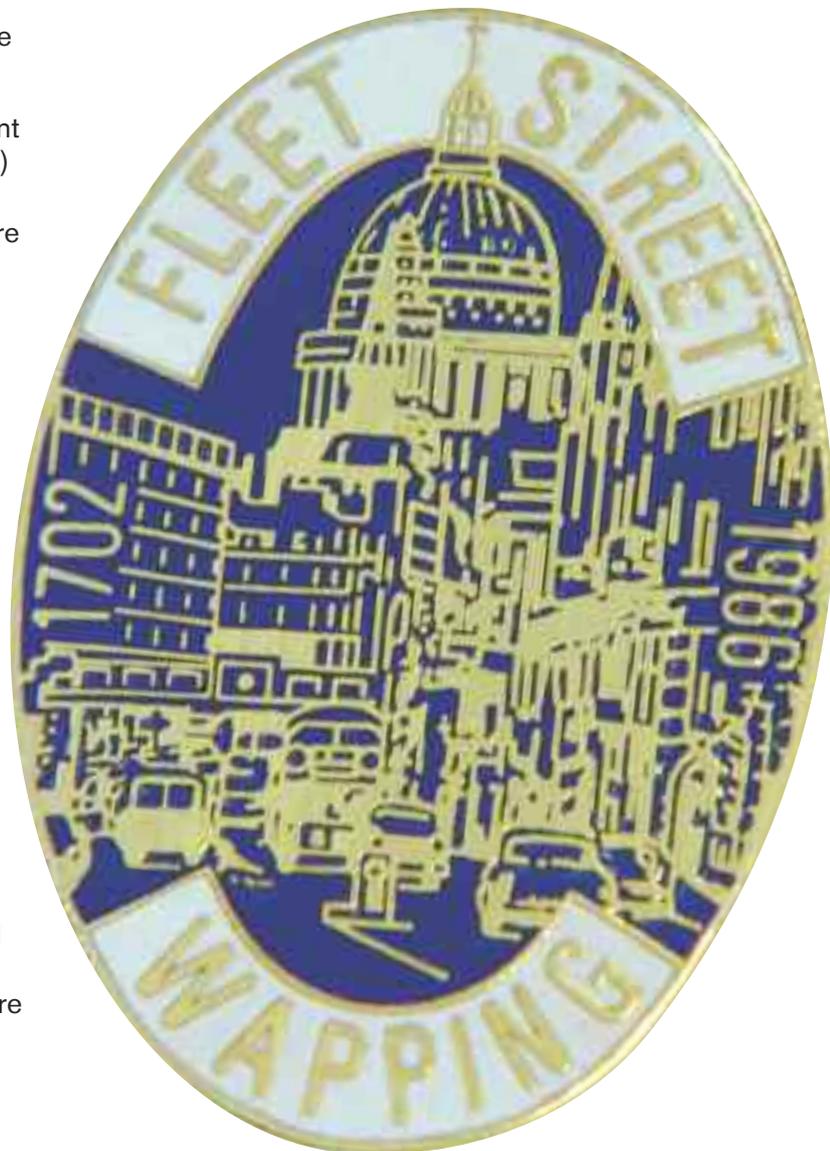
By 1982 a process of mergers meant the principal print unions were the National Graphical Association (NGA) and the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades (SOGAT) that included office staff, many of whom were women. But the chapels survived, and in Fleet Street they enjoyed considerable autonomy.

During Fleet Street's post-war boom from the early 1950s, many newspaper owners were happy to see wages rise, especially if this put pressure on their competitors. But from the late 1960s industrial relations often were strained and disputes increased, usually over pay, jobs, or working practices and demarcation. Also there were stoppages in support of other workers or issues, such as the NHS, the miners, and occasionally challenges to vindictive or offensive material in newspaper columns with attempts to exert a right of reply.

In 1976 print union leaders promoted a Programme for Action developed with the employers to deal with industry problems related to jobs, costs and new technology but this was rejected by members who feared job cuts and lower wages. It also reflected wider British industry where workers were seeking to maintain and improve their pay and conditions and were wanting a greater say in their working lives.

Chapel organisation based on a closed-shop system of 100 per cent membership and unions organising the supply of permanent and temporary labour, meant that many but not all Fleet Street workers enjoyed higher-than-average wages.

The stereotypical image of the overpaid Fleet Street printer ignored the fact that newspaper and print workers were among the highest-paid workers in most western countries, and that the confrontation over jobs and new technology came later to the UK than elsewhere as a result of the strength of the Fleet Street chapels.



NUJ
NATIONAL UNION
OF
JOURNALISTS
www.nuj.org.uk

THE RISE OF RUPERT MURDOCH

Rupert Murdoch was born in 1931, the son of a leading Australian journalist and newspaper proprietor. Murdoch went to Oxford and got his first taste of Fleet Street at the *Daily Express*. However, when he was 22 his father died and he returned to Australia to rebuild and expand the family business, buying and launching new papers and acquiring interests in television.

In 1969 Murdoch acquired the *News of the World*, his first British newspaper, after a battle with rival proprietor Robert Maxwell. Later the same year he bought *The Sun*, whose publishers also owned the *Daily Mirror*. To help secure the sale, print unions at *The Sun* agreed lower than normal staffing levels and the paper became the stablemate of the *News of the World*.

Murdoch and his editors transformed *The Sun* which had been an ailing pro-Labour paper. Soon it was a commercial success but it was also highly controversial because of its topless models, its aggressively jingoistic reporting of the Falklands War and its enthusiastic support for Margaret Thatcher, the new Tory Prime Minister who was elected in May 1979.

In 1981 Murdoch bought *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* that were based in Gray's Inn Road and had been owned by Lord Thomson of Fleet's International Thomson Organisation. For almost a year between 1978 and 1979 these titles had been suspended following a dispute over new technology and staffing levels.

Following the sale Murdoch secured union agreement to move to a photocomposition process. But after he removed Harold Evans as editor of *The Times* there were fears for that paper's editorial independence. *The Sunday Times* that had built a reputation for powerful investigative journalism, was later encouraged by Murdoch to publish what turned out to be fake Hitler diaries. This severely damaged the newspaper's credibility.

Fleet Street was synonymous with national newspapers – a highly commercialised, competitive industry, whose owners enjoyed political clout and social prestige

Andrew Neil, the new editor of *The Sunday Times*, became a supporter of Eddy Shah, a provincial free-sheet newspaper publisher who won a bitter dispute with the NGA by using Thatcher's new industrial relations laws. Neil encouraged Shah to launch a new national paper as a way of weakening Fleet Street unions.

Meanwhile, Murdoch was continuing to expand his empire in the United States and eventually he took US citizenship. Increasingly he was dependent on his cash flow rising well above the £47 million profit made in 1985 by his British newspapers to finance his plans to monopolise the media on both sides of the Atlantic.

1986: the Australian journalists' union campaigned against Murdoch's influence on the press.



First issue of *The Times* printed in Wapping, January 27 1986, boasting about the move.

ORIGINS OF THE DISPUTE

News International and other newspaper companies decided to move from Fleet Street following lucrative subsidies being made available for relocation to the Docklands Redevelopment area.

The Wapping site was bought in 1979 and the plan to move there was announced to News Group Newspapers' employees.

It would be a massive change. Fleet Street was a huge, tight-knit community with Bouverie Street right at its heart. But dirty, dangerous conditions, equipment and machinery thrashed nightly, produced millions of copies of *The Sun* and *News of the World*. Massive lorries delivered tonnes of newsprint every day through narrow streets to all the newspapers. Many felt that moves were inevitable, along with much-anticipated technological changes.

Negotiations began in 1983 but came to a halt in early 1985. Several chapels accepted the company's proposals, but the management quickly backtracked. Months of silence ensued. Throughout 1985 the unions at Bouverie Street were constantly rebuffed if they brought up the subject of Wapping and three FoCs (Fathers of the Chapel, or workplace union representatives) were disciplined.

Suspensions were intensified as news filtered out from Wapping and from Southampton where electricians and other workers were being recruited in collaboration with the electricians' union (EETPU) and bussed to Wapping on a daily basis.

Finally, the company agreed to meet the unions in September. Murdoch stipulated that negotiations for relocation of *The Sun* and *News of the World* to Wapping would not start unless agreement was reached for a new daily evening paper to be called *The London Post*. New employment conditions would have to apply and a Christmas deadline was set for compliance.

The Times and *The Sunday Times* workers, who had not been involved so far, began to feel threatened as the Christmas deadline passed. Murdoch announced that *The London Post* would go ahead without the unions and served notice of termination of all News Group and Times Newspapers chapels' agreements and employment conditions.

Other key aspects included the unfettered right of management to change any element of work or conditions of employment

On 1 November 1985 the company delivered an ultimatum demanding acceptance of a legally binding agreement that neither a worker nor a union could challenge, nor refuse any management action or decision without the risk of being sued, thus eliminating individual as well as collective rights. Other key aspects included the unfettered right of management to change any element of work or conditions of employment, no recognition of chapels, no closed shop and no strike or industrial action of any kind.

He also refused to guarantee staff an opportunity to relocate and maintain their pay and conditions. A strike action ballot was held.

After printing a supplement for *The Sunday Times* at Wapping on 19 January 1986, Murdoch announced in the newspaper's columns that Wapping had the capacity to print all four of his newspapers.

The strike-action ballot results showed overwhelming support for industrial action. Two days later journalists at *The Sun*, who were offered a £2,000 bribe by the company, voted by 100 to eight to go to Wapping. The unions offered last-ditch concessions but the company rejected them and negotiations broke down irrevocably.

On the following day, Friday, 24 January 1986, the strike began.



How News International announced Wapping to its staff.



The only dummy produced for *The London Post*, fictitious evening paper invented by Murdoch to justify moves against the unions.



Union leaders announcing the strike ballot result, January 23 1986.



The NGA journal *PRINT* slammed Murdoch's industrial tactics.

THE STRIKERS IN ACTION

News International began sacking the 5500 men and women on its permanent staff and hundreds of regular casuals and temps within half an hour of the strike beginning.

All work on *The Times*, *The Sunday Times*, *The Sun* and *News of the World* was immediately switched to Wapping. The journalists' chapels voted to transfer to Wapping. Those who refused, "the refuseniks", were sacked along with the rest of the workforce.

As scab labour organised by the EETPU produced newspapers inside the plant, sacked workers picketed outside. Union members in other companies handling work for Murdoch's papers banned News International work. Print union members in Manchester stopped working on the *News of the World*.

Sympathy action and picketing were challenged immediately in the courts by News International. They secured court decisions forbidding all solidarity action within days of the dispute starting. SOGAT and NGA were fined and other unions including TGWU, NUR (now RMT) and Post Office workers (now UCW) also were banned from taking action to support sacked SOGAT, NGA and AEUW workers. A few weeks later all SOGAT assets and funds were seized, or sequestered, because of the union's refusal to comply with a court order to lift a ban on the wholesale distribution and handling of News International titles.

Demonstrations and picketing to try to prevent speeding TNT lorries leaving the Wapping plant continued. Wholesale workers in London banned the scab papers. The company got round this by

using TNT juggernauts instead of trains to take newspapers to depots nationwide. Union members outside London continued to handle all four titles. Print union members and supporters picketed these wholesale depots and the new TNT depots. Self-employed vans, known as white mice, distributed supplies in the London area.

Members willingly volunteered for flying-picket duty. Many were very successful and the effort and risks associated with these trips were much appreciated by strikers who took great inspiration from such selfless actions.



Flying pickets stop a TNT truck leaving a depot.

The company secured court decisions forbidding all solidarity action within days of the dispute starting

Despite the court ban on effective picketing at the Wapping factory gates and the depots, and SOGAT purging its contempt by lifting its ban, picketing and demonstrations continued until February 1987 when, under threat of further legal action, first SOGAT and then the NGA decided to end the dispute. London wholesale workers never resumed work on News International titles as these remained permanently with TNT. All national newspaper distribution was transferred from rail to road during 1988.



Print workers on one of the regular marches to the Wapping plant.



THE LAWS ON MURDOCH'S SIDE

Rupert Murdoch and his managers had everything set up for the strike: a new workforce, a fortified workplace and a road-transport contract to distribute his newspapers. He had a guarantee of police support as brutal as needed to stop effective picketing and the law was on his side thanks to a series of anti-union measures brought in by Thatcher's Tory government.

Six major Acts of Parliament between 1980 and 1993 were at the core of Thatcher's project to destroy trade unions in pursuit of her vision of a competitive rather than a collective society.

She had no more fervent support than from Murdoch and his newspapers, especially *The Sun*, and few employers benefited more from these new laws. His plans for the Wapping dispute were built on their provisions.

By 1986 there had been three significant changes. The 1980 Employment Act outlawed secondary action, or sympathy strikes in which workers previously would have taken action in support of others. Picket lines were limited to six workers, making picketing ineffective, especially at big workplaces such as Wapping where huge trucks and a 2000-strong scab workforce were crossing picket lines daily.

The 1982 Employment Act limited the grounds for industrial action to the pay, jobs and conditions of the workers concerned. So-called political strike action was made illegal. It also made unions liable in law for damages arising from disputes. Up to £250,000 could be seized by the courts, or sequestered, from union funds.

These measures ensured that any trade union action in support of the sacked workers by mass picketing or by banning the processing or handling of News International work or supplies would be illegal.

Six major Acts of Parliament between 1980 and 1993 – were at the core of Thatcher's project to destroy trade unions

The 1984 Trade Union Act compelled unions to hold secret ballots of individual members before calling industrial action, to enable employers to plan carefully for the effects of union action. The act also was hidebound with petty conditions concerning notification and the identities of workers taking part that made ballot results easily open to legal challenge.

There were further hurdles for unions to jump. The 1986 Public Order Act that introduced criminal offences related to picketing, meant that anyone attempting to organise a real and effective picket line could face arrest or jail.

The benefits of the law were spelt out for Murdoch's managers by their legal advisers at Farrer & Co, who were also the Queen's solicitors. They followed advice given in the notorious Farrer's letter that was leaked to unions during the strike. The letter described how the overnight sacking of more than 5500 people without compensation could be organised so as to be perfectly lawful!

“... if a moment came when it was necessary to dispense with the present workforces at TNL and NGN, the cheapest way of doing so would be to dismiss employees while participating in a strike or other industrial action.”

From the notorious advice given to News International by their solicitors, Farrers.



THE SACKED WORKERS AND THEIR TRADE UNIONS

To function during sequestration of SOGAT funds meant union finance being dealt with in cash or by other trade union and labour-movement organisations. The NGA applied a national levy; SOGAT delayed a call for a levy and it was defeated in a national ballot late in 1986.

In addition to the huge commitment from the national unions' resources, branches financed support for strikers and for demonstrations, pickets and publicity. Fleet Street and general trade chapels dug as deep as for the miners the year before. Holidays, days out and Christmas events were organised for the children of strikers.

The essential discipline and organisation of the chapels remained intact and joint committees and representatives meetings were held. Some chapels encouraged family members to attend to help strikers feel less isolated and to become involved in the boycott campaign by pasting up stickers and distributing the anti-Murdoch "funny money".

Reports of the latest developments were given at mass meetings of strikers where they were able to question union officials. Ways to prosecute the dispute were discussed, strike payments made and volunteers recruited to travel the country and abroad to raise support and donations and to keep the iniquities of Murdoch's action before the general public. To counter the distorted image of a male-dominated industry, many women strikers found that they were in particular demand to speak at public meetings.

Picket shift rotas were drawn up for the Wapping plant and depots. The huge number of arrests meant funding was required for lawyers, court appearances and tracing witnesses.

An operations room was staffed by strikers to provide constant advice and information for strikers and their supporters.

Fleet Street and general trade chapels dug as deep as for the miners the year before

Chapels helped those in financial difficulties and assisted members who became sick or depressed. Personal tragedy followed the pattern of epic struggle: family break-up, illness, alienation, unemployment and poverty. There were other tragedies too: the little daughter of two strikers fell to her death at a union meeting, a young resident was killed by a TNT truck at Wapping and other strikers were struck down either by fatal illness or by suicide.

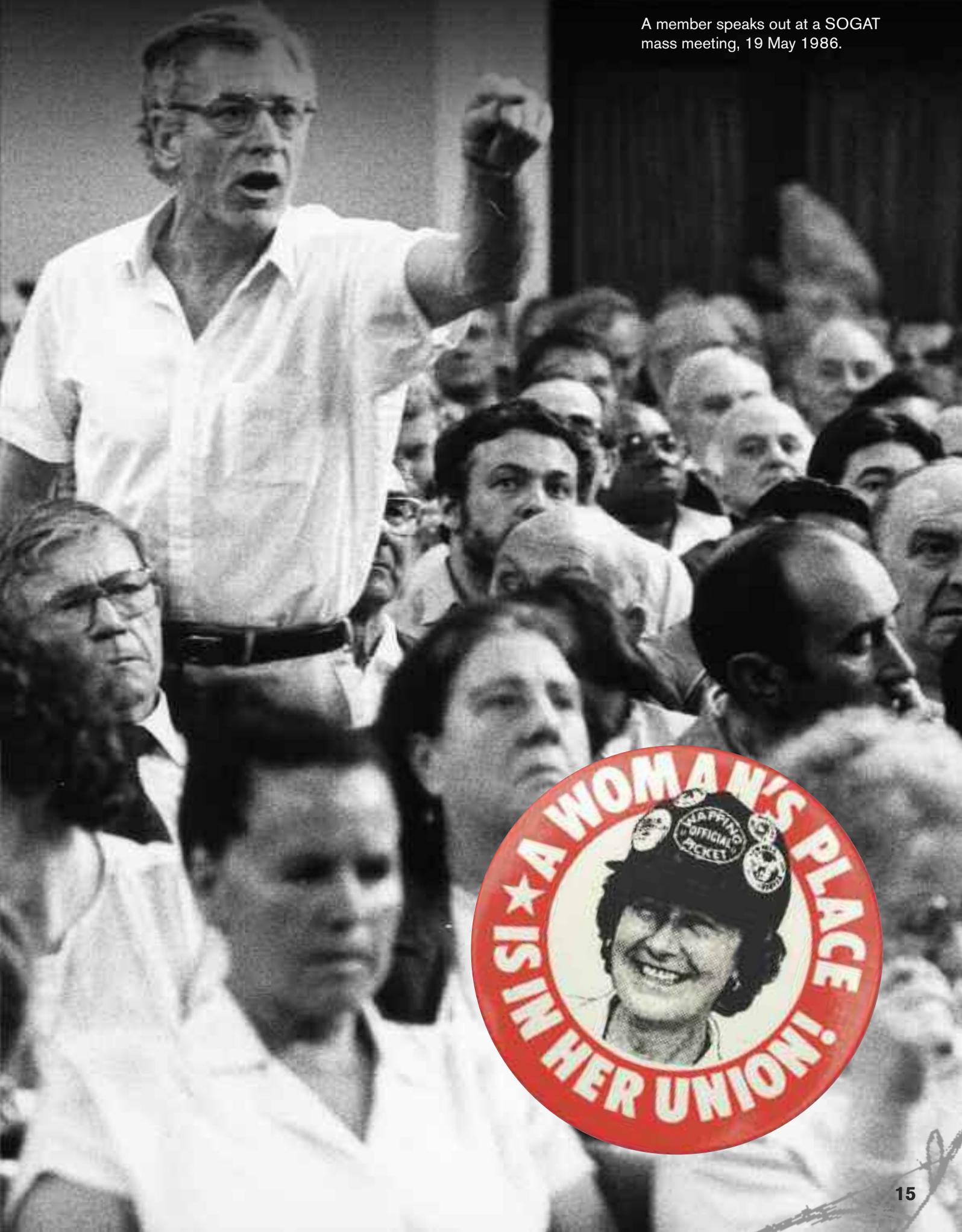
Two sets of negotiations during the year brought offers of compensation, but no reinstatement and no union recognition. The offers were balloted and rejected. The fight was for jobs and union rights not compensation, and the struggle continued to the last. However, when the dispute was called off amid great acrimony, an offer of compensation was recommended by the unions and accepted by members.

There were many heroes at Wapping who proved that they stood for much more than wages and conditions, strikers who were fighting to retain workers' rights to picket, to strike and to regain the right to influence their conditions at work through collective bargaining by responsible and effective trade unions.

National call!
Print unions united
to support the
sacked workers.



A member speaks out at a SOGAT mass meeting, 19 May 1986.



SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGNS

Murdoch's papers were subjected to a highly visible nationwide boycott campaign. Public libraries and educational establishments cancelled the four newspapers; newsagents were encouraged not to stock them; some Labour politicians refused to be interviewed by scab journalists and union conferences refused them access. Badges, mugs and T-shirts all proclaimed the same message: *Don't Buy The Sun!*

The slogan went global. Print-union delegations including strikers visited Australia, Japan, Germany, United States, France and Ireland to spread the message. There were some very generous donations, including from the international trade union confederations.

Wednesday and Saturday night demonstrations at Wapping were sponsored and led by different chapels, unions and industries. These were attended by supporters from Yorkshire, South Wales, Manchester and Glasgow who saw the brutality of the police at close quarters. But there were musical and social events too for families and even an alternative royal-wedding event.

Solidarity meetings and rallies were held by trades councils, at transport depots, factories, offices and workshops; by political parties and groups; at universities and colleges, at church halls and shopping centres. Public meetings were held along the route of the Printers March for Jobs. Active and organised local support was vital. Groups had been formed across the country during the 1984-85 Miners strike and many re-formed as Print Workers' Support Groups when the dispute commenced.

A co-ordinating team staffed by strikers was set up to liaise with support groups organising numerous public meetings, fund-raising events and speaking engagements as well as regular leafleting and picketing in their areas. A demonstration of all the Print Workers' Support Groups took place at Wapping in December 1986 that was attended by thousands of supporters.

Public libraries and educational establishments cancelled the four newspapers; newsagents were encouraged not to stock them

A strikers' newspaper called the *Wapping Post* became a popular tabloid, as did *Picket*, the underground bulletin of picket activities. Both publications served as a diary of events as well as reflecting anger at the turn of events at each stage of the dispute.

Numerous posters, badges, T-shirts and mugs were produced to promote the strike and to raise funds. Many of the designs were by *Strike Graphics*, the design co-op created by Tony Hall, a striker who had been a graphic artist on *The Sun* and *News of the World*.

The campaign events, meetings, marches and leaflets calling for jobs and union recognition of sacked workers were supported by people across many walks of life. The response of supporters and their own unions sustained the strikers and their families with their solidarity and by their financial support.



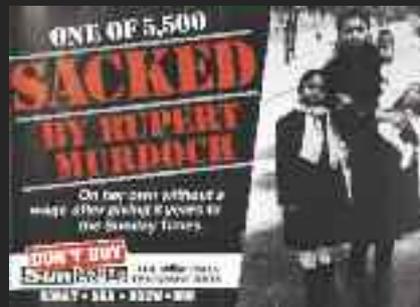
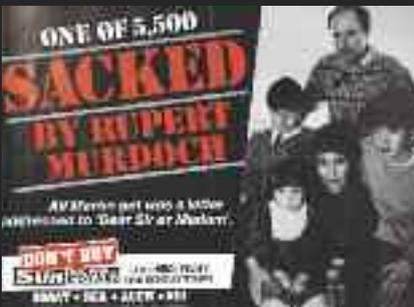
Strikers on a solidarity visit with News Corporation unions in Sydney, Australia, April 1986.



Strikers joined Irish supporters on the May Day march in Dublin, 1986.



Tony Hall, sacked worker and inspiration behind *Strike Graphics* helps to raise funds for the dispute.



Wapping Post became an important way for the strikers to get their message across to the broader public. Each issue was eagerly awaited.

TRAITORS AT THE GATE

Throughout 1985 the atmosphere at News International was grim. The workforce was on the edge of something but no one knew for sure what, except for a small hand-picked management team led by a man who used deception and lies to plan the most outrageous industrial action of his time.

Rumours, stories and hard evidence emerged gradually although the full extent of the Wapping conspiracy came to light only after the strike.

Murdoch's pretence that the company wanted to launch a new newspaper to justify new conditions, was a complete sham. *The London Post* never materialised.

In February 1986 the letter from solicitors Farrers was discovered and published in the *Morning Star*. It advised Murdoch how to dismiss his workforce by provoking a strike and by timing it to "catch as many employees in the net as possible".

Staff at *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* had never been told they would be transferring to Wapping; only *The Sun* and *News of the World* production staffs thought they were going to the new site.

Documents subsequently disclosed by News International during court hearings revealed the six shadow companies set up during 1985. When the strike prompted dismissal of existing staff, all four national newspapers were immediately transferred to Wapping overnight to be produced by a new EETPU-supplied workforce employed by these shadow companies. A substitute transport agreement with TNT by-passed British Rail distribution of newspapers to depots nationwide. And all this was carried out with legal impunity.

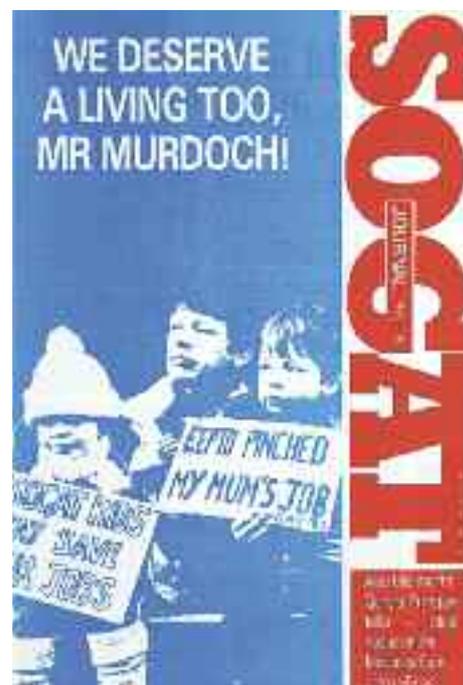
Murdoch plotted with so-called consultants who were in truth union-busters, and he discovered that there was a trade union that would help him.

Farrers ... advised News International how to get rid of the workers by provoking a strike and by timing it to "catch as many employees in the net as possible"

Despite the EETPU claims of never having signed an agreement with the company, Eric Hammond, the EETPU general secretary, boasted in his autobiography of his extensive liaison and collaboration with Rupert Murdoch.

The End of the Street, a book by former *Sunday Times* journalist Linda Melvern, published in late 1986 before the strike ended, describes in detail the clandestine operation of Rupert Murdoch and his team to ship and install at Wapping a vast amount of machinery and computer kit with the active participation of the EETPU.

Evidence of this treachery was presented to the TUC during a lengthy procedure to hear complaints lodged by SOGAT, NGA, AUEW and NUJ but was denied by the EETPU. The TUC failed to expel the EETPU for its connivance with Murdoch although the union was thrown out a year later for negotiating single-union deals. All that remained to be revealed was Hammond's own boastful admission of guilt.





Eric Hammond, General Secretary of the electricians' union EETPU that connived with Murdoch in the sackings.



Lobby of the TUC General Council to demand the expulsion of the EETPU.

WHEN THE POLICE RIOTED

The Wapping strikers were subjected to a year-long ordeal of police harassment and attacks. During the course of the strike 1435 pickets and supporters were arrested. Four men were jailed, including SOGAT picket leader Mike Hicks, who was arrested in a dawn raid on his home and jailed for a year with eight months suspended.

The unions' twice-weekly rallies opposite the plant were heavily policed and many pickets and supporters were subjected to violent attacks. Mounted police and police in riot gear charged into the crowds, swinging their batons and grabbing people at random. Hundreds were injured.

The horrifying scenes at Wapping, witnessed by thousands and widely reported, were grimly similar to the miners' picket lines, where police were drilled not to keep the peace but to take sides in the dispute. Writing in a report by the Haldane Society of Socialist Lawyers about the handling of the rally by the police entitled *A Case to Answer*, Lord Gifford QC wrote: "The police commanders who planned the strategy used on January 24 1987 saw it as a military operation against an enemy, not as a public order exercise." The report marked the first anniversary of the strike. The print unions called for a public enquiry, a call echoed in the House of Commons by MPs.

Reports by the National Council for Civil Liberties (Liberty) and the London Strategic Policy Unit (LSPU) highlighted new trends that were to become familiar during public-order policing. One was the practice of officers concealing the numbers on their uniforms.

Another was described by the LSPU: "They did not allow people to leave scenes of violence and dangerously charged into packed crowds in a confined space." Twenty years later this tactic was to become known as kettling.

...the police were drilled not to keep the peace but to take sides in the dispute

The Metropolitan Police set up roadblocks and placed the whole Wapping area in a state of virtual siege using powers under the 1830 Act to block some streets for the whole period of the dispute. Significantly, adding to evidence that the police strategy was planned from the start, the powers under Section 52 of the act were invoked on 20 January 1986, three days before the strike began and before Murdoch's plans were announced.

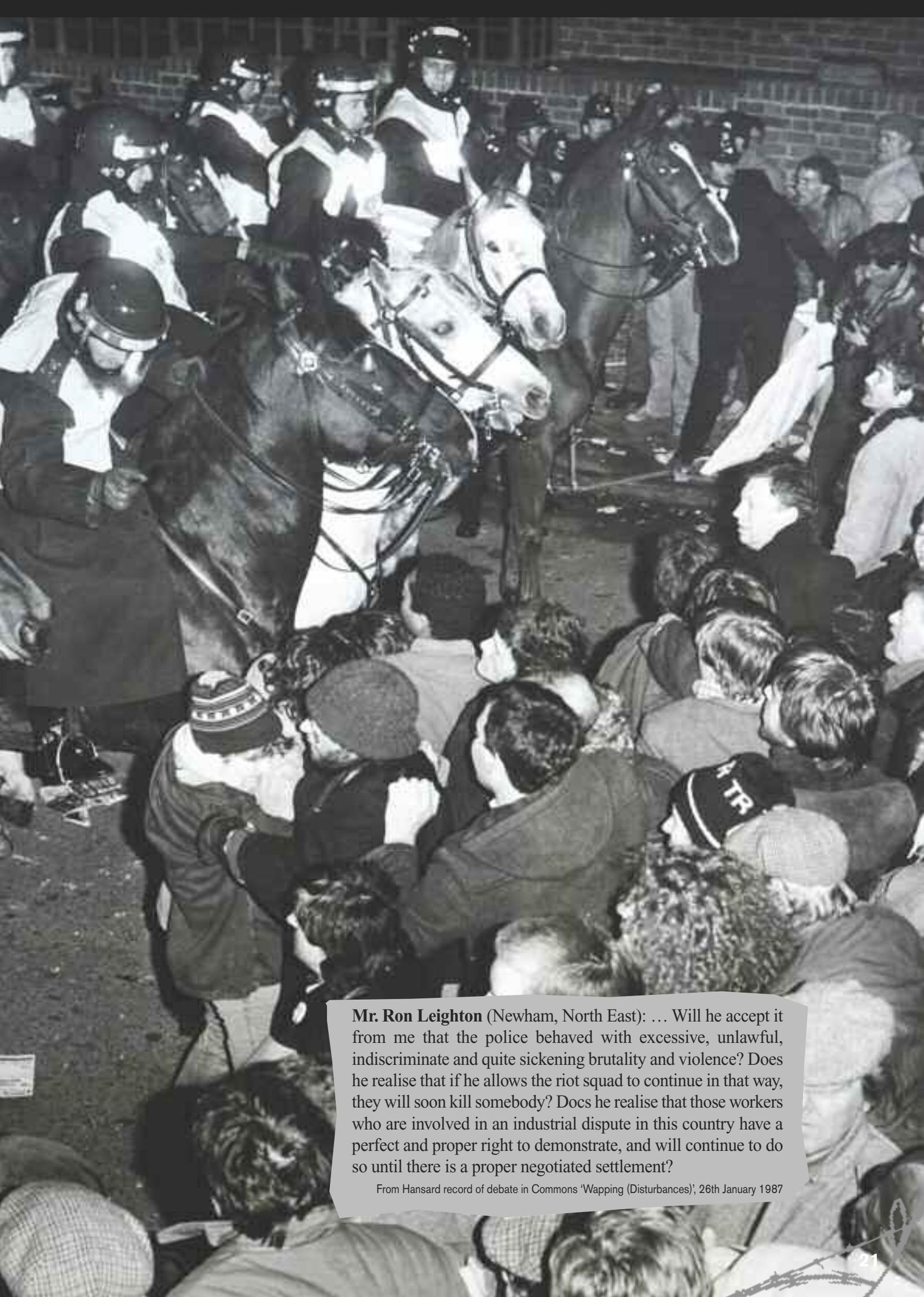
As well as pickets and demonstrators, the police attacked TV crews, photographers and legal observers, seriously hurting some. BBC and ITN made formal complaints about police assaults on their crews.

There were so many complaints that a special inquiry into the conduct of the Metropolitan Police was held by Northamptonshire Constabulary that concluded some officers had acted in a "violent and undisciplined way", but none was ever tried and convicted.

This year the *Morning Star* revealed that the Special Branch, the political police, had been spying on the strikers all through the dispute.

Papers obtained under the Freedom of Information Act showed that they had produced daily briefings for police chiefs and government on all aspects of the strike, including negotiations, union meetings and demonstrations.





Mr. Ron Leighton (Newham, North East): ... Will he accept it from me that the police behaved with excessive, unlawful, indiscriminate and quite sickening brutality and violence? Does he realise that if he allows the riot squad to continue in that way, they will soon kill somebody? Does he realise that those workers who are involved in an industrial dispute in this country have a perfect and proper right to demonstrate, and will continue to do so until there is a proper negotiated settlement?

From Hansard record of debate in Commons 'Wapping (Disturbances)', 26th January 1987



Local MP, Peter Shore, intervened with police commanders to lessen the impact of high pressure policing.

THE PRINT UNIONS TODAY

During the decade after Wapping the attacks on jobs, wages and conditions proceeded apace. There was a general exodus from Fleet Street, mostly to Docklands, with huge jobs losses and reductions in terms and conditions.

UK membership of trade unions in general fell by nearly half in the 1980s, from around 12 million to six million, as a result of closures and redundancies combined with derecognition. Union rights in the printing industry were one of the prime targets with sustained attacks by employers on recognition and collective bargaining.

Murdoch bought Eddy Shah's *Today* newspaper with its union-free policy and closed it as a spent force in 1995. Ten years later, to compete with Associated Newspapers' free newspaper success, Murdoch launched a free London evening newspaper, but was quickly forced to close it having lost millions.

Finally, Wapping itself, the citadel flying the flag of trade union destruction, is no longer the home of Murdoch's newspaper production, having relocated to M25 territory to the north of London.

Yet throughout this period, workers in the printing industry have continued to seek the support of the union. SOGAT and the NGA joined forces in 1991 to create the Graphical Paper and Media Union (GPMU). Membership began to be re-established, first in the provincial press and later in the national press. Collective agreements were signed to replace those lost in the wave of derecognition.

To protect the union and access to resources, the GPMU joined Amicus the manufacturing and engineering union, becoming part of Unite when Amicus merged with the Transport & General Workers Union in 2007.

After Labour returned to power in 1997 it introduced the Employment Rights Act that provided a limited right to union recognition. Print and media unions in particular have been able to use the Act's provisions. Today the only major newspaper group that does not recognise the union at all is News International. Instead there is a company-funded "sweetheart" staff union, the so-called News International Staff Association (NISA).

At a time when once again the trade union movement is organising to defend working people from the next round of attacks from a new Tory-led government, trade unionists have shown that the spirit of resistance remains alive in the newspaper and printing industry.

Membership began to be re-established, first in the provincial press and later in the national press

All other newspaper groups recognise the union with collective bargaining agreements either company-wide or limited to certain groups. And with all of the hand-wringing of the 1980s about over-paid printers, newspaper-printing companies remain top payers for certain grades, including News International!

Len McCluskey,
Unite General Secretary

We must take inspiration from the struggle at Wapping, not to look backwards mournfully, but to redouble our efforts to organise to win from the Labour Party a firm commitment to introduce a new framework of employment law and trade union rights fully compliant with our international treaty obligations, particularly ILO Conventions 87 and 98, on the right to organise, the right to bargain collectively and the right to strike.

Hundreds of thousands on the TUC
March for the Alternative 26 March 2011.



UNSTOPPABLE RISE OF MURDOCH ... SO FAR

Britain's media are dominated by large companies and the biggest is News Corporation.

Rupert Murdoch's family – his son James is being groomed as the anointed successor – control 37 per cent of the UK national press as well as the giant book publishing group Harper Collins and, effectively, Sky TV.

News Corporation owns national papers and TV channels in Australia, the Indian sub-continent and the far east and most importantly in the USA, where Rupert Murdoch is based. As a requirement to launch Fox TV Murdoch took up US citizenship in order to meet regulations that forbid overseas citizens to own a TV network. There are no such requirements in the UK. Fox is now the flag-bearer for outrageously biased right-wing TV news.

He also owns 20th Century Fox Studios in Los Angeles, so his TV networks that broadcast by satellite in Europe and Asia and on cable in the USA, can get blockbuster movies on the cheap. Ofcom, Britain's regulator, this year blasted BSkyB for unfair competition in its movie deals.

BSkyB is Europe's biggest broadcaster with revenues of £6 billion a year. This is 50 per cent higher than the BBC's yet it makes little original programming, spending instead on lucrative sports and movie rights, squeezing the BBC and ITV out of those markets. Its success derives largely from Premier League Football, a world that has itself been tainted by Murdoch's money.

BSkyB was formed as a merger of Sky TV and BSB, a rival satellite service that Murdoch drove out of business in 1990. News Corp's share was 39 per cent but now, thanks to a Tory-led coalition government, it is about to finalise its outright ownership.

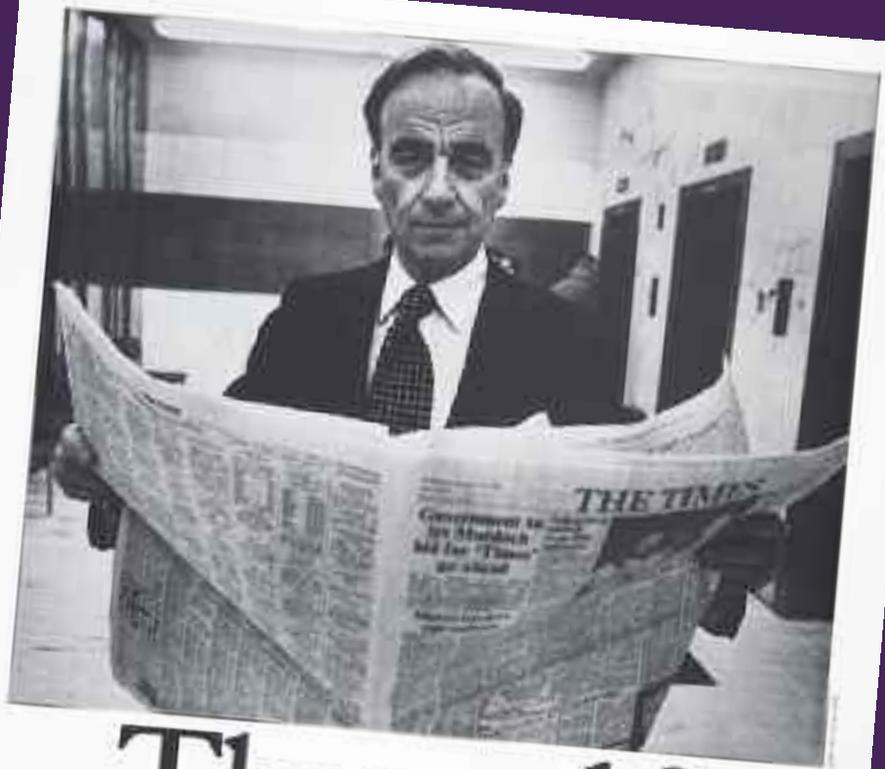
In the long transformation of Britain's news media from the hard-news tradition of the old Fleet Street to the present debauched state of news gathering, the Wapping dispute was the single most significant step.



He took up US citizenship in order to meet regulations that forbid overseas citizens to own a TV network

Fox and Sky were launched on the profits Murdoch made at Wapping where the value of the papers quadrupled after the strike. It was a triumph for big business backed by the state. The effect on media content has been disastrous.

The Murdoch press has led the way to the empty sensationalism, the celebrity-led infotainment and the grasping consumerism that characterises both press and TV. This is corporate journalism, the output of media owned by corporations whose interest in real news comes a poor second to the drive for profit.



Strike poster playing on a popular advert for Castlemaine XXXX, an Australian lager, 1986.

The truth?
 He couldn't give
 a XXXX
 (If you care, don't buy Murdoch's papers: The Sun,
 News of the World, Times & Sunday Times)

MURDOCH REACH GOES ROUND THE WORLD

Murdoch's News Corporation owns thousands of companies worldwide. These are the main ones:

FILM

20th Century Fox and associated companies

CABLE TV

USA: Fox Network including Fox News, National Geographic Channel (50%)

Latin America: LAPT V and Telecine Brazil (co-owned with other film studios)

SATELLITE TV

BSkyB (UK, currently 39.1%) and Sky channels in Germany, Italy and New Zealand (43.65%). Foxtel in Australia (25%), Star TV in India and China and Tata Sky in India (20%)

INTERNET

20 major online publishers including Fox sites, AmericanIdol.com and MySpace, plus the iPad newspaper the Daily (USA – shortly to launch in Britain)

NEWSPAPERS

UK: The Sun, News of the World, The Times, Sunday Times

USA: New York Post and local papers, The Wall Street Journal and financial magazines, Dow Jones Newswires, Dow Jones Indexes and Financial Information Services

AUSTRALIA: The Australian, Australian Associated Press (45%) and www.news.com.au, national online news website; Sydney Daily Telegraph and Sunday Telegraph; Melbourne Herald Sun and Sunday Herald Sun; Brisbane Courier Mail and Sunday Mail; South Australia: The Advertiser and Sunday Mail; Western Australia: The Sunday Times; Tasmania: The Mercury and The Sunday Tasmanian Northern Territory News and Sunday Territorian; plus 200 local newspapers

PACIFIC: Papua New Guinea Post-Courier and the Fiji Times

RUSSIA: Vedomosti (33%) – Russia's leading financial newspaper

MAGAZINES AND INSERTS

Far Eastern Economic Review (Hong Kong)
 32 major sports and leisure titles in Australia

BOOKS

HarperCollins group, Zondervan Publishing

MISCELLANEOUS

Others include National Rugby League, Australia (50%), Fox Music, Maximedia Israel (67%), Inspirio, religious gift production, and Mosgorreklama, Russian sign and marketing material manufacturer (50%)

REFLECTIONS ON THE WAPPING DISPUTE

AN EXAMPLE TO THE WHOLE MOVEMENT

Murdoch, Eddy Shah and others claimed that the introduction of new technology would lead to a much wider diversity of ownership.

Time has proved them to be completely wrong. There are now fewer national newspapers and a greater concentration of ownership of the press and media than in 1986, and the proposed takeover of BSkyB by Murdoch will further reduce that diversity.

The Wapping Dispute and the experience in recent years of the print unions and their members have demonstrated beyond question that while new technology was the facade behind which Murdoch hid, his objectives in the Wapping Dispute were primarily related to his attempt to de-unionise his newspapers.

Murdoch could never have achieved his ambitions without the active involvement of the Thatcher government through the use of new anti-union laws and by the government actively involving the police to ensure that Murdoch's newspapers produced at the Wapping plant were distributed and delivered.

Indeed, even with the advent of the 1997 Labour government and the introduction of some more positive legislation which enabled trade unions in certain circumstances to have recognition legally underwritten, an exclusion was provided which allowed Murdoch's News International Staff Association at Wapping, which was fully funded and run by the company, to be excluded from the trade-union recognition legislation.

The remarkable solidarity of those print union members during a dispute which lasted for more than a year was an example to the entire trade union movement. Murdoch and his outrageous behaviour will never be forgotten or forgiven.

Tony Dubbins, former General Secretary NGA and GPMU

A CAUSE I BELIEVED IN

As with many strikers, Wapping was a time of mixed emotions for me – a time to remember who had got me into the privileged position I enjoyed, the responsibility I had to pass on those conditions and the support my union had given me from my earliest days in print.

I recall that not everyone saw things my way, not even members of my own union who failed to see the consequences of their inaction, and then there was the pernicious political influence exerted on our efforts to stop Murdoch's attack on workers' rights.

All this was an incentive to accept the consequences of fighting for a cause I believed in. I didn't lose the fight with Murdoch, my beliefs in what we fought for were strengthened in spite of the chaos that ensued.

Like many who stood beside and in front of me on numerous occasions when the odds were against us, I resolved to fight for the principles that led me from Fleet Street to Wapping.

John Bailey, striker sacked by News International

SO MANY FAMILIES PAID THE PRICE

It still takes my breath away – twenty five years later – to recall the deceit of the leaders of the electricians trade union (EEPTU) to recruit and train in secret, and then agree to steal fellow trade union members jobs at Wapping.

Without that treachery News International could never have pulled off moving its papers from Fleet Street to Wapping. Bullying journalists, sacking librarians and enlisting the police as a willing and brutal militia would all have been pointless if the production had not been made possible by the biggest act of blacklegging in trade union history. And the anti-trade union laws of that time allowed it all to happen.

A quarter of a century later it remains an indictment that so many decent working newspaper families paid the price and carry the scars and memories of that tragic year in the history of SOGAT and of newspaper printing.

Brenda Dean, former General Secretary SOGAT

I STILL DON'T READ IT

I joined *The Times* in 1966, then the only woman reporter covering home news. When the Wapping dispute began 20 years later, I was a specialist correspondent covering race relations and disarmament. I was also part of the NUJ Chapel negotiating team. We were repeatedly told that it had nothing to do with us journalists, that they were planning a new evening paper, that the NUJ would be fully recognised at Wapping.

The journalists were offered a brutal ultimatum – go to Wapping or be sacked. Fear led most Times journalists to agree to go. Ten of us refused. I no longer read the paper, but I am told it is not what it was.

Although I never got back to being a specialist correspondent on a national newspaper, I carved out a decent career as a freelance journalist. And I am quite sure that I made the right decision in 1986 and have never regretted it.

Pat Healy, refusenik sacked by News International

THE GREATER PART OF US

The dispute dominated our lives. It haunted us wherever we went and whoever we were with. Everything else seemed insignificant. Rightly or wrongly, the everyday things our friends outside the strike did appeared trivial beside the harsh realities of Saturday nights at Wapping and living on Supplementary Benefit and when, inevitably, we got around to talking about the dispute, they couldn't comprehend our depth of feeling.

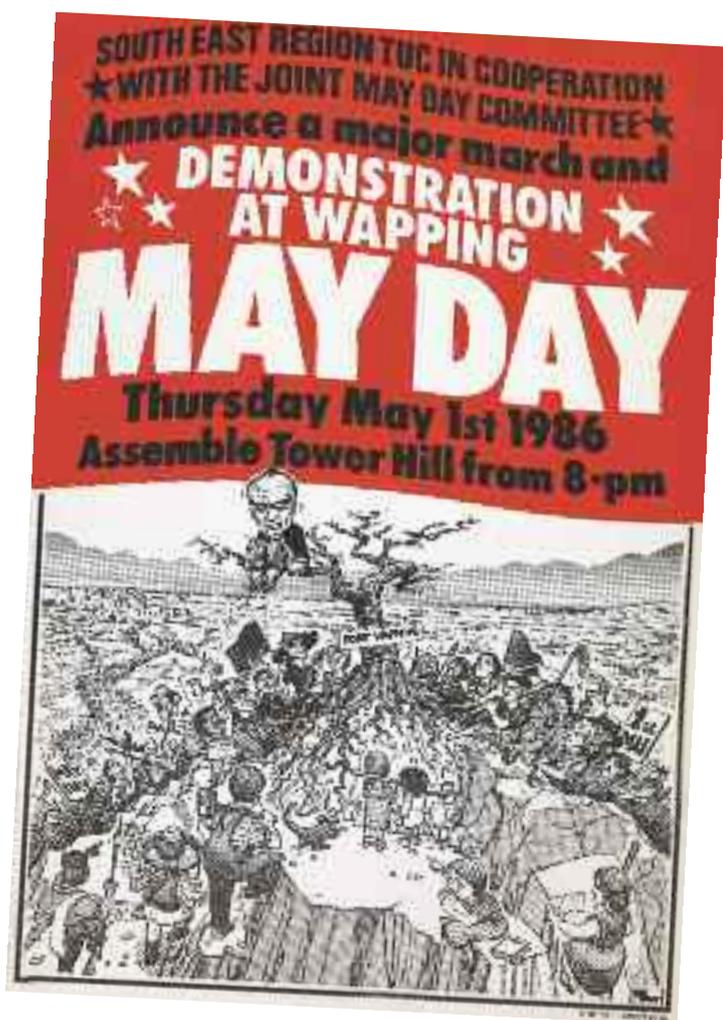
But the strike had become, for better or worse, the greater part of us. Even those who sympathised with our stand could not be expected to display the same sort of commitment we did and if someone was actually hostile to the cause, it became very difficult to keep a friendship alive. The ground had shifted. It was no longer enough to have run together in the same school playground; to have grown up in the same street; to have shared good times and bad, because we felt it too deeply to be able to accept their dissension and go on as if nothing had changed.

Graham Dodkins, striker sacked by News International



THE BIGGEST DEMONSTRATION EVER

Within days of the dispute starting it became obvious that we would not be able to stop the distribution of the newspapers. In spite of the optimistic theory that the lorries were empty, one only had to see the piles of 'Sun' and 'Times' in the shops to know that this could not be true. The dispute would only be resolved by negotiation. Therefore, it was important to keep up the pressure; this we did by marches and demonstrations. In November, Murdoch made a 'final' offer. This offer had to be accepted within ten days or there would be nothing, it was very understandable why most people took the offer, up to that point everything Murdoch had



said had been true. I don't criticise or condemn anybody who accepted the offer, after eleven months in dispute many had problems, both personal and financial. In January, to mark the anniversary of the dispute we had the biggest demonstration ever! Yet a month later it was all over. A lot was made of the fact that unlike the miners, we had a ballot before we came out, the question was put why we did not have a ballot to end the strike – there did not seem to be any answer. In 1986 the government were frightened of Murdoch; in 2011 they are terrified of him.

Ron Garner, striker sacked by News International

MARCHING TO AN ANCIENT BEAT

Gloved hands, socked feet, shaken and stirred against a stinging wind; blue eyes, cheeks, noses, blue language shared and roared on another raw day outside the Wapping plant.

Those insiders are outsiders, bussed and bribed in to input words on a page, ideas into minds, sans serif fonts, sans veritas ni corazon; a shell, a sham, coated and cased in a scab of shame.

Outside pounding horses and riot police/army lunge towards us, black batons raised. Stop them! Those men, women and children who shiver, stand or march, drink tea and gather under banners, faces open to the world, to say: "Those are our jobs."

Weeks pass, months, a year. But still they gather beneath walls of barbed words, wired up to lorry-loads of "get-them-out-at-any-cost." Newspaper cover price now reduced to fear, injuries, heart attacks, grief, dole and deaths. Inside the fortress they try to sleep in peace for 25 years.

But Times change: outside the horse of progress gallops on, throws off his rider dressed in blue – we don't need You, either; join the queue. Young hearts and minds share ideas and knowledge in a web that spins wide around the world and march the streets to an ancient beat against cuts in jobs, services and benefits.

Marie Alvarado, striker sacked by News International

MURDOCH MADE ME MILITANT

Why did we engineers strike? We were turned into militants by Murdoch. He put a gun to our heads! We had no choice but to fight.

The first march to Wapping was organised by the engineers.

Was there a summer in 1986? I remember always being cold!

There's a woman on the deck, the copper has his foot on her scarf, standing over her with his stick raised. I shoulder him off, he runs away. I'm between a brick wall and a horse's arse. The lads pull me out somehow.

Twelve month anniversary and as Maggie's thugs charge, one peels off to go for my wife. I get to her first and put my arm in the way. He runs away the tosser!

Still none of us buy his papers but Blair and his cronies are "bought and sold for Murdoch's gold".

Jim Brookshaw, striker sacked by News International

NEWS INTERNATIONAL DISPUTE: FROM ITS ORIGINS

1969

Murdoch buys *News of the World* and later *The Sun*.

1976

Programme for Action rejected.

1978

Murdoch acquires Wapping site.

1978/79

Times Newspapers lock out all staff except journalists and managers; no newspapers for eleven months.

1980

Building work starts at Wapping.

1981

Murdoch buys Times Newspapers for £12m.

1983

First negotiations but slow progress in most areas until 1985.

1984

Video of new plant at Wapping shown to Bouverie Street FoCs; platemaking chapels reach agreement on move to Wapping, but management suspended talks; AUEW chapel also reports agreement in principle

Murdoch applies for US citizenship

1985

February EETPU officials meet Murdoch in "first of a long series of highly secret meetings"; Murdoch plans secretly for Wapping transfer and orders £10m of equipment.

EETPU tells Murdoch their members can install, maintain and operate machinery; no document ever formally signed so able to deny agreement.

March computer typesetting equipment installed secretly in Woolwich location for testing; Murdoch sets up first of six shadow companies so that industrial action would be secondary and therefore illegal.

June NI signs deed of indemnity authorising TNT to buy £7m-worth of vehicles and recruit personnel.

Rumours in Southampton of a job in a big London print company with good money; queues at local EETPU office for application forms for job; 4,000 yards of razor wire installed at Wapping.

July Eric Hammond article in *The Sun* defending strike-free agreements; recruitment of replacement labour started via EETPU in Southampton and Glasgow.

August SOGAT issues press statement saying company had assured union no-one working at Wapping being trained in SOGAT jobs.

September Chapel reps seek explanation from management about a newspaper purporting to come from Wapping.

Dummy run of *The London Post* at Wapping.

Management deny knowledge of developments at Wapping; deny request for a visit; eventually agree to union request for meeting.

Candidates for jobs interviewed *The London Post*.

Meeting of print unions and EETPU with the company.

Murdoch states intention to continue to test presses and publishing equipment at Wapping, says talks must conclude by mid-December.

October Murdoch and managers meet unions for formal negotiations to recommence.

November draft agreement for London Post presented by management setting out twelve impossible demands. Print union counter-proposals. Company tables document for computer input for advertising and editorial, unions agree to negotiate

December EETPU rejects participation in joint union approach, tells TUC and Murdoch it did not rule out legally binding agreements.

Company refuses to move from demands. Christmas Eve deadline set by company for agreement.

Company denies existence of agreement with TNT.

30-page complaint against the EETPU by other unions. EETPU says no fundamental objections to Murdoch's demands.

Leaked letter from Farrers confirms advice to dismiss workforce while participating on strike.

1986

January Company gives six months' notice of termination of all agreements.

Mass meetings of union members; mandate for industrial action recommended and agreed; ballots arranged.

January 19 Section for *The Sunday Times* printed at Wapping.

January 20 Union proposals including binding arbitration, commitment on profitability, efficiency, productivity and job flexibility and fewer bargaining units rejected by Murdoch.

BBC Panorama programme shows EETPU collusion with Wapping preparations.

Police issue Commissioner's Directions for the closure of roads in the area.

January 23 Ballot result 82 per cent for strike. Murdoch tells unions jobs to be cut from 5500 to 1500 by June with no unions or members; journalists told to go to Wapping; police move cars from surrounding streets and encircle Times Newspapers buildings.

January 24 unions declare strike; company issues dismissal letters and starts production at Wapping. Journalists told to move to Wapping; *The Sun* NUJ vote 100-8 to move despite NUJ instructions; some refuseniks.

January 25 *The Sunday Times* produced at Wapping; *News of the World* at Kinning Park; *Express* SOGAT members in Manchester refuse to produce *News of the World*. First picket at Wapping.

January 26 *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* journalists vote to move, some refuseniks; *The Times* and *The Sun* printed at Wapping.

SOGAT wholesale members in London ban distribution of the titles.

Sequestration threat to SOGAT over Manchester. SOGAT fined £10,000 and ordered to stop "illegal" picketing following banning of handling N/I titles by wholesale workers.

Special TUC General Council meeting votes to start disciplinary proceedings against the EEPTU.

TGWU instructs TNT drivers not to cross picket lines; company obtains injunction ordering TGWU to lift instruction.

TUC General Council holds six-hour investigation of print union complaint.

February Scottish courts ban SOGAT from threatening distribution of titles.

TUC General Council finds EETPU guilty of five out of seven charges, tells EETPU to desist recruitment and not to conclude deal with Murdoch, or face; suspension.

3000 demonstrators at Wapping, 62 arrests; rallies and meetings elsewhere.

SOGAT funds and assets (£17m) seized (sequestered); court imposes £25,000 fine for "flagrant contempt" for instruction to ban handling Murdoch titles.

NGA fined £25,000 for contempt over ban on out-of-house supplements for *The Times*, re-ballots members to re-impose ban and reimposes it; TGWU persuades Murdoch to discuss TNT dispute with ACAS.

3000 on Wapping march; riot equipment and horses used for the first time; 61 arrests; ITN camera crew attacked by police.

TNT driver reveals bribes to drivers to break picket lines.

March High Court seizes SOGAT cars and warns offices will be closed down unless union purges its contempt.

Print union leaders talk with management following mediation by TUC.

Tower Hamlet and Southwark Councils boycott Murdoch papers.

Wembley Rally Kinnock pledges to repeal anti-union laws. "Stalag Wapping is about power and authority, not about new technology".

7000 at largest demo to date delays papers by five hours; 26 arrests. NGA General Secretary arrested with 52 others.

April Strikers' delegation to Australia to meet print unions.

Murdoch offers unions part of Gray's Inn Road site for own publication. Offer rejected.

Printers March for Jobs starts from Glasgow. National TUC-supported rally and demonstration in London.

NCCL (now Liberty) publishes report critical of police behaviour and road blocks.

Company offers sacked staff "ex-gratia payment to cover hardship" with 21-day deadline to accept. Mass meetings of strikers discuss the offer.

May 10,000 on May Day march; 30 arrests.

March for Jobs leads 15,000 on march to Wapping; attacks by mounted and riot police; 100 demonstrators injured, 81 arrests; MPs call for public enquiry.

SOGAT purges contempt. Murdoch offer deadline extended.

Commons debate on 3 May events; Home Office minister meets unions to discuss policing strategy.

Murdoch offers £15m and Gray's Inn Road premises again. Offers rejected by members. Wapping Post launched.

Mass meeting of SOGAT members votes to continue picketing at depots, step up demonstrations and continue boycott campaign.

June NGA members agree levy.

The Sun journalists vote to stop working at Wapping but rescind decision following pay rise and promise of sports facilities.

Murdoch announces hardship fund for sacked print workers.

Home Secretary calls on unions to stop picketing; another Commons debate on policing.

SOGAT BDC reaffirms support for the dispute.

Writs against unions and members to end mass picketing at Wapping, TNT and wholesale depots.

EETPU officials meet Murdoch in Los Angeles.

July Government acts to stop local authorities boycotting titles under Public Libraries and Museums Act.

September TUC Congress instructs EETPU not to do print workers' jobs; criticises General Council for not taking stronger action.

New offer increases compensation from £50m to £60m. Unions ballot members, who again reject it.

October NI journalists barred from Labour Party Conference.

Book, *The End of the Street*, by Linda Melvern reveals details of conspiracy to establish Wapping without the print unions.

November SOGAT calls for national levy on members to help with costs of strike. Defeated in ballot.

New compensation offer.

British Rail sues NI for breach of contract for switching distribution to TNT.

The Guardian prints leaked company memo revealing agreement with EETPU officials in summer 1985.

TUC General Council votes not to implement Congress decision on EETPU.

December Picket leader Mike Hicks sentenced to 12 months with eight months suspended.

4000 march to Wapping.

Women Against Murdoch organises Christmas Day demo and party at Wapping.

1987

January Michael Delaney killed by TNT lorry.

1st Anniversary demo; 20,000 take part; violent charges and attacks by 1100 mounted and riot police; 67 demonstrators arrested, 65 convicted.

Company seeks re-sequestration claiming SOGAT still in contempt.

February SOGAT ends dispute, followed by NGA and AUEW. Members recommended to apply for the compensation scheme.

July Murdoch acquires *Today* from Eddy Shah.

September Haldane Society report on policing of demonstration of 24 January 1987.

1988

September EETPU expelled by TUC for no-strike deals.

1989

Charges of perjury, assault and conspiracy to pervert the course of justice against 24 Metropolitan police following investigation by Northamptonshire Police into 440 complaints against 100 officers; two eventually tried but jury failed to deliver a verdict.

1990

Police Complaints Board report exonerated majority of police but found senior officers had failed to control junior officers who behaved in a "violent, undisciplined and uncontrolled manner".

Demonstration against Murdoch's BSkyB takeover, 3 March 2011.



FURTHER READING

There were thousands of press and broadcast media news reports and features, published during and after the dispute, many unsympathetic to the strikers and their trade unions and the issues that concerned them. Too many to list here but they are easily located in your local library or on the internet. Reputable accounts of the dispute and the issues, across the range of views and interpretations, include:

Dickinson, Mark – *To Break a Union: The Messenger, the State and the NGA*, (Booklist 1984). An account of the dispute at Eddy Shah's Messenger newspapers in south Lancashire, written by an NUJ member in Manchester who was more sympathetic to the unions.

Emmerson, Ben and Shamash, Anne – *A Case to Answer*, Haldane Society of Socialist Lawyers 1987. A report on the policing of the demonstration at Wapping marking the first anniversary of the beginning of the strike on 24th January 1987, includes widespread evidence of police brutality and the marking of demonstrators with red dye.

Gennard, Professor John and Bain, Peter – *The History of the Society of Graphical & Allied Trades*, (Routledge 1995). A study of SOGAT from 1955 until the merger with the NGA in 1991, it traces the SOGAT dimension of the dispute.

Gennard, Professor John – *The History of the National Graphical Association*, (1990 Unwin Hyman). A study of the NGA from its origins until the merger with SOGAT in 1991, it includes examination of the causes of the dispute and the events during 1985-7.

Gopsill, Tim and Neale, Greg – *Journalists: 100 years of the NUJ*, (Profile 2007). The history of the National Union of Journalists includes the Wapping dispute, NUJ "refuseniks" who rejected the enforced move to Tower Hamlets, NUJ members who did work there, and relations with the print unions.

Greenslade, Roy – *Press Gang: how newspapers make profits from propaganda* (Macmillan 2003). An account of Britain's national newspapers, mostly focused on the post-Second World War years, with many sections on industrial relations, Murdoch and the Wapping dispute.

Lang, John and Dodkins, Graham – *Bad News – The Wapping Dispute* (Spokesman Books, May 2011) The story of an ordinary group of people, clerical workers at The Times and Sunday Times who were thrown into extraordinary circumstances, and the effects these circumstances had on their lives.

Littleton, Sueellen M – *The Wapping Dispute* (Avebury, 1992). A detailed account of the dispute published as a business/management analysis that examines the origins and influence of the dispute, but not entirely unsympathetic to the unions' position.

Police Monitoring and Research Group, briefing paper no 3, Policing Wapping, an account of the Dispute 1986/7 (London Strategic Policy Unit 1987). The report shows the increase in repressive policing of industrial disputes since 1977 by examining police activity during the Wapping dispute.

Melvern, Linda – *The End of the Street* (Methuen, 1986). By a former Sunday Times journalist, it is the most immediate account of Murdoch's move to Wapping, and was the first report to reveal behind-the-scenes details of how Murdoch's team and the EETPU set up Wapping in secret.

Paper Boys – Accounts of picketing at Wapping, anonymous, no date, available to view at the Printers' Collection, Marx Memorial Library.

Picket. A news bulletin produced by supporters of the dispute with contributions from strikers; available as a download: <http://libcom.org/history/picket-bulletin-printers-strike-1986-1987>.

Sargeant, Jean – *Liberation Christianity on the picket line* (The Jubilee Group, 1992). A pamphlet by a striker who was a researcher on *The Sunday Times*. This is a personal account of the dispute and the issues including the actions of the police and the role of the media.

Wapping Post. A tabloid newspaper produced by a team of NUJ refuseniks and strikers during the dispute and financed by the London print union branches and donations; available to view at the Printers' Collection, Marx Memorial Library.

Wintour, Patrick and Goodhart, David. *Eddy Shah and the Newspaper Revolution* (Coronet Books 1986). An account of Eddy Shah's dispute with the NGA, his use of anti-union laws, and the impact on national newspapers and their industrial relations.

SOGAT Journal, Print (NGA), *The Journalist*, trade union journals for the period, *Morning Star* – newspaper of the labour movement covered the dispute throughout, available to view at the *Printers' Collection*, Marx Memorial Library, *News Line* – Newspaper of the Workers Revolutionary Party covered the dispute throughout, available from the WRP.



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Morning Star

News Line

Guy Smallman

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THE WORKERS' STORY

Fleet Street became the best-known name in printing. It took a transnational employer set on industrial destruction, the power of the state and oppressive policing an entire year to break that tradition and history. This is the story of the dispute between News International and the powerful print trade unions and of the effects on the workers who were swept aside by a management intent on removing every obstacle along the route to a global media empire.

PRINTERS' COLLECTION

The GPM section of Unite and the Marx Memorial Library together have created an unrivalled collection of UK print and paper unions' records, books and artefacts. The Printers' Collection has its own dedicated floor in the Library and is open to use and to view by appointment.

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