

Socialist Worker

INSIDE

**30 YEARS SINCE THE
MINERS' STRIKE**

SPECIAL **12-PAGE** SOUVENIR ISSUE

Paul Foot

How women
transformed
the strike



Neither Washington nor Moscow but international socialism

£1

Page 4

VICTORY

TO THE

MINERS

Solidarity will win



Out against closures

Together on the picket line

ONE THOUSAND steelworkers at three Larkshire British Steel plants—Clydesdale, Clydesbridge and Baziell—all within a four mile radius of Ravenscraig—are now out.

As we go to press flying pickets from the plants are at Ravenscraig to win support from its 3,500 workforce.

The action makes a mockery of ISTC union leader Bill Sirs' contention

that steelworkers should scab on the miners to save their own skins.

The strike co-ordinator, ISTC branch chairman Peter Phillips says: 'We support the miners 100 percent. When we were on strike in 1980 no steel was used by the miners. We didn't worry that this might lead to pit closures.'

'We're all in this together.'

(26 May, 1984)



Picketing steel is crucial

URGENT... URGENT... URGENT... URGENT...

Much more picketing, Much better organisation, Much greater involvement

THIS IS crisis week for the miners' strike. It is a crisis which can be overcome and pave the way for victory. But only if urgent measures are taken.

One central problem faces the strike. If solved, it would make other issues like the huge policing operation and right wing pressure for a national ballot fade into insignificance.

The problem is that of leadership in the militant areas. Not nearly enough has been done to draw the mass of strikers into the picketing. Not nearly enough has been done to organise effective picketing.

Inflicted

The miners showed more than ten years ago what mass picketing means. In the 1972 strike around 40,000 miners were picketing every day—an average of one in five. In the militant areas the proportion was much higher.

Involvement on such a

large scale today would mean 20,000 to 30,000 miners going out to picket both the non-striking areas and secondary targets such as power stations, coal and coke depots, railway yards, ports and steelworkers. The police would not be able to block all those pickets.

Inflicted

Unfortunately on most days only about a tenth of that number are involved in the picketing. No wonder the police are laughing.

No wonder the Tories have made so much headway with their propaganda about the ballot.

In Yorkshire Jack Taylor, the area president, claims there isn't enough money to finance picketing. Yet the Yorkshire area has £8 million of assets.

Picketing is the only way to stop the movement of coal. If the officials won't organise it, then the rank and file have to.

(14 April, 1984)

Hundreds arrested in Notts

THERE IS intimidation every day in the Nottinghamshire coalfields.

It is planned intimidation, executed in cold blood and it goes completely unreported in the Fleet Street press.

The reason is simple. It's the police, the Coal

Board and scabs who mete it out and the pickets are on the receiving end.

Incidents range from the sick—ringing up the wife of a striking Ollerton miner who was in hospital for cancer treatment to tell her he had died—to the gross intimidation

seen in Blidworth last week.

Even children are affected. School children in North Nottinghamshire have been told to walk around in groups because pickets might attack them, while at Clipstone,

children have been sent home from school for wearing NUM stickers.

Many strikers complain that police have interrogated their children demanding to know if their parents had any 'visitors'.

(26 May, 1984)



Picture: JOHN STURROCK (Reproduced)

Miners from across Britain gather in Sheffield and greet the news that their NUM union is to turn the action in many coalfields into a national strike

NOW IS THE TIME TO FIGHT

THE TORIES want to put at least one in every ten miners on the dole. And they declared this aim just a week after they defied the TUC and drove trade unions out of GCHQ at Cheltenham.

Thatcher has always wanted to humiliate the miners. She wants revenge for her party and her class for the dramatic NUM victories in 1972 and 1974 when the union defeated the last Tory government.

And after inflicting repeated defeats on the union—20,000 jobs have gone in the last 12 months—she now feels confident of victory.

But in pits up and down the country miners have tasted their future if the Tories get their way. They have sweated blood as managers have demanded ever higher output while at the same time pit after

pit has been closed down.

This provoked the angry walkouts by ordinary miners that led to the current strike in South Yorkshire and pressurised miners' leaders to call all-out action in the rest of Yorkshire, Scotland and North Derbyshire.

Inflicted

Militants and miners driven to the limit by arrogant management are ready for a fight. But it won't be easy to stop all the pits.

The defeats inflicted in recent years have taken their toll. In particular, the strikes against closures in South Wales and Scotland—which didn't find an echo when they came to Yorkshire for support—have caused much bitterness.

But this time round it's

Yorkshire, the largest group of miners in the country, that's giving the lead. And that should lift the spirits of miners everywhere.

Even so, militants should be ready to picket out miners who are slow to join the fight.

It would be disastrous to rely on the officials to deliver the kind of action needed to beat the Tories.

But the Tories can be beaten, and last week's day of action showed that increasing numbers of workers are prepared to protest about this savage government.

If the miners do strike next week, it will be up to socialists everywhere to ensure that this anger against the government is turned into active solidarity for the miners.

(10 March, 1984)

Wives must picket too

MINERS' WIVES who encouraged their husbands to cross picket lines were the darlings of the press and television at the beginning of the week.

'Pit wives smash picket invasion!' announced The Sun after a handful of women argued with flying pickets from Yorkshire outside the Harworth pit in Nottinghamshire on Monday.

Harworth was forced to close on Monday evening when the pickets stopped all but a handful of miners going to work.

Every time there is a major strike the media search out strikers' wives who are opposed to the action. A few are always found, and the media then does all it can to foster division within families and communities.

If strikers' wives are left at home to worry about the bills and the housekeeping, and without the solidarity that comes from union organisation, then it's all too easy for feelings against the action to be stirred up.

So the more miners' wives that picket alongside the men, the better.

(17 March, 1984)

BUS WORKERS BACK MINERS

A STRIKE by workers at the National Welsh bus garage in Porth, South Wales, has forced their management to lift a ban on hiring coaches for miners' flying pickets.

Gwyn Jones, the GMBATU shop steward, says, 'Our management were being ordered by national management who were being ordered by the government. Everyone in the depot was incensed.'

The bus workers also voted £400 to the miners' strike fund.

(31 March 1984)

Socialist Worker

SOCIALIST WORKER will be printed at the normal time next week, so as to ensure the most up-to-date coverage of the miners' strike.

It is absolutely vital that all our branches and all our sellers make special arrangements to ensure sales are not affected by the Easter holidays. This will mean workplace sales on the Thursday instead of Friday, and making sure Saturday street sales are carried by people not going to the SWP Easter Rally at Skegness.

MINERS' FIGHT IS FOR ALL WORKERS

WHY YOU SHOULD SUPPORT THIS STRIKE

THE MINERS' strike is a strike for every worker in this country.

The Tories provoked the strike. They made the miners a paltry wage offer that cut the living standards of most miners.

And their hit man McGregor announced the destruction of 20,000 miners' jobs.

The attack on miners follows on from the ban on trade union membership at GCHQ Cheltenham and the crippling fines imposed on the printers' union, the NGA, by the Tory judge Donaldson.

But the response of the miners—especially in Yorkshire and Scotland—has taken the Tories by surprise. Coalfield after coalfield has shut down as miners have walked or been picketed out.

Now McGregor is resorting to Thatcher's anti-union laws in an effort to beat the miners. But the miners

can smash the law, just as the dockers smashed Heath's Industrial Relations Act in 1972.

The strike can be won if every miner and every pit stops, and if the action spreads to stop the movement of coal to industry.

Inflicted

Pickets need to be pouring out of the pits to sew up the coalfields and beyond to the docks, the power stations, the coke depots and any industry using coal.

Workers in every industry must pledge support to the miners.

Trade union branches, shop stewards committees and individual militants in workplaces must prepare now to raise money in support of the strike, to greet miners' pickets and to enforce the blacking of coal.

(17 March, 1984)

Heading for the pickets

BUILD THESE LEVIES

AT LAST the Labour Party has come off the fence. Last week's decision by the national executive committee to levy all party members 50p a week for the miners was a welcome, if belated, step, coming as it did in the seventh week of the strike.

The move, however, is a half-hearted one. Interviewed on Weekend World, Labour deputy leader Roy Hattersley reiterated Neil Kinnock's call for a national strike ballot.

We cannot rely on Kinnock to campaign

(12 May, 1984)

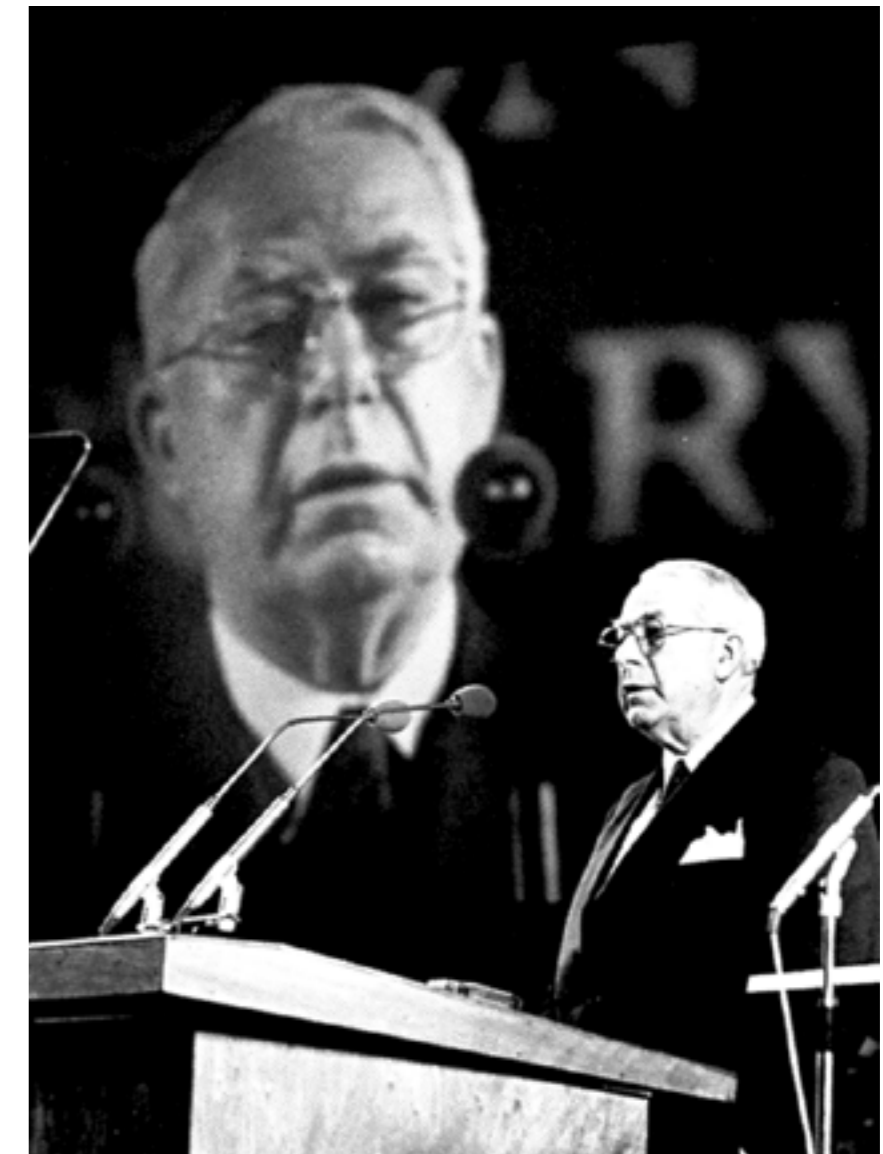
for all Nottinghamshire miners to join the strike, or to call for mass pickets to close down British industry.

(5 May, 1984)

DEFENDING THEIR STRIKE

THE BANNERS of Newstead, Ollerton, Gedling and Thoresby collieries, backed by 3,000 striking Notts miners, defended their area NUM office against a scabs' rally early on Tuesday morning.

There had been little time to organise. The strikebreakers, organised by Notts area



Picture: JOHN STURROCK (Reproduced)

He's done over the steel industry, he wants to do over the miners... and if Ian McGregor gets his way he'll savage every worker in Britain

Thousands march as Scotland takes action

OVER 15,000 people joined the demonstration in Glasgow last Wednesday in response to the Scottish TUC's call for a day of action in support of the miners. Many workers had taken strike action to join the march.

Over 500 teachers were marching, but no schools in the Glasgow region were closed. It was a minority of teachers and auxiliary workers who actually walked out.

Betty Quinn, a NUPE shop steward from Bradhurst High School who was out on strike, is the wife of a steelworker from Ravenscraig. She explained why she was supporting the miners.

'They are fighting to keep the pits open. If they win, then it will be easier to keep Ravenscraig. Most people think the miners want to shut Ravenscraig. That's rubbish. They just want to stop it producing steel during the strike.'

The response from engineering firms and shipyards was patchy—Scott Lithgow came out on strike for the day; Yarrows, and Goven shipyards didn't.

All the trains from Glasgow were stopped for the day. The miners were especially heartened to see workers from Clydebridge steel, out on strike for the day, on the demonstration.

The turnout on the Edinburgh march was well over 5,000 but very few workplaces actually took strike action. The high spot of the day was the action at Rosyth naval dockyard where over 2,000 workers struck for the whole day.

(19 May, 1984)

SPECIAL MINERS' MEETING

for Socialist Workers Party members and supporters in the NUM. Doncaster Trades Club, Sunday 10 June, 1pm

Fighting Fund

AS THE miners' strike develops the basis of ideas as to how the strike can be won. By selling Socialist Worker to workers we can take up the arguments as to how we can support the miners in a practical manner, by visiting picket lines, taking leaves or whatever.

The money raised is used to produce leaflets, posters, collection sheets and placards.

The fighting fund has gone well. A magnificent £2,500 was raised at the SWP's Easter weekend at Skegness. But we still have over £2,500 to raise before we reach our target of £10,000. So keep sending in your money. Every penny is needed for the fight against the Tories.

£1,000 was raised at the North West London public meeting in support of the miners and £88 was collected at the Hackney meeting.

Thanks to the following SWP branches: Gorton, Aberdeen, Wileston, Kilburn, Salford, Cardiff, Grantham, Lambeth, Telford, Bradford, Norwich, Luton, Finsbury Park and Huddersfield.

Also thanks to A. Penning, Gigen's Fish Bar, Lambeth, & Marks, Also.

We need £10,000

Inside the System

★ SIX bottles of wine, tastefully packaged in green and gold boxes, are currently languishing in a Harrods warehouse in London.

They are a gift from the Institute of Marketing to Coal Board boss Ian MacGregor.

Sadly, Ian MacGregor is to be found at the National Coal Board's headquarters in Hobart House.

And, because of the miners' strike, Hobart House has a picket line on it, which the drivers from Harrods are refusing to cross.

So MacGregor will have to wait until the end of the strike for his rather expensive present.

★ Margaret Thatcher told Labour spokesman on social security, Michael Meacher, that no instructions regarding miners' social security benefits had been issued by the government.

In fact at least two cases of such interference have come to light recently.

★ The assistant manageress of Wakefield



electricity production from the dangers of disruption by industrial action by coal miners or transport workers.'

A leaked cabinet document shows the Tories real interests in developing nuclear power.

★ THE TORIES are spending more on busting the miners' strike than they did on sending the tank force to the Falklands.

Stockbrokers Simon and Coates estimate that the miners' strike is costing the government £70 million a week.

This includes the costs to the Central Electricity Generating Board of replacing coal with oil in its power stations, losses to the Coal Board and British Rail, lost tax and the payments of social security benefits.

In addition there is the cost of the massive police operation. It has been excluded from Simon and Coates' calculations, which makes their estimate of £840 million so far look on the low side.

★ 'A nuclear power programme would have the advantage of removing a substantial portion of

DHSS was told not to allow mining apprentices to claim unemployment benefit.

A DHSS office in Blackpool told a miner who applied for family income supplement, 'We are being instructed to include miners' earnings from before the strike.'

★ A SECRET hit list of Scottish pits was

discovered by striking miners who occupied the Scottish Coal Board's headquarters in Edinburgh on Monday.

The confidential document reveals that four pits are scheduled for closure within two years. They are Monktonhall, Seafield, Barony and Comrie.

The Coal Board also plans to run down the Cowdenbeath workshops to 60 men by June 1986,

and to push through 500 redundancies at Bilston Glen pit by 1987.

The 20 miners who discovered the details were occupying the NCB headquarters in protest at the board's refusal to hand over outstanding holiday pay.

Send to

Letters

PO Box 82 London E2 9DS

How ideas change...

IN THEIR letters to Socialist Worker (2 June) Melanie Wilson and Melanie Lessels both pointed out a problem that does exist in the miners' attitudes toward women.

But neither showed how that problem can be overcome. Sexist attitudes can be changed, but not through moralistic calls for men to be more understanding.

The growth of wives' support groups has been a tremendous step forward. It was obvious on the Barnsley demonstration of women against pit closures that miners saw the importance of women's support.

But too often the groups are only collecting food and running soup kitchens. They also need to be involved in the strike itself.

Because, in general, women have not been picketing alongside the men Houghton Main colliery refused to allow women to travel on their buses to Mansfield because they might hear 'bad language'.

As socialists we argue that ideas change in struggle. But this does not happen automatically. We need to be there on the picket lines arguing socialist politics. These arguments take place when there is active support for a dispute.

During the Dodworth dispute last year, for example, I found that the more fre-

quently I visited the picket lines the more respect I gained for my ideas, and the less men were prepared to dismiss me because I am a woman.

The miners' attitude towards women will only change when they find women joining them on the picket lines.

□FRAN POSTLETHWAITE
Barnsley

★WELL I don't really understand a lot about the strike but I do know that my Mum and Dad are standing for what they believe in. It is so me and my brother Peter can work when we leave school.

My Mum is in the action group. She goes out a lot to get money to feed the miners. My Mum goes on the picket line. One copper smacked her and she lost her tooth.

I sometimes hear my Mum crying at night because she can't get us a lot for Christmas. My Dad says, 'don't worry love the kids will be alright'. She says that its bad without money because its the first Christmas without her Dad. He died on May 20th '84 and she misses him very much.

I am trying to be good and don't ask for much money now. My Mum says if I had two bob she would have two bobbys from Donny guarding it. I know she's only kidding as she doesn't like the bobbys anymore. They beat up pickets and throw money at them, that's what they do at our pit.

□WICKY (aged 10)
Armthorpe, Doncaster

POSTAL points

★WE ARE finally convinced about who is responsible for violence on the picket lines.

After Sgt Janet Smith was 'stoned and kicked by a howling mob' we were appalled when we actually saw her injuries in the next day's papers.

No doubt the doctor who treated her was so completely overwhelmed by the damage done to this creature that he didn't quite know where to put the bandages...

Victory to the miners!

□THE LADS'
A Shift, Fords Halewood

★TWO Socialist Worker miners collection sheets arrived recently at this office.

The current level of support being demonstrated by fellow trade unionists is continuing to give encouragement to miners engaged in industrial action, not only to oppose pit closures, but against the anti-trade union laws.

Through you I would like to thank all comrades for their best wishes and financial support.

□P Heathfield,
Secretary, National Union of Mineworkers,
South Yorkshire

★MY husband Frank is a striking miner from Cotgrave. He has just been released after three days in prison. We were lucky to get him out.

He was sent to jail for 21 days for being four pounds behind on rates arrears payments of £1 a week to Nottingham Council. That pound represents a meal for my three children.

Frank was singled out on Cotgrave picket line as a militant and told to report to a police station on Tuesday morning. Within one hour of reporting there he had been sentenced by magistrates.

A friend offered in the court to pay off the arrears, and it was refused. The clerk of the court said, 'It's too late, they've taken their decision.'

During the hearing the prosecutor said, 'Frank had been active in the dispute picketing and collecting money for miners. The clerk of the court said, 'You realise you could go back to work'. Frank said, 'I can't.'

The clerk said, 'Why not?'. Frank then said, 'I'm striking for the right to work.'

Before the magistrates' decision was announced two prison officers appeared ready to handcuff him.

□CAROL HAMILTON
Nottingham

PAUL FOOT

United in battle for the class

ONE OF the most exhilarating and exciting things about the miners' strike (and there are plenty of those, as well as the holes in it) is the mobilisation of women.

By all accounts, the march and rally of 10,000 women from mining communities all over Britain last Saturday was a most fantastic event.

The women from the miners' communities have not been confined to passive support, or to servicing the strike—they have been out on the picket lines.

There was, as far as I can remember, none of this in 1972 or 1974. Then the movement for women's liberation, which flowered in the 1970s, was in its infancy. As that movement grew, so two arguments sprung up on either side of it to blunt its influence and its growth.

The first was that women's place was in the home, looking after their men.

This argument was not confined to the Daily Mail—it penetrated deep into the working class where solid, socialist men argued that the relationship between men and women in modern society was about right, that there was no oppression in it, and that any concern with women's liberation was 'bourgeois deviationism'.

Poisoned

This attitude was quite strong in the National Union of Mineworkers. Arthur Scargill publicly defended the publishing of 'pin-up' women in his union journal, and in the process managed to get through a fair amount of sexist drivel.

Arguments like the ones he used in that debate served to separate the struggle for the emancipation of women from the struggle for the emancipation of labour. Indeed they poisoned the labour movement at its very roots, by pretending that anyone can free themselves while they are condoning discrimination against others.

The other argument seemed to be the opposite, but was in fact the reverse side of the same coin. This was that the central problem in society was the liberation of women, that all woes of modern life stemmed from the oppression of women by men, and that therefore the fundamental battle, far more im-

portant than any other, was for women to break the masculine chains which bound them.

Obviously, they could only achieve this without men. Obviously, therefore, this cut out any class struggle, since there were even more men at work than there were women. So this argument too served to separate the struggle for women's liberation from the struggle for workers' liberation, to set one set of freedom-fighters in bitter battle against the other, and to weaken both.

There was, throughout that time, a third argument. This was that the treatment of women in capitalist society was one of the most powerful indictments of it; that women were, plainly, worse off than men in society, and that this discrimination, whether in the workplace or the home, greatly assisted the class in power.

Rougher

Discrimination and sexism was widespread, even in the working class movement, and had unconditionally to be resisted.

But the power to change society could not escape its fundamental economics, its class divisions. The power to change was rooted in the ability of workers to take their own decisions about the work they did, and the wealth they produced, and to act together.

It followed from this that the most effective way to change not just wages and conditions, but also discrimination against women, was working class action.

Much of this is being worked out before our eyes. The 'keep women in the home' brigade have been out in force, especially among the scabs. They have had a rougher time than ever before.

The 'ultras' who believed only in women's action, and who denounced the miners' strike as 'macho', have been routed. The combination of the power of working class action and the organisation of women who are part of that struggle, has been electric.

It has changed sexism and prejudice everywhere. I haven't read everything Arthur Scargill said at the women's rally in Barnsley, but I'm damned sure he didn't speak up for pin-ups in his union magazine.

(26 May, 1984)

BEHIND THE SECRET TALKS...

Tories plan to split the miners

The secret talks between the Coal Board and the NUM are a grave threat to the miners' strike.

The headline on the latest edition of The Miner, the union's paper, declares, 'They're cracking'. Inside it even claims that the 'Strike Rocks the Financial World'.

But every militant knows that the Tories aren't yet under enough pressure to make them cave in and concede the miners' demands.

And they know you don't sit down to talks until you've won the war—unless you want to sue for peace.

It's easy to see what the peace terms could be.

The Coal Board could 'save' the pits most identified with the strike like Cortonwood and withdraw this year's closures, except for a few pits 'irreparably damaged' by the strike.

After a long strike, they will need all their capacity to rebuild stocks, but only to intimidate the miners from fighting next year's pit closures.

The dubious elements on the NUM executive would settle for this quite happily and even claim it was a famous victory. They are certainly pressurising Arthur Scargill, Mick McGahey and Peter Heathfield to agree such a settlement.

So too are Neil Kinnock and the Labour Party establishment. Arthur Scargill tried to justify this secrecy at a rally of striking Warwickshire

miners on Friday. It was the only part of his speech that wasn't cheered to the echo.

Peter Heathfield also told the press that secrecy was needed to prevent media interference in the talks.

'It's important,' he said, 'that we keep away from extraneous pressures.'

But a mass lobby of miners could put some 'extraneous pressure' on the Coal Board, just as lobbies of executive meetings destroyed the media's campaign for a ballot earlier in the strike.

Lobbies won't win the strike—but nor will secret talks. Victory will come from the picket line, nowhere else.

Arrested

That's why Arthur Scargill should have gone straight back to Orgreave after he was arrested last week, instead of going off to the secret talks.

The talks either mean a sell-out—whatever the NUM leaders say—or they are an attempt by the Tories and the Coal Board to defuse the miners' action and demoralise them when no deal is struck.

Either way, they are simply a trap for the NUM. Miners should demand their leaders leave the negotiating table and instead organise the action that would really hit industry and force the Tories to surrender.

(9 June, 1984)



Delegations of trade unionists from London and beyond joined the South East day of action in support of the miners on 27 June

Pit villages fight back

YORKSHIRE pit villages erupted on Monday when miners kept NCB area safety men out of pits in response to coal board efforts to engineer a back to work movement.

The picketing is a warning to Thatcher of the problems she will face if the coal board try to move coal from pit heads.

A mass picket of Rossington miners felled trees across the entry road and stretched barbed wire round their pit yard.

Some 250 police stormed the barricades

early on Monday and brought in the safety men and, in a whitewashed NCB van, two scabs who live in Armthorpe village.

The word quickly went round Rossington village and numbers began to swell round the pit. Miners from Armthorpe colliery came across to join the picket.

After consulting with the NUM branch committee, the police withdrew. The NUM branch committee agreed to call in four top Yorkshire officials, Jack Taylor, Sammy

Thompson, Owen Briscoe and Frank Cave, to disperse the crowd.

The officials moved among the pickets parroted the same lines: 'We must be organised and disciplined. We are the generals. What you are doing is illegal. You'll be charged with unlawful assembly and riotous behaviour.'

But no one moved. The pickets responded by re-occupying the pit yard, holding the management hostage and rebuilding the barricades.

The crowd began to dis-

perse at tea time, but when police reinforcements were seen in the village they re-joined the picket.

The police asked Jack Taylor if he could fetch out the management 'hostages', but the pickets refused.

Finally two police vans led by officials got through to rescue the managers. They left under a hail of bricks leaving the assistant colliery manager behind.

Meanwhile a group of women found a scab in the main street and beat him up.

(14 July, 1984)

HARWICH SHOWS THE WAY

TWO HUNDRED seamen and a group of dockers at Harwich took strike action on Wednesday in support of the miners. The seamen work on the passenger liner, the St Nicholas.

Two Derbyshire miners went onto the ship to argue their case that morning. Throughout the strike miners have gone onto ships posing as passengers and there have been regular collections for them.

Shortly before the day of action, seamen were told they would lose 150 jobs when parts of Sealink are sold off.

Bob Steward—a port committee NUS rep—said, 'The meeting decided that the miners' fight and our fight are the same and so we joined the two together'. The two miners got a standing ovation and a big whip round.

The seamen and dockers are not in the

South East TUC area, yet came out on Wednesday without any direction from their union. They hope that Slater and the NUS leadership are going to take notice of this and give a lead in the fight against selling their jobs.

(7 July, 1984)

Ford workers back miners

OVER £1,000 a week is being collected for the miners at Ford's Halewood plant on Merseyside. From the start of the strike, Socialist Worker sellers have been collecting about £80 a week in the factory. After three months of the strike, the shop stewards committee decided to make collections round the whole plant.

In the first week they raised £800, the next it topped £1,000 and the next £1,400.

(30 June, 1984)

Picture: JOHN STURROCK (Reportage)



The events outside Orgreave coking plant near Rotherham over the past two weeks may well come to be seen as the turning point in the miners' strike. The chance was lost to rejuvenate a strike which has been drifting towards a 'compromise' settlement that will allow the Coal Board to continue closing pits.

It was thrown away by the leaders of the Yorkshire miners, who sabotaged Scargill's calls for a mass picket to close Orgreave. Alex Callinicos tells the story. Pictures by John Sturrock

THE confrontation at Orgreave was provoked by the management of British Steel's Scunthorpe plant in consultations with the Tory government.

They had an agreement with the Yorkshire NUM for 15,700 tons of coal a week.

They insisted on using the coal not just to keep their blast furnaces warm (the pretext for the NUM dispensation), but to maintain steel production.

As prime coking coal ran out, both Scunthorpe's blast furnaces and the quality of the steel produced deteriorated.

The steel bosses then tore up their deal with the NUM and decided to use coke from Orgreave. The scab lorries began moving coal from Orgreave on Wednesday 23 May. But the Yorkshire miners' leaders were slow to react.

Pickets

Then on Sunday 27 May Arthur Scargill appeared on the picket line and called for mass picketing. A week of confrontations began.

By Tuesday of last week the number of pickets had grown to 5,000.

Scargill took personal charge and, under his direction, the police line was almost broken, despite 83 arrests and the use of mounted police and riot shields.

It seemed Orgreave could become another Saltley.

Instead, when Scargill arrived at 7.15 the next morning there were perhaps 100 pickets.

His arrest quickly followed—almost certain-



ly by prior decision on the part of the police—to prevent him playing the same role he had played the previous day.

The eventual total of 800 pickets stood no chance of breaking through. What went wrong? South Yorkshire Chief Constable Peter Wright claimed that rank and file miners, chastened by the violence, had spurned Scargill's call.

The truth is different. Even though the miners' delegate conference in April decided to put the national leadership in control of the strike, picketing is still organised by the various NUM areas.

Yorkshire pickets receive their instructions each morning from their branch committee.

No elected strike committees have been set up—the fulltime branch officials tend to run the strike at a local level.

Branch officials in turn get their orders from the Yorkshire area headquarters in Barnsley. Every night a sealed letter is sent to each branch telling them where to picket the next day.

Pickets who refuse to obey instructions do not receive petrol money and run the risk of not getting legal help from the union if arrested.

On Tuesday 22 May, the instructions were to go to Orgreave—hence the large turnout.

The next day, however, miners picked up their picketing instructions to find themselves being sent to Nottinghamshire.

The same instructions were issued on Thursday and Friday. Scargill's call was sabotaged by Jack Taylor, Yorkshire miners' president, and the other leaders of area NUM.

Impotence

It isn't the first time. Five weeks ago Scargill declared that no dispensations would be given to the steel industry—yet the area leadership continued to allow coal into Scunthorpe, Ravenscraig and Llanwern.

The result was demoralisation and confusion. 'What happened on Wednesday—being sent to Nottinghamshire and not to Orgreave—ripped the guts out of me,' one Yorkshire miner said.

After Scargill's arrest

and the violent scenes on Wednesday, some pickets were prepared to defy their instructions and go to Orgreave. But the numbers were too few to break through.

Nor was there anyone willing to give any direction. After his arrest, Scargill did not reappear at Orgreave.

Miners drifted around aimlessly, penned in by the police, some making ritual efforts to push through when the coal lorries left the plant around 10 each morning. Twenty-nine pickets were arrested on Thursday and Friday.

Many miners were very angry at the lack of leadership. One, speaking for many, said, 'What we need is organisation. Maybe we can't get as organised as

the police, but we can do better than this.'

Many miners now believe that the strike will be sold out. Those responsible are not right-wingers.

Predicted

With Scargill, they established left-wing ascendancy among the Yorkshire miners by acting as the rank and file leaders of the unofficial militancy of the late 1960s and the great strikes of 1972 and 1974.

The confidence and strength Yorkshire miners gained swept Scargill into first the area and then the national presidency and many left-wingers into fulltime positions.

This left-wing machine is responsible for the disaster at Orgreave.



Jack Taylor turns a deaf ear to Scargill's picketing plea

In power, Taylor and the rest have come to identify more and more with the interests of the union machine rather than with the miners they are supposed to represent.

Even though they sit on £8m worth of assets, they have grudgingly the petrol money needed for massive picketing.

The Yorkshire miners' leaders—not Nottinghamshire, was told that he must be either a 'Scargillite' or a member of the Socialist Workers Party!

But Scargill cannot escape his share of responsibility for what happened.

He has argued that the way to change the union is simply to rely on electing left-wingers to official positions, even though it has led directly to the disastrous leadership in Yorkshire.

And even though it has been clear since early on in the strike that the 'left' area leaderships were preventing its effective conduct, Scargill has failed to break with Taylor and the rest.

He has not appealed over their heads to rank and file members or given his backing to the election of unofficial strike committees to run the strike.

It is too early to tell whether failure at Orgreave is merely the prelude to a sell-out of the strike.

But one lesson is clear. Orgreave shows how mistaken it is for workers to rely on any leader, however left-wing, instead of building the rank and file organisation capable of taking the initiative independently of full-time officials.

(9 June, 1984)

The Battle of Orgreave and how it was lost...



Miners after three months— a crisis of leadership

by Tony Cliff

THE MINERS' strike has gone on for over three months. Serious miners are more and more asking themselves why there is no real move forward.

The political weakness of the workers' leaders is the root of today's difficulties.

In 1972 and 1974 the miners did not have to picket their fellow miners. Today 27,000 are still working. The split in the mining community was caused by a directly political act, the introduction of the miners' incentive scheme in 1977 by then energy minister Tony Benn.

The reason why the steel industry hasn't been stopped is equally political. Arthur Scargill said to massive applause in Cardiff last month that there would be no dispensations for steel.

Concentrated

But because Mick McGahey believes in a Scottish 'national interest', he is scared that British Steel will close Ravenscraig and leave Llanwern and Port Talbot open. Similarly Emlyn Williams, the Welsh NUM president worries that British Steel might scrap Llanwern and save Ravenscraig, so both keep their local plant in production.

This defence of 'Scottish interests' on the one hand and 'Welsh interests' on the other plays straight into the hand of the Tories' divide and rule policies.

When Lenin wrote that politics is concentrated economics he meant that to be consistent politically you have to look at the interests of the whole working class, not just sections of it.

The Labour movement in Britain doesn't think like this. It is a federation of sectional groups where unity means unity of the leaders at the top. This phoney unity of the chiefs paralyses the unity of workers from below.

Labour's role has been most damaging of all. Labour leaders have

constantly argued for negotiations. In the middle of a war, those who call for negotiations are fifth columnists. When we say the strike faces a political crisis, we mean that the two concepts of how society will be changed, of what socialism is about, are decisive. Does it come from the top, through trade union officials and Labour MPs, or does it come from below, through the rank and file?

The last point on the crisis of leadership is its style. Marxists believe that the emancipation of the working class is the act of the working class. Unfortunately the miners' leaders have resorted to tricks and manoeuvres.

Manoeuvres and bluffing usually disorientate your own side, not the enemy.

Nor should they delude themselves that they can raise an army by snapping their fingers. The debacle at Orgreave shows that you can't expect miners to suddenly flock to picket steel if you've been telling them to leave steel alone for weeks.

The rank and file appear as a stage army to the trade union bureaucrats and every action they sanction is too little, too late.

Nonsense

What the miners need to win, as do workers in other industries, is the existence of a community of socialists who look at the working class as a whole. Who think of themselves not only as members of the NUM or NUR but, above all, as socialists.

That group of socialists should understand that real unity in the working class can only be achieved from below, between rank and file miner and rank and file railway worker. Above all, they should know that a victorious mass strike is more important than ten general elections.

In other words it's necessary to build a socialist party which can argue these ideas consistently.

(9 June, 1984)

Strike brings more support

A STRIKE at Manchester's Piccadilly station has ensured support for the miners there will continue.

The trouble started when four rail workers were arrested by the transport police and charged with 'soliciting aims without a permit'—that is, collecting for the miners.

A special branch meeting was called which decided to stage a 12 hour strike the following Wednesday unless the charges were dropped.

The guards and tele- coms sections picketed the station from 12 midnight to 12 noon. They received a massive boost when a busload of striking miners from Bold and Agecroft collieries came to join them on the picket line.

British Rail management have now backed down. They have accepted there will be a collection taking place at the pay point on Piccadilly station. On Thursday, the day after the strike, £40 was donated, more than on any previous collection.

The police have also backed down. The charges against the railworkers have been dropped and a caution issued instead.

The only bleak spot is that one of the four workers who was arrested is now under threat of disciplinary action from the management.

They are claiming he was absent without leave during the time he was under arrest! At the time of going to press the workers were hoping that they could make the management back down over this issue as well.

SLOUGH

The Siri Guru Singh Sabha temple in Slough have handed over £600 worth of food to Gwent Miners.

Kernel Sidhu explained to Socialist Worker how he raised the appeal on the temple committee. 'I compared the struggle of miners in Britain to similar attacks by the government on organised workers in India,' he said. The president of the temple explained there would now be regular collections for the Welsh miners.

(22 September 1984)

Court seizes miners' funds—An attack on us all

DOCK STRIKE Now start to picket

THE REGISTERED ports and all the largest un-registered ports are supporting the national dock strike.

But there are weaknesses. Very few pickets have been sent out beyond their own ports. This will create serious problems if employers start to use small, non-unionised ports such as Wivenhoe and Brightlingsea.

LOWESTOFT, YARMOUTH and TILBURY

In Yarmouth supply vessels for North Sea oil rigs have been given dispensations from the strike by the union. Local officials have argued that if the work is not done by Yarmouth ships it will be done by Dutch vessels instead!

CLYDESIDE

Pickets have been set up at most docks. At Ardrrossan, vehicles bound for Arran have been successfully turned back.

At Hunterston ISTC members who have been scabbing on the miners for four months are now breaking the dockers' picket line by continuing to load iron ore and coal. The small picket line of miners and dockers can provide the basis for further joint activities.

HUMBERSIDE

Picketing other than at Hull is not to be considered until a stewards' meeting at Goole on Friday.

Port shop steward Walter Cunningham stated, 'We want to go forward with the miners and we shall not return until the miners' strike is over,' but added, 'If the question comes up on Friday we'll consider picketing the wharves. At present though there seems to be no likelihood of mass pickets.'

Rank and file miners lobbied docks stewards to request permission to address a mass meeting last Monday.

The request was refused on the grounds that three weeks ago a mass meeting of dockers voted not to stop work in support of the miners.

At Grimsby, scab labour had been used to unload fish after the regular workers refused.

ABERDEEN

Fish is only being landed on Mondays and Tuesdays. At Peterhead dockers who had previously come out voted to return to work on Tuesday. The dockers handle oil rig supply vessels and have decided to give them dispensation.

DOVER and FELIXSTOWE

Both these ports are now closed to cargo traffic. These non-scheme ports are among five largest in the country. But the leadership of the TGWU has refused to demand the extension of the scheme.

(21 July, 1984)



Liverpool dockers on strike

Onto the defensive

WE REPORT from a meeting last Sunday of Socialist Workers Party members from 15 pits across the country. They discussed the present stage of the miners' strike, and how to combat scabbing.

'The miners' strike has entered a new phase over the past few weeks,' said Alex Callinicos introducing the discussion. 'Tactics which were appropriate at an earlier stage no longer fit the present, much more defensive situation.'

'Until the battles of Orgrave in May and June the dominating issue was how to make the strike effective, how to make it hit the economy.'

'Steel was the key—if the miners could halt the steel plants, as they did in 1972 and 1974, then the rest of industry would be rapidly affected.'

'Orgrave was a turning point. Up to then the Tories seemed genuinely uncertain about whether or not they

should come to some face-saving compromise with the NUM.

'But Orgrave made Thatcher scent blood. Their success at Orgrave convinced the Tories that they could use the same methods which they had used to keep steel going—the riot police, scab lorry drivers—to move coal from the pitheads to the power stations if necessary.'

'The result is the present phase in the strike, one in which the miners have been forced onto the defensive. Instead of trying to hit steel they have been driven back onto their own ground, picketing their own pits to keep the scabs from getting in.'

'What's happening is a softening-up operation. The Tories are using the scabs to test the miners' defences, to identify weaknesses.'

'The miners must picket their own pits to stop the scabbing. That's the key to the present phase of the strike.'

(15 September, 1984)

Picketing the pits is the key

THE NEW defensive stage of the strike has meant that tactics have to change. Much of the meeting was taken up with discussing how miners could step up the picketing now they are being forced back to picketing their own pits. Steve Hammill from Silverwood in South Yorkshire explained what this meant. 'As we entered this phase of the strike you could see the police activity building. It was obvious that they were on the offensive and rolling us back.'

'Therefore the key has become the pits and stopping the scabs.'

'It's very appealing to think that we can go on the offensive, but it's not the time. Therefore we have to build the pickets by doing things like knocking on

Ian Mitchell described how they got more people out picketing at Silverwood. 'We went round knocking on people's doors trying to get them out picketing. The response was good, people would come out now they felt they had to fight.'



Ian Mitchell

'When Scargill called for a mass picket at every pit, we said to the branch officials we've got to respond to this call and they agreed. It wasn't just SWP miners.'

'We began to suss out some of the problems. There are people who are basically scared, and for every miner who says it there are ten that think it. We're scared, but we're used to it.'

'Many sit at home watching the police violence on the TV and it terrifies them. We've got to



Norman Strike

be understanding about that when we try to get people out picketing.'

(15 September, 1984)

Tories' picket line lies

THE POLICE and the media have spent the twenty eighth week of the miners' strike engaging in an orgy of lies about 'picket line violence'.

They claim that on Friday and Monday heavily outnumbered police were subjected to a three hour-long barrage of bricks, bottles, air gun pellets and catapult-launched ball bearings from 5,000 pickets at Maltby in South Yorkshire.

In fact there were 2,000 pickets at Maltby on Friday, faced by police horses and dogs from the South and West Yorkshire constabularies. Pickets counted 180 minivans full of police going into the pit yard with more following in coaches.

There were no air rifles, and the police were subject to sporadic bricking only after they had baton charged the strikers.

The Daily Express claimed that on Monday 'pickets opened fire with deadly new weapons', as '5,000 brave policemen faced 5,000 raging pickets'.

Yet just 1,000 pickets turned out. Ted Millward, treasurer of the Maltby miners, told Socialist Worker what happened.

'There was a massive police presence and we couldn't get near the pit gate. They shoved us right away to the perimeter of the village. There was some stones thrown, but very little.'

Police waited until around 250 pickets remained before boiler suited officers with no identification marks emerged from woods, to launch a savage attack from behind.

'I was involved at Orgrave, but I've never seen anything like this. And a lot of the public, who were on their way to work, saw it all,' said Ted Millward.

'They saw them smash pickets with no attempt to make arrests. They let their dogs bite us.'

'Two of our first aiders who were bandaging a lad bleeding on the floor were hammered.'

(29 September, 1984)

Coal was moved from Bolt pit in the Lancashire coalfield at the end of last week. This was almost certainly an attempt to test the ability of the coal board to move

stocks from strike-bound pits. Unfortunately they hired a unionised firm. By the beginning of this week the operation had been stopped.

(7 December, 1984)

TUC get off your knees—Defend the miners' union

Battle for the power stations

The NUM is facing an attack on union rights more serious than anything we have seen in a lifetime.

Never before have our rulers had the nerve to hand over a trade union lock, stock and barrel to a Tory lawyer.

Yet this is what has happened with the replacement of the elected officials of the NUM by a court appointee—Herbert Brewer.

He is a Tory Party member and leading figure in the Institute of Directors.

As 'receiver' he is now in charge of the NUM's funds.

ELECTED

He is claiming something which the elected officials of the NUM have never done.

While knocking on the door of a Luxembourg bank in an attempt to nick £4 million of the miners' money he stated, 'I am the NUM'.



Herbert Brewer



With the slowing down of the back-to-work movement the Tories are putting more and more faith in the courts.

Their judges are making up laws so as to put the unions into a position where it cannot continue the strike.

Over two thirds of the miners are still on strike.

Yet the courts have declared that the NUM cannot continue to function.

The union has been forbidden by the courts to call the strike official, to spend money on backing its striking members, or to do anything to counter the Coal Board's back-to-work pressure.

He is claiming something which the elected officials of the NUM have never done.

The court is demanding the union 'purge its contempt' before it can have its funds back.

This would mean abandoning the strike.

Unless the whole labour movement acts now to support the miners then no union in Britain will be safe.

(7 December, 1984)

THREE POWER stations—West Thurrock, Didcot and Tilbury—have in the last week all seen action in support of the miners. Workers at each station have refused to accept scab coal and oil.

Other power workers, particularly in the big coal-fired stations in the north and Scotland, have also undertaken to refuse scab deliveries.

Unfortunately the two major power unions, the GMBATU and the TGWU, have done little to build and extend this action.

Despite the TUC resolution, passed almost three months ago, which called for the blacking of scab coal and of oil substituted for coal, the unions have yet to issue any instructions to power workers on the subject.

In the next few weeks miners and power workers need with the utmost urgency to build and strengthen the links between them.

(24 November, 1984)

STOPPING THE FILTH

'MINERS ONCE the salt of the earth, are now the scum of the earth'. That would have been the Sun's front page on Saturday morning had action by the print unions not kept this filth off the streets.

A spokesman for the workers in the composing room at the Sun explained the events that stopped the paper.

'It was disgusting, he said, 'but we were prepared to print it in entirety, providing the unions were allowed a disclaimer.'

'Management refused. Then we asked for equal space for the NUM to reply, or even a paid advert on page two. Some people were even prepared to accept a letter printed three days later.'

'But all management offered was to "consider" publishing our letter. Of course this was completely unacceptable. Management then abandoned the print.'

'It's important to say that other union chapels apart from the composing room were involved in the attempt to get a disclaimer. There were the NGA, SOGAT, electricians and machine minders. Others would have joined but we didn't have time to get round them all.'

The Sun wasn't produced on Monday and Tuesday, as printers in the machine room demanded payment for the loss of Saturday's paper!

(6 October, 1984)





Out against closures

Scargill calls for mass pickets

MOST OF the miners' leaders have refused to call for mass picketing as the only way to guarantee victory for the strike. But there is one notable exception—Arthur Scargill.

He repeated the call when questioned at a meeting in Cynheidre on Monday.

'We need to scale up the picketing. We need mass picketing to stop the flow of oil, coke and iron ore... We want nationwide leafleting of power stations and steel works. We need to look at 1972. It wasn't the



Scargill: We need more picketing

Scab walks no more

WOMEN FROM Sunnyhill village in South Yorkshire last week smashed police and Coal Board plans to demoralise strikers at Silverwood colliery.

The coal board had hoped to demonstrate falling support for the strike by walking a scab into work.

For three days the scab, Tommy Mousey, was walked in and out accompanied by a police escort. But his behaviour particularly incensed the local community.

On Tuesday night he had turned up at the local working men's club. After he was served everyone drinking in the club walked out. When they got outside they found police transits waiting for action.

And so on Thursday, as Tommy Mousey returned with his police escort, the women came out to greet him.

As he appeared in the village more and more women and their children turned out to mock and show their contempt for his

behaviour. The police were powerless to do anything. They were obliged to walk him down the middle of the road as onlookers from shops and front gardens joined in the chorus. 'The women were just fantastic,' said one of the

pickets. 'Their action has given us all a boost.'

On Friday morning, the walking scab was not to be seen. He was later spotted travelling at high speed in a wire meshed up van.

Finchley and Barnet Miners' Support Group travelled from London to deliver presents to Lundwood Women's Support Group's Christmas Party

'One problem we've got is that there is no coordination of the pickets. Our pit is just a mile and a half from Warsop. And a lot of the miners from the two pits live in either village, but there's no forum for them to meet.'

Inside the pit, fights are breaking out among scabs. Terry said, 'Some blokes who are scabbing were out on strike picketing for the whole time. A couple have come out again. I think that's mainly been a gut reaction to working with the real scabs.'

'One problem is that since the big surge back to work there has been very little propaganda about how to hold the strike together. We've tried to rectify that by getting the West Hampstead Miners Support Group in London to produce a newsletter for us. They are doing all the printing and paying for it.'

You'll find more of Socialist Worker in the Socialist Worker Review This month's issue out now

More analysis of the miners' strike

major analysis of Bea Campbell's politics

Available for 60p from your Socialist Worker seller or from PO Box 82, London E2

Features on the present state of the Labour left and a

An interview with the Redskins. And much, much more

Available for 60p from your Socialist Worker seller or from PO Box 82, London E2

Available for 60p from your Socialist Worker seller or from PO Box 82, London E2

Lobby the TUC

Wednesday 23 January, 9am

Outside Congress House, Great Russell Street (near Tottenham Court Road LT station)

STOP THE POWER STATIONS! IMPLEMENT CONGRESS POLICY!

Called by Broad Left Organising Committee

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(12 January, 1985)

(9 March, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March, 1985)

(2 February, 1985)

(5 January, 1985)

(22 December, 1984)

(19 January, 1985)

(2 March,

Socialist Worker

Neither Washington nor Moscow but international socialism

£1



This Miners' Strike special is made up of articles and photos as they appeared in Socialist Worker during the struggle.

Still fighting the Tories

Get Socialist Worker

phone 020 7819 1171
or email circ@socialistworker.co.uk

Small images of Socialist Worker newspaper covers are shown at the bottom right of the text box, including one with the headline "BLAME THE TORIES NOT THE MIGRANTS" and another with "WE'VE GOT TO TAKE THEM ON".