



**TUC**

Changing the world  
of work for good

CONGRESS 2017

# GPC Report, Composite Motions and General Council Statements

**The 149th Annual Trades Union Congress**  
10–13 September 2017, Brighton



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## SECTION 1

# GPC REPORT TO CONGRESS

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## Part 1 Agenda

All motions and amendments stand as in the Agenda unless indicated otherwise below. Where composite motions have been agreed and approved by the GPC by 6 September, they are shown in the list below and the text of the composite motion is given in Section 3 of this report.

Composite motions agreed and approved by the GPC after 6 September will be reported to Congress by the GPC and copies circulated to delegates as quickly as possible.

Where movers of motions have agreed to accept published amendments by 6 September, this is also stated in the list below. The GPC will report to Congress all instances where published amendments are accepted by the movers of motions after 6 September.

The following is the position at 6 September in respect of motions, amendments and composite motions. Motion numbers are those printed in the Agenda.

1. THE ECONOMY	
01 Unite 02 ASLEF amend Community	<b>Composite 01</b> <b>A strong economy that works for all</b>
03 UNISON	Stands
04 FBU	Stands
05 NAHT amend NEU (NUT)	Stands accepted
06 BALPA amend CWU amend Prospect amend RMT amend ASLEF	<b>Composite 02</b> <b>The safety risks of light-touch regulation</b>
07 Community amend TSSA	Stands withdrawn
08 Accord 09 Aegis	<b>Composite 03</b> <b>Rebuilding the finance sector</b>

10 BFAWU amend CWU amend FBU amend ASLEF amend TSSA	<b>Composite 04 Climate change</b>
11 RMT	Stands
12 Nautilus International amend RMT	Stands accepted
13 Nautilus International	Stands
14 TSSA amend Unite	Stands accepted
15 Equity	Stands
16 AUE	Stands
17 TUC Trades Union Councils Conference 2017	Stands
<b>2. BREXIT</b>	
18 Unite	<b>Composite 05 Brexit, the Single Market and workers' rights</b>
19 EIS amend FDA	withdrawn
20 TSSA amend UNISON amend RCM	<b>Composite 06 Influencing the Brexit deal</b>
21 Prospect amend UCU	Stands accepted
22 UCU amend NASUWT	<b>Composite 07 Free movement of labour and EU workers</b>
23 CSP amend RCM	
24 Equity	
25 Musicians' Union	
26 Musicians' Union	Stands

### 3. RESPECT AND A VOICE AT WORK

27 GMB 28 USDAW 29 CWU 30 Prospect 31 NUJ amend Equity 32 Accord amend Unite amend Community	<b>Composite 08 Great jobs</b>
33 POA amend FBU	Stands accepted
34 BFAWU	Stands
35 FDA	Stands
36 Aegis	Stands
37 USDAW amend UNISON	Stands accepted
38 TUC Black Workers Conference	Stands
39 ASLEF	Stands
40 TUC Women’s Conference	Stands
41 TUC LGBT+ Conference	Stands

### 4. GOOD SERVICES

42 UNISON amend Unite amend NASUWT amend FDA 43 PCS 44 EIS 45 CSP 46 FBU 47 RCM amend SoR 48 POA amend GMB	<b>Composite 09 Public sector pay</b>
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49 National Education Union (NUT) 50 NAHT 51 AEP amend GMB	<b>Composite 10</b> <b>Education funding crisis</b>
52 National Education Union (ATL)	Stands
53 UCU amend NEU (ATL)	Stands accepted
54 NASUWT amend USDAW	Stands accepted
55 AEP 56 BDA amend CSP	Office to seek agreement
57 UNISON 58 SCP 59 HCSA	Office to seek agreement
60 RCM amend CSP	Stands accepted
61 Community amend USDAW 62 BDA	<b>Composite 11</b> <b>Mental health funding</b>
63 SoR	Stands
64 SoR	Stands
65 SCP	Stands
66 HCSA	Stands
67 FDA amend PCS amend Prospect	<b>Composite 12</b> <b>New settlement for the civil service</b>
68 Napo	Stands
69 Napo amend UNISON	Stands accepted
70 PCS amend Equity	Stands accepted

<b>5. STRONG UNIONS</b>	
71 NASUWT	Stands
72 CWU amend SoR	Stands accepted
73 PFA	Stands
74 TUC Young Workers Conference	Stands
75 Unite	Stands
76 NUJ amend NUJ	Stands accepted
<b>6. TUC ADMIN &amp; ORGANISATION</b>	
77 GMB	Stands
78 RMT	Stands
79 TUC Disabled Workers Conference	Stands

## **Part 2 Introductions and presentations**

The GPC has approved the following speeches and presentations by members of the General Council, fraternal delegates and special guests:

### **Sunday afternoon**

- ◉ President's address and vote of thanks
- ◉ Address by Glenis Wilmott, Sororal Delegate from the Labour Party

### **Monday morning**

- ◉ General Secretary's address including General Council Statement on the TUC Campaign Plan

### **Monday afternoon**

- ◉ Special feature highlighting the role played by public service workers in responding to recent terrorist attacks and the Grenfell Tower fire

### **Tuesday morning**

- ◉ Special feature on reaching out to young workers

### **Tuesday afternoon**

- ◉ Address by the Rt. Hon. Jeremy Corbyn MP – Leader of the Opposition
- ◉ On Tuesday afternoon the TUC Congress Awards will be presented

### **Wednesday morning**

- ◉ Address by Huber Ballesteros – National Executive, Central Unitaria de Trabajadores (Colombia).



## **Part 3 Ballots**

The ballot for General Council Section C will take place on Tuesday. The candidates in sections A, B, D, E, F, G, H, I and J are elected unopposed.

Ballot papers for Section C, which will only be available to delegates from eligible unions (those with fewer than 30,000 members) may be collected from 09:00 on Tuesday from the scrutineers by the TUC Information Stand (Info Hub). Ballot papers will only be provided in exchange for the official delegate form.

The ballot closes at noon on Tuesday.

Delegates are reminded that in casting their union's votes, the total number of votes allocated to your union should be written in against the name(s) of the candidate(s) you wish to support. The number of votes allocated to each union is printed on the ballot paper. The result of the ballot will be announced towards the end of the Tuesday afternoon session.

## **Part 4 Standing orders**

Delegates are reminded of Rule 26 governing speaking times during Congress, which permits the following speaking times:

- movers of motions up to five minutes
- seconders of motions and all subsequent speakers up to three minutes.

A system of warning lights will be used with a green light showing at the beginning of a speaker's allowed time. This will change to amber one minute from the end of the allowed time and to red at the end of the allowed time. If the speaker continues when the red light is showing, a bell will ring.

Delegates are asked to co-operate fully with the rules on speaking times and to give their names and the names of their unions before they begin their speeches.

Congress sessions will be:

- **Sunday:** 16:00 to 19:00
- **Monday:** 09:30 to 12:45 and 14:15 to 17:30
- **Tuesday:** 09:30 to 12:45 and 14:15 to 17:30
- **Wednesday:** 09:30 to the close of business

Under rule, Congress must conclude no later than 16:00 on Wednesday.

## **Part 5 Membership of the General Purposes Committee**

Linda McCulloch (Chair)  
Bob Crosby  
Paddy Lillis  
Michelle Rodgers  
Chris Tansley

## SECTION 2

# TELLERS AND SCRUTINEERS

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### **Tellers**

**Paul Glover**  
UNISON

**Rob Goodfellow**  
UCU

**Cora Green**  
Prospect

**Shelagh Hirst**  
NEU

**Pennie Quinton**  
NUJ

**Gordon Rowntree**  
PCS

### **Scrutineers**

**Judith Batson**  
GMB

**Adam Burns**  
Equity

**Valerie Cooke**  
Usdaw

**Stephanie Dunne**  
Unite

**Natalie Linder**  
RCM

**Rob Wotherspoon**  
CWU

## SECTION 3

# COMPOSITE MOTIONS

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## **C01 A strong economy that works for all**

### **Motions 1 and 2 and amendment**

Congress affirms that austerity has failed and that a new economic model is needed to ensure a strong economy that works for all.

Government policy and action need to address the fundamental problems in our economy – lack of investment, endemic short-termism in business, inequality and stagnating pay.

Congress believes that investment is the engine of sustainable economic growth. Congress acknowledges that the need for infrastructure investment is one of the few areas of consensus across British politics today yet regrets that successive governments have failed to deliver the much needed funding it requires. Investment is needed in infrastructure (including transport, communications, energy and housing), research and development and public services. Investment will also provide the necessary revenue and resources for the public services and social security system the country deserves.

Congress notes that the latest World Economic Forum report ranked the UK 24th out of 138 countries in the world on the perceived quality of its infrastructure and further notes that the UK invests less in infrastructure as a share of GDP compared with similar countries, spending around 17 per cent of GDP compared to about 23 per cent in Japan and 21 per cent in France.

Congress believes that public investment in infrastructure pays for itself as evidenced by a report by the OECD which showed that investing 0.5 per cent of GDP in UK infrastructure could boost overall GDP by almost 0.6 per cent as well as reducing the nation's debt as a share of GDP by 0.2 per cent. Congress further believes that infrastructure investment can improve the quality of jobs, skills and training and enhance the lives of citizens through improvements to housing, transport and the digital economy as well as reducing carbon emissions.

Congress welcomes the Labour Party's pledge to create a National Investment Bank to support infrastructure investment, rebuild Britain's industry and provide support for SMEs.

This must be coupled with measures to ensure that investment delivers good quality, decent work. The transition to a high skill economy is best achieved by delivering security for people – stronger employment and trade union rights and representation, earnings and job security with training and development.

Congress acknowledges the role that government has in ensuring the economy delivers prosperity for all and calls on the General Council to campaign for an active industrial strategy to create new, good-quality jobs and better lives for the people of Britain and includes:

- i. greater investment in infrastructure, equipment, services, skills and innovation
- ii. positive procurement to support UK manufacturing and services to ensure that industrial supply chains across the UK can extract maximum benefit from all infrastructure investment and that is designed and used more effectively to support our home industries and UK jobs and promote fairness and a sustainable environment
- iii. policies that ensure the positive potential of automation is realised for all
- iv. corporate governance reform to end the endemic short-termism in business
- v. support for worker voice, strong trade unions and collective bargaining.

**Mover: Unite**

**Seconder: ASLEF**

**Supporter: Community**

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## **C02 The safety risks of light-touch regulation**

### **Motion 6 and amendments**

Since the 1980s consecutive governments have argued for the need to reduce regulation on industry under the guise of promoting entrepreneurship and employment. This has culminated in the gradual weakening of safety regulators in most sectors of the economy and the replacement of high quality standards and safety with 'light touch' regulation.

Essentially, this means firms being allowed to regulate themselves. In aviation, the most severe effects of this are seen in the area of pilot fatigue. Pilots are not just shift workers, they are shifting shift workers; their start times can vary drastically from day to day, these duties are very difficult to rest for. Pilots are also being presented with last minute additions to their duties and are then unlawfully pressured by the airline to fly. This all goes on with the full knowledge of the regulator who is apparently unable to intervene.

More widely, weak regulation and dwindling resources for enforcement agencies such as the HSE has been at the heart of many, if not most, disasters, the banking crisis, industrial accidents, care failings and operator fatigue accidents in the road, rail and maritime sectors. It also militates against a culture of continuous improvement to safety standards in the offshore oil and gas industry, including in offshore helicopter transport which has seen a series of fatal accidents in the last decade and remains offshore workers' primary safety concern. Regulators work more intensively but their capacity to respond to major incidents is under threat

e.g. the HSE has one third fewer staff than 10 years ago. Accordingly Congress is concerned that government will use 'Brexit' as an excuse to water down or remove valuable health and safety legislation.

Congress regrets the conflicts of interest and lack of transparency among regulatory bodies within the transport industry and asserts that the government must take a robust, direct and impartial approach to regulation in safety-critical industries such as transport.

Congress believes that 'light touch' regulation is inherently unsafe and puts the public and employees at risk. We call on the government to:

- i. scrap the dangerous experiment of 'light touch' regulation – Congress also agrees that we will campaign widely to protect and preserve existing legislation from indiscriminate removal under the guise of being "better for business" and work with trade unions to return to the proper setting and enforcement of safe standards in all sectors
- ii. provide additional funding to urgently address the decline in the HSE's capacity.

**Mover: British Air Line Pilots Association**  
**Seconder: Communication Workers Union**  
**Supporters: Prospect; RMT; ASLEF**

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## **C03 Rebuilding the finance sector**

### **Motions 8 and 9**

Since the financial crisis of 2008, a lot of public trust in the UK finance sector has been lost. While millions of people are paying for the crisis through the government's austerity agenda, it's not clear that any lessons have actually been learned by those at the top.

Congress notes that in the banking sector large scale branch closures and job losses are becoming the norm, leaving workers facing insecurity. The financial industry is seeking to cut costs by outsourcing, offshoring and disengaging from the communities it is meant to serve.

Financial activities are central to the political and economic debate in the aftermath of the EU referendum. Congress is naturally concerned about the loss of high value jobs to other countries. The majority of workers in the finance sector do not earn huge salaries and had nothing to do with the crash. Yet since 2008 they are the people who have lost out. They have seen their working conditions deteriorate and their terms and conditions eroded. Like many other sectors in the UK our members are feeling the strain daily from constant restructuring, ever changing regulation, unrealistic targets and performance management processes, dwindling resources and the constant threat of redundancy. With job losses already the norm in UK banking, this is the right time to ask how the financial industry can best serve the British economy and working people.

Ten years after the start of the global financial crisis, banks are still reluctant to lend to businesses. Lending is available to support a housing market that is increasingly out of reach of working people, and over the past year there is growing alarm at the scale of consumer credit. But lending to businesses has been negative in six out of the last eight years.

Congress has reported that conditions for working people are still dismal, facing the most severe real earnings crisis in at least 150 years. The financial industry should be supporting high quality work that delivers productive growth and decent wages.

We want to restore the trust in our industry and the pride our members had in their sector whilst ensuring they are treated fairly and adequately rewarded. Congress therefore encourages the TUC to examine the policy recommendations that would support a better financial system, providing decent jobs within the sector and in the wider economy.

Congress calls on the TUC to work with bodies like the Banking Standards Board and others to raise standards of behaviour and competence in the UK sector, to facilitate change and help the sector deliver better outcomes for employees as well as customers. Congress recognises that this would create a beneficial and positive impact on the working environment of the members we represent and society as a whole.

**Mover: Accord**  
**Seconder: Aegis**

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## **C04 Climate change**

### **Motion 10 and amendments**

Congress notes the irrefutable evidence that dangerous climate change is driving unprecedented changes to our environment such as the devastating flooding witnessed in the UK in 2004.

Congress further notes the risk to meeting the challenge of climate change with the announcement of Donald Trump to withdraw the US from the Paris Climate Agreement. Similarly, Brexit negotiations and incoherent UK government policy risk undermining measures to achieve the UK carbon reduction targets.

Congress welcomes the report by the Transnational Institute Reclaiming Public Service: how cities and citizens are turning back privatization, which details the global trend to remunicipalise public services, including energy, and supports efforts by unions internationally to raise issues such as public ownership and democratic control as part of solutions to climate change.

Congress notes that transport is responsible for a quarter of the UK's greenhouse gas emissions and believes that a reduction in carbon dioxide levels must be the basis of the UK's future transport policy in addition to building public transport capacity and moving more freight from road to rail.

Congress believes that to effectively combat climate change and move towards a low carbon economy we cannot leave this to the markets and therefore need a strong role for the public sector in driving the measures needed to undertake this transition. Congress notes that pension schemes invest billions of pounds into fossil fuel corporations.

To this end, Congress calls on the TUC to:

- i. work with the Labour Party and others that advocate for an end to the UK's rigged energy system to bring it back into public ownership and democratic control
- ii. advocate for a mass programme of retrofit and insulation of Britain's homes and public buildings
- iii. lobby to demand rights for workplace environmental reps
- iv. lobby for the establishment of a Just Transition strategy for those workers affected by the industrial changes necessary to develop a more environmentally sustainable future for all, and develop practical steps needed to achieve this as integral to industrial strategy
- v. consult with all affiliates to seek input into the development of a cross sector industrial strategy that works towards delivering internationally agreed carbon emission reduction targets
- vi. investigate the long-term risks for pension funds investing in fossil fuels, promote divestment, and alternative reinvestment in the sustainable economy.

**Mover: Bakers, Food and Allied Workers Union**

**Seconder: Communication Workers Union**

**Supporters: Fire Brigades Union; ASLEF; TSSA**

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## **C5 Brexit, the Single Market and workers' rights**

### **Motions 18 and 19**

Congress agrees that the minority Tory government has no mandate for a hard Brexit, understood to mean the severing of all ties with the commercial, political, judicial and regulatory institutions of the European Union without first establishing a new relationship.

Congress believes the economic fallout of hard Brexit would be disastrous for working people and that nobody voted to be made poorer by the Tories' disastrous mishandling of the negotiations.

Congress calls for a new approach to the Brexit negotiations with the aim of achieving a just settlement, including barrier-free access to European markets as an alternative to EU membership, and the protection of jobs, investment and

workplace rights alongside environmental and consumer protections. Further, any settlement must include UK participation in all mutually beneficial cross-border agencies and agreements such as Euratom and Erasmus.

Congress notes that full access to European markets can only be achieved if the UK government abandons its ideological approach to a hard Brexit.

Congress affirms its support for European nationals working within the UK and supports full protection for such workers post-Brexit.

Congress notes that the trade union movement can play a vital role in ensuring such an outcome to the mutual benefit of all workers through our unique relationships with sister trade unions and governments in Europe.

Congress notes that negotiations for the UK's new trading relationship with the EU will be held in succession to the Brexit negotiations and calls for an agreement covering both a transitional period and future UK-EU trading relationship.

Congress recognises that many of the UK's employment laws derive from directives emanating from the European Union, and that these employment laws have underpinned and extended workers' rights in the EU, including the UK.

Congress commits the TUC to vigorously defend workers' rights under attack with the government's European Union (Withdrawal) Bill.

Congress notes that while European Court of Justice judgements have generally confirmed and improved workers' rights by setting legal precedents, a post-Brexit UK will no longer need to implement EU directives and will no longer be bound by the European Court of Justice.

Congress resolves to campaign to seek to ensure that:

- i. employment protections deriving from EU directives while the UK was an EU member are not lost or weakened by any post-Brexit UK legislative changes
- ii. employment protections and workers' rights arising from judgements of the European Court of Justice while the UK was an EU member are enshrined into UK legislation, or where appropriate the devolved legislatures, if the UK leaves the EU.

Congress further resolves to monitor EU directives and European Court of Justice judgements produced in the area of employment law, and to campaign for any improvements in employment law or workers' rights emanating from EU directives to be considered for incorporation into domestic legislation.

**Mover: Unite**

**Seconder: Educational Institute of Scotland**

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## **C06 Influencing the Brexit deal**

### **Motion 20 and amendments**

Congress notes that the recent UK general election has delivered a government with no overall majority, seriously weakening our country's negotiating position with the EU over Brexit. The government has also failed to articulate what a good deal looks like.

The trade unions and the Labour Party, therefore, have an opportunity to influence the type of 'Brexit' that will eventually be applied. Congress calls on the General Council to make a series of demands including:

- i. the protection of all existing workers' rights emanating from the EU by their inclusion in the Great Repeal Bill
- ii. continuation of free movement of people from the current EU Member States so that those workers whose skills and hard work keep our economy motoring should, along with their families, be treated as equal citizens when they choose to make their home in Britain
- iii. rejection of a neo-liberal free trade agreement with no democratic accountability or one that undermines the right to keep public services public – we should support the best deal to protect living standards, employment rights, equalities, manufacturing, public services and jobs, now and for future generations
- iv. the protection of the NHS by it continuing to have the ability to recruit and retain staff from other EU countries; and it continuing to comply with the regulated definitions of professional roles such as midwives and remaining a universal service that is free at the point of use.

The mechanism to achieve tariff-free trade is less important than safeguarding our jobs, our economy and our prosperity but the logic is that any failure to reach a deal that secures these safeguards must lead to the UK remaining in the EU as a possible option.

**Mover: TSSA**

**Seconder: UNISON**

**Supporter: The Royal College of Midwives**

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## **C07 Free movement of labour and EU workers**

### **Motions 22 and amendment, 23 and amendment, 24 and 25**

Congress is united in defending the rights of our EU colleagues.

EU workers in Britain face an uncertain future and government set on using them as bargaining chips in Brexit negotiations. At the same time workers from non-EU countries face increasing difficulty in gaining and maintaining permission to work or bring family members.

Congress believes:

- i. that any restrictions on freedom of movement of labour, and right to work without discrimination based on nationality, puts increasing competitive pressure on European Economic Area (EEA) workers, thus affecting all workers
- ii. the policy of austerity has caused falling wages and rising workloads and that the current crises in vital services result from the impact of continued under-investment in our infrastructure and public services by successive governments.

With increasing pressures on the UK's health and social care systems and rising concerns about workforce shortages, now, more than ever, we need to recognise the immense contribution that EU national staff make. The NHS alone currently employs nearly 60,000 EU staff. This rises to 165,000 across the entire health and social care sector.

Congress welcomes the establishment of the Cavendish Coalition – an amalgam of trade unions, employers, professional bodies and skills and learning organisations. Congress upholds its belief that EU citizens working in the UK health and care sectors should have the right to remain. These essential staff need and deserve certainty for the future. They do not deserve to be targets of xenophobia and hate crime, as has sadly been all too apparent since the EU referendum. We cannot afford to lose their skills, talents or the wider contribution they bring.

Congress recognises that, as self-employed workers in an industry that is notorious for high unemployment and which is not considered to be in the “highly-skilled” category, EU national creative workers are in a particularly vulnerable position. Home Office rules that require either proof of continuous employment or proof of private comprehensive sickness insurance may mean that many performers who have been here for years will be forced to leave, sacrificing careers and uprooting families.

Most professional musicians and performers rely on touring and travelling as part of their careers. Many work in Europe either on a freelance basis with orchestras, touring as an individual or group, or working for theatre producers or orchestras on touring productions.

Some performers can be working in several different European countries over the course of a few days, and gigs or tours are sometimes arranged at very short notice, so the possible introduction of work permissions and/or visas for British performers touring and working in Europe could be extremely detrimental. Individuals without representation or financial backing are likely to struggle the most with the extra costs and admin that this might entail.

The vote to leave the EU is already having an impact in this area: the European Union Baroque Orchestra has already left the UK for Antwerp, in part due to concerns over restricted freedom of movement for working musicians.

Brexit also presents creative workers on both sides of the Irish border with an uncertain future, with no real assurance from the government in Westminster whether existing freedoms will continue after the UK has formally left the EU.

Congress supports the campaign to ensure that professional musicians and performers continue to be able to travel easily across Europe post-Brexit for time-limited activities such as touring and performing with minimum administrative burdens.

The NHS will also need to be able to continue to recruit staff from other EU countries post-Brexit. Congress calls on the TUC and its affiliates to support and promote the work of the Cavendish Coalition and ensure that the UK maintains employment policies and practices that continue to attract EU nationals to work in the sector.

We also call on the government to ensure that staff who have come to work in the UK more recently are not disadvantaged when the cut-off date for accruing the right to remain is set.

Congress calls on the General Council to defend existing free movement of labour within the EEA and publicise the benefits of migrants from across the globe, and to campaign:

- a. to oppose points-based immigration schemes
- b. for an up-front guarantee for existing EU/EEA citizens in the UK to stay, live and work after the UK withdraws from the EU
- c. for improved rights for all workers and for full recognition of safety, equality and workers' rights throughout EU withdrawal negotiations
- d. for substantial investment in our public services and an end to the deeply damaging and divisive economics of austerity
- e. to highlight the contribution of EU nationals to the UK, and to the creative industries
- f. for removal of international students from net migration figures
- g. for protection for EU research funding and EU students
- h. for reciprocal free movement for musicians and performers across the EU's 27 member states, in the form of an exemption from visa and work permit rules for performers
- i. for Northern Ireland to continue to have an all-Ireland agreement in respect of freedom of movement and the right to work with no restriction on either nationality

- j. for the retention of investment that the EU has put into both sides of the Irish border for film and television production.

**Mover: University and College Union**

**Secunder: Chartered Society of Physiotherapy**

**Supporters: Equity; Musicians' Union; NASUWT; The Royal College of Midwives**

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## **C08 Great jobs**

### **Motions 27, 28, 29, 30, 31 and 32 and amendments**

Insecure employment and the growing pressure workers are under to work harder and faster for less, are the defining issues of our time for the trade union movement. The gig economy is one aspect of exploitation, but across the economy we see the scale of exploitation: zero-hours contracts, over-reliance on agency workers, bogus self-employment and short-hours contracts. The growth of insecure work is not an accident or oversight. It is a business model deliberately used by companies to make more and pay less.

Underemployment is widespread in the economy with workers on short-hours contracts relying on additional hours that are not guaranteed from one week to the next. Part-time work fits the needs of many workers but 2.6 million part-time workers want longer hours and over one million workers work part-time only because they cannot find suitable full-time jobs.

Research indicates that these contracts disproportionately impact on young and ethnic minority workers.

Congress acknowledges that in some parts of the economy, for example the professional services and media sectors, the flexibility offered by atypical employment can work to the benefit of both workers and engagers, and supports the right of those workers to opt for flexible employment provided it is their genuine and informed choice, and there is no threat of detriment, or denial of engagement, should they refuse.

Willingness to enter flexible working arrangements should not, however, undermine employment rights. We believe that any worker who is providing labour or services to someone else's business should have basic rights and protections, to include rights to holiday and sick pay, rights to trade union representation and recognition, and rights to the minimum wage.

Congress also notes the benefits that improving technologies can bring. However, we now live in a 24/7 world where we are 'always on' and connected to devices. The pace of living is faster than during any previous era but it is estimated that UK employers are losing over £30bn a year due to mental health issues, as the work/life boundaries become increasingly blurred. According to some predictions new technologies driving the automation of work could lead to a third of British jobs being lost by 2030. 'Self-service' technologies in the banking and retail sectors are being presented as a reaction to changes in customer behaviour but the reality is that banks, retailers and others are driving the changes on to often unenthusiastic customers to save costs by shedding jobs.

The crucial question now facing the union movement is what are we going to do about it? The exploitation of workers through the misuse of zero-hours contracts, agency work, bogus self-employment and short-hours contracts needs to be challenged. The government-commissioned Taylor report failed to address the need to enhance individual and collective rights to protect workers and bring about a real upturn in terms and conditions. Notably, the report recommended making it legal for employers to roll up holiday pay, potentially denying workers the ability to access holidays and undermining the health and safety benefits of decent holidays and rest time.

Congress agrees it is time to make greater demands on behalf of all workers and develop a new model of trade unionism that can organise workers everywhere, reverse the decline in overall UK trade union membership and counter the predicted impact of the gig economy. Bad employers will not suddenly find a moral compass because they are asked nicely. They have already made their choice: profit for shareholders, insecurity and low pay for their workers.

Specifically, Congress calls on the General Council to:

- i. develop the TUC's 'Great Jobs Agenda' as a common bargaining agenda to tackle insecurity and publish a trade union manifesto on what constitutes a new deal for workers
- ii. follow New Zealand and ban exploitative zero-hours contracts
- iii. start to deal with the problem of short-hours contracts by giving workers a statutory right to contracts that reflect the hours that they normally work
- iv. demand employers give workers the hours they need and tackle the growth of short-hours contracts in their businesses
- v. agree that many UK workers are engaged in genuine self-employment and are operating micro-enterprises in their own right, but government should take action to increase funding for enforcement of employment legislation and end bogus self-employment
- vi. close the loopholes in the Agency Workers Regulations to ensure that agency workers get equal treatment from day one of their placement
- vii. remove restrictions on access to workplaces where workers want trade union representation.
- viii. continue lobbying for protection of workers whose atypical employment status has led to exploitation by employers and ensure that any atypical workers who may be re-categorised as employees enjoy full workers' rights from day one of their engagement
- ix. demand government work with unions to develop clear policies on the employment impact of new technology, including a new industrial strategy that looks beyond the Taylor Review of Modern Employment Practices and addresses the employment needs of the UK population as technology and innovation disrupt organisations and employment models – the TUC should

research the practicalities of a new tax for employers on any job lost to robotic automation to pay for retraining, upskilling and redeployment of those whose jobs are impacted

- x. mobilise for a national demonstration for a new deal for workers to be held no later than the first half of 2018.

To facilitate the above, the General Secretary will bring forward documentation for agreement at the Executive Committee and General Council. This will also include how we build support for a major campaign and reach a consensus on deliverable action.

**Mover: GMB**

**Seconder: Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers**

**Supporters: Communication Workers Union; Prospect; National Union of Journalists;**

**Accord; Unite; Equity; Community**

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## **C09 Public sector pay**

### **Motions 42 and amendments, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47 and amendment and 48 and amendment**

Congress notes the extremely volatile and uncertain political outlook confronting working people and the broader population across the UK. Congress notes the pay squeeze suffered by private and public sector workers since the 2007/08 financial crash.

Underlying this are deep fault lines in the way in which our economy and society work, that clearly deliver for the few and not the many. These fault lines can be seen in:

- i. the lack of decent, well-paid career opportunities, especially for young people, who studies show are comparatively worse off than previous generations
- ii. ongoing severe cuts to the services that our communities rely upon, which have been subject to close to one million job cuts since 2010 and now face further austerity
- iii. increased pay inequality, discrimination and exploitation as a result of the government's pursuit of an agenda of deregulation, privatisation and attacks on workers' rights
- iv. the continued squeeze on pay and living standards, including for public sector workers who stand to be an average of a further £1,700 a year worse off by 2020 if the Westminster pay cap continues.

Congress notes that public sector workers have suffered a real-terms cut in wages arising from a deliberate policy by UK, and devolved administrations, to implement a combination of pay freezes and pay caps for the majority of public sector workers.

Congress notes the government's imposed two-year pay freeze on public sector workers in 2010, followed by a one per cent cap on the pay of firefighters, nurses, teachers, civil servants and other public sector workers. Congress notes recent statements made by current ministers that "nothing has changed" on the one per cent pay cap, despite inflation of three per cent or more.

Congress condemns the government's attitude towards hard-working public sector workers, which has left many workers struggling to make ends meet and rely on food banks.

The government is too easily taking for granted the good will and dedication of the NHS' hard pressed staff, struggling to cope with overwhelming workloads at a time when recruitment and retention is becoming more and more challenging. There is currently a shortage of thousands of midwives in the UK and the NHS needs to ensure that they pay enough to retain and recruit enough midwives to give high quality, safe care to women and their families. Investment in staff is an investment in high quality, safe care.

Congress notes with concern the significant effects of this sustained real terms cut in wages, leading to less money being available to spend on food, clothing, and housing with a subsequent drop in living standards for large numbers of workers.

The pay cap has already had a devastating effect on the value of the incomes of our members. Research shows the effect of that policy will mean that average civil service pay will have fallen in value by over 20 per cent by 2020 and that the pay of an average midwife has dropped by over £6,000 since 2010. With inflation increasing rapidly the value of pay is set to drop even further.

Other professions have also suffered. For example, the recent report to the Office of Manpower Economics, looking into wage growth in pay review body occupations, found that radiographers have suffered one of the biggest declines in real wages.

Congress welcomes the TUC report, *Lift the Cap*, which explains the impact of the pay cap on living standards. Congress notes the TUC's estimate that public sector workers have lost between £2,000 and £5,000 in real terms as a result of the Westminster government's pay policy.

Congress strongly believes that society must recognise the real value of public service workers to their communities and the economy.

Congress further believes that public sector pay policy has contaminated the wider economy and eroded collective bargaining elsewhere. This is illustrated by recent disputes in the Bank of England, Serco at Bart's Health NHS Trust, and pensions disputes in the Nuclear Decommissioning Agency and Atomic Weapons Establishment.

Congress recognises that all public sector workers deserve a pay rise, and that a united public sector wide campaign is the best way to pressurise the chancellor to end the pay gap.

It is now urgent that the government not only ends its public sector pay cap but also properly funds our public services, including pay rises that reflect the rising cost of living and address the cumulative losses suffered by public servants over the last decade.

It is not enough to just end the policy of the public sector pay cap on paper – this must result in a real-terms pay increase for NHS staff and others. The government must reflect the change in policy in the evidence they submit to the NHS Pay Review Body and they must make the case for a fully funded real-terms pay increase for NHS staff. NHS staff will expect a pay rise if the cap is lifted and anything less will irrevocably damage industrial relations in the NHS.

The NHS needs a major injection of cash to ensure that it can provide the high quality care for patients that staff desperately want to provide. Above all we need that investment to ensure that a fair pay award is made to NHS staff who have suffered years of pay cuts as they've seen the value of their earnings steadily reduce.

Congress notes the conditional pay offer of two per cent made to firefighters in July through the National Joint Council. Congress welcomes the breach to the pay cap, but condemns the Westminster government for failing to fund such pay increases from central resources.

Congress notes that during and following the general election the issue of the public sector pay cap has been at the forefront of political debate, and that the electorate is increasingly concerned and angered by the government's insistence on pursuing its austerity agenda, regardless of the consequences. A number of Conservative MPs and government ministers have called for the pay cap to be lifted and the Labour Party sought to amend the Queen's Speech to end the cap.

We call on the TUC and all affiliates to harness the enthusiasm that we saw from the electorate – particularly younger voters – for a different approach. One in which public services are properly funded, public sector staff are properly rewarded and supported and the public are able to access the quality care and support they need from the NHS.

Congress calls on the General Council to continue its political campaign to mobilise public opinion behind a decisive break with the era of austerity and to campaign for a new social and economic settlement that prioritises decent work, fair pay, genuine equality of opportunity and quality of life for all – not just the few.

Congress resolves to campaign to remove the public sector pay cap policy from the whole public sector.

The first step is to end the public sector pay cap immediately and campaign for a minimum wage of £10 per hour and an end to in-work poverty and ensure pay review bodies are fully funded and independent with reserved seats for those with relevant employee representation experience.

Congress also resolves to support affiliates' campaigns to deliver restorative pay rises to members. Congress supports the 2018/19 pay claim submitted by the local government trade unions for restorative pay increases of at least five per



cent and calls on the TUC to make the case that the government needs to fund catch-up pay to address the fall in value of NHS wages following seven years of pay restraint.

Congress welcomes the TUC public sector pay campaign. However, Congress also recognises that we need to step up our united campaign in advance of the Autumn Budget.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- i. facilitate, organise and co-ordinate collective action and campaigns, including industrial action when required, on the part of affiliates to end public sector pay restraint across the UK
- ii. immediately step up the campaign for pay increases for workers in the private and public sectors: the government must drop its pay cap and provide funding to public sector employers for pay increases
- iii. seek a meeting with the chancellor to present a public sector wide demand to end the pay cap and provide adequate funding for above-inflation pay rises
- iv. organise a lobby of parliament, a large scale public meeting in Westminster, a national demonstration in support of our demands and convene rallies and other public events in major towns and cities across the country
- v. take immediate steps to develop a coordinated strategy of opposition to the pay cap within the public sector, including the sharing and coordinating of bargaining timetables and pay demands, campaign activities, tactics, ballots and industrial action.

**Mover: UNISON**

**Seconder: Public and Commercial Services Union**

**Supporters: Educational Institute of Scotland; Chartered Society of Physiotherapy; Fire Brigades Union; The Royal College of Midwives; POA; Unite; GMB; NASUWT; Society of Radiographers; FDA**

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## **C10 Education funding crisis**

### **Motions 49, 50 and 51 and amendment**

Congress notes the devastating impact of real-terms cuts on schools, leading to redundancies, a narrowing of the curriculum, an inability to invest in vital equipment and a reduction in extra-curricular activities.

Congress praises the campaigning on school funding, undertaken by trade unions representing school leaders, teachers and support staff, as well as parents and school funding campaigns across the country.

Congress congratulates the NUT, ATL, NAHT, GMB, UNISON and Unite for setting up the School Cuts website, which made clear to millions of people the impact of funding cuts on their local schools and the difference in the party manifestos.

Congress also welcomes the work done by Fair Funding For All Schools and the many local parent and community groups set up to campaign against cuts.

Congress further praises head teachers willing to speak to parents about the impact of funding pressures, despite attacks from some in the media that they are politicising the issue.

All this campaigning helped make school funding a pivotal issue in the general election campaign, with over 750,000 voters changing the way they voted.

Instead of dealing with the funding crisis, ministers chose before the election to misguidedly expend resources on expanding selective education and free schools. Congress calls on the government to accept that people voted for an end to austerity, an end to public sector pay restraint and different priorities for education.

The problems facing education are real and immediate. School funding has fallen in real terms by £2.8bn since 2015. Class sizes have risen, subjects dropped from the curriculum, resources cut back and teacher and school staff jobs lost or left unfilled.

Congress calls on the government to:

- i. use the Autumn Budget to invest in education to reverse real terms cuts in education
- ii. work with unions, education professionals and parent groups to ensure the proposed national funding formula is fair for all schools
- iii. work collaboratively to ensure that the high standards everyone wants to see in education are backed by the resources to deliver
- iv. ensure that any pay awards are fully funded to protect already stretched school budgets.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- a. lobby the government to address real terms cuts to school budgets
- b. work with unions and parent groups to ensure all schools have the funding they need.

Congress agrees that the TUC should prioritise work to secure an immediate increase of at least five per cent in funding for schools, sixth-form colleges, early years and high needs as a first step to unwinding education cuts.

Congress calls on the TUC to convene a meeting of relevant stakeholders, including education unions, to draw up plans for addressing education funding in the medium and long term.

Congress notes the rapid increase in the trading arrangements that schools and colleges have to put into place in order to be able to access educational psychology services, and the impact that this has on support for children and young people (CYP).

Congress further notes that the profession of educational psychology was developed in the UK to help ensure that all children have access to appropriate education.

Congress recognises that as local authority budgets decrease, one outcome is that CYP and their teachers can only have access to the advice of educational psychologists if their schools will pay for it. As school funding comes under increasing pressure schools and colleges have less ability to buy in the advice and support which their staff and children need.

Congress also recognises that without the specialist support offered by teaching assistants, higher level teaching assistants and other school staff members, some of the most vulnerable children would not have access to an inclusive education, and further recognises that these roles are increasingly under threat due to schools' budget pressures.

Congress believes that education for all, free at the point of delivery, is an important principle and that should include access to educational psychology services.

Congress calls upon government departments and local authorities to work together and ensure that all schools and colleges are able to have at least termly access to a local educational psychology service which is free at the point of delivery.

**Mover: National Education Union (NUT)**

**Seconder: National Association of Head Teachers**

**Supporters: Association of Educational Psychologists; GMB**

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## **C11 Mental health funding**

### **Motions 61 and amendment and 62**

Congress is extremely concerned that Mental Health Trusts in England are still facing serious, real-terms budget cuts, with 40 per cent of the 58 trusts experiencing cuts in 2015/16. Funding of CAHMS is of particular concern with 25 CCGs planning to spend less than £25 per head on services for children and 10 less than £10 per head.

Congress notes recent Kings Fund survey of NHS finance directors found that 40 per cent of respondents from mental health and community trusts were planning to reduce the number of permanent clinical staff over the current financial year. Since the current government came to power almost 5,000 mental health nurses and over 1,000 mental health beds have been cut.

Congress notes that many cannot access care when they are in crisis. Registered dietitians provide expert services to patients with eating disorders and other mental health conditions. Eating disorders are more common in women than men, with young women most likely to develop one. 1.9 per cent of women and 0.2 per cent of men experience anorexia in any year. Between 0.5 per cent and one per cent of young women experience bulimia at any one time.

Congress notes that the charity Mind have evidenced crisis care's ability to save lives. Congress believes that all should have access to the care they need, whenever they need it. Furthermore, efforts should be made to raise awareness amongst all workers and employers in order to reduce the stigma and normalise conversations about mental health.

Congress believes all workers who deal with mental health in their day-to-day should be trained to spot signs of mental health issues and understand how to respond appropriately.

Congress notes Luciana Berger's campaign to expose how little the government knows about mental health and believes the government cannot provide a high quality, effective mental health service for this country when it does not understand the issues.

Congress calls on the TUC to:

- i. lead a national campaign calling for mental health workers to receive the recognition that they deserve and for parity of funding for mental health services and, in particular, crisis care services whether in the community or in our health and prison system
- ii. review the HSE Management Standards on Work-Related Stress
- iii. work with employers, whether government or private sector, to review their training and support for mental health and make the necessary changes to ensure the best quality support for all
- iv. call for the government to make its understanding of the UK's mental health problem a top priority by working with recognised organisations, employers, NHS trusts and community groups and review its funding following that exercise
- v. through facilitating the sharing of best practice and campaigning strategies, support unions in running mental health awareness campaigns that engage their membership and employers.

**Mover: Community**

**Seconder: British Dietetic Association**

**Supporter: Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers**

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## **C12 New settlement for the civil service**

### **Motion 67 and amendments**

Congress calls on the TUC to campaign for a new settlement for the civil service, recognising the crisis of resourcing in the civil service, the additional challenges posed by Brexit, more than 90,000 jobs lost and a government approach to pay and reward that has caused real-terms pay cuts of over 25 per cent for some civil servants.

This campaign should include lobbying the government to prioritise the good wellbeing and mental health of its workforce, 76 per cent of whom, an FDA survey uncovered, feel that excessive working hours are harmful to their health.

In common with other parts of the public and private sectors, civil servants need a pay rise; but the public also need a properly resourced, properly rewarded, impartial civil service. Yet 70 per cent of respondents to a Prospect survey reported difficulties in recruiting or retaining people with the appropriate skills. Governments come and go; the impartiality and effectiveness of the civil service is a vital feature of democracy to which this Congress gives full support.

New professional approaches are needed to deliver high quality services and ensure fair employment practices. They will not be achieved without strategic vision.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- i. campaign for a new settlement for the civil service, securing its impartiality and proper resourcing and develop a positive future vision
- ii. campaign for an immediate end to planned cuts, staffing reductions and privatisation in the civil service and its related bodies
- iii. ensure full consultation with unions on the additional resources needed to prepare the civil service for Brexit
- iv. publicise the vital role civil servants have as deliverers of public services
- v. engage with government to ensure the civil service is properly equipped to deliver an exit from the EU that works for all industries and sections of society.

**Mover: FDA**

**Seconder: Public and Commercial Services Union**

**Supporter: Prospect**

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## SECTION 5

# GENERAL COUNCIL STATEMENTS

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### **General Council statement: TUC Campaign Plan 2017–18**

Congress welcomes and supports the Campaign Plan agreed by the General Council, which will guide the TUC's policy and campaigning work over the coming year.

The Campaign Plan develops our campaign priorities in light of the events of 2017, not least the general election and the ongoing progress towards Brexit. And it sets out a plan to enable our movement to grow in size and in strength in the year of the TUC's 150th anniversary, in 2018.

The Campaign Plan sets out how the TUC adds value to the work of individual trade unions, by:

- setting out a compelling case for trade unionism and trade union policies in the modern workplace and the wider economy
- championing wider coverage of collective bargaining to improve pay, conditions and voice at work
- helping unions to grow and to be stronger and more effective.

The Campaign Plan sets out our commitment to equality for women, Black and minority ethnic people, LGBT people and disabled people through all of the priorities.

The Campaign Plan establishes three key priorities for the TUC in 2017–18.

- 1. An economy that works for working people.** The TUC will campaign for a Brexit deal that delivers for working people, a renewed industrial strategy that delivers great jobs in all parts of the UK, and for an investment-first approach to managing the economy, that ends austerity and puts great, properly funded public services at its heart.
- 2. Great jobs for everyone.** The TUC will use the Great Jobs Agenda to campaign against insecure work and for great jobs for everyone, including a rising national minimum wage of at least £10 per hour, fair wages for everyone, and an end to the public sector pay cap. It sets out the actions we will take to press for equality at work, for safe and healthier workplaces, and for everyone to have access to learning and progression.

- 3. A thriving movement that delivers for younger workers.** The TUC will prioritise renewing our movement to attract a new generation of young workers, support our brilliant workplace reps and build a stronger, more powerful trade union movement fit for the digital age.

Congress calls on all unions to unite behind the three central priorities set out in the Campaign Plan, and commit ourselves to work together to deliver its aims.

## **General Council statement: Making a jobs-first, rights-first Brexit a reality**

The TUC respects the decision taken in the 2016 referendum that the UK should leave the EU. As we approach Brexit, the TUC is determined that working people's rights, jobs and livelihoods must be protected. Working people and our communities must not pay a price for Brexit.

The government triggered Article 50 in March 2017, setting a deadline for leaving the EU of 27 March 2019. Yet since the June 2016 referendum, ministers have made little progress in proposing the practical details of a Brexit settlement. Despite putting intense pressure on civil servants working with fewer resources and being asked to do ever more, the government still seems fundamentally underprepared for the negotiations, with no clear objective other than leaving the EU. Key issues including the future of workers' rights, the status of EU nationals living in the UK and UK nationals living in the EU, the Northern Ireland border, on-going access to European markets and the future of British manufacturing, services and finance are still undecided.

We need a new deal for workers in Britain now and the TUC is committed to campaigning hard for that but we know that Brexit could have a profound impact on the jobs, rights and livelihoods of our members. This General Council statement sets out the TUC's view about how to secure a Brexit that works for working people.

### **Working people must come first and unions must have a voice in the negotiations**

Throughout the referendum campaign and since, the TUC has spoken only in the interests of working people. The trade union movement's leadership and role is often better understood and appreciated by governments in the rest of the EU than it is at home. Trade unions have a legitimate voice, knowledge and unparalleled experience on all matters affecting the millions of workers we represent and we demand a seat, alongside those representing corporate interests, at the table when the future of work and the economy is negotiated.

## **Workers' rights must be protected and we must not fall behind the rest of Europe**

At the top of our agenda is protecting and protecting jobs and workers' rights, now and into the future. Many leave-backing Conservatives and employers are straining at the leash to attack workers' rights fought for and won over decades by unions and the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC). Particularly at risk are equal pay and a wide range of many other important equality measures, working time rules, health and safety regulations, rights to information and consultation, and fairness for part-time, temporary and agency workers.

As well as defending the rights we currently enjoy under EU law, British workers' rights must not fall behind workers' rights in the rest of Europe. Britain's deal with the EU must include a level playing field for workers' rights to stop unfair competition and ensure good employers are not undercut by the bad. The UK must therefore either match or exceed any new rights won by workers across the EU, and judgments of the Court of Justice of the European Union (ECJ) that protect or enhance workers' rights should continue to apply to UK workers and a level playing field on workers' rights must be a condition of any future relationship with the EU. The proposed European Pillar of Social Rights is a long overdue step forward and although we share the concern of the ETUC that it does not go far enough, we are clear that British workers must also benefit from any resulting extension of rights.

The government may have promised to "protect and enhance" workers' rights, but its actions so far fall short. The EU (Withdrawal) Bill now before Parliament leaves ministers free to undermine or even remove rights without parliamentary scrutiny. It provides no guarantees to prevent future governments of the Supreme Court undermining existing workers' rights.

The TUC will seek to improve the safeguards for workplace rights, but we do not believe it will be possible to achieve all we seek through legislation. Right-wing deregulators will not be deterred by the inadequate safeguards of the bill or by the promises of a significantly weakened prime minister. We demand instead a specific deal with the EU as an integral part of any Brexit deal that secures all current workplace rights and maintains a level playing field between the UK and the EU on workplace rights into the future.

The government must also make existing rights easier to enforce, including giving rights for unions to access workplaces to represent workers and through sectoral, company and workplace level collective bargaining. And they must develop a new agenda that addresses the changing world of work, ending the exploitation of migrant workers and the undercutting of existing terms and conditions, banning exploitative zero-hours contracts, regulating the gig economy and adding further health and safety protections.



## **Jobs, investment and livelihoods must be protected through tariff-free, barrier-free trade with Europe**

A prosperous UK needs tariff-free, barrier-free, frictionless trade in goods and services with the rest of Europe. EU trade accounts for about half of all British exports; is vital to the employment of over three million workers either directly or indirectly; and provides good jobs with higher wages, training opportunities and skill levels than average. Further it is essential that the UK retain its active membership of key cross border agencies, initiatives and sector level regulatory forums such as open skies, Erasmus, research and development programmes, and Euratom which provide positive benefits to our economy.

Immediately after the referendum, the TUC called for actions to address the immediate effects of the vote, such as propping up the pound, a further boost to quantitative easing, and urgent government announcements on infrastructure developments like a third runway at Heathrow, HS2 and the Hinckley Point nuclear power plant. The fact that the government took all these steps – albeit more slowly and not as vigorously as the TUC advocated – produced a temporary support for the British economy which has led many, mistakenly, to suggest that the economic impact of the referendum has not been as bad as predicted.

However, since the start of 2017, the TUC has been alarmed that industrial investment has declined sharply. Despite the fall in the value of the pound, the UK's trade deficit has widened. Growth has slowed, and with higher prices and wage stagnation reducing demand, growth now relies almost wholly on consumer borrowing, leading to renewed worries about household debt. Nevertheless, we are conscious that some employers are using Brexit as an excuse to worsen working people's terms and conditions, just as some attempted to do during the recession, and we will strongly resist any such opportunism.

In the Brexit negotiations, the UK must prioritise preserving good jobs. And at home, the government must set out a more active industrial and fiscal strategy including public investment in infrastructure and skills, an end to cuts in public services and wages, along with reversing the worst examples of privatisation and out-sourcing of public services. The government must take steps to boost pay across both the public and private sectors, recognising and promoting collective bargaining's role in ending growing levels of inequality. Britain needs a pay rise!

The government must publish its confidential sector-specific Brexit impact assessments and should consult not just businesses but unions on the impact of Brexit both across the economy and especially in the industries most likely to be affected by Brexit such as manufacturing, services, food production, higher education, health and social care, hospitality and finance.

## **Protecting jobs, rights and livelihoods means that the UK must keep our options open**

The slow pace of the Brexit negotiations and the government's self-imposed red lines could lead to the UK facing a cliff-edge exit from the EU. This would have a catastrophic impact on rights, jobs and household incomes. The UK should seek a transitional period after leaving the EU in March 2019. This is a pragmatic solution, and recognises that the government's criminal lack of preparation means that a good Brexit deal cannot be achieved by March 2019. The simplest option to minimise disruption across all sectors of the economy, is for the current arrangements to continue with the UK remaining a member of the single market and customs union during the transition period.

This will protect tariff-free, barrier-free frictionless trade with the EU as well as protecting workers' existing rights and making sure the UK benefits from any further EU rights introduced during this period.

As we enter negotiations for a long-term settlement outside the EU, we believe in keeping all options on the table and ruling nothing out. Any deal must be realistic and achievable through positive, constructive but tough negotiations with the EU. Our objectives for that long-term deal will continue to be:

- maintaining workers' existing rights and establishing a level playing field so that British workers' rights do not fall behind those of other European workers,
- preserving tariff-free, barrier-free, frictionless trade with the rest of Europe to protect jobs, and
- ensuring that trade and livelihoods in Gibraltar and Ireland are protected.

We are willing to consider any proposals that would meet those tests, including negotiating a new single market relationship, or working up from a bespoke trade deal. At present we should not rule out unrestricted access to the single market through continued membership outside the EU as this meets our tests. Several other countries are outside the EU but inside the single market and if the outcome of negotiations with the EU was for the UK to stay in the single market in the longer-term, the TUC would continue to push, especially through the ETUC, for reforms so that the single market better serves working people's needs.

We are opposed to any deal for a long-term relationship with the EU that focuses narrowly on trade, without a strong social dimension. All trade deals that cover the UK must provide for enhanced labour rights and protection for public services. We reject a vision of free trade that does not include fair trade, deregulates employment, food, consumer and environmental standards; offers up public services like the NHS to rapacious multinational companies; and undermines UK sovereignty by giving foreign investors privileged rights to sue democratically-elected governments for acting in the interests of working people. We reject corporate focused trade deals such as those under discussion in the TTIP and CETA negotiations and will reject any similar deals currently under discussion between the government and other governments such as the US.

## **We must manage migration better by preventing exploitation and undercutting and by reversing cuts**

After Brexit, the trade union movement's priority is to secure fair and decent treatment for everyone, wherever they are from, in all parts of the UK. We reject the scapegoating of migrants by unscrupulous politicians and media owners. Migrant workers are not responsible for low pay and lousy treatment, bad employers are. Migrant workers heal the sick, teach children, drive buses, produce food and sweep the streets, and we are proud of the role they have and continue to play in a diverse modern Britain. The government must tackle the exploitation of vulnerable migrant workers and the undercutting of local labour markets through measures to strengthen and enforce labour regulation and extending collective agreements between unions and employers to workplaces especially those with significant employment of migrants. The government should move immediately to strengthen union rights to organise, extend collective bargaining and establish modern wages councils, with stronger enforcement. Further, government must address the genuine concerns of working people about the impacts of migration on stretched public services, transport and housing.

Too many seek to sow division over the capacity and quality of public services, arguing that migrants are to blame. They aren't: politicians who have imposed savage cuts are. The UK needs an end to cuts and out-sourcing in education, health and other public services; a well-deserved pay rise for public servants; and a major programme of council house building. And the government should set up a much-expanded migration impacts fund to target money to communities where the pace of change has been fastest, to fund good services and tackle community tensions.

There are many different ways countries in the EU have interpreted free movement. The approach taken in the UK has allowed bad employers to profit whilst letting public services decline. The UK should look at other EU countries' models of free movement, and should use all the domestic powers at its disposal to manage the impact of migration including by using public procurement to promote job and apprenticeship opportunities for local people, as secured by the TUC and unions through framework agreements such as those with London 2012, Terminal 5 and HS2.

It is not racist to be concerned about the effects of immigration in a deregulated labour market and in communities suffering the effects of deindustrialisation and cuts in public spending. The UK should urgently adopt tough measures to prevent bad bosses exploiting migrant workers and undercutting local labour markets. Loopholes in the posted workers and temporary and agency worker directives, which allow abuses, must be closed. The government should fiercely enforce the payment of the national minimum wage and introduce a real living wage and other rights at work. And the government should immediately give unions the right to enter workplaces and extend collective bargaining to low wage sectors, to prevent a race to the bottom in wages and terms and conditions.

The increase in racially-motivated attacks which followed the referendum result was shocking and disgraceful. It targeted nationals from other EU countries and the black and minority ethnic community. The actions of the far right and promotion of racist activity on our streets by fascist elements is far from under control and we will continue to promote action in workplaces, communities and at national level to oppose racist discrimination, harassment and violence. Unions have provided support and representation to their members in Britain and around Europe who are worried about their futures, and many of whom have built lives and families in their local community.

Any final settlement must give certainty to EU nationals living in the UK, and UK nationals living in the EU – principally, the right to remain and to family reunion. The proposals put forward by the EU and the British government fall far short of what is needed. We will continue to press for all workers here and UK workers in the rest of the EU to have the same rights as they did before the referendum.

### **There must be no hard border between Ireland and Northern Ireland**

Together with the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, the TUC is particularly concerned about the future of relations, and especially the border, between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. The peace process – which trade unionists did so much to bring about – needs protection. Any return to a border for trade or people would have worrying consequences. The economy on both sides of the border faces severe threats as a result of Brexit. But all we have heard so far is good intentions and contradictory proposals. The people of Northern Ireland – as well as those of Scotland, Wales, Gibraltar, London and each of the English regions – need to have a voice and a seat at the table when negotiations are done in their name.

### **We need a people's Europe not a bosses' Europe**

Since the referendum, the TUC and the ETUC have worked together, developing a common position and common priorities. We will continue to work with the ETUC and its members across Europe to secure support for those priorities among European governments and institutions. European trade unionists support what we are trying to achieve, not least because workers in the rest of Europe would also suffer if Britain became a deregulated tax haven on the edge of the EU.

Because it is in the interests of working people everywhere that the European social model is defended and revitalised and because all the evidence shows that countries where working people have stronger rights and a stronger voice do better in terms of growth, equality and cohesion, workers in Britain would benefit from having the same rights as workers in the rest of Europe. And, like the ETUC, the TUC wants the EU to change course and focus on achieving a new deal for working people.

The EU must adopt and build on the European Pillar of Social Rights, promote collective bargaining and deliver pay rises for working people across Europe. It must reverse the austerity policies of the European Central Bank and the European semester process that did so much damage to countries like Greece, Ireland, Spain and Eastern Europe. The EU should promote sustainable growth in poorer parts of Europe, reducing the need for people to abandon their homes and move across the continent to find decent work. It needs to take a firmer line on tax evasion and responsible business conduct, building on action against companies like Apple and Google. Finally, the EU needs to make absolutely clear that state aid, control and ownership are appropriate ways of achieving social objectives, as well as promoting quality public services and the use of progressive public procurement policies. The EU's promotion of liberalisation and competition, aided and abetted by British governments, has done huge damage to the services working people rely on, widened inequality by enriching private corporations and brought greater insecurity and lower pay to working people. We reject the forced liberalisation of public services.

In short, we need a people's Europe, not a bosses' Europe. The EU needs to provide training, opportunity and decent work for everyone, especially young people. It should protect people against the harm done by uncontrolled globalisation and be a force for peace and progress around the world, promoting a different model to both America and China.

## **Conclusion**

The General Council now seeks the agreement of Congress for a Brexit programme of work which puts workers' jobs and rights first, promotes an economy that works for people and not just business, and seeks justice and respect for everyone living and working in the UK, wherever they come from. We call on all political parties to support such an approach in the Brexit negotiations and reaffirm our solidarity with trade unionists across Europe.





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