

# Report of Congress 2015

The 147th Annual Trades Union Congress  
13–16 September 2015, Brighton

# Contents

<b>General Council members 2015–2016</b> .....	3
<b>Section 1: Congress decisions</b> .....	4
<b>Part 1: Resolutions carried</b> .....	5
<b>Part 2: General Council statements</b> .....	40
<b>Section 2: Keynote speeches</b> .....	46
<b>The General Secretary, Frances O’Grady</b> .....	47
<b>The President, Leslie Manasseh</b> .....	51
<b>Leader of the Opposition, Jeremy Corbyn</b> .....	54
<b>Speaker of the House of Commons, John Bercow</b> .....	59
<b>Director of Liberty, Shami Chakrabarti</b> .....	62
<b>Section 3: Unions and their delegates</b> .....	64
<b>Section 4: Details of past Congresses</b> .....	77
<b>Section 5: Members of the General Council, 1921–2015</b> .....	81

# General Council members

2015–2016

**Sheila Bearcroft MBE**  
GMB

**Christine Blower**  
National Union of  
Teachers

**Mary Bousted**  
Association of Teachers  
and Lecturers

**Joanna Brown**  
Society of Chiropractors  
and Podiatrists

**Tony Burke**  
Unite

**Jane Carolan**  
UNISON

**Gail Cartmail**  
Unite

**Mick Cash**  
National Union of Rail,  
Maritime and Transport  
Workers

**Mike Clancy**  
Prospect

**Brian Cookson**  
NASUWT

**Manuel Cortes**  
Transport Salaried Staffs'  
Association

**Tony Dale**  
Union of Shop,  
Distributive and Allied  
Workers

**Mark Dickinson**  
Nautilus International

**Maria Exall**  
Communication Workers  
Union

**Sue Ferns**  
Prospect

**Larry Flanagan**  
Educational Institute of  
Scotland

**Steve Gillan**  
POA

**Janice Godrich**  
Public and Commercial  
Services Union

**John Hannett**  
Union of Shop,  
Distributive and Allied  
Workers

**Dave Harvey**  
National Union of  
Teachers

**Sally Hunt**  
University and College  
Union

**Karen Jennings**  
UNISON

**Chris Keates**  
NASUWT

**Paul Kenny**  
GMB

**Fern McCaffrey**  
GMB

**Paul McCarthy**  
GMB

**Len McCluskey**  
Unite

**Sean McGovern**  
Unite

**Gloria Mills CBE**  
UNISON

**Micky Nicholas**  
Fire Brigades' Union

**Ged Nichols**  
Accord

**Christine Payne**  
Equity

**Dave Penman**  
FDA

**Tim Poil**  
Nationwide Group Staff  
Union

**Dave Prentis**  
UNISON

**Roy Rickhuss**  
Community

**Linda Rolph**  
Advance

**Maggie Ryan**  
Unite

**Brian Rye**  
Union of Construction,  
Allied Trades and  
Technicians

**Malcolm Sage**  
GMB

**Eddie Saville**  
Hospital Consultants and  
Specialists' Association

**Mark Serwotka**  
Public and Commercial  
Services Union

**Jon Skewes**  
Royal College of  
Midwives

**Eleanor Smith**  
UNISON

**John Smith**  
Musicians' Union

**Liz Snape MBE**  
**(chair)**  
UNISON

**Jane Stewart**  
Unite

**Claire Sullivan**  
Chartered Society of  
Physiotherapy

**Niamh Sweeney**  
Association of Teachers  
and Lecturers

**Mohammad Taj**  
Unite

**Chris Tansley**  
UNISON

**Steve Turner**  
Unite

**Dave Ward**  
Communication Workers  
Union

**Simon Weller**  
Associated Society of  
Locomotive Engineers  
and Firemen

**Fiona Wilson**  
Union of Shop,  
Distributive and Allied  
Workers

**Tony Woodhouse**  
Unite

**Matt Wrack**  
Fire Brigades'  
Union

**Frances O'Grady**  
TUC General Secretary

# **Section 1**

## Congress decisions

Listed below are the decisions taken by the 2015 Trades Union Congress on the motions and amendments submitted by unions, together with the General Council statements adopted by Congress. The numbers given to resolutions and motions refer to their number in the Final Agenda, or to that of the Composite or Emergency Motion.

## Part 1 Resolutions carried

### 3 Positive consultation and employee engagement

Congress recognises the enormous contribution that positive consultation and employee engagement can make towards achieving a more sustainable inclusive and productive economy.

Congress believes that debate on the future of trade unions can occasionally overly concentrate on legislative measures and there should be much greater focus on developing strong working relationships between employers and unions, promoting productivity gains through modern industrial relations and involving trade union members in key business decisions. Congress believes that we need a massive culture change across the UK economy and that through positive consultation and engagement organisations will be better equipped to confront and overcome challenges and to address problems before they happen.

Congress further believes this culture change is vital if the UK is to move from an era of minimal consultation to an era of partnership working and co-determination which can embed the long-term decision-making culture the UK economy desperately needs to continue to compete globally.

Congress calls on the General Council to help create this new era of partnership and campaign for the following key interventions:

- i a genuine forum for strategic, tripartite social partnership between business, trade unions and policy makers
- ii sector-specific industrial strategies that provide strategic goals for industry and foster constructive industrial relations
- iii the legislative framework for employee representatives to become board members and influence decision-making in companies.

#### **Community**

*The following amendment was ACCEPTED:*

- In the final paragraph insert new sub-paragraph iii:

“iii government should be an exemplar employer, ensuring it has meaningful consultation and partnership arrangements with its recognised unions across the civil service and wider public sector.”

- Renumber existing sub-paragraph iii as iv.

#### **FDA**

### 7 Maritime skills

Congress notes with concern the continuing decline in the number of British seafarers – down by around 60 per cent since 1982 – and that projections show numbers will diminish to potentially catastrophic levels over the next decade.

Congress further notes that more than 90 per cent of British trade comes and goes by sea and that shipping should be a pivotal part of government transport policy. However, despite the welcome support provided via the UK tonnage tax and the SMarT scheme, the number of UK flagged ships has decreased and the amount of training undertaken by ship-owners has failed to prevent long-term decline of British seafarers.

Congress therefore urges the TUC to support the maritime unions to persuade the UK government to implement policies to increase the training and employment of British seafarers by UK ship operators, and ensure that in its day-to-day work it consistently reinforces the need for action to prevent the exploitation of non-domiciled seafarers on ships operating in British waters – including the enforcement of national minimum wage, Equality Act, work permit and MLC 2006 requirements.

#### ***Nautilus International***

*The following amendment was ACCEPTED:*

- Add new final paragraph:  
“Congress also notes that seafarer exploitation is exacerbated by the continued exclusion of seafarers from the full protections of the national minimum wage and the Equality Act, which has allowed the undercutting of employment standards, the undermining of collectively bargained terms and conditions and pay rates under £3 per hour.”

#### ***National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers***

## 8 Stand up for Steel campaign

Congress recognises that steel is a foundation industry of strategic importance and a vital part of the supply chain for key industries across the UK. Congress notes the steel sector employs around 30,000 people, many in areas of relatively high unemployment, and contributes more than £45bn to the UK economy.

Congress notes with profound concern that our domestic steel industry is fighting for its very existence; global steel demand remains 25 per cent down on pre-crisis 2007 levels and thousands of jobs have been lost to the industry since the start of the recession. Congress strongly believes we must protect what remains and that trade unions, industry and government must work together to secure a sustainable future for the industry and its workforce by delivering urgent and tangible support.

Congress supports the aims and objectives of Community's ongoing Stand up for Steel campaign that calls for the UK government to:

- i bring forward the compensation package for energy-intensive industries to help the industry become competitive
- ii use government procurement to deliver for UK foundation industries
- iii stand up for the UK steel industry in Europe and across the world
- iv encourage employers to work with trade unions to create a sustainable future for UK steelmaking.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- a support the Stand up for Steel campaign and raise awareness of its aims and objectives
- b lobby the UK government to deliver a long-term industrial strategy that supports steel and industrial supply chains.

### Community

## 9 UK deep-mined coal industry

Congress is deeply concerned that at the end of 2015 there will not be a single industrial-scale deep coal mine in the whole of the UK producing coal, thirty years since the end of the 1984/85 miners' strike for jobs, pits and communities. It is a Tory

government that is in control to finish off what the Tories started in 1984.

Congress pays tribute to the coal miners in the UK who stood up to defend an industry and the trade union movement.

Coal is needed to fuel power stations and in 2016 that coal will need to be imported in larger quantities. Coal-fired power stations need to be fitted with CCS (Carbon Capture and Storage) and this should take place without delay.

UK energy policy should therefore include the clean burning of coal and given that there are millions of tonnes of coal under our feet the government should have proper feasible plans for its extraction when needed.

The UK has benefited from the many years that its coal miners have worked to win the coal and those who are still living should be treated with the dignity they deserve. The legacy of coal will continue for many years to come and there are many issues that remain unresolved. The government are still taking 50 per cent of any surpluses from the Mineworkers' Pension Schemes, £6bn to date, which should cease immediately.

Congress agrees to continue its support for the miners.

### **National Union of Mineworkers**

*The following amendment was ACCEPTED:*

- Insert new paragraph 5:  
"Congress notes that many former mining communities still endure significant unemployment and underinvestment, and acknowledges that in addition to new mining jobs, investment would have a multiplier effect on local economies in terms of developing transport infrastructure, green 'carbon capture' innovation and other related sectors."

### **ASLEF**

## 11 Public funding for arts and culture

Congress acknowledges the contribution that the arts and cultural sector makes to the UK's economy, health, well-being, society, and education. Music and performing and visual arts are growing faster than the general economy, and now contribute £5.5bn, or five per cent, of Gross

Value Added, having increased by 46 per cent in four years to 2013.

The creative industries as a whole, which depend on workers and ideas entering from the arts and culture sector, now account for nine per cent of all UK exports.

Yet the sector remains dependent on public support from government and local authorities, which has been badly constrained by austerity. More than 35 per cent of councils have closed their arts services since 2010, and nine-tenths of the remainder are planning cuts.

Central government funding through the Arts Council has been reduced by 30 per cent over five years, leading to the closure of many regional theatres and arts projects.

Public funding of the arts is essential to initiate projects and provide opportunities for creative workers who often move on to the commercial sector. Congress accepts research which shows that every pound of public money invested in arts and culture produces a four-fold return for local economies. The sector's global reputation is also a major factor in the £115bn spent by visitors to the UK.

Congress therefore calls on the General Council to lobby government to restore arts funding by central and local government to its level prior to the 2010 emergency budget.

### **Broadcasting, Entertainment, Cinematograph and Theatre Union**

*The following amendment was ACCEPTED:*

- In paragraph 3, line 1, replace "public" with "funding"
- Add at end of paragraph 4:  
"National museums, libraries and galleries across the UK have seen drastic budget cuts of between 20 and 40 per cent, which may result in:
  - i charging at the point of entry
  - ii further staff redundancies and service outsourcing
  - iii permanent or partial closures."
- In the final paragraph, line 2, after "arts" insert "culture and heritage"

**FDA**

### **15 Fair internet for performers**

Performers bring life and soul to all types of artistic work – songs, films, TV programmes, dance, et al. However, their massive contribution to the success of the creative industries has been seriously undervalued in the modern digital environment.

Digital streaming services have been great news for music fans, but performing artists are not getting their fair share of remuneration. Recent research shows that that from the £9.99 that an individual pays monthly for a Spotify premium membership subscription only £0.46 is shared between all of the artists that the music fan has listened to during that month.

The International Federation of Musicians (FIM), which represents musicians' unions in most EU member states, has combined with other European-based groups to launch a Fair Internet for Performers campaign ([www.fair-internet.eu](http://www.fair-internet.eu)).

The campaign seeks to reclaim the 'Making Available' right – which is currently fully transferred, by contract, to the record label. This means that the income derived from it is swept up in the royalty paid to the artist based on sales – but streaming is not a sale. Put simply, if the campaign were successful it would stop most of the money going to the major record labels rather than the musicians.

Congress believes that performers should receive their fair share of income generated by streaming services and supports the Fair Internet for Performers campaign.

### **Musicians' Union**

### **16 Support for creative industry start-ups**

The complex roles and uncertain, episodic and unusual patterns of work that make up a musician's portfolio career can bring many challenges. Musicians and other workers in the creative industries face real difficulties in their interaction with the tax and benefit system and the financial services industry – both of which are largely designed for workers with steady and regular work and income streams.

Entrepreneurship in this sector is seen as inherently risky by the financial service industry and this is reflected in the availability and cost of

business loans. Musicians also face difficulties accessing mortgages and face extra cost when accessing insurances.

Congress recognises that the tax and benefit system is not sophisticated enough to recognise the unique career paths of creative workers, and recommends that a more flexible regime be introduced to provide much-needed support for musicians and others developing a career in the creative sector.

In addition, Congress asks that consideration be given to taxing creative sole traders on the same basis as, for example, farmers, who pay tax on income averaged out over five years to take account of uncertain and variable levels of income.

### ***Musicians' Union***

## **17 Supporting local newspapers**

Congress notes government proposals to support local newspapers through business rate relief, currently under consultation, but believes that this falls far short of the inquiry into the future of local newspapers called for by Congress in 2014.

Congress calls on the General Council and affiliates to support the NUJ's Local News Matters campaign and its call for a short government inquiry focused not only on the immediate needs of the sector, but also on promoting greater plurality and supporting local communities trying to protect titles from closure.

Congress further notes and welcomes the cross-party support from London Assembly members during the recent disputes at Newsquest in south and south-east London and supports the idea of further work by the London Assembly into the health of local newspapers in the capital.

### ***National Union of Journalists***

*The following amendment was ACCEPTED:*

- Insert new paragraph 3:  
"Congress further calls on unions to work closely with local trades councils and English county associations and regional TUCs, the Wales TUC and the STUC to build support for the Local News Matters campaign."

### ***National Union of Journalists***

## **22 Pay and collective bargaining**

Congress notes:

- Real wages of the average UK worker have fallen by 10 per cent since 2008.
- Falling real wages are the main reason why living standards of working age households are worse than before the financial crisis.
- The official EU think-tank Eurofound reports that Britain is now the most unequal EU country in terms of wage distribution.
- Wage share of GDP has fallen from 66 per cent in 1975 to 54 per cent today.

Congress notes that even the prime minister believes that "Britain needs a pay rise", even if only to make it easier to cut the welfare bill. It notes that working people have yet to feel any effect of the economic recovery, such as it is, in their pay packets. In our unequal society, those at the top, including those who caused the crash, are the only ones to benefit.

Congress believes that real pay increases are needed for sustainable and balanced economic growth. Lack of earnings growth also affects public finances through reduced tax receipts.

Congress re-commits to making the case that collective bargaining and strong unions are the only reliable means to ensure working families secure the fruits of economic growth.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- coordinate a broad campaign for real pay increases and secure jobs
- campaign for a political commitment to an increase in the wage share of national income
- protect and promote collective bargaining including at sector level.

### ***Unite***

## **22 Public sector redundancy cap**

Congress recognises that despite the rhetoric around "hard working taxpayers funding golden goodbyes to public sector fatcats" the government's proposed redundancy cap will impact on hundreds of thousands of public sector workers.

At a time when even by conservative estimates, another 200,000 jobs will be cut as a direct result of austerity in the public sector, setting arbitrary



caps on redundancy payments smacks of dog whistle politics seeking to pit “taxpayers” against public servants.

Existing redundancy arrangements, when used as part of agreed redundancy mitigation procedures, allow organisations to reduce their workforce whilst at the same time maintaining services and the morale of the existing workforce.

Congress recognises that by introducing sweeping legislation across the public sector, the government is riding roughshod over established and negotiated agreements which have served the public sector well over many years.

Congress calls on the General Council to bring public sector unions together to build a campaign against these proposals that will:

- i dispel the myths around exit packages in the public sector
- ii highlight the true impact of these proposals on hard-working public sector workers
- iii demonstrate that these proposals will make it even more difficult for unions and employers to minimise the impact of austerity on both public servants and public services.

## **FDA**

### **27 Free is not an option**

Congress notes with concern a growing trend in which writers and other creative workers are expected to do a large amount of work for nothing.

A survey by WGGB found that 87 per cent of respondents in the TV and film industries reported a significant increase in the amount of work they had been asked to do for free. Authors, poets and playwrights also reported this practice.

Free work is routinely expected in the development stage of a project. Weeks of time-consuming research and preparatory work are required, with no pay. TV ‘shadow schemes’ require writers to create entire scripts for nothing or very little money before a paid commission will even be considered. In many cases, the free work does not lead to any paid work at all.

If so much of a writer’s work has to be done for free, the only people who can afford to enter the business or remain in it are those who have

independent financial resources, and the only stories that get told will be those of the wealthy.

Similar issues face performers, musicians and other creators.

Congress supports the Free is NOT an Option campaign launched by WGGB, and calls on the General Council to consult all unions in the cultural and entertainment industries and work with them to stamp out this unfair practice.

## **Writers’ Guild of Great Britain**

### **30 Pension Protection Fund**

Congress recognises that more and more union members formerly employed by bankrupt companies are finding themselves covered by the Pension Protection Fund (PPF).

Congress acknowledges the PPF’s good work in protecting the pensions of DB pension scheme members in genuine insolvency situations. However, it is concerned that more solvent companies may seek to follow the example of bmi (British Midland) and Monarch Airlines and off-load their DB pension fund liabilities into the PPF as part of a corporate restructuring programme. Congress is further concerned that recognised unions have no formal role in the information and consultation process for transferring a DB scheme into the PPF and many members covered by the PPF still stand to lose a substantial proportion of their accrued pension benefits due to inferior indexation of pensions in payment, inferior dependants’ pensions and an unfair compensation cap.

Congress calls on the TUC to lobby government and the PPF to:

- i ensure that recognised unions are informed and consulted as soon any proposal is made to transfer a pension scheme into the PPF and at all other significant stages during the process of PPF entry
- ii adopt a tougher approach to solvent companies who seek to off-load their pension liabilities into the PPF
- iii legislate to ensure parent companies bear ultimate responsibility for the pension liabilities of their subsidiaries

- iv revise PPF rules to include as a strategic objective the improvement of PPF-covered pensions
- v improve the indexation of pensions in payment and dependants' pensions
- vi review the compensation cap.

### **British Air Line Pilots Association**

*The following amendment was ACCEPTED:*

- Insert new paragraph 3:  
"Congress also recognises that workers who lost their pensions before the PPF was introduced and receive compensation under the Financial Assistance Scheme (FAS) continue to unfairly receive inferior benefits to those provided by the PPF."
- Add new sub-paragraph vii at end:  
"vii improve the FAS to bring benefits into line with those provided by the PPF."

### **Community**

#### **31 The gender pensions gap**

Congress deplores the gender pay gap in pensions, and is shocked by European TUC estimates that the gender gap in pensions across the EU is 39 per cent compared with a gender pay gap of 16 per cent. It notes that in 2014 the UK fell eight places to 26th in the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap report. The need for women to balance working life with caring responsibilities, widespread low pay among female-dominated sectors of the economy, and pension scheme design have all acted to the long-term detriment of women.

Congress recognises that this is an issue that transcends generations. The pay gap already faced by women in retirement will persist for women currently entering the labour market faced with a choice of inadequate stakeholder or defined contribution (DC) pension provision.

Congress calls on the General Council to campaign:

- i to raise awareness of the gender pensions gap
- ii for significant improvements to employer contributions to DC pension schemes
- iii for the terms of reference of the Low Pay Commission to be extended to consider the

minimum income required to achieve a decent standard of living in retirement and to make recommendations on the level of contributions required to achieve this.

### **TUC Women's Conference**

#### **32 Discrimination in survivor pensions**

Congress, whilst welcoming the Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Act, finds it disgraceful that the Act failed to address the inequality that exists with regard to survivor pensions. Congress deplores the failure of the coalition government to address the inequality of survivor pensions within occupational schemes.

Congress notes the Act permits pension providers to discriminate against same-sex married couples and those in civil partnerships. Same-sex survivor benefits need only be calculated from 5 December 2005 following the introduction of civil partnerships.

Congress notes that a similar discrimination exists between widow and widower pensions. Within the private sector only pension contributions after 1990 count towards accrual of a widower's pension and service; after 1988 in the public sector.

Congress asserts that the Treasury's claims that equalisation in line with other survivors is unaffordable were misleading and inaccurate.

Congress believes that there is a responsibility of government not only to end this discrimination and adhere to the provisions of the Equality Act 2010, but also to meet the costs of any backdated payment.

Congress further believes that such backdated payments should not be viewed as a "new" cost, rather as reimbursements of monies to public service scheme members which have been unjustifiably withheld.

Congress is shocked and disappointed the review of survivor benefits did not recommend full equalisation of pension rights. Congress notes that the review into Equal Survivor Pension Benefits was published 26 June 2014, that no action has been taken and that it is still with the minister for consideration.

Congress believes government should take urgent action to equalise pension provision for same-sex married couples, civil partners and widowers with the benefits enjoyed by widows.

Congress further notes the TUC campaign on equal survivor benefits and applauds the TUC for the work and commitment to advancing this agenda.

Congress calls upon the TUC and affiliates to:

- i make pensions equality a priority campaign
- ii engage with affiliated unions and other organisations to raise this issue with employers and the government to amend the legislation to end this unfair discrimination
- iii encourage affiliated unions to negotiate with employers to end discrimination within existing pension schemes.

### ***TUC Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Conference***

### **33 English decentralisation and trade unions**

Congress acknowledges the fast pace of the current devolution debate and how the government is a late convert to the idea that the UK is over-centralised and would benefit from local, democratic decision-making.

However, Congress also notes the increase in Treasury backroom deals for combined authorities in England and public scepticism around their introduction. Congress recognises that between 2010 and 2015 the government cynically sought to use the devolution debate to weaken bargaining, attack terms and conditions, undermine and fragment collective public services and to either pass on or avoid blame for drastic spending cuts.

Congress also notes that when proposals do not include pre-conditions over the design of public services, or elected mayors, and have real democratic accountability at their heart, devolution can also contain benefits. With properly funded public services, extra investment powers, a responsibility to secure good jobs and stronger communities and, most importantly, a mandate from the public through the ballot box, combined authorities could usher in a new era of public

service delivery in England that is more responsive to local need.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- i learn the lessons from Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland
- ii campaign for greater public accountability and the inclusion of civil society and trade unions in the design of all new English proposals
- iii prevent an outsourcing agenda developing
- iv recognise the need for flexibility in union organisation and recognition as commissioning or services change
- v secure union bargaining with all new public bodies.

### ***UNISON***

*The following amendment was ACCEPTED:*

- Insert new paragraph 3:  
"Congress recognises the importance of consistent public service delivery to avoid regional inequalities and postcode lotteries, and calls on the General Council to evaluate the risks posed to public services by the Cities and government Devolution Bill."
- In the final paragraph add at the end of sub-paragraph iv:  
", while not undermining existing workplace organisation and respecting recognition rights"

### ***Public and Commercial Services Union***

### **34 Fair funding for social care**

Congress agrees:

- i The modern welfare state's founding principles of social insurance provided a "cradle to grave" safety net for all.
- ii Years of chronic underfunding in social care mean today's safety net is 'cradle to care home door', betraying our vulnerable and elderly who paid National Insurance and tax all their lives, and causing the slow-motion collapse of the care sector.
- iii Underfunding social care costs the NHS hundreds of millions of pounds from avoidable admissions and bed-blocking.
- iv Politicians of all parties must address the social care funding crisis.

- v Without serious fees and funding increases, more Southern Cross style collapses are inevitable, and more people will be hospitalised and for longer.
- vi The high turnover of carers and perennial shortages of nurses and other specialist staff affects quality of care, increasing NHS and care costs.
- vii Providing no state funding for care sector training is an illogical false economy.
- viii Care sector training standards should be universal, funded by government through training support grants to the public and private sectors.
- ix Care occupations should be registered and seen as a career path, not low paid, unappreciated, 'invisible' roles.

Congress instructs the General Council to campaign for:

- a immediate care sector fees and funding increases to at least £600 per week as per the Rowntree Foundation Fair Care Model
- b a new and independent Training Commission responsible for ensuring the supply of UK trained staff – for all occupations – to meet future demand in the care sector and NHS
- c new government funding for care sector training.

### **GMB**

*The following amendment was ACCEPTED:*

- At the end add new sub-paragraph d:  
"d all care workers to be paid at least the living wage and enjoy decent terms and conditions in line with the Ethical Care Charter to ensure higher standards of care for care users."

### **UNISON**

### **35 People's Post campaign**

Congress condemns the government's privatisation of Royal Mail and recognises that this, alongside aggressive regulation from Ofcom, poses a major threat to the continuation of daily deliveries to 29 million addresses throughout the UK.

Furthermore, the actions of Ofcom in promoting cherry-picking competition, and attacking Royal Mail as inefficient because of agreements reached

with the CWU on pay and employment standards, demonstrates a regulatory approach that has overstepped its remit and is no longer fit for purpose.

Congress is also concerned over recent developments in the broader postal market. In the past year the collapse of Whistl's delivery operations and City Link's insolvency have made 5,000 people redundant. Again this underlines the failure of the current regulatory framework.

To counter these developments the CWU has launched its People's Post campaign which is about defending the service to the public and promoting higher employment standards across the postal sector.

Congress gives its full support to the People's Post campaign and its objectives including:

- i new legislation to protect daily deliveries
- ii an overhaul of regulation
- iii the retention of a public voice in Royal Mail
- iv fair employment standards in the postal sector
- v proper consumer protections
- vi a union-led workers' share trust in Royal Mail.

Congress also supports the call for a future Labour government to bring Royal Mail back into public ownership.

### **Communication Workers Union**

### **36 Transport**

Congress condemns EU regulations which are being used as justification to threaten the privatisation of ferry services in Scotland. Congress pays tribute to RMT members who have taken strike action to defend jobs and services and who are campaigning for the ferries to remain publicly operated.

Congress also condemns the EU railway package which if passed will compel states to privatise their railways. Congress welcomes the support of MEPs who are opposing these measures.

Congress believes delays to UK rail projects and the drive to cut and casualise rail staff are directly linked to the fragmented, commercially driven nature of the railway; therefore Congress reiterates its support for renationalisation and will oppose any proposals to break up and privatise Network Rail.

Congress notes the continued call for devolution of rail. Congress supports measures that increase

democratic accountability, involvement and transport integration, but does not believe devolution is a panacea for rail and is concerned it may be used to cut national rail funding and break up Network Rail. Congress believes greater national and local accountability can best be achieved through a national integrated railway under public ownership.

Congress welcomes the continued development of Action for Rail. Congress calls on the campaign to use the Scottish, Welsh and London elections to make the case, including with conferences and meetings, for a properly staffed railway and Tube under public ownership.

Finally, Congress is deeply concerned at the threat of austerity to bus services and calls for a broad campaign opposing these cuts.

**National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers**

### **37 Public ownership and the break-up of Network Rail**

Congress re-affirms its commitment to public ownership of Britain's railways, applauding the work of the Action for Rail Campaign, despite opposition from a Conservative government ideologically opposed to such a prospect.

This statement is made at a time when the prospect of public ownership seems further away than ever and when there are persistent rumours that the government are planning to break up and sell off Network Rail.

Congress notes that Network Rail was formed from a private sector predecessor that pursued profit over safety and, consequently, presided over a series of rail disasters caused by poor maintenance. The story of Network Rail, the national rail infrastructure manager, has been one of coordination and steady consolidation in the interests of a safe and reliable railway. More recently, not only has Network Rail been taken into the public sector but it has also been able to invest heavily in the rail network through significant taxpayer investment.

Like the rest of the public sector, however, Network Rail is threatened by the government's austerity campaign. It is also threatened by claims

that it cannot cope with the requirements of the unprecedented investment, visible in the delays to schemes to electrify the Midland Mainline and Transpennine routes.

Congress therefore sets a priority for the General Council to resist government attempts to break up and privatise Network Rail and calls for it to be kept in the public sector with realistically achievable targets and a recognition of the need for investment in specialist skills.

**Transport Salaried Staffs Association**

*The following amendment was ACCEPTED:*

- Insert new paragraph 4:  
"History shows that to re-introduce a profit motive back into the infrastructure of our railway would jeopardise these improvements and reduce safety standards. It is also likely to have a negative impact on rail freight, which benefits the wider economy, decreases rail congestion and reduces CO2 emissions."

**ASLEF**

### **38 Safety in UK airspace**

Congress believes the UK can have a successful aviation sector – supporting skilled and well-rewarded jobs for trade union members in a variety of associated businesses – provided the sector is allowed to develop in a way that is sustainable and consistent with environmental objectives. Congress calls on the government to implement the recommendations of the Airports Commission as soon as practicable.

Congress believes that, with the projected increase in air traffic movements, safety must remain the paramount concern. We welcome the imminent introduction of a model 'Just Culture' policy on incident reporting within the EU. But we are alarmed about two key threats to safety:

- i a regulatory regime that seeks to commoditise air traffic control, focusing on cost with potential impact on safety in the air
- ii the 'flags of convenience' strategy which many airlines are pursuing, risking a race to the bottom in labour standards and circumventing the engineering and licensing practices that secure the airworthiness of aircraft.

Congress reaffirms that safety is the primary concern when it comes to air travel and calls upon the General Council to:

- a promote a campaign on civil aviation, encouraging the public to identify safety as the top priority
- b support the adoption of best practice 'Just Culture' policies by all organisations within the aviation industry
- c encourage respect among employers and regulators for the principles of good work and the leading place which the employee voice on safety must occupy
- d encourage unions to recruit and organise airside and landside workers at UK airports.

### **Prospect**

### **39 Childcare in the creative industries**

In the creative industries, as with many other sectors where unpredictable working patterns, last minute recruitment practices, low earnings, a culture of presenteeism and regular travel are the norm, parents are reporting significant difficulties accessing affordable, flexible childcare.

The lack of information and clarity regarding rules and entitlements to tax free childcare, Universal Credit, child tax credits and the government's commitment to providing 30 hours of free childcare for 'working parents', along with the lack of support during and post-pregnancy, particularly for those seeking to return to work, mean that many parents – particularly female and lone parents in the creative industries – are at risk of dropping out of the workforce.

Congress reaffirms its commitment to campaign for childcare support which will benefit all parents, including freelance and self-employed workers and those who work shifts and unsociable hours.

Congress further resolves to continue to campaign for comprehensive policy measures geared towards the introduction of universal free childcare. This campaign will include provisions that seek to address the urgent needs of workers in the creative and freelance sectors.

### **Equity**

### **41 Disabled people and the new government**

Congress is gravely concerned at the election of a Conservative government and the implications of this for disabled workers. For the last five years, the Tory-led government attacked our benefits, services and rights, and we can expect the Conservatives to intensify that now they have a majority.

With the Conservatives promising £12bn cuts, we can anticipate further cuts in benefits levels and entitlements, privatisation and closure of health and support services, and new attacks on our human rights, employment rights and trade union rights. The government and sections of the media will doubtless back up these attacks with an ideological assault on disabled people as scroungers, trade unionists as wreckers and human rights as expendable.

Congress resolves to mobilise in defence of our rights, benefits and services, and calls on the General Council and the Disabled Workers Committee to:

- i unite and work closely with the disabled people's movement to organise campaigning, including direct action
- ii mobilise support for trade unions campaigning and taking industrial action
- iii actively encourage disabled people to exercise their existing rights as a proactive way of defending those rights against attack
- iv pursue this fightback immediately rather than wait for specific attacks to be announced.

### **TUC Disabled Workers Conference**

### **50 Lifelong learning**

Congress commends the work of unionlearn in advancing workplace skills and learning. Trade unions have proven to be trusted social partners with an expertise and drive in promoting workplace learning and skills. Trade unions have been equally instrumental in advocating the wider workforce development agenda to employers.

Congress understands that ensuring workers have the skills and opportunities to prosper is an invaluable contribution to improved economic performance. Ensuring this opportunity is spread

equitably and fairly is central to promoting workplace equality.

Good skills and learning opportunities are central to the trade union movement's vision for a fair and productive workplace that provides good jobs and prospects for all workers.

Congress is asked to note that the level of funding for unionlearn has been reducing dramatically under this government and this has effectively cut the resources available to the trade union movement to deliver this vital area of work.

Congress notes that the continued nature of one-year funding programmes is detrimental to the capacity of unions to develop long-term strategies and engage with employers in a way that can help deliver the stated objectives of unionlearn.

Congress calls on the General Council and the unionlearn board to campaign for:

- i a substantial increase in funding for unionlearn from April 2016
- ii the introduction of a three-year cycle of funding to enable trade unions to develop long-term skills and strong learning strategies.

### **Aegis**

## **51 Quality care in the NHS**

For the past five years, under the coalition government, the NHS has been under attack: cuts, or so-called efficiency savings, privatisation, pay restraint. We know that things will only get worse with a £30bn funding gap predicted by 2020 in England alone. Planned further cuts to the social care budget will inevitably impact on demands on NHS services.

NHS staff are dedicated to providing the best possible care for their patients and this requires adequate numbers of staff, rewarded fairly for their work.

The impact of years of austerity is clearly being felt as reflected in the recent NHS staff survey. Less than a third said there were enough staff to enable them to do their jobs properly. Four in ten reported feeling unwell as a result of work related stress.

Combined with five years of pay restraint so far, a real terms pay cut of up to 12 per cent, and the prospect of a further four-year one per cent cap on

pay rises, the fact that six in ten NHS staff are working extra unpaid hours each week is a real reflection of the dedication of these staff to their patients. But quality care needs to be based on quality employment – not constant attacks on employment rights and pay.

The TUC-led All Together for the NHS campaign is needed now more than ever. Congress calls upon affiliates to support this and to campaign to reverse the decline in funding of the NHS as a proportion of GDP.

### **Chartered Society of Physiotherapy**

*The following amendment was ACCEPTED:*

- In the final paragraph, line 4, after "campaign to", make the rest of the sentence sub-paragraph i and add the following sub-paragraphs:
  - ii oppose attempts to charge for NHS services
  - iii exempt the NHS from TTIP
  - iv reverse the NHS's break up by privatisation
  - v defend national terms and conditions of NHS staff
  - vi rebuild the NHS within an integrated National Health and Social Care service free at point of use, funded by progressive taxation."

### **Unite**

## **52 Valuing midwifery services**

Congress congratulates midwives on the vital contribution that they make to the health and well-being of mothers and babies, to early years development, to tackling health inequalities and to improving the nation's public health. NHS maternity services have achieved significant improvements in the quality and safety of care and, overall, women express very high levels of satisfaction with the care that they receive. Evidence shows that outcomes are particularly good when women, including those with complex needs, are able to access and receive midwifery-led care from the same midwife or a small group of midwives throughout.

Congress understands that resource constraints, particularly staffing shortages, are making it harder for many midwifery services to achieve continuity of care, with the result that not all women are

receiving the care that they want or are being involved in decisions about their care. The NHS in England has a shortage of 2,600 midwives.

Congress believes that there is a real opportunity to eliminate the midwifery shortage entirely over the lifetime of this parliament, thereby enhancing the service women and families receive.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- i highlight the benefits for women, families and society of investing in services that provide midwifery-led models of care
- ii make the elimination of the shortage of midwives a key campaigning activity during this parliament.

### ***Royal College of Midwives***

## **53 Access to healthcare**

Congress recognises that this government has made a commitment to improve access to healthcare for the good of the nation. But the government is fixated on the need to open access to general practitioner services without serious consideration or regard to other models or opportunities for direct access to healthcare services.

It is accepted that there has been insufficient financial investment and there are too few GPs to deliver a full service to patients. Even with immediate action to ensure that there are the resources needed to improve access, there will be a considerable gap between any improvement and achieving universal healthcare.

An area that the government and Department of Health (DH) have studiously ignored is the role of the non-medical health professional in improving access to health. Professions like radiography and other non-medical health care providers have the professional skills and knowledge required to improve access to healthcare services. If the government were more receptive to direct patient referral for these groups this would meet the needs of the patient and provide for a more immediate improvement in access to healthcare.

Congress calls on the TUC to promote the worth and value of the healthcare professional and to facilitate meetings between DH and senior policy makers in government to provide the means for affiliates to interact and develop with senior

officials working models that will provide direct access for patients.

### ***Society of Radiographers***

## **54 Funding for nursing, midwifery and allied health professionals' education**

Congress notes the announcement in the summer 2015 budget that the government intends to cease all student grants from 2016.

Congress also notes that the Council of Deans of Health and Universities UK have called on the government to look at whether the current grants-based system can be shifted to student loans.

The statement also calls on the NHS to explore its scope to repay part of a student's loan after a given period of service, attracting newly qualified staff into careers in the health service and helping bring down agency spend.

Congress recognises that there are not enough nurses, midwives and allied health professionals, especially radiographers, in training to meet the current and future needs of patients or to meet cancer targets, and calls for more investment in education for all professional and support staff.

Congress further recognises that students are not receiving enough financial support to meet their day-to-day costs of living and that universities receive less for many of the courses than they actually cost to deliver.

Congress believes that it is vital that in any discussions around a possible review of funding arrangements the voice of the trade unions is heard.

Congress calls on the TUC to facilitate a meeting of all its affiliates that have an interest in this area.

Congress further calls on the TUC to organise and facilitate a roundtable workshop bringing together the relevant trade unions and other stakeholders.

### ***Society of Radiographers***

*The following amendment was ACCEPTED:*

- Insert new paragraph 5:  
"Congress recognises the vital contribution of health educators in our colleges and universities to the supply and development of high-quality health professionals. The future recruitment of health educators depends on improved state



funding of health education and research and the establishment of pay and conditions commensurate with their professionalism.”

**University and College Union**

### **55 Increase in registration fees by the Health and Care Professions Council (HCPC)**

Congress notes:

- i The HCPC is increasing fees for its regulated professions by 12.5 per cent from 1 August 2015.
- ii This follows a five per cent increase in 2014 and breaches an undertaking not to review fees again until 2016.
- iii This increase affects 330,000 staff in health, social work and psychological services across the UK.
- iv Most of these staff work in the public sector, have suffered five years of pay freeze/restraint and will have no pay rises over one per cent for the next four years.
- v Most respondents to an HCP consultation opposed a massive increase in fees.
- vi The HCPC ran a surplus of £1.3m and increased general reserves by nearly £1m in 2014 – there is no parliamentary scrutiny of this 12.5 per cent fee increase.
- vii Less than a third of the increase is accounted for by a levy on the HCPC to fund the Professional Standards Authority (PSA).

Congress calls on the HCPC to:

- a delay any rise until the Health Select Committee holds its annual accountability hearing and fully considers the cost savings which will be enabled by the Law Commission draft Bill on The Regulation of Health and Social Care Professionals.

Congress calls upon the Secretary of State for Health to:

- 1 resume central funding of the PSA
- 2 instruct the HCPC to reduce the costs of unwarranted investigations and hearings before raising fees
- 3 protect registrants from future fee increases that wildly exceed registrants' pay awards.

**Association of Educational Psychologists**

### **56 Supporting professional activity for hospital consultants**

Congress notes how important it is for workers across industry to develop their skills and knowledge to ensure they continually improve and innovate. Therefore it is alarming to note that across the NHS many employers are seeking to reduce the time hospital consultants and specialists have to support their professional activity and undertake development and training.

It has been widely accepted that around 25 per cent of a hospital consultant's working week would be dedicated to supporting professional activity. In many trusts this has been drastically cut, more often than not solely for financial reasons. This short-sighted approach means that hospital consultants and specialists are less able to carry out the training, development and research needed to enhance their skills and knowledge, develop innovative practice and continue to provide high quality improvements in care. It is even more important now that these activities are maintained following the numerous public enquiries into healthcare failure.

Patients across the UK expect their hospital consultants and specialists to be up to date with the latest developments and as each cut bites this is becoming increasingly difficult. More crucially it means teaching and supervision of medical students and trainees is under additional strain.

Supporting professional activities must not be a soft target for the accountants and Congress agrees that providing this dedicated time to learn and innovate is good for the employer, the doctor and most importantly for the patient.

Congress calls on the General Council to highlight these concerns at every opportunity.

**Hospital Consultants and Specialists Association**

### **57 Union movement working together on workplace health**

Congress fully recognises the critical importance of a healthy workforce which, ultimately, ensures we have a nation of workers who live healthier and longer lives, which benefits UK workplaces and society as a whole.

One in six working people live with a long-term medical condition, such as diabetes, heart disease,

lung disease, depression, or live with a disability. Eating well and living better can help all workers to build and maintain individual optimum health.

Organisations who currently promote workplace health initiatives should be applauded, encouraged and supported to continue. However, the majority of organisations and employers do not offer their workforce this opportunity.

Dietitians are in a key position to influence workplace health at all levels, and can be most effective within the areas of nutrition, behaviour and organisational change. It is further known that a multi-factor approach to workplace health interventions, i.e. nutrition and physical activity, are required to demonstrate positive outcomes for the workforce. The dietetic profession has the understanding, evidence and skills to devise and deliver, or enable delivery of, workplace health programmes aimed at creating individual and organisational change to improve eating and drinking, in addition to physical activity, in a variety of work settings.

Congress is asked to support and work with the British Dietetic Association to take up the workplace health agenda to help make a positive difference to millions of UK workers.

#### ***British Dietetic Association***

### **60 Hospital consultants and stress**

Stress amongst hospital consultants and specialists is a constant reminder of how vulnerable senior public sector workers are on the front line. From continuous battles with waiting time targets in A&E to the funding crisis that is seeing many senior doctors reaching for the exit door to either retire or work overseas, stress amongst talented lifesaving doctors is continuing to impact on our NHS.

Congress notes that consultant workload has been continuously increasing and the pressure to care for an ever-increasing patient caseload is causing some consultants' mental health to be impacted. Depression, anxiety and stress are the most prevalent reasons for sickness absence amongst hospital consultants and specialists. The toxic mix of a stressful workplace combined with a culture of bullying and trying to balance family life

can often result in complete burn-out for the doctor.

The health and well-being of all NHS staff should be a top priority, but time after time NHS organisations either fail to see the signs or do not know what to look for. Congress believes that stress amongst senior doctors in hospitals is just not taken seriously to the detriment of the doctor and the patients. Congress calls on government and employers to work with the HCSA to determine a strategy that will safeguard all medical staff in the future.

#### ***Hospital Consultants and Specialists Association***

### **61 Mental health and young workers**

Congress agrees that the future of trade unionism lies in making ourselves as relevant to people in their communities as in their workplaces. Congress notes that the TUC Young Workers Forum each year selects two issues as priority campaigns with the aim of demonstrating the importance and relevance of trade unions on non-industrial issues as well as providing campaigning opportunities to engage young workers.

Congress is deeply concerned at the rising trend in recorded mental ill-health amongst young people, and is not surprised that this coincides with a plague of insecure employment, increasing personal indebtedness, chronic housing shortages and cuts in support services.

Congress therefore agrees to make the mental well-being of young workers a priority issue, and to commence discussions with organisations such as SANE, MIND and the Samaritans about the practicalities of campaigning on this issue.

#### ***TUC Young Workers Conference***

### **64 Anti-trade union laws**

Congress reiterates its support for repeal of the anti-trade union laws.

Congress notes that the Conservative government, elected on 7 May by the votes of only 24 per cent of the electorate, has used its first Queen's Speech to announce further draconian anti-trade union legislation.

The Trade Union Bill includes:

- i a 50 per cent voting threshold for union ballot turnouts, plus a requirement of 40 per cent of those

entitled to vote in favour of industrial action in certain essential public services (health, education, fire and transport)

- ii additional restrictions on picketing
  - iii an opt-in process for the political fund trade union subscriptions
  - iv increased industrial action notice periods and also time limits on a mandate following a ballot for industrial action
  - v increased powers for the Certification Officer.
- Congress calls on the General Council to consider:
- a a mass lobby and national demonstration against the Bill becoming law
  - b the possibility of assisting in organising generalised strike action should legal action be taken against any affiliate in connection with these new laws
  - c pursuing and giving practical and financial support to affiliates seeking to challenge the legality of the legislation in such arenas as the European Court of Human Rights
  - d building the broadest possible parliamentary opposition to the proposals
  - e drawing up an alternative Trade Union and Employment Rights Bill that strengthens the role of trade unions, including workplace ballots and electronic balloting.

### ***National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers***

#### **71 Statutory recognition – scope of collective bargaining**

Congress notes that the statutory union recognition procedure uses a definition of collective bargaining – “pay, hours and holiday” – which is much narrower than the definition that applies to voluntary recognition agreements. This narrow statutory definition is being restricted even further by aggressively anti-union employers to exclude bargaining on issues which are fundamental to union members’ terms of employment. For example, in workplaces where union members work variable hours, the recognised union is prevented from negotiating the actual rostering arrangements which determine daily working hours and time off. This narrow definition is being exploited by anti-union employers. Having failed in the first place to

prevent a union winning recognition through the statutory process, they get a second opportunity to undermine legitimate collective organisation by refusing to negotiate on key employment terms such as rostering and scheduling.

Congress believes the original intention of the statutory union recognition procedure – to oblige an employer to recognise and negotiate with an independent union when this is supported by the majority of employees – should be restored by widening the definition of collective bargaining to include all main terms of employment, including rostering arrangements.

Congress calls on the TUC to:

- i support efforts by affiliated unions to challenge the narrow definition of collective bargaining under the statutory union recognition process
- ii lobby government to amend TULRA 1992 to bring the statutory definition of collective bargaining into line with the voluntary definition set out in Paragraph 178 of the Act.

### ***British Air Line Pilots Association***

#### **75 Government attacks on civil rights**

Congress asserts that the Conservative’s programme for government represents a fundamental attack on basic rights, freedoms and entitlements and on democracy.

Congress deplores the government’s centralising plans which are being delivered through measures to silence opposition from workers, families and communities.

Congress further deplores the fact that the government’s economic, social and education policies are designed to privilege the voices of those with financial advantage, whilst stripping away access to civil rights for the majority.

Congress calls upon the General Council to:

- i mount a public awareness campaign to highlight the government’s attacks on civil rights
- ii support affiliates in their campaigns to challenge the government’s programme of oppressive and anti-democratic legislation

- iii work with the ITUC and the ILO vigorously to challenge the attacks on civil liberties and rights at work.

### **NASUWT**

*The following amendment was ACCEPTED:*

- Add at the end of the first paragraph after “democracy” (removing the full stop):  
“building on its championing of the Gagging Act (the Transparency of Lobbying, Non-Party Campaigning and Trade Union Administration Act 2014) that closed down civil society campaigning by unions, charities and pressure groups before the 2015 General Election, and will do so again in the year up to 2020.”

### **Transport Salaried Staffs Association**

## **76 Stop and search**

Congress notes that the subject of stop and search has been debated on many occasions, but nothing has changed. People of African heritage are six times more likely to be stopped and searched by the police in England and Wales under Section 1 of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 and 29 times as likely as white people under Section 60 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994.

People of Asian heritage (and other ethnic minorities) are twice as likely to be stopped and searched under Section 1 and six times as likely under Section 60.

This disproportionate impact of stop and search on Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) communities has become the norm, with no serious proposals from politicians, policy makers or the police force to deal with the essential racist use of stop and search powers. There is a deafening silence and BAME communities have been left to deal with the consequences.

Congress calls on the General Council to campaign to:

- i make police forces accountable for their stop and search figures while ensuring they establish plans to change their culture
- ii have the TUC become a vocal advocate for the plight of BAME communities.

### **TUC Black Workers Conference**

## **78 Young workers**

Congress condemns the attacks on young people by governments over the last five years, including abolishing the education maintenance allowance, reducing tax credits and increasing tuition fees.

Congress deplores measures announced in Chancellor George Osborne’s budget in July such as the inappropriately named “living wage” which will only apply to workers over 25 and the removal of the entitlement to housing benefit from those who are under 21.

Congress notes evidence from the Resolution Foundation that shows that workers aged between 22 and 29 have seen the biggest reduction in real terms pay between 2009 and 2014, with a fall of 12.5 per cent, while the income of pensioners has risen by 10 per cent over the same period. Congress further acknowledges that voters aged over 75 are more than four times as likely to vote as voters aged between 18 and 24.

Congress welcomes many aspects of age discrimination legislation but fears that certain provisions can indirectly lead to discrimination against young people as older workers work for longer, thereby depriving young people of new and good jobs.

Congress calls on the General Council to campaign for age discrimination law to achieve its goals without undermining access to work for young people and to fight against age discrimination in the benefits system.

### **ASLEF**

*The following amendment was ACCEPTED:*

- Add at end of paragraph 1: “Unequal access to job opportunities and to work experience placements and internships affects all young people, however well qualified they are.”
- Add at end of paragraph 2: “It is becoming ever more difficult for ‘generation rent’ to find affordable, secure, good quality housing.”
- Add to final sentence at end of motion “and wider public policy decisions.”

### **Prospect**

## 79 Violence in the workplace

Congress notes with concern the rise in workplace violence in the criminal justice system. The rise of serious assaults has increased by 58 per cent over the last five years and by 35 per cent in the last year. Other assaults on staff have risen sharply. There were 3,637 in 2014, an increase of 28 per cent on 2010. Whilst there are no simple explanations for the decline in safety, budget cuts are a significant contributing factor.

Congress asks the General Council and affiliated unions to assess violence in the workplace and to mount a joint union campaign for the protection of all workers in the public and private sector in their workplaces.

### **POA**

*The following amendment was ACCEPTED:*

- Insert new paragraph 2:  
"Congress deplores the culture, practices and attitudes of some employers (especially in the prison and probation services, police, health and schools) who assert that violent assaults at work should be expected as part of the job."

### **NASUWT**

## 80 Collective bargaining in dance

Congress notes that over £100m will be invested by the Arts Council England (ACE) in Dance from 2015–2018, but that only a small proportion of those who receive this funding engage in collective bargaining with the dancers they employ.

Congress further notes that ACE's guidance for organisations who receive public funding states that: "Artists' fees for projects funded by us should be in line with recognised codes of practice set by the relevant lead bodies."

In practice, however, ACE does not ensure that funding is delivered in line with minimum union terms. Therefore it is up to dancers, as workers, to fight for recognition and the use of union agreements in publicly funded companies.

The companies in question often give assurances that they meet minimum conditions set out in national collective agreements, but refuse to use the full union agreement or enter negotiations with unions.

Congress believes that dancers deserve an input into the terms and conditions they work on. This status quo is unacceptable: dancers must have independent, collective representation in the workplace.

The nature of dance work makes it very difficult to achieve statutory recognition in most companies; however, Equity's Freelance Dance Network has been established to organise dancers outside of the traditional workplace-specific context.

Congress resolves to support the unionisation of freelance dancers through the Equity Freelance Dance Network and support Equity's work to get publicly funded dance companies to participate in collective bargaining.

### **Equity**

## 81 Fast Food Rights/Hungry for Justice campaigns

Congress recognises the importance of young workers and supports the aims of the Fast Food Rights/Hungry For Justice campaigns. The exploitation of young people working in fast food outlets will continue unless we can raise the public profile and the best conduit for that is a committed TUC and trade union movement.

### **Bakers, Food and Allied Workers Union**

## 82 FIFA reform

Congress calls on the General Council to support a fundamental restructuring of FIFA leading to much greater player involvement in the overall governance of the game.

The recent developments and the ongoing investigations have highlighted the need to have much greater transparency and openness in the running of world football. Corruption and malpractice has been synonymous with FIFA but it is the current US-led FBI investigation that has been the real game changer.

Although such revelations are very damaging for football they also provide a unique opportunity to bring about a much-needed reform and overhaul. We have seen that the structures and workings of FIFA have supported and built up a corrupt culture with vast sums of money disappearing into private

bank accounts to ensure votes are rigged and decisions are manipulated. The way forward must be to have more player control and to also reduce the career bureaucrats who see the game as a cash cow to exploit as they see fit.

We have seen that the process by which the World Cup hosts are chosen is fundamentally flawed and this has allowed workers rights in Qatar to be ignored.

The message from the FIFA scandal will resonate within the trade union movement because it is another example of impropriety at the heart of an organisation that dismisses the role of the worker and actively discourages their input. Congress, along with its international union colleagues, demands change and will not remain on the sidelines in this battle.

### ***Professional Footballers' Association***

## **83 TUC Trades Union Councils Conference delegate to Congress**

Congress recognises the vast amount of positive work Trades Union Councils have undertaken during this period of austerity, taking an active part in supporting trade unions in campaigns and disputes.

Trade Union Councils have been the bridge between trade unions and local communities: they have given guidance and support to local community groups' campaigns, including opposing the bedroom tax, library closures and welfare benefit cuts whilst explaining to those same groups the effects of government cuts and why trade unions are in dispute and eliciting support for those disputes amongst the general public.

Congress affirms the goal that a Trades Union Council delegate attends TUC Congress and moves the Trades Union Councils Conference motion as a delegate.

Congress instructs the General Council to acknowledge the valuable positive work undertaken by Trades Union Councils and to implement in full this motion.

### ***TUC Trades Union Councils Conference***

## **Composite 1 Productivity and investment – good work in a fairer and stronger economy**

Congress is concerned at the absence of productivity growth in the UK since 2007. Output per hour is 15 per cent below where it would have been if the pre-2008 trend had continued.

Yet there have been productivity success stories in areas such as car and aerospace manufacturing, with strong levels of trade union organisation and involvement in decision-making at company and industrial level. The government's 'productivity plan' fails to recognise this and include working people and their representatives in addressing this issue. Trade unions have an important part to play in ensuring sustainable fairly distributed growth and productivity.

Although the number of people in work in the UK has increased over the past year, it is still the case that too much employment is insecure, poorly rewarded and low-skilled, thereby failing either to provide decent work or contribute to productivity growth.

Congress rejects the ideology that any job will do: insufficient priority is being given to the causes and consequences of the declining wage share for the health of the economy. Deregulation of product and labour markets, the changing industrial relations climate and increasing use of the law to undermine trade union operations and dilute union membership are all contributory factors.

Congress welcomes new research showing not only does this lead to rising inequality but that it depresses economic growth. By demonstrating the economic efficiency of collective voice, it rebuts the fallacy that economic growth can only be secured at unions' expense.

Forward-thinking employers understand that decent pay and conditions are an investment in their business, not a burden. They also recognise the value of independent trade union representation in giving their workers a genuine voice in the workplace. Union representation and collective bargaining are therefore key to a successful economy.

Government policy needs to recognise the critical role that investment in workers, their workplaces and the infrastructure they use has for improving productivity. Sustainable improvements in productivity growth will not be achieved by trying to squeeze 'more for less' out of workers, extending the 'flexible' labour market or making work more insecure. It requires well-paid, good quality, secure jobs.

Congress welcomes the TUC's highlighting of the devastating impact that austerity has had on productivity and the importance of increased demand and investment. Further austerity will only serve to damage productivity growth.

Congress calls on the General Council for a programme of action to promote the role that trade unions play in delivering productivity growth and sustainable, high-quality, productive growth in a campaign that includes:

- i an end to the austerity that is inhibiting productivity
- ii investment in infrastructure, equipment, services, skills and innovation
- iii government investment in national infrastructure
- iv increased public investment in R&D, recognising the vital contribution of UK scientific and engineering expertise to future industrial success
- v tackling the cost of living and climate crisis by developing a clean energy economy based on renewable energy, and creation of one million climate jobs
- vi promoting trade union mobilisation around the Paris COP21 climate talks including the national march for climate, justice, jobs on 29th November in London
- vii a national skills strategy based on genuine commitment to social partnership
- viii better work organisation with worker and trade union input
- ix constructive engagement with trade unions in the workplace
- x well-paid, decent, secure jobs
- xi an active industrial strategy.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- a produce a report encompassing these themes, setting out a clear vision and plan to achieve it

- b arrange a meeting of all interested unions in a roundtable event to discuss the issues and findings of the report
- c build a broad coalition, including decent employers, to promote the economic case for strong, effective collective voice.

**Mover: Unite**

**Secunder: Prospect**

**Supporters: Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers; Public and Commercial Services Union; Society of Radiographers**

## Composite 2 The Housing Crisis

Congress is deeply concerned that the nation faces a desperate and growing housing crisis. Less than half the homes we need are being built. As a result the nation faces an accumulating shortfall of over 100,000 homes a year.

Congress notes that decades of under-investment in housing have led to 1.5 million fewer social and affordable homes for rent. This has pushed up rents and house prices and squeezed the incomes of citizens. Cuts in housing benefit, particularly for young people, and rising rents have left thousands at more risk of rent arrears, evictions and homelessness, causing financial hardship to those affected.

Shelter estimates there are more than 1.8 million households on waiting lists and that many families' lives are being blighted because of a severe shortage of high quality social housing.

Congress deplores the latest disastrous, ideologically driven 'right to buy' housing policy as just another means of undermining social housing. A consequence of the policy is that a third of properties sold end up with buy-to-let landlords, with private tenants paying higher rents.

Congress notes that while devolved administrations in the UK are consigning right to buy to the dustbin of history, Tory-led England re-embraces it.

Congress is fully aware that housing associations will not be able to replace the homes being sold off under right to buy, with many associations saying they will not replace any at all.

Government policies such as the right to buy have shrunk the social housing stock; 17 per cent of families live in social housing today compared

with 31 per cent when the policy was introduced in 1980.

Congress deplores the Conservative government's plans to extend the right to buy to housing association tenants in England, as this will further reduce the housing stock.

The right to buy scheme for housing association tenants is unfunded, unworkable and will reduce the social rented sector.

Congress condemns the UK government's housing and financial policies that have led to the development of 'buy to let' as the main source of private rented housing in the UK.

Many workers, young people and families alike, cannot afford to buy homes and there is a severe shortage of rented social housing. This has left many people with no option but to turn to the private rented sector and rents for private lets have soared as a result.

Congress recognises that providing good quality housing positively supports good health, social mobility and regenerates communities.

Congress further recognises that housing quality and policy has a massive impact on children's lives, affecting health, educational outcomes, emotional well-being and life chances.

Congress deplores that over 1.6 million children in Britain live in overcrowded, temporary or run-down accommodation.

A recent survey of over 2,000 Usdaw members identified housing as one of the biggest single costs contributing to the cost of living crisis.

The unfair bedroom tax is plunging many households into rent arrears and making it difficult for people to find accommodation.

We need alternative housing policies. Congress calls on the General Council to campaign for:

- i a housing policy fit for the 21st century
- ii the building of over one million new homes over five years
- iii more social housing available at a living rent
- iv a public sector-led house building programme, to deliver the homes people need, create jobs, lower housing and welfare costs and allow reinvestment in UK infrastructure
- v an end to the right to buy across the whole of the UK in line with Scotland

- vi rent controls in the private rented sector to ensure that rents charged by private landlords are reasonable
- vii better regulation of the private rented sector to drive up standards, including housing quality
- viii the option of extending tenancies to three years to provide greater security of tenure for private tenants, with a ceiling on excessive rent rises
- ix more support for first-time buyers, including abolishing stamp duty for first-time buyers
- x a highlighting of the effects of welfare reforms on vulnerable people and young workers
- xi social housing provision for key workers.

Congress agrees that the TUC will work alongside housing campaigning organisations, housing charities, local councils and housing associations for policies to deal with the housing crisis.

**Mover: UNISON**

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

**Supporters: Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians; NASUWT**

### **Composite 3 Offshore oil and gas employment**

Congress notes with extreme concern the devastating impact on UK employment of the decline in the oil price and the reduction in exploration, production and activity in the UK offshore oil and gas industry.

Congress notes that oil and gas companies have made hundreds of redundancies over the past year – many of them in highly skilled sectors such as offshore supply vessels, emergency response and rescue vessels, sub-sea exploration and construction.

Congress further notes that the North Sea is now a 'mature' region but is disturbed by evidence that many more jobs will be lost in the UK offshore sector without measures to incentivise investment in new developments and to ensure the UK Continental Shelf (UKCS) remains a global centre for oil and gas production.



In particular, Congress calls for concerted campaigns to resist commercial pressures that could erode safety standards and reduce employment and training levels, and to support unions resisting changes to working hours, rest, and leave entitlement and the provision of emergency support services.

Congress also urges the TUC to press the UK government to adopt measures to protect UK skills and experience in the offshore sector, including the growing decommissioning sector to ensure that the UKCS is not exposed to unfair competition and that UK offshore policies match those in force in countries such as Norway.

Congress recalls the regulator's 2014 report into the undue influence in helicopter operational matters by oil and gas majors who offered contracts that produced wafer thin margins. Congress is therefore staggered that 18 months on nothing has been done and majors ruthlessly exploit the market at the expense of safety.

Congress condemns the UK government's rejection of the Transport Select Committee's recommendation for an independent public inquiry into commercial pressures on offshore helicopter operations in the North Sea and Congress calls for a public inquiry into all aspects offshore safety.

**Mover: *Nautilus International***

**Seconder: *National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers***

**Supporter: *British Air Line Pilots Association***

#### **Composite 4 The future of the BBC**

Congress believes that the BBC is the cornerstone of the UK's public service broadcasting system, delivering high quality content on TV, radio, and online. As a not-for-profit organisation, the BBC informs, educates, and entertains our citizens, while setting standards for commercial broadcasters to follow.

The licence fee of £145.50 represents real value for money compared to the BBC's subscription and pay-per-view competitors, and is less than the cost of a daily newspaper.

Congress is therefore concerned at the freeze in the licence fee for the last five years, and the impact this has had on the BBC's ability to continue

offering the range and quality of content that the public deserve.

Since 2010 this freeze has cut the BBC's income by 14 per cent in real terms, and another 14 per cent has been diverted into funding of the World Service, BBC Monitoring, rollout of faster broadband services, Welsh broadcaster S4C, and new local commercial TV stations. According to the BBC's own estimate, the savings it has had to make total £1bn per year, nearly 30 per cent of its income.

Over this period thousands of jobs have been lost, budgets for all activities have been cut, and there has been widespread outsourcing of programme-making and services, always resulting in lower pay, worse conditions, and less security for workers.

Congress is alarmed at the government's destructive approach to the future of the BBC, which proposes to strangle our much-admired public service broadcaster to the detriment of viewers and listeners, creators and other workers, and the UK; but to the advantage of non-dom tycoons and global media corporations.

Congress condemns the secret deal struck by the BBC with the Treasury that transfers the funding of licence fees for the over-75s to the corporation. Turning the BBC into an annex of the Department of Work and Pensions will also imperil the editorial integrity and independence of the corporation. The deal – struck without public scrutiny and engagement, and without the agreement of licence fee holders – will have a catastrophic impact on the BBC's budget and will lead to further major job losses and cuts that will inevitably compromise the ability of journalists and programme-makers to produce quality content.

The licence fee settlement announced in July 2015 was negotiated in secret, without a shred of public consultation or debate, and is inadequate to secure the future of the BBC.

Congress is concerned that the government's Green Paper proposes a diminished BBC and privatisation of parts of the service.

The Green Paper issued by the government is a thinly disguised plan to reduce the BBC to something akin to American public service

broadcasting (which gets much of its best drama and documentaries from ... the BBC!)

Congress condemns the alliance of the BBC's political and commercial enemies who are seizing the process of charter renewal as an opportunity to emasculate the BBC, with its online news operations and its breadth of popular programming particularly high in the line of fire. The Reithian values of informing, educating and entertaining are in real danger of being abandoned by those who fail to value a public service broadcaster that is respected and loved around the world as much as it is at home.

The panel appointed by the Culture Secretary to advise on Charter renewal consists largely of enemies and critics of the BBC, and includes representatives of vested interests that will benefit from a much-reduced BBC.

Congress calls for an end to privatisation at the BBC, and asks the General Council to campaign for a BBC funding formula that increases its income by at least the RPI each year

Congress further calls on the TUC to use the charter renewal process to campaign vigorously to defend the integrity, the breadth and the future of the BBC.

Congress calls on the General Council to use all its efforts to campaign on behalf of the union movement and in collaboration with other organisations to save the BBC as we know it for future generations.

**Mover: National Union of Journalists**

**Seconder: Broadcasting, Entertainment, Cinematograph and Theatre Union**

**Supporter: Writers' Guild of Great Britain**

### Composite 5 Electoral Reform

Congress notes that a Conservative majority government was elected with the support of just 24 per cent of the electorate. The outcome of the 2015 election in terms of the share of parliamentary seats, in comparison to the votes received by the participating parties, indicates that the British electoral system is no longer fit for purpose.

We are one of the few countries in the world that uses such an unproportional electoral system. Westminster is not just out of touch with the rest

of the world but also with the proportional electoral systems used in the Scottish Parliament, Welsh Assembly, European elections and for the London Assembly.

First-past-the post (FPTP) has passed its sell-by date. We no longer have two party politics in which those two parties secure 90 per cent of the votes on an 80 per cent turnout. Now, they struggle to get two-thirds of the vote on a 66 per cent turnout.

Under FPTP, parties take their core vote for granted and chase swing voters in marginals, narrowing the political debate. Congress notes that this stultifies election campaigns and degrades our democracy, alienating voters who feel poorly represented.

Congress believes in making all votes count in all parts of the country and believes that proportional representation has the potential to open up politics, inspire people to vote, and provide the space for alternatives to austerity to be heard.

Congress instructs the General Council to commission independent research which would consider the options for change.

The General Council are to report back by the 2016 Congress with recommendations which would form part of a wider campaign for change. Congress calls on the General Council to launch a broad-based campaign for a fair electoral system that expresses the range of political opinion in the UK. The campaign should actively engage trade union members.

**Mover: Public and Commercial Services Union**

**Seconder: Napo**

### Composite 6 Campaigning for public services and against the pay cap

Congress notes that the Conservative government's Summer Budget has continued its divisive austerity policies: cutting taxes for business and the wealthy, while cutting welfare payments for the poor and disabled.

By the end of the parliament public spending will be cut by £120bn to levels last seen in the 1960s. Vital public services will be cut or undermined, with hundreds of thousands of jobs lost.

The July Budget exposed the Tory hypocrisy as the “party of working people.” Rhetoric around the living wage cannot disguise real cuts in living standards as well as continuing cuts, asset sales and privatisation.

The Budget singled out:

- i public sector workers, by piling a four-year one per cent pay cap onto the five years of pay restraint already endured
- ii the poor, by taking a £12bn axe to social security, including Tax Credits
- iiia and the young by excluding them from the ‘national living wage’.

Congress condemns the Budget, where once again public sector workers will endure a pay cap for four years of one per cent, after five years of real terms pay cuts. With public sector workers already an average of £2,000 a year worse off than in 2010, the pay cap, along with changes to tax credits, will mean that many public sector workers are now facing huge cuts to their income.

Congress recognises that public sector pay has been falling since 2010 and that hard-pressed workers in the public sector are under attack on their pay and terms and conditions.

Congress condemns these policies of locking out workers from economic growth. These acts of gross injustice lay the seeds for a crisis in staffing and morale that will further rupture society and public services.

This divisive budget and despicable government threaten the very fabric of our welfare state and the livelihoods of our members. We must respond to austerity as a united movement and fight to defeat austerity and for pay increases as a united public sector.

Congress accepts that affiliated unions need to unite in a coalition of resistance and campaign vigorously to hold the government to account on behalf of working people and take action together where possible to ensure the pay cap is challenged. Congress calls on the General Council to:

- a make the case for an alternative economic strategy and the reversal of local government cuts
- b expose the hypocrisy of the MPs’ pay rise
- c launch a major public sector-wide campaign to break the public sector pay cap, including a

- strategy for joint, sustained, coordinated industrial action when necessary
- d ensure the new ‘national living wage’ is properly funded across public services and available to all, regardless of age, whilst also campaigning for a real living wage
- e campaign to protect in-work benefits all the time that pay levels make them necessary
- f campaign to highlight the bleak opportunities for young workers, low wages, casual contracts, student debt, loss of youth services and lack of housing opportunities
- g defend public service pensions against renewed attacks from the Tory right – in doing so we should include/involve the widest range of public service workers and their interests
- h work with all anti-cuts campaigns to mobilise for the national demonstration at the Conservative Party conference and to organise a national demonstration against austerity early in 2016
- i convene a conference by the spring of 2016 of trade unions, youth and pensioners organisations and other national and local campaign groups to draw up a strategy to defeat the attacks of the Tory government by all means available, including industrial action.

**Mover: UNISON**

**Seconder: Public and Commercial Services Union**

**Supporters: POA; GMB; Fire Brigades Union**

### Composite 7 Pensions

Congress notes that the government plans to replace the basic state pension and state second pension with the single-tier pension from 2016 will see a single payment estimated at £148.40 a week, a level that does nothing to address the official poverty line of £175 per week, below which one in six older people already live.

Congress notes that for years, governments have relied on many workers having an occupational pension based on their final salary as an alternative to providing a higher state pension. However, over the last decade we have seen final salary pensions being replaced by more insecure market-based alternatives.

Congress opposes the enforced closure of final salary schemes as an ideologically motivated attack on workers' conditions and on their and their families' future welfare. This is a politically inspired cost cutting exercise, forcing retired workers into increasing reliance on inadequate state pension, health and welfare benefits.

The government's welcome campaign of auto-enrolment has led to an additional five million workers and nearly forty-eight thousand firms contributing to retirement provision but mostly this has taken place through market-based defined contribution money purchase schemes. Congress remains concerned about the adequacy of many of these schemes and questions how many of the new pension savers will remain when the expected increase to contribution rates begins in a few years' time. There are further problems with auto-enrolment for workers employed via nefarious forms of employment such as umbrella companies. These workers are required to pay both employers' and employee pension contributions; this is a huge disincentive to making pension contributions. Consequently, significant numbers of future pensioners will be reliant on the state pension to form the largest source of their income.

Congress therefore calls on the General Council to campaign with groups like the National Pensioners Convention to lobby the government to ensure all existing and future pensioners receive a state pension set above the official poverty level and annually increased to the higher of average wage increases, CPI, RPI or 2.5 per cent.

Congress further calls on the General Council to campaign for universal access to a decent occupational pension for all workers that ensures an acceptable standard of living and dignity in retirement.

**Mover: Transport Salaried Staffs Association**

**Seconder: Communication Workers Union**

**Supporters: University and College Union;**

**Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians**

### **Composite 8 Retirement age**

Over the past 10 years we have seen the state retirement age for both men and women increase to a maximum of 68 years old with options for

workers to work beyond this age if they want to. The new NHS Pension Scheme, which is effective from 1 April 2015, linked members' normal retirement age to the state retirement age. This has also been future-proofed in that, if state retirement age is increased by government, then the normal retirement age for members of the NHS Pension Schemes will automatically rise accordingly.

Congress notes that the SCP has seen an increasing number of members suffering from repetitive strain injuries, work-related upper limb disorders and muscular skeletal disorders, including serious back, arm and shoulder conditions. Many of these conditions result in our members not being able to continue to practice safely and ultimately leads to loss of employment. In addition, where older healthcare workers do remain in work there are challenges for those in physically, emotional and mentally demanding posts. Congress believes the only effective way to tackle these challenges is by employers working in partnership with trade unions at local and national level.

Congress calls on the General Council to lead a campaign to highlight the detrimental effects on workers who, due to increasing pension age, may no longer be able to work due to age-related health conditions.

Congress further calls on the General Council to lead a campaign to challenge the creeping increases in retirement age. Congress believes these policies, which have been pursued by successive governments, puts working people, especially older workers, at an increased risk of being forced to leave work before being eligible to receive a state or workplace pension, which in turn puts them at risk of extreme hardship and poverty in retirement.

**Mover: Society of Chiropractors and Podiatrists**

**Seconder: Chartered Society of Physiotherapy**

### **Composite 9 Child sexual exploitation – campaign to provide services**

Congress notes the alarming rise in incidents of crime involving child sexual exploitation (CSE). Too many of our young people are becoming victims of this abhorrent crime and need support and education to help to keep them safe. Furthermore,

victims need support to report these crimes and give evidence to aid prosecutions.

Congress notes the government's commitment to help tackle this crime and make provision for victim services and support around giving evidence. Nevertheless, more needs to be done and the provision of services must be consistent and not dependent on postcodes or access to funding.

Congress supports the magnificent work undertaken by Sarah Champion MP and endorses the call for the launch of a national campaign. Congress commends the SaferSchools website of resources, developed by ATL. The General Council are instructed to make representations to the government to address the following:

- i a national campaign to raise awareness of CSE to develop a culture where adults will recognise the signs and symptoms
- ii compulsory sex and relationships education, with highly trained teachers in schools around healthy relationships and the right to say no
- iii funding for the development of a national task force with a multi-agency approach
- iv specialist training for identified professionals in criminal justice agencies, victim services and education
- v an adequately resourced, victim-focused approach to minimise incidents of crime and support for survivors and their families.

**Mover: Napo**

**Secunder: Association of Teachers and Lecturers**

### **Composite 10 Protecting our education system**

Congress deplores the ideology behind the Conservative government's Education and Adoption Bill, which will force 'coasting' schools to become part of academy chains and which takes away the democratic rights of parents and governors to have a voice in how their schools are run, and by whom. Congress notes that the government's definition of 'coasting' will further stigmatise schools with deprived pupil intakes.

Congress notes the CBI's critique of the "impoverished" education provided by some English schools, focused on a narrow, academic

curriculum, with Ofsted's inspection regime leading to "perverse outcomes instead of better ones" where "all too often it is only the data that matters." Congress further notes the CBI and Labour's call for a "radical overhaul" of upper secondary education to break down the false divide between academic and vocational education. Congress supports the CBI's view that "we should stop using exams as a tool to influence education rather than accredit it."

Congress congratulates the ATL for developing its alternative 'vision for inspection' in order to build consensus that an inspection system that works with, rather than against, educational professionals will raise standards of education for all pupils.

Congress notes:

- i Schools in England and Wales face an out-of-control accountability system that has narrowed education and created the highest levels of exam-related stress in Europe for our children.
- ii The CBI Director-General has spoken out about schools becoming "exam factories" unable to provide young people with critical thinking and twenty-first century skills.
- iii Our children and young people deserve a broad, balanced and age-appropriate curriculum that enables them to demonstrate their skills and talents.

Congress further notes:

- a Since 2010, more than 4,000 English schools have become academies and almost 400 free schools have opened. Many schools were forced to become academies with an imposed sponsor; many free schools have opened in areas with no place need, undermining local schools.
- b Academies and free schools are unaccountable to local communities, can employ unqualified teachers and undermine pay, conditions and union rights.
- c Many concerns have been raised about financial oversight in these schools.
- d The Education and Adoption Bill extends and accelerates the forced academy programme; creates a new category of 'coasting' schools; ends consultation rights; and removes the

rights and responsibilities of governors and councils whilst extending the powers of the secretary of state.

Congress resolves to campaign for:

- 1 TUC affiliates to work together against forced academisation and worsened terms and conditions in academies and free schools
- 2 an end to the accountability system that undermines teachers' ability to give children the education they deserve
- 3 democratically accountable schools employing qualified teachers, with nationally agreed pay and conditions
- 4 opposition to the privatisation of education.

Congress calls on the TUC to continue to work closely with its education affiliates in order to challenge the government on the lack of transparency and misuse of public money which has accompanied academisation, the dangers to educational standards because of the teacher recruitment and retention crisis and to support a review of the 14–18 curriculum.

**Mover: National Union of Teachers**

**Secunder: Association of Teachers and Lecturers**

### **Composite 11 Education and extremism**

Congress asserts that educational equity and inclusion are critical to securing sustainable economic and social development and in the fight against bigotry, hatred and extremism around the world.

Congress pays tribute to all teachers and educators who courageously endeavour to educate the world's children in many of the most hostile and dangerous places in the world.

Congress deplores the violent attacks, witnessed in a number of countries, by those who have deliberately targeted, killed, injured and kidnapped students and teachers, particularly women and girls, in pursuit of extremist ideologies.

Congress further deplores the anti-immigrant rhetoric, and the xenophobic and Islamophobic language that characterises much political and media discourse about Britain's ethnic and religious minorities.

Congress deeply regrets that some British young people are being targeted by extremists, including far-right extremists and jihadists. Congress

recognises the danger that implementation of Prevent could destroy relationships between teachers and learners, close down space for open discussion in a safe and secure environment and smother the legitimate expression of political opinion.

Congress further regrets actions by the government that put at risk international commitments to educational inclusion and ending poverty, creating the conditions where social and economic exclusion, bigotry, intolerance and hatred flourish.

Congress calls on the TUC to:

- i support the work of affiliates in tackling prejudice-related bullying and extremism
- ii demonstrate active solidarity with trade unions and civil society organisations at home and abroad in the fight against extremism
- iii highlight the impact of the UK government's Prevent Agenda and action to counter extremism
- iv support affiliates in promoting open discussion and exploration of views within an anti-racist, anti-Islamophobic approach
- v monitor the impact of far-right extremism in schools, colleges and in the wider society
- vi plan and co-ordinate a campaign of activity with affiliates to challenge all forms of extremism in education.

**Mover: NASUWT**

**Secunder: National Union of Teachers**

### **Composite 12 Education funding crisis**

Congress believes that post-16 education is a crucial part of a dynamic economy and a fair society. Congress believes that increased investment in post-16 education is essential and brings benefits not just to individual students but also to employers, the UK economy and society as a whole. Congress calls on the Conservative government to take action to protect our nation's future by abandoning its plans to cut education funding. Congress deplores austerity policies affecting this sector including massive cuts in funding for adult education; increases in debt for students wishing to attend university and attacks on the pay, conditions and professional status of the staff who work in further and higher education.

Congress has been concerned by the cuts to FE budgets over the last five years and calls on both Scottish and UK governments to review the impact that cuts to FE funding has had on the provision of courses and student places and on student retention and attainment.

The government's planned freeze in per-pupil funding for schools in England will mean cuts in provision to meet extra costs.

In further and adult education, Congress notes increasing privatisation of the sector and UK government cuts to the adult education budget of 24 per cent for the current year. These cuts are seen in a context of significant pressures on college funding resulting in a loss of around one million adult learners since 2010 and the closure of provision for vulnerable adults and young people. Reduced funding also puts at risk the expansion of good quality Apprenticeships and the skilled workforce necessary for economic growth. For colleges, whose adult and post-16 funding has already been slashed, the government threatens further cuts in actual funding. Congress is concerned that the cuts in post-16 education are having a disproportionate impact on disadvantaged groups and poorer students and learners. Congress is also concerned over reports that support for students with disabilities and additional support needs has been significantly reduced. Such a reduction in support increases disadvantage and undermines equality of opportunity.

In Scotland, Wales and N Ireland cuts in education funding are also expected that will be traceable ultimately back to decisions on block grants to be taken at Westminster.

In higher education, Congress notes the UK Government's proposals to cut £450m from the higher and further education budgets in the current year. Due to the protection of the schools budget, funding for universities and science is under a particular threat. This cut amounts to a third of either the remaining teaching grant to universities or of research funding.

Congress agrees to campaign for education funding to be protected at least in real terms and then restored to pre-austerity level. Congress instructs the TUC to:

- i work with trade unions and parents' and governors' organisations to establish a broad-based campaign on education funding
- ii work to encourage and support activities such as regional public rallies and ultimately a national demonstration for proper funding for education.

Congress resolves to place lifelong learning at the centre of the TUC's social and economic platform.

Congress supports the joint union, employer and student #loveFE initiative in campaigning for continued support of the sector.

Congress re-affirms its support for public funding for post-16 education.

Congress calls on the General Council to campaign for:

- a an immediate reversal of adult education cuts
- b long-term funding commitments to allow coordinated planning of resources and ensure fair pay and manageable workload in an increasingly fragmented sector
- c reversing privatisation
- d free and publicly funded education for all
- e an investigation into the impact of cuts on disadvantaged groups and poorer students and learners, working with EHRC and other relevant organisations
- f increased funding for further education and for specific and additional resources to be dedicated to ensure adequate provision for students with disabilities and additional support needs.

**Mover: National Union of Teachers**

**Secunder: University and College Union**

**Supporters: Educational Institute of Scotland;**

**UNISON; Association of Teachers and Lecturers**

### **Composite 13 Education and poverty**

Congress notes that the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child states: "The best interests of the child must be a top priority in all decisions and actions that affect children." Congress also notes that the Convention states: "Every child has the right to a standard of living that is good enough to meet their physical and social needs and support their development."

According to the Child Poverty Action Group, 3.5 million children are living in poverty in the UK, and two-thirds of those live in families where at least one member works. Poor children are four times as likely to become poor adults as other children.

The Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) note that three-fifths of those who moved from unemployment into work in the previous year were paid below the minimum wage, and many are in part-time and insecure employment.

Congress notes with dismay the effect of social and economic deprivation on the educational achievement and attainment of young people across the United Kingdom. Despite some initiatives and programmes developed by governments, little progress has been achieved in terms of counteracting the educational barriers which are directly associated with the poverty which blights the lives of far too many of our young people and which is being deepened by the UK government's austerity programme.

Evidence shows that children in lower-income families have worse cognitive development and worse school outcomes, and that this is, in part, because they are poor. The JRF suggest that increasing household incomes could substantially reduce differences in schooling outcomes. The Social Mobility commission highlighted the risk of rising child poverty and falling school budgets and the impact of those on the improvements needed to close the attainment gap.

Congress calls on the TUC to highlight the impact of poverty on children and young people, in particular on their cognitive development, school outcomes and future employment prospects. Congress further calls on TUC to lobby for the living wage.

Congress believes that equitable access to educational opportunity is a right for all young people in our society regardless of socio-economic status and calls on all governments to ensure that:

- i increased targeted expenditure is provided to address specific issues of poverty
- ii detailed research is carried out on the social contexts of schools in order to develop clear and coherent anti-poverty strategies at school and local authority level

- iii teachers are provided with a clear understanding of the nature and impact of poverty as part of Initial Teacher Education and continuing professional development, alongside teaching strategies designed to minimise the barriers faced by students.

Congress further calls on the General Council to campaign publicly for additional resources, planning and coordination to be made available to tackle the educational inequalities that continue to be directly linked to poverty, in order that all of our young people can benefit from the opportunities provided by education services.

**Mover: Association of Teachers and Lecturers**

**Seconder: Educational Institute of Scotland**

### **Composite 14 Defending mental health services for all**

Congress notes with concern the continued erosion of mental health services in the NHS. Some of the most vulnerable people in the country are being denied the essential care they need and instead are held in police stations or presenting at A&E centres due to the lack of acute mental health beds. Some have taken their own lives in desperation after seeking, but being denied, help. Pregnant women and new mothers in almost half of the UK do not have access to specialist mental health services, potentially leaving them and their babies at risk.

A total of 2,011 beds have been closed since April 2011, including 468 beds in 2014, while demand for services continues to increase, exacerbated by the stresses caused by the government's austerity measures.

NHS staff who work in mental health, providing essential care in aiding recovery, are finding their posts are at risk as trusts find ways to cut costs. It is estimated that one in four of us will be affected by poor mental health at some point, often needing the support of these very services that are being removed at such an alarming rate.

Congress notes a survey of head teachers (HTs) in July 2015 found that two-thirds reported the mental health of their pupils and students, and the difficulty in accessing the right support for them, as their biggest concern.



Previous studies indicated that HTs believed that the input of their local educational psychologists (EPs) was invaluable in helping them determine and access the appropriate level of support for their children and young people (CYP).

In a survey of its members by the Association of Educational Psychologists in June 2015, 85 per cent reported a marked increase in their workload during the previous six months. The Children and Families Act 2014 was widely welcomed as it gives greater rights to under-25-year-olds who have special educational needs. Its implementation requires significantly increased time from a range of professionals within local authorities, particularly EPs, at a time of increasingly dwindling public resources, leaving EPs unable to give sufficient time to schools to improve the mental health of their CYP.

The government acknowledges the concerns re mental health issues and the shortage of EPs, (demonstrated by the huge number of unfilled vacancies) and has both increased the number of EPs being trained from September 2015 and instigated a review of the training of psychologists to work with CYP in the future.

Although the home secretary recently pledged to invest £15m in new health-based places of safety in England for those experiencing a mental health crisis, this money will have to come from existing budgets and will only be available for 2016/17. Proper investment is needed to prevent people getting to a state of crisis.

Congress calls on the TUC and affiliates to campaign to:

- i highlight the cuts impacting on mental health services and ensure that they get sufficient funding to provide the services that are so desperately needed
- ii ensure that sufficient funding will be available to the Department for Education to train more EPs to meet the needs of all CYP who need them, especially those with mental health difficulties.

**Mover: Chartered Society of Physiotherapy**

**Second: Association of Educational Psychologists**

**Supporter: Royal College of Midwives**

## Composite 15 Casualisation

Congress believes that the scale of insecure working is damaging to our economy, society and to individuals forced to take casual work due to lack of permanent opportunities.

Casualised workers are paid significantly less, have no job security and limited career development opportunities. Those on zero-hours contracts are unable to enforce limited employment rights because by doing so they are fearful their hours can be legally reduced to 'zero' with the consequent loss of earnings, even though a third of those on such contracts would like more hours. Casualisation raises serious challenges to trade union organisation and development throughout our economy. Workers are often denied the right to paid facilities time where a recognition agreement exists.

There are negative outcomes from insecure working to be found in every sector. This is not just an issue that affects education but the economy overall.

Congress notes the endemic nature of casualisation in further and higher education. In common with the reshaping of the labour market, the post-16 workforce is being fundamentally reorganised around the use of casual contracts. Freedom of information requests have shown that at least 12 per cent of all academic staff working in higher education are employed in this type of contract and at least 35 further education colleges employ over 40 per cent of their academic staff casually.

This is not an issue that only affects staff. It also impacts negatively on students, diminishing the value of teaching by, for example, failing to include preparation time as part of the contract, and limiting student access to professional support and advice outside the classroom.

Congress further notes that casualisation is also endemic in the construction industry. Casualisation most regularly occurs through false self-employment, employment agencies and umbrella companies. Problems caused by construction casualisation are numerous affecting: pay, employment rights, training and Apprenticeships, safety, pensions and productivity.

Congress calls on the General Council to produce research on the scale of insecure employment in all sectors and to organise a unified Westminster parliamentary lobby against casualisation including zero-hours contracts during 2015/16.

**Mover: University and College Union**

**Secunder: Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians**

**Supporter: Transport Salaried Staffs Association**

### **Composite 16 Blacklisting and undercover surveillance of trade unionists**

Congress notes that in March 2015 it was revealed that Mark Jenner, a police officer serving in the Special Demonstration Squad (SDS), had infiltrated construction union UCATT and spied on its members.

Congress further notes that former police officer Peter Francis, acting as a whistleblower, has admitted that during his time in the SDS he spied on trade unionists in the construction industry and activists in the NUT, CWU, FBU and the National Union of Students.

Congress is aware that information on the files of workers blacklisted by the Consulting Association could only have been provided by the police or the security services.

Congress applauds the tremendous work done by unions and the Blacklist Support Group in campaigning against the blacklisting of workers for trade union activity.

Congress is alarmed that attempts to find out further information on the involvement of police officers in infiltrating unions, activist organisations, environmental and anti-racist campaigns, including the Stephen Lawrence campaign, have been blocked by the Metropolitan Police on grounds of security.

Congress believes that trade unionists who were spied on by the police have an absolute right to know why they were targeted in this manner.

Congress notes the Home Secretary's announcement on 12 March 2015 of the Pitchford Inquiry into the operation of undercover police bodies.

Congress further notes the blacklisting meeting at Westminster on 12 March 2015, which heard the statement from a former undercover police officer disclosing that he spied on members of the FBU, UNISON, CWU, NUT and NUS.

Congress notes the significant evidence contained in a number of published books and media articles of police monitoring of, and interference in, the trade union movement during industrial disputes, union-backed anti-racist and environmental campaigns, as well as routine trade union activity.

Conference demands that these issues are fully addressed by the Pitchford Inquiry and that relevant information is sought by the inquiry without threat (e.g. of prosecution) to those agreeing to provide evidence.

Congress believes that a trade union body such as the TUC, as well as the Blacklist Support Group, should be given 'core participant' status in the Pitchford Inquiry.

Congress resolves to campaign for the democratic rights of trade unionists and against secret state interference in the labour movement. This will substantially further the interests of trade union members and elected representatives to engage in their legitimate trade union activities.

Congress further resolves to support the NUJ campaign against surveillance of journalists and calls for further legislative changes including an independent judicial process; automatic mandatory prior notification and mechanisms to challenge and appeal in cases where the authorities, including the police, are attempting to access journalists' communications, materials and sources.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- i campaign for a full independent public inquiry into blacklisting in order for these and other matters relating to how the lives of workers were ruined are fully revealed
- ii ensure that the inquiry being led by Lord Justice Pitchford into undercover policing and the SDS fully investigates the links between the police and blacklisting
- iii provide support and assistance to all unions whose members were subjected to secret police infiltration and surveillance.

Congress further calls on the European Parliament to ensure both the EU Data Protection Regulation and the EU Health and Safety Strategy 2014–2020 explicitly ban blacklisting of workers for their trade union and health and safety activities.

**Mover: Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians**

**Secunder: Fire Brigades Union**

**Supporters: GMB; National Union of Journalists**

### **Composite 17 Campaigning for pregnant workers**

Congress is appalled that the rate of discrimination against pregnant women at work has increased dramatically. Research published in July commissioned by BIS and EHRC highlights the extent of discrimination against pregnant women and new mothers including bullying and harassment, employers refusing to make adjustments to ensure safe work conditions, and being side lined in their return to work. The EHRC report shows that 10 per cent of women are discouraged by employers from attending antenatal appointments – which has potentially devastating effects on the health of the woman and her baby – and around 54,000 new mothers are forced out of their jobs in Britain each year. Women who miss antenatal appointments miss out on essential screening tests and valuable advice around smoking and nutrition. Evidence shows that missing antenatal appointments can increase the risk of smaller babies, premature babies, miscarriages and still birth. This is particularly important for women with complex health needs.

Women returning from maternity leave also face discrimination, for example by employers adopting hostile and negative approaches to requests for amended hours and arrangements. The impact of Employment Tribunal fees means women are increasingly less able to challenge discriminatory practices.

Congress recognises the value of working women and that campaigning against pregnancy discrimination will show that treating pregnant women fairly has a positive impact for employers and helps retain talented women in the workforce. Campaigning against pregnancy discrimination is a

real opportunity to organise and engage with younger workers and shows that the trade union movement is relevant in the modern workforce.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- i campaign for the rights of pregnant women, in particular time off to access NHS antenatal care and for a positive return to work after maternity leave
- ii support the EHRC “Works for Me” campaign to find workable solutions to tackle discriminatory employers effectively
- iii remain vigilant against any attempt to erode existing maternity and parental rights
- iv support affiliates to press for improvements to maternity and parental rights with government and employers.

**Mover: Royal College of Midwives**

**Secunder: Chartered Society of Physiotherapy**

**Supporters: Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers; Prospect**

### **Composite 18 The Trade Union Bill and building a campaign to stop government attacks**

Congress emphatically rejects the introduction of the Trade Union Bill. This proposed law must be seen as a malicious attempt by the government to constrain democratic industrial and political opposition to its austerity programme. The Bill is an uncompromising and unnecessary assault on the rights and freedoms of British workers and is politically motivated, the work of a vindictive Tory Party using the levers of government for its own political ends, seeking to outlaw legitimate protest, stifle free speech and choke off the resources of political opponents.

Congress notes that this attack involves much wider layers than those currently in unions, affecting millions of non-unionised workers, youth, students, pensioners and others.

Congress believes that the Bill will do nothing to boost productivity or end the low-wage/low skill problems that beset our economy. In the world of work we have seen a fundamental shift from fair and decent jobs towards insecure employment models characterised by exploitative contracts, bogus self-employment, agency work and low pay.

This has been mirrored in wider society with working people, and particularly the young, bearing the costs of austerity with declining living standards, a growing housing crisis, cuts to essential services, rising in-work poverty and the privatisation and marketisation of public services.

Congress recognises that governments can directly be the cause of industrial action in essential public services, such as the NHS. By setting aside or controlling the independent pay review process or imposing terms and conditions they leave those who provide such services with no effective voice other than industrial action.

The imposition of balloting thresholds sets targets that few MPs have met in their own election; it turns abstainers into “no” voters, effectively raising the bar of the threshold even further and imposing voting thresholds that have already been declared in breach of international law.

The first Police and Crime Commissioners were elected on an average valid turnout of 14.7 per cent. The general election in May 2015 produced a government elected by 26 per cent of the eligible electorate of the UK. There will be no turnout threshold for the forthcoming referendum on EU membership.

The current system for balloting in the UK is the most draconian in Europe, with outdated methods and antiquated processes that have not moved with advancement in technology such as online voting systems. If the government really wanted to increase participation in union ballots they would allow electronic balloting. The refusal of the government to countenance secure electronic balloting for statutory ballots only serves to underline the hypocrisy of these proposals. At a time when the government itself is lauding its own track record in increasing the range of public services that are delivered digitally, there can be no excuse for excluding statutory ballots from this now mainstream development.

Congress calls for employers to be obliged to provide union members with access to secure phone lines or computer terminals to allow for statutory ballots and elections being conducted in the workplace. Congress believes that this single

measure would considerably enhance turnout and participation.

The extra criteria required for “essential” public services, including health and transport workers, is outside international labour law.

Congress is alarmed by the proposal to criminalise the code on picketing – equating picketing with public disorder is an indication of the real views of the government on trade unionism. Furthermore, suggestions that powers will be taken to intercept electronic communications during industrial disputes has profound civil liberties implications.

The possible criminalisation of workers involved in industrial action is blatantly unjust, as is the plan to allow the use of agency workers as strike breakers. The proposed repeal of the law prohibiting employers from using agency workers to substitute for striking workers will do nothing to aid a return to good employment relations and will put agency workers, many of whom are young people, in an invidious position.

Congress is deeply concerned about plans in the Bill both to significantly increase bureaucracy and to restrict facility time in the public sector, particularly in the area of health and safety. Congress recognises that workplaces with union representatives and a joint safety committee have half the serious injury rate of those without and acknowledges the importance of such representatives, especially in safety-critical industries like railways.

Congress regrets the proposal to introduce an opt-in to trade union political funds, attempting to outlaw unions and their members supporting the Labour Party.

Congress asserts that the government’s plan to remove DOCAS and facility time in the public sector not only undermines industrial relations but is a fundamental attack on working people and their voice at work. Congress resolves to challenge DOCAS removal through any means necessary.

In totality, British anti-union law is the most oppressive and undemocratic in Europe.

Congress believes that free trade unions have a huge contribution to make to our country’s growth, prosperity and productivity and regrets

that this ideological Bill is profoundly counterproductive.

Congress believes that the trade union movement should be at the forefront of every campaign to oppose government attacks on working people. By doing so, trade unions can build new campaigning alliances against every form of injustice.

Congress believes that within this broadly based campaign the TUC must consider all methods of challenging and defeating the Trade Union Bill, which seeks to undermine the fundamental democratic right of workers to organise to protect their rights.

We cannot sit back in the hope that a new government will come round to our way of thinking in five years' time. Congress commits to launching a broad, militant and imaginative campaign against this legislation. This should include working with campaigns fighting against austerity and for union rights, and organisations concerned with civil/human rights.

Congress resolves to oppose the Bill every inch of the way, building alliances across Parliament, with non-government organisations and with all the employers who have been expressing their unease about this unneeded Bill. Congress urges all affiliated unions to prioritise campaigning against the Bill.

Congress agrees that the union movement must develop a comprehensive strategy through the TUC which includes the following:

- i giving maximum possible political and industrial support and finance to trade unions that may find themselves outside the law this programme should include calls on other workers and campaigners not in unions to join our action and not be merely the calling of token protests and should set out to build a mass movement with the clear aim of defeating these attacks
- ii a programme of ongoing action
- iii preparation for supporting workers taking joint/coordinated industrial action
- iv the development of a Workers' Charter setting out agreed aims on key issues, to be pursued by unions as part of a co-ordinated approach to collective bargaining
- v organising committees, based on local unions, trades councils and existing anti-austerity campaigns to coordinate local activity, with meetings, days of action and rallies in every region across the UK
- vi a co-ordinated national day of action across the UK and a further programme of ongoing action
- vii action to defend any union attacked under anti-union laws.

Congress agrees that the General Council should prepare a report outlining this strategy and have a special TUC conference of unions and interested parties, to plan resistance to the range of attacks we face.

Congress calls on the General Council to highlight the positive role played by trade unions in 2015 and make it a priority to do all it can to facilitate trade union rights to strike under international law.

Congress calls on the General Council to draw up a programme of action against the new raft of anti-union legislation and the continued austerity cuts, which will further attack working class living standards and public services.

Congress further calls on the General Council to lead a campaign for a change in legislation to move balloting procedures into the twenty first century, by introducing secure electronic statutory ballots to support the democratic principles of membership participation and accountability that have always been the cornerstone of our movement.

The General Council should make it a priority to campaign against this legislation.

**Mover: Unite**

**Secunder: Communication Workers' Union**

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

**FDA; Society of Chiropodists and Podiatrists;**

**National Union of Mineworkers; UNISON;**

**National Union of Teachers; Royal College of Midwives**

### **Emergency 1 Colombia**

Congress is outraged at the imprisonment of Colombian academic, Miguel Beltran, on 31 July, charged with rebellion. Mr. Beltran had been cleared of these charges in 2011 after over two

years in prison. Congress is appalled that Mr. Beltran was assaulted by a prison guard and visits from relatives and lawyers have been obstructed. We condemn his treatment and call for his immediate release.

The imprisonment of Mr. Beltran comes alongside several other arrests of activists, with four human rights activists arrested in central Colombia in July. With potential strike action being organised in 2016, Congress is concerned at the ongoing use of pre-emptive arrests. Huber Ballesteros, arrested during strikes in 2013, remains in prison without trial.

Congress is alarmed at the increased violence against activists – 69 were killed in the first eight months of 2015 according to the UN. With upcoming regional elections in October, violence against opposition candidates is worrying – on 8 September a mayoral candidate escaped alive after he was shot at eight times.

Congress believes that these abuses undermine efforts for peace in Colombia.

Congress congratulates Justice for Colombia for its ongoing work to denounce abuses and to support the peace process.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- campaign for the release of Mr. Beltran, Mr. Ballesteros and all Colombia's political prisoners
- support the peace process in Colombia and the Justice for Colombia Peace Campaign
- continue to support JFC politically and financially and encourage unions to affiliate.

**Mover: ASLEF**

**Secunder: University and College Union**

### **Emergency 2 Met Office Weather Forecasting Service for the BBC**

Congress condemns the BBC's decision not to renew its weather forecasting contract with the Met Office, trailed in the media on 23 August, and to exclude it from further stages of the bidding process.

The Met Office has provided public service weather forecasts for more than 90 years in collaboration with the BBC, because of its ability and commitment to deliver a high quality service through accuracy, consistency of data and

flexibility. Businesses, emergency services and members of the public all rely on Met Office public weather forecasts.

Like the BBC, the Met Office is a trusted brand but it is clear that both organisations are facing severe and immediate pressures to cut costs. This is yet another example of public sector experts bearing the brunt of austerity. It shows blatant disregard for the scientific skills and experience of Met Office staff to deliver the accurate weather forecast that so many businesses and people rely on.

Failure to renew this contract challenges the employment of around 50 scientists and the work will need to be conducted anyway to avoid detriment to UK public forecast capability. The vital role played by the Met Office in addressing the economic and societal challenges of climate change is best served by joint public service provision.

Congress calls upon the General Council to urgently lobby the government to intervene before it is too late.

**Mover: Prospect**

**Secunder: BECTU**

### **Emergency 3 Government attacks on the emergency services**

Congress notes with deep concern the government consultation launched on 11 September 2015 on "Enabling closer working between the emergency services".

Congress notes that the government is proposing to:

- i hand over local fire and rescue services to police and crime commissioners, who do not have the mandate, expertise and legitimacy to undertake this important work
- ii abolish local fire authorities made up of democratically elected councillors and replace them with unelected quangos made up of cronies
- iii take firefighters, emergency fire control staff and fire support staff out of national pay and conditions, pensions and other current arrangements, aiming to drive down their living standards.

Congress also notes that these moves will worsen the services provided to the public and prepare the ground for wholesale privatisation of the sector.

Congress notes that these proposals will compromise the independence of humanitarian services such as the fire and rescue service and the ambulance service, and undermine community engagement.

Congress further notes that these moves are an attack on independent trade unionism in this sector.

Congress resolves:

- a to oppose any moves by police and crime commissioners to take control of local fire and rescue services, or other emergency services
- b for the TUC and its affiliates to work with trade unions in the emergency service sector to run a high-profile campaign in opposition to these government proposals
- c for the TUC and its affiliates to write to MPs, councillors and other representatives explaining our opposition and urging them to oppose the government's proposals at all levels.

**Mover: FBU**

**Seconder: GMB**

## Part 2 General Council statements

### The TUC Campaign Plan 2015

Congress welcomes and supports the Campaign Plan agreed by the General Council in July and published at Congress, which will guide the TUC's policy and campaigning work over the coming one to two years.

Our movement, our families and communities face a challenging time under a hostile government.

The economy is finally recovering, but that recovery is leaving too many behind. Rather than investing in good jobs, services and infrastructure, the government is determined to press ahead with deep, ideological cuts that could leave our vital public services unrecognisable and our welfare safety net shredded.

Working people have seen the longest living standards squeeze since the Victorian era, and the toxic combination of low wages, insecure jobs and welfare cuts has seen food banks booming and child poverty on the rise. But the government prioritises tax cuts for the richest households and benefit cuts for low income working families rather than measures to make those on low and middle incomes better off and deliver sustainable pay rises for all.

Far from tackling exploitation at work, the government stokes prejudice against migrants and threatens to weaken workers' rights in their EU negotiations. And rather than recognising the positive role of unions in the modern economy, they have launched a vindictive attack on our members' democratic right to strike – the biggest attack on trade union rights in a generation.

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

Our campaigning helped shape the terrain on which the general election was fought, and we know that our values and policies have broad appeal. We will continue to demonstrate the

strength of modern, confident trade unionism as a central part of Britain's civic culture and delivering fairness at work. Our challenge as a movement is to maintain our influence and continue to make that positive case, at the same time as fighting to protect the rights of working people and resist the damaging policies the government seeks to pursue.

The Trade Union Bill is designed to severely undermine union members' right to strike. As our most urgent task, Congress commits to a united, vibrant and strong campaign to protect that right.

Bringing in agency workers to break strikes will put these – often vulnerable – workers in an unenviable position, will damage industrial relations, and above all aims to drastically undermine union leverage. Fining unions if they fail to give notice of a Facebook page or blog post about a strike, or penalising unions if a picket supervisor fails to wear an armband, are draconian policies that have no place in our democracy. Instead of allowing unions to use electronic and workplace balloting to boost participation, the government proposes arbitrary thresholds. And by removing members' ability to pay their union subs through their pay packet, they seek to further undermine the vital role of unions in the modern workplace.

Congress resolves to build the widest possible campaign against the Bill, working across all political parties in the Commons and Lords, challenging outdated stereotypes about unions and strikes, and supporting union efforts to build and defend workplace organisation. We will mobilise members for the 4 October national demonstration in Manchester and the 2 November lobby of parliament and rally, to demonstrate the breadth and scale of opposition to the Bill.

Britain's economy is back in recovery, but that recovery is slow and fragile. The government plans to continue deep cuts to public spending and welfare. Congress resolves to make the case for a fair, balanced recovery that is fairly shared, to expose the danger of cuts to the social security safety net, and to campaign for properly funded public services, infrastructure and housing.

Congress also resolves to campaign for Britain to be part of a people's Europe that is fit and fair



for the twenty-first century. We will work with our allies and sister unions in the EU to resist any attempts by David Cameron to water down workers' rights as part of his EU renegotiation. And we will make the case at home to protect important rights on maternity and equality and improve working life for those in insecure and casual work.

This period will also see further moves to devolve and decentralise power to the nations, regions and cities of the UK. Congress acknowledges that there may be some opportunities for unions and their members in this agenda, through local arrangements to maximise worker and union involvement in policy making and service improvement. But there are also risks. Congress is concerned about the impact of fragmenting national bargaining, employment rights, minimum wage legislation or other key protections, with the danger of a race to the bottom.

Congress recognises that while we face many challenges as a movement, we must also redouble our efforts to reach a new generation of union members. We will develop a major campaign to reach out to young people to find out what they want from work and from unions, make it easier to join and participate, and demonstrate the values and strength of modern trade unionism.

Everyone has a right not to be discriminated against on the grounds of their race, gender, sexuality, disability or age. Throughout our campaign on these priority areas, and in our ongoing work on other key strands of activity, we will reflect and promote a diverse approach to securing improvements at work and in wider society.

Underpinned by our commitment to equality, our agenda-setting policy work, and above all our commitment to building stronger unions, Congress commits to a united campaign, guided by this plan

### **EU Referendum<sup>1</sup>**

Congress notes that there will be a referendum on Britain's continued membership of the European

Union at some time in the next two years, possibly before the 2016 Congress.

Over the years, Congress has consistently expressed support for a European Union that delivers economic prosperity based on social justice, civil and human rights, equality for all and rights at work. However, two developments in the recent period have called the achievements of the EU into question:

- i The part played by the institutions of the EU in intensifying the crisis in Greece, in demanding the imposition of further neo-liberal measures including extensive privatisation and cuts to welfare and social provisions on that country, and in undermining the policies of its democratically elected government.
- ii The EU's advocacy of CETA, TTIP and similar agreements designed to advance the interests of transnational capital across Europe, opening up public services to marketisation and privatisation and over-riding the policies of elected governments.

These factors reflect the increasing domination of neo-liberal ideology within the European Union and inevitably prejudice the EU's historic high standing within the labour movement. There is a danger that these factors can only be exacerbated by David Cameron's renegotiation of the terms of Britain's membership. He has made it clear that these include the possibility of a further dilution or even disappearance of EU wide social protections as they apply in Britain.

These protections have included rights for women, part-time, temporary and agency workers, rights in situations of redundancy and information and consultation, rights for working parents and a range of health and safety rights, including limitations on excessive hours and the creation of a work-life balance. The positive benefits that the EU has delivered for working people are recognised – rights which are essential in any modern economy – and those rights should be both promoted and strengthened. Congress strongly rejects the attempts being made by the prime minister to use the renegotiation process to undermine workers'

<sup>1</sup> Two motions, 18 and 19, on this topic were withdrawn

rights, to foster divisions around migration, and to promote a Europe for financial and business elites only.

Congress believes that Conservative attempts to obtain an 'opt-out' from EU wide protections for UK workers, seeking to water down rights – especially the Working Time Directive and the Temporary Agency Workers Directive – and to impose a moratorium on future employment rights is wrong and counter-productive. Working people, faced with the prospect of a Europe based on insecurity at work and flexibility on employers' terms, will have little enthusiasm to vote and be even less likely if they do, to vote to stay in the European Union.

We have also consistently argued that government attempts to restrict benefits for migrants coming from other parts of Europe would herald an attack on everyone's in-work benefits – a view justified by reports this summer. Some employers will always try to use new entrants to the labour market – women, young workers or migrants – to drive down wages, and we believe the EU has a positive role to play in preventing this exploitation by providing a floor of EU wide fundamental rights and labour standards, including the right to collective bargaining and the protection and enforcement of national level collective agreements. Congress believes that the only effective and acceptable ways to address concerns about free movement are to provide working people with the security against exploitation and undercutting that strong unions and decent rights at work, robustly enforced, would provide; and to expand access to public services and housing, using EU funding that follows migrants so that they can adapt to population changes.

Since the government announced its plans for the EU Referendum, the TUC has campaigned and lobbied to expose the government's anti-worker rights agenda; to press employers to accept the need for a high level of workers' rights as the quid pro quo for access to the single market; and to persuade other European governments to reject the agenda of worse rights for working people, including freedom of movement, that the prime minister is more or less openly advocating. We

have worked closely with other trade unions across Europe in seeking to ensure that their politicians understand that no concessions will satisfy the prime minister's Eurosceptic backbenchers or UKIP, and that such concessions would also undermine support for the European Union in their own countries.

The European Union is Britain's biggest trading partner, and millions of jobs in Britain aligned to that trade and could be put at risk if the UK left the EU. But we deplore the way in which European political leaders have put narrow sectional interests and the economics of austerity ahead of solidarity with countries facing economic crises – in particular Greece, but also Ireland, Italy, Portugal and Spain – as well as refugees like those fleeing oppression and war on Europe's southern borders. We reject the European Union's support for liberalisation and deregulation, including in trade deals like CETA with Canada and TTIP with the USA, both of which the TUC opposes, measures undermining collective bargaining in Eastern and Southern Europe and judgements of European courts that undermine negotiated sector level agreements providing minimum labour protections.

The TUC will continue to advocate a positive vision of a people's Europe and reforms that would promote investment for sustainable growth, decent work with good wages and a greater say for people at work. Investment in public infrastructure like social housing, transport, telecommunications and energy efficiency could create 11 million highly skilled and well-paid jobs across Europe. Europe needs a pay rise and an adequate floor of enforceable minimum wages to protect the most vulnerable.

In the run up to the EU Referendum, we will continue to campaign and lobby against the government's attempts to further water down Social Europe. The government and industry needs to understand that neither the TUC position nor the votes of millions of trade unionists can be taken for granted. Workers will not back or support a Europe that fails to protect and enhance the position of working people, citizens and civil society or one that solely works in the narrow interests of global corporations and finance capital. We hope that the prime minister's efforts to

weaken workers' rights will fail but if they do not, we are issuing a warning to the prime minister: you will lose our members votes to stay in the EU by worsening workers' rights. Once the full results of the renegotiation and timetable for the referendum are known the TUC will take stock of our position. However, both the prime minister and CBI should note that should he succeed in further undermining British workers' rights pressure to put TUC resources and support in the referendum behind a vote to leave the European Union will intensify dramatically.

## Refugees

Congress is appalled at the humanitarian crisis that is unfolding across Europe and the death toll among people fleeing war, persecution, sexual violence and destitution. In total, more than 2,300 people – many of them children – have died already this year trying to cross the Mediterranean Sea to reach Europe by boat, compared with 3,279 during the whole of last year, according to the International Organisation for Migration.

People are fleeing from Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria and other war zones in numbers not seen since the end of the Second World War. Conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa have created the largest refugee crisis in generations. There are more than four million Syrian refugees alone, the overwhelming majority of whom are housed in refugee camps in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey. Although the UN has resettlement programmes, with precious few places on offer, the continuing war in Syria and increasing unrest in Turkey make many refugees feel that waiting for resettlement is hopeless.

Congress also notes the continuing plight of refugees trapped in Calais, unable to reach the UK through any safe or legal route. Congress further notes the extreme pressure being placed on customs staff, train and lorry drivers many of whom are trade union members, confronted as they are by the desperation of the refugees and economic migrants in Calais.

The lack of safe and legal routes to claim asylum means that people will continue to risk their lives to escape. Congress expresses sorrow at the lives needlessly lost so far. In the spirit of dignity,

respect and solidarity, the trade union movement welcomes refugees.

Congress believes that all people have the right to safety, economic security, religious and political freedom with access to health and education facilities within a society which protects those freedoms.

No one chooses to become a refugee. Congress is horrified that it took shocking images of people, particularly a drowned child, to force some governments to act. Across Europe, people showed acts of humanity which hastened governments into action. We applaud their solidarity.

Congress notes that people smugglers have used vessels which are totally unsuitable for passengers, crowding people on board to levels that are completely unsafe, with a callous disregard for human life and a total disrespect for international standards of safety at sea. Congress condemns the atrocious trade in people smuggling and the cynical use of unsafe vessels on key migration pathways and urges the UK government to support United Nations and International Maritime Organisation initiatives to combat the use of unregulated ships for human trafficking.

Congress applauds the merchant seafarers who have upheld the principle of responding to persons in distress at sea by rescuing thousands – often putting their own health and safety at risk in the process. Congress also commends the efforts of those participating in rescue operations, including navies, coast guards and private vessels. Congress demands greater resources for humanitarian and maritime search and rescue services on major migration routes and also calls for stronger action by governments and the international community to prevent the undertaking of dangerous sea passages. Congress calls on the European Union to extend the search and rescue to the level of the previous 'Mare Nostrum' programme in order to provide effective humanitarian assistance to those at sea.

The UK government's response to this crisis has been shameful. Last year, the UK only accepted 787 resettled refugees, including just 34 families from the Syrian conflict. Congress condemns the UK government for criminalising rather than helping people desperately fleeing persecution. Around

half of all asylum seekers find themselves detained at some point during the process, despite the 2010 pledge to end child detention for immigration purposes, 155 children were imprisoned during the last year. Congress rejects the disgraceful notion that children admitted as refugees should be deported when aged 18. This must be dropped immediately.

Congress regrets that the UK and EU's focus and resources remain heavily weighted towards defending borders, instead of offering a humanitarian response to refugees who inevitably continue to attempt the crossing. The barriers used up to now, such as raising fences, have proved to be ineffective and have the sole effect of diverting flows from one route to another. Their use must be deplored. Pushing back asylum-seekers at EU borders often results in dramatic casualties. Long queues at asylum offices, overcrowded reception centres and improvised migrant camps in many corners of the European Union show how badly prepared the EU has been to cope with this crisis. Austerity has contributed to this situation, and made it especially difficult for the countries where refugees first arrive.

Congress notes that on 7 September the government, after coming under increased pressure from public opinion to offer refuge to more of those arriving in Europe, announced belatedly that the UK will take only 20,000 refugees over five years. This is still woefully and wholly inadequate. Congress wants a response from the government which matches our international obligations. Successive governments' British foreign policy has been instrumental in the expanding conflict in the Middle East, Afghanistan and Libya, giving the UK an even greater responsibility towards refugees fleeing to Europe.

The UK should provide a safe haven for refugees from war and conflict. There is an unarguable and immediate need for the UK to show compassion and humanity and accept as many refugees as is needed. Britain has a duty under the UN Geneva Convention on Refugees to provide proper protection. Congress believes the UK must welcome its fair share of refugees, and calls upon the UK government to work with other EU member states to establish a Europe-wide humanitarian

evacuation and resettlement programme – giving the most vulnerable refugees the chance to live in safety and rebuild their lives.

Congress commends those who participated in the 'Refugees are Welcome Here' Day of Action on 12 September.

Congress recalls the international initiatives to address the Vietnamese boat people crisis in the 1980s and urges the UK to promote effective global collaboration to rescue and resettle refugees. We should play a full part in the international response to this crisis.

The UK government must work for durable political solutions, lead as a major international donor and live up to the UK reputation as a place of sanctuary and protection. Congress calls for an end to the bombing of Syria and condemns the calls from many in the Conservative Party for a Commons vote to increase air strikes on Syria, which would only increase misery, prolong conflict and increase the number of refugees.

Congress believes that trade unions are best placed to speak directly to their memberships to ensure that anti-migrant rhetoric is challenged and further ensure that the pressures on the government to deal with this crisis do not go away. Uniting people and collectively assisting those in urgent need are part of our founding principles. Unions should spread these messages through communications with members and through articulating in society at large the case that this human catastrophe needs a profound and immediate response.

We will work with the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) and the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) to develop a European and global trade union strategy demanding that states accept a fair and equitable allocation of refugees; and ensuring that refugees are not exploited in the labour market, undercutting and undermining existing terms and conditions.

Today's refugees can become an asset for the EU economy and societies tomorrow. But it requires well-managed integration in the labour market and in host societies at large, investment in decent public services, housing and social infrastructure. It is essential that third country nationals be dealt with according to the principle

of equal treatment. Increased mobility without guarantees covering working conditions and equal treatment leads to more undeclared work and unfair competition on the labour market that will exacerbate wage and social dumping, and therefore social tensions.

Trade unions can play an important role in upholding the respect and protection of life, delivering significant assistance and support to refugees, and promoting their smooth integration into society and the labour market. Where refugees are able to work, unions will recruit and represent them, and work with partners to provide humanitarian assistance to refugees who are not in work.

Congress undertakes to work with unions in the countries from which refugees are fleeing to offer practical assistance, and continue to support trade union, civil society and campaigning organisations working for peace and justice in the Middle East in line with TUC policy. Congress agrees to work closely with the Refugee Council and other appropriate bodies to develop this assistance, and urges unions to offer logistical and financial help to aid agencies, including those offering housing to refugees.

Congress commits the General Council to campaign for government policy to:

- i recognise that the UK must play a full role in supporting refugees and fulfil its moral and legal obligations to significantly upscale its resettlement programme
- ii participate fully in a continent-wide response to the refugee crisis
- iii make welcome tens of thousands of refugees whether from camps in the Middle East or already in Europe
- iv fully fund refugee resettlement, avoiding the exploitation of refugees and avoiding extra pressure on poorer inner-city communities, whilst ensuring that the international development budget is only used in line with OECD guidelines on official development assistance.

## **Section 2**

### Keynote speeches

The following pages contain a record of key speeches given at the 147<sup>th</sup> Congress in Brighton, by Frances O'Grady, General Secretary; Leslie Manasseh, President; and guests Jeremy Corbyn, Leader of the Opposition; John Bercow, Speaker of the House of Commons; and Shami Chakrabarti, Director of Liberty.

## Frances O'Grady, General Secretary

**Monday, 14 September 2015**

Thank you President for your wisdom over what has been a challenging year.

And thank you delegates for the opportunity to move the General Council Statement on our movement's campaign plan.

We meet, as they say, in interesting times. There seems to have been a fair bit of excitement in the world of politics over the past few weeks. Apparently there's been a leadership contest going on. I'm not talking about the one involving George, Boris and Theresa. That one already feels like it's been running forever, a bit like X-Factor, only with fewer laughs, and no doubt you will make your own minds up as to the level of talent. I'm referring, of course, to the leadership of the Labour Party. And I'm sure you will join me in giving my warm congratulations to Jeremy, and to Tom.

After the disappointment of the general election result, few would have dreamed we'd see so many people – especially young people – cramming into town halls, wanting to get involved; few would have dared hope that Labour had a chance of becoming a genuinely mass party once again. But make no mistake, leading Labour, and making it fit to fight for power again, is a serious job; it's a tough job.

Now, I'm all too aware that the one thing any new leader never lacks is offers of advice. Nevertheless, I would make this observation. A political party has to be a good deal more than a fan club. Its success depends on membership unity and mutual respect. It must reach well beyond its own ranks, and appeal to the country at large. And it must have a higher collective purpose beyond that of any one individual, or any one constituency of interest.

Labour's purpose is clear: to deliver wealth and opportunity to the many and not the few. But that means winning a general election to deliver it. So now the contest is over, on behalf of working people my message to Labour is this: look sharp; pull together; and do what working people are

crying out for her Majesty's Opposition to do – get stuck in and oppose. Show the grit, discipline and determination needed to win back economic trust, win back political power, and change Britain for the better.

If you look around this hall, you will find workers from all walks of life. People whose labour creates the wealth on which Britain's future depends. We've got scientists and engineers coming up with inventive solutions to climate change. Manufacturing and construction workers, rebuilding Britain. Entertainers and educators who inspire the next generation. High-tech, energy and transport workers; not forgetting the people's posties; who work, come rain or shine, to network the nation. And we have the dedicated NHS staff who tend our sick. And – listen up Mr Hunt – they already cover seven long days a week.

The slogan for this TUC Congress is "great jobs for everyone". That means fair pay. Secure contracts. Time to spend with your family. A voice at work and respect for a job well done.

But Britain's unions don't just want a fair share of the cake for workers. We know we have to grow the cake too, building a sustainable recovery. Raising investment and productivity. Yes, and raising wages and living standards too.

We want a practical plan to deliver fair shares and greener growth for all. You would think that that's what the government would want too. But this government would then have to come up with some fresh ideas. After all, we've already had five years of their failed remedy. Remember when they told us that austerity would wipe the slate clean? The Chancellor slashed taxes for the idle rich. And slashed benefits for the working poor. But we still have a current account deficit on a scale unprecedented in peace time. We still have the slowest recovery on record, and our balance of trade just keeps getting worse. But there is a better plan for Britain, and the government should talk to businesses and unions about how to deliver it.

I wrote to the prime minister just after the election offering to do just that. You would think that a prime minister who says his is the party of blue collar workers would want to meet the leaders of real unions representing millions. But nearly 18

weeks later I still haven't had the courtesy of a reply. So it seems that this government's top priority isn't getting Britain back on its feet. Instead, it wants to cut Britain's unions off at the knees. Barely had the Conservatives took office, than it published its Trade Union Bill.

Earlier this year the prime minister went to Washington and paid homage to the civil rights leader, Martin Luther King. He visited the monument. He called him the Great Man. But he doesn't seem to know much about Dr King; his beliefs and what he stood for. So I want to share with you what Dr King said about unions. He said:

"The labour movement does not diminish the strength of a nation but enlarges it.

"By raising the living standards of millions, labour miraculously created a market for industry and lifted the whole nation to undreamed of levels of production.

"Those who attack labour forget these simple truths. But history remembers them."

History will remember this Conservative government's trade union bill as the biggest attack in thirty years. Not just against trade unions. But against our best chance of raising productivity, pay and demand.

Delegates, history will remember this Conservative government's Trade Union Bill as the biggest attack in more than 30 years, not just against trade unions, but against our best chance of raising productivity, pay and demand. Because here is a simple truth: you can't create wealth without the workforce. And you can't spread that wealth around fairly without trade unions. So I make no apologies for defending strong trade unions, including making sure they have the right to strike – if they need to.

If an employer believed the workers couldn't strike, they wouldn't bother to bargain. We wouldn't have safe workplaces, we wouldn't have paid holidays; and – let's remember the Ford sewing machinists – we wouldn't have equal pay, either. Of course, no one takes the decision to strike lightly. It's the route of last resort - when your employer just won't talk, won't negotiate, won't compromise.

Just ask the steel workers who balloted for strike action. They wanted to protect their pension scheme. Like most ballots it led to a settlement without anyone ever walking out. But does anyone really believe the employer would have got back round the table if the unions hadn't given notice of a strike? To protect a decent income in old age. And they won.

Or ask the Hovis workers. When staff saw new starters employed on zero hours contracts, they were appalled. How can you raise a family, run your life or manage your finances, if you don't know how many hours you'll get or how much pay you'll bring home? They tried to reason with the company but nobody listened. So, together, union members decided to strike. All of them – those on guaranteed hours supporting those on zero hours. And they won.

Or ask the midwives. (You could even call one!) 133 years of the Royal College of Midwives – and never a day's industrial action. But after years of below inflation increases, they went on strike for a pay rise. Not much. Just the modest 1 per cent their independent pay review body said they were entitled to and that the government could afford. But the government said no. Dedicated to the mothers and babies they serve, the midwives made sure that every woman giving birth got the help she needed. But that spectacle of midwives, proud in their uniforms, standing on picket lines alongside other health workers, is one I am never going to forget. And they won too.

So when you ask the public, do they support the right to strike? They get it. It's a fundamental human right. They know that sometimes employers can be unreasonable or just plain greedy. A strike is the last line of defence against those bosses who ignore or exploit staff; or who want to take advantage of their vocation for public service. Nobody would deny that strikes can be inconvenient. But when it comes to a threat to the fundamental right to strike, the public are with us. Because that's exactly what this government is doing. Attacking the very principle of the right to strike. Even the government's own independent watchdog has said this bill is not fit for purpose.



No evidence; no reason; rammed through at a rate of knots.

Just think about the proposals on agency workers. For forty years employers have been banned from using agency temps to bust strikes. Because everyone understands that if you can just replace strikers overnight, that undermines all the power that workers have to bring their employers to the table. Imagine the impact on the safety of whole workplaces run by untrained, inexperienced temporary staff. Think about what that would mean in education, energy or border control. But that's exactly what this government plans to do.

And just think about the proposals to restrict lawful protests and pickets during a strike. Unions, and their representatives, will be required by law to produce, two weeks in advance, a protest plan. And then hand it over to the boss, the police and the authorities. The protest plan has to set out every detail. Will you be carrying a placard? A loudhailer? Are you going to tweet? Post on Facebook? On YouTube? Will you blog? What exactly do you plan to say? All at two weeks' notice. And not only that. Each picket will have to have a named lead person. And they'll have to give their details to the police and their employer. Delegates, this is a recipe for victimisation.

In this movement, we know all about victimisation. For decades big construction companies paid a fiver a time for the names of trade unionists – who then mysteriously couldn't ever find work again in the industry. Stripped of their livelihoods. All because, in a dangerous industry, they stood up for fellow workers to keep them safe.

Imagine that – but in every unionised workplace. Employers and the police crawling through tweets and Facebook posts, gathering the names of picketers. Online and offline surveillance on a massive scale.

And at a time when the police are stretched thin – and even their leaders admit they may not be able to attend every burglary report – what a massive waste of police time. And more than 70 percent of the public agree with us.

Of course there's more. Attacks on political funds. Limits on the time reps can spend

representing their members. And attacks on check-off, too. And new thresholds on ballots that turn abstentions into 'no' votes. The government says it's all because it wants to see higher turnouts. Do me a favour. If that was really what the government wanted, they would allow us to use secure electronic balloting. After all, delegates, if Conservative Party members can choose their candidate for London Mayor by voting online, then why can't we exercise our democratic right to strike by voting online?

But I think it would be a mistake to see this attack on unions in isolation. It is part of a political strategy to keep the Conservatives in power for a generation, and we need to take this power grab seriously. They know that globalisation has created losers, as well as winners. They know that extremely unequal societies can become extremely unstable. So they've taken lessons from rightwing friends around the world – the US republicans, Tony Abbott in Australia. Although, news is just in – you may be aware – Tony Abbott is no longer the prime minister in Australia.

Anyway, the key lesson, I believe, that the Conservative Party is taking is that they want to target those blue collar workers who feel forgotten, derided and ripped off; who can't see any future of skilled jobs or decent reward for a hard week's work. Then tell 'em that the Tories are on their side. Tell 'em you feel their pain. Tell 'em it's all the migrants' fault. Whip up hatred on claimants. And then steal the TUC's clothes by promising the working poor a pay rise. Never mind that most people on benefits are working; and never mind that migrants are no different to any other worker: hoping for a better life; contributing to our country; facing the same struggle to earn a decent living, just like my family who came here from Ireland – just like many of your families here in the hall.

And then there's the European Union. Our country's prime minister in an undignified scuttle around the capitals of Europe, thumping tables, desperate to find some red meat to throw his backbenchers. If David Cameron was really battling for blue collar Britain, he'd be fighting for stronger rights. To stop bosses getting away with pitting

worker against worker to undercut pay. He would be fighting for an investment plan so our young people get good job opportunities, and fighting against trade agreements like TTIP, and secret courts, to stop big corporations cannibalising our public services.

But I think we need to wake up, because the Conservative Party no longer represents the interests of industry in general. Its main purpose is to serve just one – global finance. It's become the political wing of the City of London. Money – and only money – talks in today's Conservative Party. The national interest trumped by vested interests. The common good sold for a quick buck.

You know, the Conservatives take every opportunity to claim that Labour is in the pocket of the unions.

As if the small amounts of hard earned money given freely by thousands of nurses, shop workers and refuse collectors was something to sneer about. But the Conservative Party is in a pocket that's a whole lot larger. And it belongs to just a handful of rich men.

There is only one way George Osborne's strategy to divide people and crush dissent will succeed. And that's if good people of conscience stay silent. But I can tell you this, the government has woefully miscalculated the resilience of working people and their unions.

Because let me make it clear – and let's send a message from this hall – with every ounce of our strength, we will oppose this trade union bill. I am proud to be a trade unionist – our values rooted in putting working people first; fighting for a society where no-one is left behind. I know that you feel that pride too. That's why we say to every worker worried about their future; everyone who wants not just a job but a career; everyone who wants enough time to spend with the people they love; and a decent home to live in – join us. Join a union. Be part of our movement. Because together, we are stronger.

So, delegates, I ask you to support the campaign plan endorsed by your General Council. For a fair economy, strong rights at work, great jobs for everyone, world-class public services; and for a free trade union movement.

Let's unite; let's stand proud together; and let's fight to win.

## Leslie Manasseh, President

**Sunday, 13 September 2015**

Thank you, Congress, we live in interesting times. I had hoped to give a different kind of speech – one that would welcome a change of government and more hope for working people. I can't do that, but I can congratulate Jeremy Corbyn on an extraordinary and momentous victory, and hope, as we all do, that it will usher in not just a new era of politics but, ultimately, a Labour government based on solid Labour values and solid Labour principles. Congress, we are a long way from that and we have a lot of work to do to get there.

It's traditional on these occasions to be upbeat – to talk about successes over the year. But it's also traditional to highlight the flaws of the government – and that's a long and ignoble list.

But just to do that would be to ignore the pressing realities of our situation. So I'm not going to go for the easy option, but the much less comfortable one of reflecting on where we are as a movement and asking some hard questions about how we move forward. Because trade unions are at critical point – how we manage our affairs over the next few years is vital to our future, and it is no time, Congress, for us to sit on our laurels.

Of course we need to remember and celebrate our achievements. And of course we need to remember that trade unions were born in struggle and have always faced attacks from the state and powerful vested interests. And that we are resilient. But our aim is not to survive but to thrive and make a difference. So just now I think there is a greater need for honest debate and taking stock. And facing up to some difficult facts, because the world of work has changed dramatically – the nature of jobs, workplaces and employment patterns are very different from just a few years ago. The evidence is that we are not keeping pace with these changes and that collective bargaining which was once the norm – in 1979 80 per cent of wages were set by collective bargaining – has now become the exception.

In parallel, we have suffered a long term membership decline. In 1979 we had over 13 million members – some 55 per cent of all workers. Today we have around 5.8 million – just over 20 per cent of all workers – whose average age is way above the average for the workforce. This is very worrying arithmetic.

We're also increasingly a public sector movement where we have high density amongst certain groups of workers, but in far too many private sector workplaces we are simply not visible.

We've all analysed the causes of this decline. I doubt there is much disagreement that they lie in the decline of manufacturing, privatisation, the growth of a fragmented private service sector, employer hostility and the success of right wing ideologues in portraying trade unions as inimical to the national interest.

I sometimes fear we spend too much time refining this analysis. The point as someone famous once said is not to interpret the world but to change it.

I've always had a simple approach. Unless we grow in numbers we cannot grow in strength and influence. Unless we grow in numbers we will not be able to reverse the decline in collective bargaining. And unless we grow in numbers we cannot renew and refresh our activist base. If the world of work has changed, so has the political landscape.

The general election made a difficult situation worse as progressive values did not carry the day across the UK. Plenty of ordinary workers and union members voted Tory. To pretend otherwise is to ignore the facts. They didn't abstain – that might have been explicable – they willingly put a cross in the box. The challenge is to understand why they voted for a party that takes every opportunity to attack unions and which proudly commits itself to the damaging politics and economics of austerity – and what lessons that has for us.

To understand why truths that seem so self-evident here failed to convince enough of the electorate. Because being right is not enough. We also have to be persuasive. And it seems we

weren't persuasive enough. And the answer isn't just to shout louder.

Let's be clear we have some difficult years ahead. Tories want to privatise and shrink the state. To constrain and marginalise trade unions. To attack our legitimacy and ability to function. To create a world of work where all the power lies with employers and where workers are compliant and available while their share of national wealth continues to decline.

It is clear we have a major battle ahead. So a vital question is how battle-ready are we? By that I mean: where we are organised? How strong is our membership base? How good our reps structure? How willing our members to support us? How good is our information on these vital questions? If we are honest, Congress, in too many cases, the answers should give us all reason to pause. It's not enough to have strong arguments. We must also have strong organisation.

I believe we're facing a watershed and so we cannot adopt a business as usual approach. But let's be honest, we find it hard to change. We cling onto arcane processes, procedures and structures – our own special nooks and crannies – and I'm not sure we always test them against the need to build membership. And we can sometimes believe our own propaganda – understating the reach and strength of our opponents and overstating our own. In the search for answers to some very difficult questions, we should not resort simply to blaming each other. It isn't enough either to blame the media, the government and employers. There's lots of truth in that of course – we have a hostile media, a hostile government and some pretty hostile employers. There is certainly a large and powerful grouping wanting a union-free world. But we won't change anything by shouting or even analysing from the sidelines. We can change things only from within – by what we do to shift the balance of power in our society. And for us that starts with what happens in the workplace.

We will be taking some vital decisions over the next few days. But the truth is that without the trade union organisation on the ground capable of delivering them and bringing our policies to life – they will count for less and help fewer workers.

I've dealt with many employers over the years. They're usually prepared to listen to me. But I know they listen a lot more carefully when most of their workers are union members. So we have to rebuild trade unionism to recover the ground we have lost. We have to organise. That means we have to go out and talk to non-members. Which takes time, effort and resource. But it's the only way to guarantee that there are positive conversations about trade unions where it matters most – at work. Let's not pretend this is easy. I'm sure everyone in this hall knows that. But it's too easy to spend time with others who agree with us – too easy to retreat to the comfort zone of our activist base – rather than face up to the fact that millions of workers have yet to be persuaded to join the club.

Some of my most difficult conversations over the last 35 years have been with non-members while I've been walking round workplaces. Not always comfortable – and much less enjoyable and much harder say than addressing the Tolpuddle rally – but those experiences have kept me grounded and convinced me that we have to put in the graft, because there is no easy route to growth – no silver bullet to hand. Of course, we must give workers good reasons to join; provide confident and credible leadership; and give hope of a better future by campaigning for change. But we still have to put in the work on the ground; to make real connections with workers who are not union members. Even where we've made major policy gains – the minimum wage and rights for agency workers for example – these have not magically led to growing membership in the sectors most affected. We've had to work for that.

So it seems to me the only guaranteed option is to step up that work. And if that means we have to rebalance priorities, resources and tasks, so be it. If we have to spend less time in meetings – very often with each other – so be it. Because there's nothing more important just now than increasing membership and extending collective bargaining.

The good news is that we have plenty of opportunities. Trade union values are popular – indeed much more popular than trade unions. Why is this? Why do notions of fairness, equality and

justice at work have more appeal than the organisations that stand for them? Why is it, if we have such a popular message that we are failing to convince enough people to join our movement?

I think the answer is this – we are not getting out there as much as we should to make the case to new generations of workers in a way that chimes with their concerns. We have to close the gap between our values and our reach – to convert support for workplace justice into trade union membership. We need to test what we do by whether it helps close that gap. We cannot afford to spend too much time in a closed loop preaching to the converted, when we need to be reaching out to the unconverted.

We have a very good story to tell. But unless we actually go out and tell it, too few will know. We can't rely on others to tell it for us – quite the reverse. And when we put our mind to it we succeed. If we look under the surface and behind the headlines, we can see the seeds of our regeneration.

One of the real privileges of being president is that I see all the nominations for the organising awards. And there are some really inspiring stories. Examples of successful organising by ordinary workers in all kinds of sectors and workplaces. Cases where often one individual has through sheer will and effort organised a workplace, run a campaign, engaged a community and won for workers. Where workers have put their heads above the parapet and fought against dictatorial employers. Where against the odds individuals have built collective organisation that has improved the lives of all their colleagues.

These are the largely unsung heroes and heroines of our movement – and I think there are plenty more out there keen to fight for justice in the workplace. So we need to spend more time finding, supporting and working with them, and celebrating and thanking them, because membership decline is not inevitable – indeed a few unions have increased their private sector membership and I pay tribute to them and the efforts they are making. Perhaps we need a new settlement amongst ourselves – with fair give and take – rather than fantasy turf wars where we end

up arguing over which union owns which group of non-members.

The prize of growth and renewal is within our reach – we owe it to those who fought for and built trade unionism and to future generations – to make sure we grasp it.

I hope you understand why I have departed from tradition and focused on the challenges facing us rather than our achievements, because in order to speak truth to power, we must first speak truth to ourselves.

I am very proud to be the president of a movement with a proud history, which protects the weak against the strong which speaks up for justice and dignity but which also is about building successful workplaces, successful employers and a successful economy. We make the world a better place. Look no further than the work of those unions who brought to light the scandal of restaurant chains keeping some or all of their workers' tips. Trade unionism at its very best – speaking up collectively for workers against the power of employers.

It's been an immense privilege to work so closely with the TUC and many colleagues from across the movement over the past year. It gives me enormous confidence and hope about the future. I know – as you do – that we face many challenges and problems. I know our opponents want to silence dissent; marginalise progressive values; contain and criminalise protest; and create a docile workforce. But I also know that if we are united and determined we will not let them.

Thank you for listening and have a good conference.

## Jeremy Corbyn, Leader of the Opposition

**Tuesday, 15 September 2015**

Sisters and brothers, thank you very much for inviting me here today. I must admit it seems to be a very fast journey we are on at the present time and, to me, it is an enormous honour to be invited to address the TUC. It only seems a very short time ago that your General Secretary, Frances O'Grady, did me the honour of coming to speak at the nominating meeting in my constituency, Islington North, and now she has invited me here to address the TUC. I am very grateful, Frances, for what you did there and I am delighted to be here today because I am, and always will be, an active trade unionist. That is in my body.

I have been a trade union member all my life. I was an organiser for the National Union of Public Employees before I became a Member of Parliament. I realise this is deeply controversial because they are now part of UNISON but you can only be in one union at a time; you know the problem. That taught me a great deal about people, about values, and about the value of trade unions in the everyday lives of ordinary people. School cleaners, they have a hard time, school meals workers being badly treated, school caretakers looking for some security in their jobs, all those issues that are day-to-day work of trade unions and those that attack and criticise trade unions should remember this. There are six million of us in this country. We are the largest voluntary organisation in Britain. Every day we make a difference in looking after people in their ordinary lives as well as a huge contribution in the wider community. Unions are not just about the workplace, they are also about society as a whole, life as a whole, and the right of the working class to have a voice in society as a whole. That is why trade unionism is so important.

We celebrate the values of solidarity, of compassion, of social justice, fighting for the under-privileged, and of working for people at home and abroad. Whilst we value and protect the rights that we have in this country, the same thing

does not apply to trade unionists all over the world. Those people that died in that dreadful fire in China where there was a free market philosophy around the operation of a port, fire-fighters died trying to protect other workers who should have been protected by decent health and safety conditions. All around the world, Colombia and many other places, trade unionists try to survive trying to stand up for their rights.

Trade unions in Britain have achieved a fantastic amount in protection and in the wider society. We need to stand in solidarity with trade unionists all over the world demanding exactly the same things as we have secured for ourselves and trying to defend for ourselves. Trade unionism is a worldwide movement, not just a national movement and we should never be ashamed to say that.

There are those that say trade unions are a thing of the past and the idea of solidarity, unity, and community are a thing of the past. Ever since this Labour leadership election was announced, and I have taken part in it, I have spoken at 99 different events all over Britain, 99 events in 99 days. Those events were often very large. They would bring together people that had been estranged from the Labour movement or indeed from the Labour Party and they would bring together young people who had not been involved in that kind of politics before. What brought them together was a sense of optimism and hope. What brought them together was a sense of the way things can be done better in politics in Britain.

Those values I want restored to the heart of the Labour Party, which was of course itself a creation of the trade unions and socialists in the first place. I have some news to report to you. Ever since last Saturday, large numbers of people have been joining the Labour Party and the last figure I got, that was Saturday afternoon, 30,000 people have become members of the Labour Party. Our membership is now more than a third of a million, and rising. Over half a million people were able to take part in that election.

But the values that people bring to joining the Party and the Party brings to them have to be things that we fight for every single day. I want the

unions and the Labour Party to work together to win people over to the basic values we all accept, to change minds, and change politics, so that we can have a Labour government, we can look in a different direction, we can look away from the policy of growing inequality and look to a society that grows in equality, in confidence, in involvement of everybody, and does not allow the gross levels of poverty and inequality to get worse in Britain. That is what the Tories have in store for us.

But Labour must become more inclusive and open and I have had the very interesting task in the last few days of a number of events and a number of challenges.

The first thing I did on being elected was to go and speak at a rally in saying Refugees are Welcome Here because they are victims of human rights abuses and other abuses. I thought it was important to give that message out, that we recognise human rights abuses and the victims of it all over the world from wherever they come, they are human beings just like you and me, we hold out our hands and our hearts to them, and we want to work with them for a safer and better world. They are seeking the same things that we are seeking.

Later, the next day, I wanted also to give a message about how we intend to do things and the kind of society we want. So, I was very proud to accept an invitation to attend a mental health open day in my constituency, or a nearby constituency, to show that we believe the NHS is vital and valuable as it obviously and absolutely is but there are many people who suffer in silence from mental health conditions, suffer the abuse that often goes with those conditions, and the rest of society passes by on the other side. Mental illness is an illness just like any other, it can be recovered from, but we have to be prepared to spend the time and the resources and end the stigma surrounding mental illness which often comes with stress, workplace stress, poverty, and many other things.

There are other messages we have to put and the media has been absolutely full of midnight oil burning sessions in appointments to the new Shadow Cabinet of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

After consideration and thought, and lots of discussion, we have assembled and appointed a Shadow Cabinet of a majority of women members for the first time ever in history.

To show how determined we are on a number of specific areas of policy, there is a specific Shadow Minister, Luciana Berger, who is dealing with mental health issues. She will be at the table along with everyone else, and there is a specific Minister dealing with housing, and that is because I believe that John Healey will put the case very well. The issue is that we have to address the housing crisis that faces so many people all over this country. The free market is not solving the problem of homelessness. The free market is not allowing people to lead reasonable lives when they are paying excessive rents in the private-rented sector. We have to change our housing policies fundamentally by rapidly increasing a council house building programme to give real security to people's lives.

But there are other issues that we have to address, and that is how we make our party and our movement more democratic. The election process that I have just come through was an electorate of 558,000 people, the largest electorate ever for an internal party election. The number of votes that were cast for me were more than twice the total membership of the Tory Party in the whole country. That is something to savour.

But all those people coming forward to take part in this process came forward, yes, because they were interested, yes, because they were hopeful but, yes, because they wanted to be part of a democratic process where we make policy together. We live in a digital age, we live in an age where communications are much easier and we live in an age where we can put our views to each other in a much quicker and in a much more understandable form. So we don't need to have policymaking that is top down from an all-seeing, all-knowing leader who decides things. I want everybody to bring their views forward, every union branch, every party branch and every union, so we develop organically the strengths we all have, the ideas we all have and the imagination we all have.

When we have all had a say in how we develop, say, the housing policy, or, say, the health policy, say any other particular area of environmental protection or anything else, if everyone has been involved in that policymaking, they own the policy that is there at the end. They are more determined to campaign and fight for it. They are more likely to mobilise many more people around it, so we don't go through until 2020 with a series of surprises, but we go through to 2020 with a series of certainties, that we are a growing, stronger movement, we are more confident and more determined than ever and, above all, we are going to win in 2020 so we see the end of this Tory government.

When politicians get out of touch with reality, they sometimes forget where skillsets really lie. Can I give you an example: When I was a union organiser, we used to get involved in negotiations about work-study arrangements, the time it took to drive a van from place A to place B and how long it took to load the van, all those kind of issues. So we would go in there and start negotiations, and I would always go to the branch meeting before hand and say, "Who here is keen on betting?" Every hand went up, of course. "Who's the best at betting?" One particular hand would be pointed to, and I would say, "Can you come along to the negotiations?" "Why?" Because that member had brilliant skills at mental arithmetic – this was pre computer days – and he would work out very quickly, and he would say sotto voce to me, "They are lying to you, Jerry. Don't accept it", or whatever. Skills at the workplace, skills of ordinary people, knowledge of ordinary people. The elite in our society look with contempt on people with brilliance and ideas just because they don't speak like them or look like them. Let's do things differently and do things together.

Had we had a different approach, would we now have the millstone of private finance initiatives around the necks of so many hospitals and so many schools in this country, or would we, instead, have a more sensible form of public sector borrowing to fund for investment and fund for the future, rather than handing over our public services

to hedge funds, which is exactly what this government would like us to do? Be confident, be strong. We have lots of knowledge and lots of power.

I have worked with unions affiliated to the Labour Party and not affiliated to the Labour Party, and I work with all trade unions because I think that is what the Leader of the Labour Party should do. I think the Leader of the Labour Party, if invited, should always be at the TUC. I see it as an organic link.

I want to say a special mention to one group of workers who are here. They are doing their best to defend something we all own, know and love. Welcome to those strikers from PCS from the National Gallery for what they are going through at the present time. They look after our national treasures in the National Gallery. They do it well. They love what they do and they love what we have got in our National Gallery. Please, let's not privatise our galleries and privatise our staff. We welcome and we recognise the skills of those people who work in all those places and so many other places as being a precious national asset, not something to be traded away on the market of privatisation. Well done to you for your campaign.

Yesterday the Tories put the Second Reading of the Trade Union Bill to Parliament, and, sadly, it achieved its Second Reading and it has now gone into Committee. Basically, they are declaring war on organised labour in this country ever since they won the General Election, albeit with the support of 24% of the electorate. Yesterday, I was proud to sit alongside Angela Eagle on our Front Bench to oppose the Trade Union Bill, and she rightly said, and I quote: "This Bill is a dangerous attack on basic liberties that would not be tolerated by the Conservative Party if they were imposed on any other section of society." Stephen Doughty gave an excellent reply, and Labour MPs spoke with passion, knowledge and understanding of the dangers of this Bill. It is quite interesting how the Tories champion deregulation wherever regulation is ever mentioned. How many times have we heard that, Ministers for Deregulation, Departments for Deregulation, Ministers who will tear up all regulations? But one thing they really want to



regulate is organised labour and the trade unions in this country. I think that sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander, don't you?

So we have to oppose it and recognise what they are doing. The burdens they are placing, as one Tory MP admitted, are actually the strategy that was used by General Franco in Spain on his control of the trade unions in Spain. They seem to still think that it is right just to attack trade unions because they exist. I am not going to be lectured to by saying, "If the Labour Party gets too close to unions it puts us all on the back foot." I am sorry. Trade unions are an essential and valuable part of modern Britain. Six million people voluntarily join trade unions and I am proud to be a trade unionist. That is why we are going to fight this Bill all the way. When we have been elected with a majority in 2020, we are going to repeal this Bill and replace it with a workers' rights agenda and something decent and proper for the future.

Every difficulty actually gives you an opportunity, and the difficulty is that this Bill has been placed in front of us, but it gives us the opportunity to defend civil liberties and traditional freedoms and explain to the wider public, beyond trade union members and others, that it is actually a threat to the liberties of all of us. Because by calling into question the right of free association of trade unions they are actually in contravention, in my view, of Article 11 of the European Convention of Human Rights. They are also in contravention, as Stephen pointed out in his reply yesterday, to the International Labor Organization conventions. So we are going to continue our opposition to this. They are threatening the right of peaceful protest by looking to criminalise picketing. They are even threatening the right to free speech by seeking to limit what a union member can say on social media during a dispute. Are we really going to have teams of civil servants or lawyers or police or somebody trawling through massive numbers of twitter messages, Facebook messages, to find something somebody said about their employer or about an industrial dispute? What kind of intrusive society are they really trying to bring about. We have got to fight this Bill all the way, because if they get it through it's a damage to civil liberties

and for everybody in our society. They will use it as a platform to make other attacks on other sections of our community. Let's be strong about this.

We also have to promote trade unionism and understand that good trade unions, good trade union organisation, yes, it protects people in the workplace, yes, it leads to better pay, better conditions and better salaries and better promotional opportunities as a whole, but it also means there is often better management in those places where unions are very strong. The two things actually go together and are very important. Where unions are weak, job security is weak, conditions get worse and you look at the results of what this Conservative government are doing. They want to raise the threshold on strike ballots, so I would like to ask the prime minister this question: if you want trade unions to vote in ballots, why leave unions with the most archaic, expensive, inefficient method of voting you could find, why not modernise the balloting? Above all, why not go forward and secure workplace balloting ensuring that every member of a trade union can vote securely and secretly at their own workplace? That, surely, is something we all want in this Bill for ourselves.

But they are also attacking the rights of trade unions to be involved in the wider society. The Tories have always been concerned about the right of trade unions to be involved in political actions in any way. Why shouldn't workers, organised together in a union, express a political view? Why shouldn't they use their funds, if they wish, on political or public campaigning? We had the Act in the last Parliament that restricted the participation of unions and charities in public commentary during elections. This is taking it a stage even further. They seem quite relaxed about the involvement of hedge funds and funny money in politics. They seem absolutely obsessed with the cleanest money in politics, which is trade union funds being used for political campaigning. So we are going to oppose this Bill with every opportunity we get. We are going to expose it for what it is and we are going to try and stop it passing. As I have said, we will try to replace this Bill with something much better.

But there are other issues that we have to remind ourselves about what is going on at the present time. The Welfare Reform Bill is anything but welfare reform. It is all about building on the cuts they have already made, making the lives of the most vulnerable and poorest people in our society even worse. The disability benefits cuts that have been made over the past five years and the availability of the work test have had some disastrous – appalling – consequences where people have even committed suicide and taken their own lives out of a sense of desperation. I simply ask the question: what kind of a society are we living in where we deliberately put regulations through knowing what the effects are going to be on very poor and very vulnerable people who end up committing suicide? And we say it is all part of a normal process. No, it is not!

The reduction in the benefit cap has the effect of socially cleansing many parts of our cities. Owen Smith and I had discussions last night about amendments that we are going to put down to the Welfare Reform Bill. As far as I am concerned, the amendments we are putting forward are to remove the whole idea of the benefit cap altogether. We need to raise wages and regulate rents rather than to have a welfare system that do things, of subsidising high rents and low wages. Surely, we can do things differently and better if we really want to? We will bring down the welfare bill in Britain by controlling rents and boosting wages, not by impoverishing families and the most vulnerable people.

I have to leave straightaway after I have concluded my remarks here because I want to be back in Parliament to vote against their attempt to cut the tax credits that act as a lifeline to millions of people. Barnados say it will take £1,200 per year away from a lone parent of two working full time on the minimum wage. The government says there is no alternative to this. John McDonnell, our new Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer, is setting out what the alternatives are. They call us “deficit deniers”, but then they spend billions in cutting taxes for the richest families and for the most profitable businesses. What they are as is “poverty deniers”. They are ignoring the growing queues at

food banks; they are ignoring the housing crisis; they are cutting tax credits when child poverty rose by half-a-million under the last government to over four million. Let’s be clear. Austerity is actually a political choice that this government has taken and they are imposing it on the most vulnerable and poorest in our society.

It is our job as Labour to set out a vision for a better society and campaign proudly against Britain’s greatest democratic organisation, the trade union Movement. Our shared vision will be delivered by shared campaigning, a Labour Party proud to campaign for the trade unions and a trade union Movement proud to campaign with Labour. We have a job to do, to understand the process that has been going through in politics in Britain, to understand the levels of inequality that are there, to understand the levels of insecurity of people on zero-hours contracts, students with massive debts and understand the stress and tension that so many people have.

We are actually quite a rich country. We are actually a country that is deeply unequal. Surely, the whole vision of those who founded our unions and founded our political parties was about doing things differently. That generation, those brilliant people brought us the right to vote, got women the right to vote, brought us the National Health Service and brought us so many other things. We build on that in the way we do our policy, we build on that in the way we develop our movement, and we build on that in the way that we inspire people to come together for a better, more decent, more equal, fairer and more just society. These things are not dreams. These things are practical realities that we, together, intend to achieve. Thank you very much.

## John Bercow, Speaker of the House of Commons

**Tuesday, 15 September 2015**

Leslie, thank you for that generous introduction. Congress, I am reliably informed that the height of the podium has been specially adjusted for my benefit. This does, however, allow me to puncture the prevalent myth that I am the shortest man ever to be Speaker of the House of Commons. Sir John Bussy, Speaker of the House from 1394 to 1398; Sir John Wenlock, Speaker from 1455 to 1456 and Sir Thomas Tresham, Speaker in 1459 are all believed to have been shorter than I am, although I do have to admit that this was true only after all three of them had been beheaded.

Congress, I am truly delighted to be here and for two reasons. First, because I come at the invitation, and I am now happy to be in the company, of your outstanding General Secretary, Frances O'Grady. Secondly, because I believe in the work of trade unions, and that belief has been buttressed and reinforced by my own interaction as Speaker with unions in the House of Commons. The work that you do in resolving grievances, in standing up for the disadvantaged and in acting as agents of progressive change is important work which deserves respect, and it certainly has mine.

This year, in the Palace of Westminster, we are marking, as has been mentioned, the 800<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the signing of the Magna Carta, and the 750th anniversary of the first English Parliament instigated by the rebel baron, Simon de Montfort. I am not trying to pretend or to hoodwink you in any way into supposing that Simon de Montfort was some sort of Martin Luther King figure on horseback, or that he was an avowed opponent of the feudal system, for he was not. He was, as I have said, a baron, a baron with interests of his own, and a baron with an agenda to match those interests. That said, Congress, the Magna Carta and the De Montfort Parliament did hand down to us a number of important principles which are as valid and as compelling today as they were then. First, that all power, unless subject to strong checks and balances, will tend to be used

arbitrarily or even despotically. Secondly, that legitimacy is derived through representation, not acquired by might nor majesty, and, thirdly, that we must be governed by the rule of law, not principally in order to protect those with wealth or power, but principally, by contrast, in order to protect those without either wealth or power. Those fundamental principles are at the heart of our national history, our national narrative and our national institutions, whether uttered in mediaeval Latin or in modern parlance, the case for the accountability of power is the same and just as strong.

As the late Tony Benn was fond of observing: "Whenever I meet anybody with power, I always ask that person five questions. What power have you got; who gave it to you; in whose interests do you exercise it; to whom are you accountable, and how can we get rid of you?"

Congress, I mentioned our anniversaries. I mention to you also that this year, as part of the anniversaries programme, the House of Commons is staging a Festival of Freedoms, and centre stage in that Festival of Freedoms – I hope you agree rightly so – is the heroic struggle of the Tolpuddle Martyrs. In recognising and celebrating their heroic struggle, we have to remember that that struggle was not merely an historic struggle. All too often, it is a current struggle as well, and that struggle is most assuredly an international struggle. It is hugely and enduringly to the credit, both of the TUC and of affiliated unions, that you are backing, from Belarus to Colombia, from Saudi Arabia to Zimbabwe, people to enjoy the rights in their countries which we have so long enjoyed and, probably, been inclined to take for granted in ours.

I have talked to you about anniversaries, celebrations, struggles and the accountability of power. What about the management of the House of Commons as a Parliamentary estate and the discharge of our obligations as an employer? Congress, I must tell you that when in 2009 I stood for election as Speaker, I was all too keenly aware that there was a shooting gallery on the Parliamentary estate but no nursery that could be used by the children of Members or the children of staff of the House. This bullets-before-babies ethos

struck me as inherently perverse. I resolved at once, with the support of colleagues, to change it without delay. We quickly identified a suitable site to be a workplace nursery, and then met the objection that it would involve the destruction of a bar. Congress, this did not seem to me to be a powerful objection. There is, after all, no shortage of watering holes on the Parliamentary estate. There was no shortage of places where you could get a beer, but there was nowhere that you could put a baby, so I pressed ahead, with the support of the House of Commons Commission, and we established that nursery. Five years on, I am proud to tell you that that nursery is well resourced, well managed and it is well used. I don't suggest to you, job done, that somehow we are transformed as an employer or a workplace or an institution, but I do think it has done something to normalise the work-life balance and, dare I say it, perhaps, to make the House of Commons look a little more like the country that we aspire to represent. So that was a start.

A couple of years ago I asked a senior House of Commons official if everyone employed by or working as a contractor to the House of Commons was paid at least the London Living Wage. It transpired that some were not. That seemed to me plain wrong. Once again, I resolved that that must be changed. Today I am proud to tell you that everyone employed by or working as a contractor to the House of Commons is paid at least the London Living Wage, and we have our accreditation from the Living Wage Foundation. Surely, that was the right thing to do, both for the benefit of the individual employees themselves and in turn of what it said about the DNA of the institution, a matter, you might think, not just of money but of ethics to boot.

To be candid, I was even more shocked 18 months or so ago, and, if I am honest about it, rank embarrassed to learn that more than 100 people employed by the House of Commons were employed on zero-hours contracts. It did not seem to have happened as a result of any democratic decision or conscious choice. They had mushroomed. They had grown like Topsy. They had simply come about almost, if you will, by

accident. That seemed to me to be wrong, exploitative and indefensible. Once again, with the support of colleagues on the House of Commons Commission, I decided that that must be changed. I am equally proud to be able to tell you today that no one is employed by the House of Commons on a zero-hours contract against his or her will, and everybody who has since been offered a minimum hours guarantee instead. That is, surely, right in terms of our culture and the message that we send as an exemplar organisation to the wider electorate.

Since my election as Speaker, a key theme and personal passion for me has been to build links with and to offer support to young people. For years there had been in the ether plans for the establishment of an education centre in the House of Commons, but nothing had happened. We worked at it, we developed the plans, we got the permission from the local authority, we established the make-up of the site and the contents that would go into it. I am delighted to be able to tell you that we have now opened a new state-of-the-art, cutting edge, digital, interactive Education Centre in the Palace of Westminster, which will allow more than a doubling of the young people who can come to Parliament and learn about the arduous journey to the rights and representations which we all enjoy today. That is part of the equation but it is not all that is required.

Again, back in 2009, I said, in standing for Speaker, that I wanted to build a good relationship with the UK Youth Parliament. Every year since 2009 it has been my privilege to go to the UK Youth Parliament Annual Conference, wherever it has taken place in the country, to talk to and hear from young people, because they are the future of our democracy and, in a very real sense, the future of our country. Similarly, every year I have been proud to chair the proceedings of the UK Youth Parliament on a non-sitting Friday in the Chamber of the House of Commons. I do that, which I regard as an honour, for two reasons. First, because I want to offer that supportive encouragement to young people and, secondly, Congress, because I believe very simply that if we in Parliament want to be respected by young people, we have to show some

respect for young people. Respect is not an automatic right. It is an earned entitlement or, to put it another way, respect is a two-way street.

Congress, 30 years ago, when I started out in politics as a right-wing Conservative student leader, I would not have wanted to address the TUC, and, believe me, you would not have wanted to be addressed by me. Today I am proud to be here, proud to be amongst your number and proud to be your guest. I say that because I respect and admire the invaluable and precious work that you do, the work that you do in promoting fairness in the workplace and the wider work that you do in pursuit of greater equality across society as a whole.

Thank you for having me. Thank you for your patience. Thank you for your forbearance and, thank you, indeed, for your generosity of spirit. I wish you all the best, both for a successful conference and in your activities in the year ahead. Thank you very much indeed.

## Shami Chakrabarti, Director of Liberty

**Wednesday, 16 September 2015**

Mr President, it's a daunting honour to address this Congress on behalf of the National Council for Civil Liberties (NCCL) – Liberty, at such a vital moment in the struggle for fundamental rights and freedoms around the world.

Workers' rights and human rights have always been inseparable. We are no less human on the shop floor or picket line than in the living room or at the food bank – no less human for the accident of being born on one spot of our restless planet rather than another. And inequalities and abuses of power always begin with divide and rule.

The NCCL was founded in 1934 because hunger marchers arriving in Hyde Park were duffed up by the Metropolitan Police. That would never happen today – would it? Undercover police officers dressed as marchers and behaved violently in order to justify a violent policing response. Please remember that whenever a Home Secretary says that the innocent have nothing to fear from unchecked police power. I know that you remember the databases of blacklisted trade unionists of recent years, the women in the environmental movement in intimate relationships with men who turned out to be abusing police power. Remember my friend Doreen Lawrence. Not only did they fail to investigate her son's racist murder but when her campaign for justice began to gain ground – when she embarrassed the authorities – they investigated her instead.

There has been an authoritarian arms race in British politics for at least 20 years with both major parties attacking the basic rights and freedoms of ordinary people. The new Labour leadership has an opportunity to change that in a way that many liberal Conservatives would welcome. But the trade union movement never wavered in its support for Liberty.

I am here because a great friend of mine, and of human rights the world over, invited me. In Frances O'Grady, your first woman General Secretary, you have a great leader and role model to

campaigners, and especially to young women, at this extraordinary moment of challenge and opportunity for all of us who believe that there is more to life than letting other people's children drown – not in far-away oceans, but in seas of smug self-interest closer to home.

I'm here because Mary Boustead was once an inspirational English teacher in a comprehensive school. It's true. She won't like me giving away our respective ages but there you go. She taught a stropky but not always strategic 15-year-old daughter of migrants how to understand *To Kill a Mockingbird* and how to present a better, reasoned argument. That 15 year old grew up to become a lawyer and activist and to be called by the *Sun* newspaper "the most dangerous woman in Britain". Goodness me, how I have enjoyed that over the years. I'll tell you what, the claps get louder the closer you get to the great city of Liverpool. This was a badge I carefully polished before my title was stolen earlier this year by a charismatic politician north of the Border. To add insult to injury, the First Minister of Scotland is younger than me as well.

And I'm here with fond memories of the late great Steve Sinnott, one of the first people in public life to befriend and support me when I took on the challenging role of leading Liberty just a couple of years into the "War on Terror". An instinctive feminist as well as trade unionist, I think he knew then what is only so very clear to me now. Women, now more than half of trade unionists, are surely this movement's secret weapon, capable of changing its face and fortunes and of expelling the spectre of a return to 1970s strife once and for all. Whichever union you are from, push the women to the front. Nudge them towards the cameras and microphones and into leadership positions. What better contrast with the elites in politics and big business? What truer representation of modern trade unionism?

I am here most of all because of the need for solidarity against the current assault on liberty. The new Trade Union Bill and imminent threat to the Human Rights Act represent a spiteful and ideological attack on rights and freedoms that must have Disraeli and Churchill spinning in their

graves. Forcing dissenters to wear armbands? Forcing them to register with the police? Has this government no history or imagination?

These attempts to divide, rule and dominate ordinary people in different sectors of the economy and different parts of the world are neither democratic nor conservative, and I urge all thoughtful "one nation" parliamentarians to defeat them.

The government, as legislator, is simply abusing its power over the statute book to allow it to abuse its power as a big employer. If it wants to avoid disruption to public services it should look after its work force, not make pathetic attempts to demonise it in the eyes of the rest of the people.

How would it be if there could only be six people on a pro-countryside demonstration or if shareholders or consumers were restricted from collective action against investment in apartheid South Africa? Why should anyone need permission for their freedoms of association and expression including on social media?

It is the same authoritarian instinct motivating the government to scrap our Human Rights Act and even to pull Britain out of the Convention on Human Rights.

Trades unions fought for women's votes, pay and better workplace conditions. Human rights laws protect them from rape and trafficking, deportation and discrimination. Let's be clear that women would be amongst the greatest victims of this government's onslaught on freedom and we must not let it succeed.

A great new film called *Suffragette* opens in a few weeks. It is a blockbuster perfectly timed for this moment of adversity and opportunity. It will remind audiences worldwide of the enduring importance of dissent and solidarity and show our own government to be on the wrong side of liberty and history.

Why should internationalism just be for money and markets and corporations and organised crime? Why not for ordinary people and their values? Why should human rights only be an excuse for military intervention over there and not protection of the vulnerable closer to home? The people's response to the refugee crisis has already

shamed the government into showing just an ounce of decency. It showed the government on the wrong side of humanity.

Together we can defend our hard-won rights and freedoms. Thank you for listening.

## **Section 3:**

Unions and their delegates



### ACCORD

Union address: Simmons House, 46 Old Bath Road, Charvil, Reading RG10 9QR  
 Telephone: 0118 934 1808  
 Email: info@accordhq.org  
 Web: www.accord-myunion.org  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 The Lloyds Banking Group  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 7,419 | Female 15,197 | Total 22,616  
 General Secretary: Ged Nichols  
 Delegates:  
 Dave Arthur                      Stephen Brown  
 Dianne Cousins                Chris Goldthorpe  
 Ged Nichols  
 Male: 4 Female: 1 Total: 5

### Advance

Union address: 16/17 High Street, Tring HP23 5AH  
 Telephone: 01442 891122  
 Email: info@advance-union.org  
 Web: www.advance-union.org  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Santander UK-based companies  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 1,915 | Female 5,051 | Total 6,966  
 General Secretary: Linda Rolph  
 Delegates:  
 Gerard Moloney                Linda Rolph  
 Male: 1 Female: 1 Total: 2

### AEGIS the union

Union address: Aegon UK plc, Edinburgh Park, Edinburgh EH12 9SE  
 Telephone: 0131 549 5665  
 Email: fiona.steele@aegistheunion.co.uk  
 Web: www.aegistheunion.co.uk  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 1,792 | Female 3,061 | Total 4,853  
 General Secretary: Brian Linn  
 Delegates:  
 Brian Linn                        Fiona Steele  
 Male: 1 Female: 1 Total: 2

### AEP

Association of Educational Psychologists

Union address: 4 The Riverside Centre, Frankland Lane, Durham DH1 5TA  
 Telephone: 0191 384 9512  
 Email: enquiries@aep.org.uk  
 Web: www.aep.org.uk  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Educational psychologists  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 656 | Female 2,600 | Total 3,256  
 General Secretary: Kate Fallon  
 Delegates:  
 Carde Adair                      Kate Fallon  
 Male: 0 Female: 2 Total: 2

### AFA-CWA

Association of Flight Attendants  
 Union address: 32 Wingford Road, London SW2 4DS  
 Telephone: 020 8276 6723  
 Email: afalhr@unitedafa.org  
 Web: www.afanet.org  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Airline cabin crew  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 100 | Female 400 | Total 500  
 President: Anthony King  
 Delegates:  
 Anthony King  
 Male: 1 Female: 0 Total: 1

### ASLEF

Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen  
 Union address: 77 St John Street, Clerkenwell, London EC1M 4NN  
 Telephone: 020 7324 2400  
 Email: info@aslef.org.uk  
 Web: www.aslef.org.uk  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Railways (drivers, operational supervisors and staff)  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 19,431 | Female 933 | Total 20,364  
 General Secretary: Mick Whelan  
 Delegates:  
 Dave Calfe                        Gary Boyle  
 Mark Prenter                      Simon Weller  
 Mick Whelan  
 Male: 5 Female: 0 Total: 5

### ATL

Association of Teachers and Lecturers  
 Union address: 7 Northumberland Street,  
 London WC2N 5RD  
 Telephone: 020 7930 6441  
 Email: info@atl.org.uk  
 Web: www.atl.org.uk  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Teachers, lecturers and teaching support staff in  
 nursery, school, sixth form and further education  
 sectors  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 32,904 | Female 95,089 | Total 127,993  
 General Secretary: Dr Mary Bousted  
 Delegates:

Ray Amos	Mark Baker
Vic Balow	Mary Bousted
Alec Clark	Nansi Ellis
Shelagh Hirst	Mark Holding
Julie Huckstep	Avie Kaur
Kim Knappett	Joe Lord
Kirsty McAlpine	Julia Neal
Andy Peart	Peter Pendle
Alison Prandle	Hank Roberts
Ffion Ryan	Hirst Shelagh
Alison Sherratt	Ralph Surman
Niamh Sweeney	Andy Wood

Male: 10 Female: 14 Total: 24

### BALPA

British Air Line Pilots' Association  
 Union address: BALPA House, 5 Heathrow  
 Boulevard, 278 Bath Road, West Drayton UB7 0DQ  
 Telephone: 020 8476 4000  
 Email: balpa@balpa.org  
 Web: www.balpa.org  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Airline pilots and flight engineers  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 7,330 | Female 470 | Total 7,800  
 General Secretary: Jim McAuslan  
 Delegates:

Bevan Lester	John Moore
--------------	------------

Male: 2 Female: 0 Total: 2

### BDA

Union address: Charles House, 148/149 Great  
 Charles Street, Birmingham B3 3HT  
 Telephone: 0121 200 8021  
 Email: tusecretary@bda.uk.com  
 Web: www.bda.uk.com  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Dietetics  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 399 | Female 7,590 | Total 7,989  
 Head of Employment Relations: Annette Mansell-  
 Green  
 Delegates:

Dennis Edmondson	Rosemary Stennett
------------------	-------------------

Male: 1 Female: 1 Total: 2

### BECTU

Broadcasting, Entertainment, Cinematograph and  
 Theatre Union  
 Union address: 373–377 Clapham Road,  
 London SW9 9BT  
 Telephone: 020 7346 0900  
 Email: info@bectu.org.uk  
 Web: www.bectu.org.uk  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Broadcasting, film, video, theatre, cinema  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 17,194 | Female 7,559 | Total 24,753  
 Delegates:

John Handley	Spencer MacDonald
Carmen Locke	Nicholas Ray
Keith Stokes	

Male: 4 Female: 1 Total: 5

### BFAWU

Bakers, Food and Allied Workers' Union  
 Union address: Stanborough House, Great North  
 Road, Stanborough, Welwyn Garden City AL8 7TA  
 Telephone: 01707 260150  
 Email: info@bfawu.org  
 Web: www.bfawu.org  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Food  
 Membership stats:  
 Total: 19,331 (male/female split not available)  
 General Secretary: Ronnie Draper  
 Delegates:

George Atwell                  Ronnie Draper  
 Marilyn McCarthy              Sarah Woolley  
 Male: 2 Female: 2 Total: 4

### **BOS TU**

British Orthoptic Society Trade Union  
 Union address: Salisbury House, Station Road,  
 Cambridge CB1 2LA  
 Telephone: 01353 665541  
 Email: bios@orthoptics.org.uk  
 Web: www.orthoptics.org.uk  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Orthoptics  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 32 | Female 1034 | Total 1066  
 Chair: Lesley-Anne Baxter  
 Delegates:  
 Samantha Aitkenwood    Lesley-Anne Baxter  
 Male: 0 Female: 2 Total: 2

### **BSU**

Britannia Staff Union  
 Union address: Court Lodge, Leonard Street, Leek  
 ST13 5JP  
 Telephone: 01538 399627  
 Email: bsu@themail.co.uk  
 Web: www.britanniasu.org.uk  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Finance  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 492 | Female 1,285 | Total 1,777  
 General Secretary: John Stoddard  
 Delegates:  
 Adrian Northcott              John Stoddard  
 Male: 2 Female: 0 Total: 2

### **Community**

Union address: 465c Caledonian Road,  
 London N7 9GX  
 Telephone: 020 7420 4000  
 Email: info@community-tu.org  
 Web: www.community-tu.org  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Steel and metal, textiles, footwear, leather, betting  
 shops, social care  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 25,684 | Female 6,202 | Total 31,886

General Secretary: Roy Rickhuss

Delegates:  
 Jan Bownes                      Alan Coombs  
 Carol Hodgson                  Paul Mills  
 Roy Rickhuss                    Paul Warren  
 Pat Wiggins  
 Male: 5 Female: 2 Total: 7

### **CSP**

Chartered Society of Physiotherapy  
 Union address: 14 Bedford Row,  
 London WC1R 4ED  
 Telephone: 020 7306 6666  
 Email: enquiries@csp.org.uk  
 Web: www.csp.org.uk  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Physiotherapy  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 8,010 | Female 32,040 | Total 40,050  
 Director of Employment Relations: Claire Sullivan  
 Delegates:  
 Jill Barker                              Alex MacKenzie  
 Julia Prince                              Mel Stewart  
 Claire Sullivan  
 Male: 0 Female: 5 Total: 5

### **CWU**

Communication Workers' Union  
 Union address: 150 The Broadway,  
 London SW19 1RX  
 Telephone: 020 8971 7200  
 Email: info@cwu.org  
 Web: www.cwu.org  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 The postal service and telecoms  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 160,742 | Female 36,720 | Total 197,462  
 General Secretary: Dave Ward  
 Delegates:  
 Sylvia Beckett                      Nick Darbyshire  
 Maria Exall                              Kate Hudson  
 Mick Kavanagh                      Tony Kearns  
 Andy Kerr                              Jane Loftus  
 Bob McGuire                          Jim McKechnie  
 Ali Moosa                              Terry Pullinger  
 Sajid Shaikh                          Amarjite Singh  
 Jaspal Singh                          Joyce Stephenson

Ian Taylor                      Jeffrey Till  
 Dave Ward  
 Male: 14 Female: 5 Total: 19

### EIS

Educational Institute of Scotland  
 Union address: 46 Moray Place,  
 Edinburgh EH3 6BH  
 Telephone: 0131 225 6244  
 Email: enquiries@eis.org.uk  
 Web: www.eis.org.uk  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Teachers, lecturers and other education personnel  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 12,189 | Female 41,246 | Total 53,435  
 General Secretary: Larry Flanagan  
 Delegates:  
 David Belsey                      Larry Flanagan  
 Pat Flanagan                      Mary Matheson  
 Kate Smith                      Edith Swinley  
 Male: 3 Female: 3 Total: 6

### Equity

Union address: Guild House, Upper St Martin's  
 Lane, London WC2H 9EG  
 Telephone: 020 7379 6000  
 Email: info@equity.org.uk  
 Web: www.equity.org.uk  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Performance workers in theatre, film, television,  
 radio, variety and fashion  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 19,663 | Female 19,629 | Total 39,292  
 General Secretary: Christine Payne  
 Delegates:  
 Rachel Birch-Lawson      Adam Burns  
 Louise McMullan              Christine Payne  
 Lynda Rooke                      Malcolm Sinclair  
 Stephen Spence  
 Male: 3 Female: 4 Total: 7

### FBU

Fire Brigades' Union  
 Union address: Bradley House, 68 Coombe Road,  
 Kingston upon Thames KT2 7AE  
 Telephone: 020 8541 1765  
 Email: office@fbu.org.uk

Web: www.fbu.org.uk  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Fire fighters and fire brigade staff  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 35,370 | Female 2,495 | Total 37,865  
 General Secretary: Matt Wrack  
 Delegates:  
 John Arnold                      Jo Byrne  
 Tam McFarlane                  Alan McLean  
 Ian Murray                      Micky Nicholas  
 Andy Noble                      Matt Wrack  
 Male: 7 Female: 1 Total: 8

### FDA

Union address: 8 Leake Street, London SE1 7NN  
 Telephone: 020 7401 5555  
 Email: info@fda.org.uk  
 Web: www.fda.org.uk  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Senior managers in public bodies, civil service and  
 the NHS  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 7,912 | Female 8,639 | Total 16,551  
 General Secretary: Dave Penman  
 Delegates:  
 Mike Buckley                      Gareth Hills  
 Dave Penman                      Jon Restell  
 Male: 4 Female: 0 Total: 4

### GMB

Union address: 22 Stephenson Way,  
 London NW1 2HD  
 Telephone: 020 7391 6700  
 Email: info@gmb.org.uk  
 Web: www.gmb.org.uk  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Retail, distribution, school support staff, social care,  
 security, food production, energy, utilities, catering,  
 construction, shipbuilding, aerospace, defence,  
 engineering, chemicals, civil air transport, leisure,  
 textiles and clothing  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 318,509 | Female 311,040 | Total 629,549  
 General Secretary: Paul Kenny  
 Delegates:  
 Charles Adje                      Dotun Alade-Odumosu  
 Sheila Bearcroft                  Liz Blackman

Mark Bowler	Kevin Buchanan
John Callow	Jim Clarke
Ida Clemo	Dave Clements
Harry Donaldson	Brendan Duffield
Brenda Fraser	Gordon Gibbs
Doug Henry	Sharon Holder
Tommy Hunter	Andy Irving
Kamaljeet Jandu	Jan Jepson
Lisa Johnson	Kevin Jones
Joan Kelly	Paul Kenny
Ann Leader	Maria Ludkin
Paul Maloney	Evelyn Martin
Fern McCaffrey	Paul McCarthy
John McDonnell	Liz McLachlan
June Minnery	Linda Moore
Joe Morgan	Barbara Plant
Tim Roache	Mick Rix
Malcolm Sage	Lena Sharp
Kath Slater	Gary Smith
Cath Speight	Cat Stephens
Brian Strutton	Mary Turner
Kathleen Walker Shaw	Mike Wilson
Lorraine Winson	

Male: 27 Female: 23 Total: 50

### HCSA

Hospital Consultants' and Specialists' Association  
 Union address: 1 Kingsclere Road, Overton,  
 Basingstoke RG25 3JA  
 Telephone: 01256 771777  
 Email: conspec@hcsa.com  
 Web: www.hcsa.com  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Hospital consultants and associate specialists  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 2,509 | Female 614 | Total 3,123  
 General Secretary: Eddie Saville  
 Delegates:  
 Eddie Saville                      John Schofield

### MU

Musicians' Union  
 Union address: 60/62 Clapham Road,  
 London SW9 0JJ  
 Telephone: 020 7582 5566  
 Email: info@theMU.org  
 Web: www.theMU.org

Main trades and industries represented:  
 Musicians, including live and recording artists,  
 writers, composers and teachers  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 21,882 | Female 8,919 | Total 30,807  
 General Secretary: John Smith  
 Delegates:  
 Kathy Dyson                      Tom Edwards  
 Rick Finlay                      John Smith  
 Barbara White  
 Male: 3 Female: 2 Total: 5

### NACO

National Association of Co-operative Officials  
 Union address: 6a Clarendon Place, Hyde SK14 2QZ  
 Telephone: 0161 351 7900  
 Email (officials and staff): initials@nacoco-op.org  
 Web: www.naco.coop  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 The Co-operative Group  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 1,073 | Female 610 | Total 1,683  
 General Secretary: Neil Buist

### NACODS

National Association of Colliery Overmen,  
 Deputies and Shotfirers  
 Union address: Wadsworth House, 130-132  
 Doncaster Road, Barnsley S70 1TP  
 Telephone: 01226 203743  
 Email: natnacods@googlemail.com  
 Web: www.nacods.org.uk  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Mining  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 231 | Total 231  
 General Secretary: Rowland Soar

### NAHT

National Association of Head Teachers  
 Union address: 1 Heath Square, Boltro Road,  
 Haywards Heath RH16 1BL  
 Telephone: 0300 30 30 333  
 Email: info@naht.org.uk  
 Web: www.naht.org.uk  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Head teachers and education leaders

Membership stats:

Total 29,261 (male/female split unavailable)

General Secretary: Russell Hobby

Delegates:

Kathryn James                      Tony Draper

Jim Johnson                         Russell Hobby

Magnus Gorham                  Paul Whiteman

Male: 5 Female: 1 Total: 6

**Napo**

Union address: 4 Chivalry Road, London SW11 1HT

Telephone: 020 7223 4887

Email: info@napo.org.uk

Web: www.napo.org.uk

Main trades and industries represented:

Probation and family court staff

Membership stats:

Male 2,038 | Female 5,316 | Total 7,359

General Secretary: Ian Lawrence

Delegates:

Yvonne Patterson                Ian Lawrence

Male: 1 Female: 1 Total: 2

**NASS**

National Association of Stable Staff

Union address: The New Astley Club, Fred Archer

Way, Newmarket CB8 8NT

Telephone: 01638 663411

Email: office@naoss.co.uk

Web: www.naoss.co.uk

Main trades and industries represented:

Stable staff

Membership stats:

Male 1,085 | Female 835 | Total 1,920

Chief Executive: George McGrath

Delegates:

George McGrath                  Nick Payne

Carina McKeown

Male: 2 Female 1 Total: 3

**NASUWT**

Union address: 5 King Street, Covent Garden,  
London WC2E 8SD

Telephone: 020 7420 9670

Email: nasuwt@mail.nasuwt.org.uk

Web: www.nasuwt.org.uk

Main trades and industries represented:

Education

Membership stats:

Total: 293,022 (male/female split unavailable)

General Secretary: Chris Keates

Delegates:

Lynn Bayliss                         Geoff Branner

Wayne Broom                        Fred Brown

Neil Butler                            Frances Cater

Michelle Codrington-Rogers

Brian Cookson                      Elaine Cross

Sarah Cull                             Graham Dawson

Nigel De Gruchy                    Kathy Duggan

Ruth Duncan                        Celia Foote

Alan Hackett                         John Hall

Chris Keates                         Dave Kitchen

Dan McCarthy                      Derek Moore

Lara Morris                          Jennifer Moses

Abdullah Muhsin                    Paul Nesbitt

Darren Northcott                  Jim Quigley

Timothy Ramsden                  Patrick Roach

David Robertson                  Paula Roe

Sue Rogers                          Peter Scott

Nick Trier                             Tracey Twist

Kathy Wallis                         Paul Watkins

Chris Weavers                      Dave Wilkinson

Lee Williscroft-Ferris              Gareth Young

Male: 27 Female: 15 Total: 42

**Nautilus International**

Union address: 1-2 The Shrubberies, George Lane,  
South Woodford, London E18 1BD

Telephone: 020 8989 6677

Email: enquiries@nautilusint.org

Web: www.nautilusint.org

Main trades and industries represented:

Merchant navy and related areas

Membership stats:

Male 15,180 | Female 524 | Total 15,704

General Secretary: Mark Dickinson

Delegates:

Ronnie Cunningham                Mark Dickinson

Steve Doran                         Martyn Gray

Male: 4 Female: 0 Total: 4

## NGSU

Nationwide Group Staff Union  
 Union address: Middleton Farmhouse, 37 Main Road, Middleton Cheney, Banbury OX17 2QT  
 Telephone: 01295 710767  
 Email: [ngsu@ngsu.org.uk](mailto:ngsu@ngsu.org.uk)  
 Web: [www.ngsu.org.uk](http://www.ngsu.org.uk)  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Staff within the Nationwide Group  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 3,569 | Female 8,382 | Total 11,951  
 General Secretary: Tim Poil  
 Delegates:  
 Gill Grocott                      Alan Lampard  
 Tim Poil  
 Male: 2 Female: 1 Total: 3

## NUJ

National Union of Journalists  
 Union address: Headland House, 308–312 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X 8DP  
 Telephone: 020 7843 3700  
 Email: [info@nuj.org.uk](mailto:info@nuj.org.uk)  
 Web: [www.nuj.org.uk](http://www.nuj.org.uk)  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Journalism  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 16,847 | Female 10,276 | Total 27,123  
 General Secretary: Michelle Stanistreet  
 Delegates:  
 David Campanale                  Alan Gibson  
 Ann Halpin                          Sian Jones  
 Andy Smith                          Michelle Stanistreet  
 Male: 3 Female: 3 Total: 6

## NUM

National Union of Mineworkers  
 Union address: Miners' Offices, 2 Huddersfield Road, Barnsley S70 2LS  
 Telephone: 01226 215555  
 Email: [chris.kitchen@num.org.uk](mailto:chris.kitchen@num.org.uk)  
 Web: [www.num.org.uk](http://www.num.org.uk)  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Coal mining  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 1,073 | Female 5 | Total 1,078  
 General Secretary: Chris Kitchen

Delegates:  
 Chris Kitchen                      Nicky Wilson  
 Male: 2 Female: 0 Total: 2

## NUT

National Union of Teachers  
 Union address: Hamilton House, Mabledon Place, London WC1H 9BD  
 Telephone: 020 7388 6191  
 Web: [www.teachers.org.uk](http://www.teachers.org.uk)  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Teachers  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 79,773 | Female 252,616 | Total 332,389  
 General Secretary: Christine Blower  
 Delegates:  
 Susan Amatiello                      Dorren Barrett  
 Sian Bassett                          Rachel Baxter  
 Christine Blower                      Julia Brandreth  
 Amanda Brown                          Chris Brown  
 Sarah Carter                              Phil Clarke  
 Kevin Courtney                          Ben Cox  
 Hazel Danson                              Beth Davies  
 John Dixon                                  Laura Ford  
 Jerry Glazier                              Linda Goodwin  
 Philipa Harvey                              Dave Harvey  
 Mandy Hudson                              Max Hyde  
 Simon Jones                                  Kristian Jones  
 Betty Joseph                                  Alex Kenny  
 Sally Kincaid                                  Roger King  
 Amanda Martin                              Heather McKenzie  
 Jill McManus                                  Rosumund McNeil  
 Andrew Morris                                  Ian Murch  
 Niparun Nessa                                  Jan Nielsen  
 Anne Swift                                      Kiri Tunks  
 David Wilson  
 Male: 14 Female: 25 Total: 39

## PCS

Public and Commercial Services Union  
 Union address: 160 Falcon Road, London SW11 2LN  
 Telephone: 020 7924 2727  
 Web: [www.pcs.org.uk](http://www.pcs.org.uk)  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Civil service and privatised ex-civil service agencies  
 Membership stats:

Male 92,847 | Female 138,476 | Total 231,323

General Secretary: Mark Serwotka

Delegates:

Chris Baugh	Sarah Broad
Paula Brown	Martin Cavanagh
Mary Ferguson	Cheryl Gedling
Janice Godrich	Ian Lawther
Kevin McHugh	John McNally
Gordon Rowntree	Ian Scott
Mark Serwotka	Katrine Williams

Male: 8 Female: 6 Total: 14

### PFA

Professional Footballers' Association

Union address: 20 Oxford Court, Bishopsgate, Manchester M2 3WQ

Telephone: 0161 236 0575

Email: info@thepfa.co.uk

Web: www.thepfa.com

Main trades and industries represented:

Professional football

Membership stats:

Male 2,863 | Female 50 | Total 2,913

Chief Executive: Gordon Taylor

Delegates:

Nick Cusack

Male: 1 Female: 0 Total: 1

### POA

The professional trade union for prison, correctional and secure psychiatric workers  
Union address: Cronin House, 245 Church Street, London N9 9HW

Telephone: 020 8803 0255

Web: www.poauk.org.uk

Main trades and industries represented:

Persons employed in any penal or secure establishment or special hospital as a prison officer, a nursing grade, operational support grade, a non-industrial stores grade and NHS secure forensic staff

Membership stats:

Male 22,594 | Female 7,678 | Total 30,272

General Secretary: Steve Gillan

Delegates:

Thomas Bailey	Emma Barker
Ian Carson	Chris Donovan

Stephen Gillan

Peter McParlin

Joe Simpson

Male: 6 Female: 1 Total: 7

### Prospect

Union address: New Prospect House, 8 Leake Street, London SE1 7NN

Telephone: 020 7902 6600

Email: enquiries@prospect.org.uk

Web: www.prospect.org.uk

Main trades and industries represented:

Managerial and professional staff

Membership stats:

Male 86,214 | Female 29,041 | Total 115,255

General Secretary: Mike Clancy

Delegates:

Mike Clancy	Rebecca Cummings
Lorna Daniel	Sue Ferns
Geoff Fletcher	Archie Glen
Alan Grey	George Hicks
Caitlin Kinsella	John Mackintosh
Sean Maguire	Leslie Manasseh
Craig Marshall	Marie McGrath
Denise McGuire	Heather Phillips
Paul Stewart	Eleanor Wade
Steve Williams	

Male: 11 Female: 8 Total: 19

### RCM

Royal College of Midwives

Union address: 15 Mansfield Street, London, W1G 9NH

Telephone: 0300 303 0444

Web: www.rcm.org.uk

Main trades and industries represented:

Midwifery

Membership stats:

Male 134 | Female 29,954 | Total 30,088

Chief Executive: Cathy Warwick

Delegates:

Kath Jones	Natalie Linder
Helen Rogers	Jon Skewes
Suzanne Tyler	Pam Ward

Male: 1 Female: 5 Total: 6



## RMT

National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers  
 Union address: 39 Chalton Street, London NW1 1JD  
 Telephone: 020 7387 4771  
 Email: initial.surname@rmt.org.uk  
 Web: www.rmt.org.uk  
 Main trades and industries represented: Transport  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 70,608 | Female 11,648 | Total 82,256  
 General Secretary: Mick Cash  
 Delegates:  
 Wayne Barnett            Ian Boyle  
 Mick Cash                Lee Catterall  
 Pat Collins                Jennifer Gray  
 Glen Hart                 Peter Pinkney  
 Nick Quirk                William Rawcliffe  
 Michelle Rodgers        Steven Skelly  
 Craig Stabb                Glenroy Watson  
 Male: 12 Female: 2 Total: 14

## SCP

The Society of Chiropodists and Podiatrists  
 Union address: 1 Fellmongers Path, Tower Bridge Road, London SE1 3LY  
 Telephone: 0845 450 3720  
 Email: enq@scpod.org  
 Web: www.feetforlife.org  
 Main trades and industries represented: NHS and private practice chiropodists and podiatrists  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 2,544 | Female 6,942 | Total 9,486  
 General Secretary: Joanna Brown  
 Delegates:  
 Joanna Brown            Irene Guidotti  
 Male: 0 Female: 2 Total: 2

## SoR

Society of Radiographers  
 Union address: 207 Providence Square, Mill Street, London SE1 2EW  
 Telephone: 020 7740 7200  
 Email: firstnameandsurnameinitial@sor.org  
 Web: www.sor.org

Main trades and industries represented: Radiography  
 Membership stats:  
 Total: 26,816 (male/female split unavailable)  
 General Secretary: Richard Evans  
 Delegates:  
 Richard Evans            Karen Smith  
 Gareth Thomas            Warren Town  
 Male: 3 Female: 1 Total: 4

## SUWBBS

Staff Union West Bromwich Building Society  
 Union address: 374 High Street, West Bromwich B70 8LR  
 Telephone: 0870 220 7720  
 Email: staffunion@westbrom.co.uk  
 Main trades and industries represented: West Bromwich Building Society staff  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 162 | Female 338 | Total 500  
 Chair: Julie Holton  
 Delegates:  
 Elaine Duncum            Julie Holton  
 Male: 0 Female: 2 Total: 2

## TSSA

Transport Salaried Staffs' Association  
 Union address: Walkden House, 10 Melton Street, London NW1 2EJ  
 Telephone: 020 7387 2101  
 Email: enquiries@tssa.org.uk  
 Web: www.tssa.org.uk  
 Main trades and industries represented: Transport  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 14,956 | Female 5,714 | Total 20,670  
 General Secretary: Manuel Cortes  
 Delegates:  
 Mick Carney              Manuel Cortes  
 Josey Grimshaw           Hilary Hosking  
 Jason Tovey  
 Male: 3 Female: 2 Total: 5

## UCAC

Undeb Cenedlaethol Athrawon Cymru  
 Union address: Prif Swyddfa UCAC, Ffordd Penglais, Aberystwyth SY23 2EU

Telephone: 01970 639950  
 Email: ucac@athrawon.com  
 Web: www.athrawon.com  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Teaching  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 789| Female 3,012 |Total 3,801  
 General Secretary: Elaine Edwards

### UCATT

Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians  
 Union address: UCATT House, 177 Abbeville Road, London SW4 9RL  
 Telephone: 020 7622 2442  
 Email: info@ucatt.org.uk  
 Web: www.ucatt.org.uk  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Construction  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 59,009 | Female 2,220| Total 61,229  
 General Secretary: Brian Rye  
 Delegates:  

Malcolm Davies	Jim Gamble
Neal Hodgkinson	Bill Hutt
Lee Jackson	John Kemp
Mark Page	Bill Parry
Brian Rye	Alan Stansfield
Frank Tyas	Tracey Whittle
Andy Wilson	

 Male: 12 Female: 1 Total: 13

### UCU

University and College Union  
 Union address: Carlow Street, London NW1 7LH  
 Telephone: 020 7756 2500  
 Email: hq@ucu.org.uk  
 Web: www.ucu.org.uk  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Academic and academic-related staff  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 52,996| Female 54,584| Total 107,580  
 General Secretary: Sally Hunt  
 Delegates:  

Mandy Brown	Julia Charlton
Joanna de Groot	Rob Goodfellow
Sally Hunt	Vicky Knight

Liz Lawrence	Martin Levy
Michael MacNeil	Richard McEwan
Carlo Morelli	Dave Muritu

Male: 7 Female: 5 Total: 12

### UNISON

Union address: UNISON Centre, 130 Euston Road, London NW1 2AY  
 Telephone: 0800 0 857 857  
 Email: initial.surname@unison.co.uk  
 Web: www.unison.org.uk  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Local government; healthcare; utilities; education; transport; voluntary sector; housing associations; police support staff  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 283,830 | Female 950,212 | Total 1,234,042  
 General Secretary: Dave Prentis  
 Delegates:  

James Anthony	Paula Barker
Mandy Berger	Nicole Berrisford
Josie Bird	Belinda Burton
Jane Carolan	Beth Corris
Peter Crews	Ruth Davies
Sue Glithero	Paul Glover
Dan Goodwin	Dettie Gould
John Gray	Margaret Greer
Mike Hines	Debbie Hollingsworth
Greta Holmes	Kevin Jackson
Karen Jennings	Caroline Johnson
Conroy Lawrence	Maureen Le Marinel
Mary Locke	Lilian Macer
Ann Macmillan-Wood	Gordon McKay
Margaret McKee	Mark McSheehy
Michael Melia	Jose Mengual
Bev Miller	Gloria Mills
Wendy Nichols	Roz Norman
Debi Potter	Dave Prentis
Nicky Ramanandi	Davena Rankin
Cathy Roblin	Carol Sewell
Pam Sian	Kim Silver
Stephen Smellie	Eleanor Smith
Liz Snape	Irene Stacey
Mick Stowe	Chris Tansley
Sarah Taylor	Mark Trask
Adrian Turner	Becky Tye
Denise Ward	Clare Williams

Glen Williams                      Asha Wolfe-Robinson  
 Rena Wood  
 Male: 19 Female: 40 Total: 59

**Unite**

Union address: Unite House, 128 Theobald’s Road,  
 London WC1X 8TN  
 Telephone: 020 7611 2500  
 Web: www.uniteunion.org  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Aerospace, shipbuilding, vehicle building, motor  
 components, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, offshore  
 oil, textiles, graphical, paper and media, steel and  
 metals, electrical engineering and electronics, IT,  
 communications, servicing and general industries,  
 local authorities, MoD, professional staff in  
 universities, NHS, voluntary and not-for-profit,  
 energy, construction, finance and legal, civil air  
 transport, docks, rail, ferries and waterways,  
 passenger transport, commercial road transport,  
 logistics and retail distribution, food, drink and  
 tobacco, rural and agricultural  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 981,285 | Female 330,813 | Total 1,312,098  
 General Secretary: Len McCluskey

Delegates:

Julian Allam	Mary Babayemi
Lynne Baird	Carol Beckford
Laurie Bowden	Tony Burke
Jacquie Burnett-Pitt	Gail Cartmail
Irene Clarke	Steve Cooper
Stuart Davis	Jeanie Dunlop
Jean Dunlop	Caroline Farrall
Paul Geary	Nigel Gibbs
Jas Gill	John Gillespie
Chris Goodwin	Kate Guberg
Daksha Haria	Joe Harrickie
Geoff Hayward	Brian Hewitt
Diana Holland	Michael Jenkins
Rita Joyner	Peter Kelleher
Jim Kelly	Jasmin Kooner
Tony Lewington	Ian Lidbetter
Sharon Lyons	Chris Martin
Len McCluskey	Linda McCulloch
Stuart McGhie	Sean McGovern
Thomas Murphy	Andrew Murray
Nick Parnell	David Pearce

John Roscoe	Peter Russell
Maggie Ryan	John Sadikot
Suki Sangha	Howard Sharpe
Stan Sims	Tracy Smith
Jane Stewart	Pat Stuart
Jasmin Suraya	Phil Sykes
Preston Tabois	Mohammed Taj
Kevin Terry	Elizabeth Thacker
Steve Turner	Stewart Wakelam-Munro
Scot Walker	Adrian Weir
Julie Winn	Tony Woodhouse
Ceri Wright	Farzana Yaseen

Male: 40 Female: 25 Total: 65

**URTU**

Union address: Almond House, Oak Green, Stanley  
 Green Business Park, Cheadle Hulme SK8 6QL  
 Telephone: 0800 52 66 39  
 Email: info@urtu.com  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Drivers, warehousing, ancillary workers in the  
 logistics and food sectors  
 Membership stats:  
 Total: 11,023 (male/female split unavailable)  
 General Secretary: Robert Monks

Delegates:

Alex Harris	Brian Hart
Robert Monks	

Male: 3 Female: 0 Total: 3

**USDAW**

Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers  
 Union address: 188 Wilmslow Road, Manchester  
 M14 6LJ  
 Telephone: 0161 224 2804  
 Email: enquiries@usdaw.org.uk  
 Web: www.usdaw.org.uk  
 Main trades and industries represented:  
 Retail, distributive, food processing,  
 pharmaceutical, mail order, warehouses, clerical,  
 milk round and dairy, call centres  
 Membership stats:  
 Male 192,346 | Female 242,276 | Total 434,622  
 General Secretary: John Hannett

Delegates:

John Barstow	Mark Boswell
Jeff Broome	Valerie Cooke

Paula Croydon	Tony Dale
Iain Dalton	Kevin Dolan
Brendan Duggan	Carrie Fineran
Nick Gerrard	Lisa Grainge
Elizabeth Gumble	John Hannett
Sarah Hughes	Lesley Jarvis
Marj Jarvis	Clare Jones
Shaun Jones	Keith Kivelehan
Paddy Lillis	Ann Lloyd
Karl Lockley	Stephen Lyon
Carrie Manley	Roseann McAllister
Emily Rowles	Kieran Smyth
Kate Stokes	Paul Thomas
Andrea Watts	Michelle Whitehead
Fiona Wilson	Dean Wilson

Male: 18 Female: 16 Total: 34

### **WGGB**

Writers' Guild of Great Britain  
Union address: 1st Floor, 134 Tooley Street,  
London SE1 2TU  
Telephone: 020 7833 0777  
Email: [admin@writersguild.org.uk](mailto:admin@writersguild.org.uk)  
Web: [www.writersguild.org.uk](http://www.writersguild.org.uk)  
Main trades and industries represented:  
Television, radio, film, books, theatre, video games,  
multimedia  
Membership stats:  
Male 767 | Female 441 | Total 1,208  
General Secretary: Bernie Corbett  
Delegates:  
Bill Armstrong                      Sue Teddern  
Male: 1 Female: 1 Total: 2

### **SUMMARY**

Number of affiliated unions: 52  
Membership:  
Male: 2,686,947  
Female: 2,699,776  
Male/female split not available: 379,464  
Total: 5,766,187

## **Section 4:**

Details of past Congresses

No.	Date	Venue	President	General Secretary	Delegates	Unions	Members
1	1868	Manchester	W H Wood (Manchester Trades Council)	W H Wood	34	-	118,367
2	1869	Birmingham	T J Wilkinson (Flint Glass Makers)	George Potter	47	40	250,000
3	1871	London	George Potter (Working Men's Association)	ditto	57	49	289,430
4	1872	Nottingham	W H Leatherland (Organised Trade Association)	George Odger	77	63	255,710
5	1873	Leeds	W Lishman (Leeds Trades Councils)	George Howell	132	140	750,000
6	1874	Sheffield	W Rolley (President, Trades Council)	ditto	169	153	1,191,922
7	1875	Liverpool	J Fitzpatrick (Secretary, Trades Council)	ditto	151	107	818,032
8	1875	Glasgow	J Battersby (Compositors)	ditto	139	109	539,823
9	1876	Newcastle	J C Laird (President, Trades Council)	H Broadhurst	140	113	557,823
10	1877	Leicester	D Merrick (Boot and Shoe Finishers)	H Broadhurst	152	112	691,089
11	1878	Bristol	G F Jones (Secretary, Trades Council)	ditto	136	114	623,957
12	1879	Edinburgh	D Gibson (President, Trades Council)	ditto	115	92	541,892
13	1880	Dublin	J Murphy (Ironfounders)	ditto	120	105	494,222
14	1881	London	E Coulson (Bricklayers)	ditto	157	122	463,899
15	1882	Manchester	R Austin (Engineers)	ditto	153	126	509,307
16	1883	Nottingham	T Smith (Boot and Shoe Riveters)	ditto	166	134	520,091
17	1884	Aberdeen	J C Thompson (President, Trades Council)	ditto	142	126	598,033
18	1885	Southport	T R Threlfall (Typographical Association)	George Shipton	161	136	580,976
19	1886	Hull	F Maddison (Typographical Association)	H Broadhurst	143	122	635,580
20	1887	Swansea	W Bevan (Carpenters and Joiners)	ditto	156	131	674,034
21	1888	Bradford	S Shaftoe (Basket Makers)	ditto	165	138	816,944
22	1889	Dundee	R D B Ritchie (Dundee Trades Councils)	ditto	211	171	885,055
23	1890	Liverpool	W Matkin (Carpenters and Joiners)	C Fenwick	457	211	1,470,191
24	1891	Newcastle	T Burt (Miners)	ditto	552	213	1,302,855
25	1892	Glasgow	J Hodge (Steel Smelters)	ditto	495	225	1,219,934
26	1893	Belfast	S Munro (Typographical Association)	ditto	380	226	900,000
27	1894	Norwich	F Delves (Engineers)	S Woods	378	179	1,100,000
28	1895	Cardiff	J Jenkins (Shipwrights)	ditto	330	170	1,000,000
29	1896	Edinburgh	J Mallison (Edinburgh Trades Council)	ditto	343	178	1,076,000
30	1897	Birmingham	J V Stevens (Tin Plate Workers)	ditto	381	180	1,093,191
31	1898	Bristol	J O'Grady (Cabinet Makers)	ditto	406	188	1,184,241
32	1899	Plymouth	W J Vernon (Typographical Association)	ditto	384	181	1,200,000
33	1900	Huddersfield	W Pickles (House and Ship Painters)	ditto	386	184	1,250,000
34	1901	Swansea	C W Bowerman (London Compositors)	ditto	407	191	1,200,000
35	1902	London	W C Steadman (Barge Builders)	ditto	485	198	1,400,000
36	1903	Leicester	W R Hornidge (Boot and Shoe Operatives)	ditto	460	204	1,500,000
37	1904	Leeds	R Bell (Railway Servants)	ditto	453	212	1,422,518
38	1905	Hanley	J Sexton (Dock Labourers)	W C Steadman	457	205	1,541,000
39	1906	Liverpool	D C Cummings (Boilermakers)	ditto	491	226	1,555,000
40	1907	Bath	A H Gill (Cotton Spinners)	ditto	521	236	1,700,000
41	1908	Nottingham	D J Shackleton (Weavers)	ditto	522	214	1,777,000
42	1909	Ipswich	D J Shackleton (Weavers)	ditto	498	219	1,705,000
43	1910	Sheffield	J Haslam (Miners)	ditto	505	212	1,647,715
44	1911	Newcastle	W Mullin (Cotton Spinners)	C W Bowerman	523	202	1,662,133
45	1912	Newport	W Thorne (Gasworkers)	ditto	495	201	2,001,633
46	1913	Manchester	W J Davis (Brassworkers)	ditto	560	207	2,232,446
47	1915	Bristol	J A Seddon (Shop Assistants)	ditto	610	215	2,682,357
48	1916	Birmingham	H Gosling (Waterman)	ditto	673	227	2,850,547
49	1917	Blackpool	J Hill (Boilermakers)	ditto	679	235	3,082,352
50	1918	Derby	J W Ogden (Weavers)	ditto	881	262	4,532,085
51	1919	Glasgow	G H Stuart-Bunning (Postmen's Federation)	ditto	851	266	5,283,676

No.	Date	Venue	President	General Secretary	Delegates	Unions	Members
52	1920	Portsmouth	J H Thomas (Railwaymen)	ditto	955	215	6,505,482
53	1921	Cardiff	E L Poulton (Boot and Shoe)	ditto	810	213	6,417,910
54	1922	Southport	R B Walker (Agricultural Workers)	ditto	723	206	5,128,648
55	1923	Plymouth	J B Williams (Musicians' Union)	Fred Bramley	702	194	4,369,268
56	1924	Hull	A A Purcell (Furnishing Trades)	ditto	724	203	4,327,235
57	1925	Scarborough	A B Swales (Amalgamated Engineering Union)	ditto	727	205	4,350,982
58	1926	Bournemouth	Arthur Pugh (Iron and Steel Trades Confederation)	W M Citrine	696	207	4,365,619
59	1927	Edinburgh	George Hicks (Building Trade Workers)	ditto	646	204	4,163,994
60	1928	Swansea	Ben Turner (Textile Workers' Union)	ditto	621	196	3,874,842
61	1929	Belfast	B Tillet (Transport Workers)	W M Citrine	592	202	3,673,144
62	1930	Nottingham	J Beard (Workers' Union Group, T and GWU)	ditto	606	210	3,744,320
63	1931	Bristol	Arthur Hayday (General and Municipal Workers)	ditto	589	210	3,719,401
64	1932	Newcastle	John Bromley (Locomotive Engineers and Firemen)	ditto	578	209	3,613,273
65	1933	Brighton	A G Walkden (Railway Clerks Association)	ditto	566	208	3,367,911
66	1934	Weymouth	Andrew Conley (Tailors and Garment Workers)	ditto	575	210	3,294,581
67	1935	Margate	William Kean (Gold, Silver and Allied Trades)	Sir Walter Citrine	575	211	3,388,810
68	1936	Plymouth	A A H Findlay (Patternmakers)	ditto	603	214	3,614,551
69	1937	Norwich	Ernest Bevin (Transport and General Workers)	ditto	623	214	4,008,647
70	1938	Blackpool	H H Elvin (Clerks and Administrative Workers)	ditto	650	216	4,460,617
71	1939	Bridlington	J Hallsworth (Distributive and Allied Workers)	ditto	*490	217	4,669,186
72	1940	Southport	William Holmes (Agricultural Workers)	ditto	667	223	4,886,711
73	1941	Edinburgh	George Gibson (Mental Hospital Workers)	ditto	683	223	5,079,094
74	1942	Blackpool	Frank Wolstencroft (Woodworkers)	ditto	717	232	5,432,644
75	1943	Southport	Anne Loughlin (Tailors and Garment Workers)	ditto	760	230	6,024,411
76	1944	Blackpool	Ebby Edwards (Mineworkers)	ditto	730	190	6,642,317
77	1945	Blackpool	Ebby Edwards (Mineworkers)	ditto	762	191	6,575,654
78	1946	Brighton	Charles Dukes (General and Municipal Workers)	Vincent Tewson	794	192	6,671,120
79	1947	Southport	George W Thompson (Draughtsmen)	ditto	837	187	7,540,397
80	1948	Margate	Florence Hancock (Transport and General Workers)	ditto	859	188	7,791,470
81	1949	Bridlington	Sir William Lawther (Mineworkers)	ditto	890	187	7,937,091
82	1950	Brighton	H L Bullock (General and Municipal Workers)	Sir Vincent Tewson	913	186	7,883,355
83	1951	Blackpool	A Roberts (Card, Blowing and Ring Room Ops)	ditto	927	186	7,827,945
84	1952	Margate	Arthur Deakin (Transport and General Workers)	ditto	943	183	8,020,079
85	1953	Douglas	T O'Brien, MP (Theatrical and Kine Employees)	ditto	954	183	8,088,450
86	1954	Brighton	Jack Tanner (Amalgamated Engineering Union)	ditto	974	184	8,093,837
87	1955	Southport	C J Geddes (Union of Post Office Workers)	ditto	984	183	8,106,958
88	1956	Brighton	W B Beard (United Patternmakers Association)	ditto	1,000	186	8,263,741
89	1957	Blackpool	Sir Thomas Williamson (General and Municipal)	ditto	995	185	8,304,709
90	1958	Bournemouth	Tom Yates (National Union of Seamen)	ditto	993	185	8,337,325
91	1959	Blackpool	Robert Willis (London Typographical Society)	ditto	1,017	186	8,176,252
92	1960	Douglas	Claude Bartlett (Health Service Employees)	George Woodcock	996	184	8,128,251
93	1961	Portsmouth	Edward J Hill (United Society of Boilermakers)	ditto	984	183	8,299,393
94	1962	Blackpool	Dame Anne Godwin (Clerical Workers)	ditto	989	182	8,312,875
95	1963	Brighton	Frederick Hayday (General and Municipal Workers)	ditto	975	176	8,315,332
96	1964	Blackpool	George H Lowthian (Building Trade Workers)	ditto	997	175	8,325,790
97	1965	Brighton	Lord Collison (Agricultural Workers)	ditto	1,013	172	8,771,012
98	1966	Blackpool	Joseph O'Hagan (Blastfurnacemen)	ditto	1,048	170	8,867,522
99	1967	Brighton	Sir Harry Douglass (Iron and Steel Trades)	ditto	1,059	169	8,787,282
100	1968	Blackpool	Lord Wright (Amalgamated Weavers' Association)	ditto	1,051	160	8,725,604
101	1969	Portsmouth	John E Newton (Tailors and Garment Workers)	Victor Feather	1,034	155	8,875,381
102	1970	Brighton	Sir Sidney Greene (Railway)	ditto	1,061	150	9,402,170

No.	Date	Venue	President	General Secretary	Delegates	Unions	Members
103	1971	Blackpool	Lord Cooper (General and Municipal Workers)	ditto	1,064	142	10,002,204
104	1972	Brighton	George Smith (Construction Workers)	ditto	1,018	132	9,894,881
105	1973	Blackpool	Joseph Crawford (Colliery Overmen, Deputies)	Lionel Murray	991	126	10,001,419
106	1974	Brighton	Lord Allen (Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers)	ditto	1,032	109	10,002,224
107	1975	Blackpool	Marie Patterson (Transport and General Workers)	ditto	1,030	111	10,363,724
108	1976	Brighton	Cyril Plant (Inland Revenue Staff Federation)	ditto	1,114	113	11,036,326
109	1977	Blackpool	Marie Patterson (Transport and General Workers)	ditto	1,150	115	11,515,920
110	1978	Brighton	David Basnett (General and Municipal Workers)	ditto	1,172	112	11,865,390
111	1979	Blackpool	Tom Jackson (Post Office Workers)	ditto	1,200	112	12,128,078
112	1980	Brighton	Terry Parry (Fire Brigades)	ditto	1,203	109	12,172,508
113	1981	Blackpool	Alan Fisher (Public Employees)	ditto	1,188	108	11,601,413
114	1982	Brighton	Alan Sapper (Cinematograph and TV Technicians)	ditto	1,163	105	11,005,984
115	1983	Blackpool	Frank Chapple (Electrical and Plumbing Workers)	ditto	1,155	102	10,510,157
116	1984	Brighton	Ray Buckton (ASLEF)	Norman Willis	1,121	98	10,082,144
117	1985	Blackpool	Jack Eccles (General, Municipal and Boilermakers)	ditto	1,124	91	9,855,204
118	1986	Brighton	Ken Gill (TASS)	ditto	1,091	88	9,585,729
119	1987	Blackpool	Fred Jarvis (National Union of Teachers)	ditto	1,065	87	9,243,297
120	1988	Bournemouth	Clive Jenkins (Manufacturing Science Finance)	ditto	1,052	83	9,127,278
121	1989	Blackpool	Tony Christopher (Inland Revenue Staff)	ditto	1,006	78	8,652,318
122	1990	Blackpool	Ada Maddocks (NALGO)	ditto	985	78	8,405,246
123	1991	Glasgow	Alec Smith (GMB)	ditto	937	74	8,192,664
124	1992	Blackpool	Rodney Bickerstaffe (NUPE)	ditto	892	72	7,762,469
125	1993	Brighton	Alan Tuffin (UCW)	John Monks	874	69	7,303,419
126	1994	Blackpool	Jimmy Knapp (RMT)	ditto	878	68	7,298,262
127	1995	Brighton	L Mills (BIFU)	ditto	828	67	6,894,604
128	1996	Blackpool	Margaret Prosser (TGWU)	ditto	821	73	6,790,339
129	1997	Brighton	Tony Dubbins (GPMU)	ditto	827	75	6,756,544
130	1998	Blackpool	John Edmonds (GMB)	ditto	811	74	6,638,986
131	1999	Brighton	Lord MacKenzie (UNISON)	ditto	809	77	6,749,481
132	2000	Glasgow	Rita Donaghy OBE (UNISON)	ditto	772	76	6,745,907
133	2001	Brighton	Bill Morris (TGWU)	ditto	766	73	6,722,118
134	2002	Blackpool	Sir Tony Young (CWU)	ditto	765	70	6,685,353
135	2003	Brighton	Nigel de Gruchy (NASUWT)	Brendan Barber	783	69	6,672,815
136	2004	Brighton	Roger Lyons (Amicus)	ditto	723	70	6,423,694
137	2005	Brighton	Jeannie Drake (CWU)	ditto	727	66	6,452,267
138	2006	Brighton	Gloria Mills (UNISON)	ditto	742	63	6,463,159
139	2007	Brighton	Alison Shepherd (UNISON)	ditto	762	59	6,471,030
140	2008	Brighton	Dave Prentis (UNISON)	ditto	723	58	6,537,545
141	2009	Liverpool	Sheila Bearcroft (GMB)	ditto	695	61	6,201,359
142	2010	Manchester	Dougie Rooney (Unite)	ditto	645	57	6,135,126
143	2011	London	Michael Leahy (Community)	ditto	281	55	6,056,861
144	2012	Brighton	Paul Kenny (GMB)	ditto	565	53	5,977,178
145	2013	Bournemouth	Lesley Mercer (CSP)	Frances O'Grady	542	54	5,855,271
146	2014	Liverpool	Mohammad Taj (Unite)	ditto	533	53	5,786,734
147	2015	Brighton	Leslie Manasseh (Prospect)	ditto	544	52	5,766,187

Note: From 1869 to 1884, the figures in the final column of the above table included representatives of Trade Councils, causing some duplication  
 \*Actual attendance; credentials were issued to 659 delegates



## Section 5:

### Members of the General Council, 1921–2015

Names of members of the Parliamentary Committee which functioned from 1868 to 1921 are included in Reports up to 1976. From 1921 the General Council became the executive body of the TUC. Dates given below are of the year of the Congress at which appointment was made to the General Council, or in the event of election to fill a casual vacancy the year in which it took place.

- Abberley, B: 2005–13  
 Adams, J: 1992–98  
 Airlie, J: 1990–91  
 Alderson, R: 1984  
 Allen, AW: 1962–78  
 Allen, J: 1994–95  
 Allen, S: 2000–01  
 Allen, WP: 1940–47  
 Anderson, D: 2000–04  
 Anderson, WC: 1965–72  
 Auger, L: 2005–07  
 Baddeley, W: 1963–72  
 Bagnall, GH: 1939–47  
 Baird, R: 1987  
 Baker, FA: 1976–84  
 Bartlett, C: 1948–62  
 Bartlett, J: 2009  
 Basnett, D: 1966–85  
 Baty, JG: 1947–54  
 Baume, J: 2001–12  
 Bearcroft, S: 1997–2012  
 Beard, J: 1921–34  
 Beard, WD: 1947–66  
 Bell, J: 1937–45  
 Bell, JN: 1921–22  
 Benstead, J: 1944–47  
 Berry, H: 1935–37  
 \*Bevin, E: 1925–40  
 Bickerstaffe, R: 1982–2000  
 Biggs, J: 1991  
 Binks, G: 1998–2002  
 Birch, JA: 1949–61  
 Birch, R: 1975–78  
 Blower, C: 2008–15  
 Boateng, AF: 1994  
 Boddy, JR: 1978–82  
 \*Bondfield, M: 1921–23, 1925–29  
 Boothman, H: 1921–35  
 Bostock, F: 1947  
 Bothwell, JG: 1963–67  
 Bottini, RN: 1970–77  
 Bousted, M: 2003–12  
 Bowen, JW: 1921–27  
 Bowman, J: 1946–49  
 Boyd, JM: 1967–74, 1978–81  
 Brett, WH: 1989–97  
 Briginshaw, RW: 1965–74  
 Britton, EL: 1970–73  
 Brooke, C: 1989–95  
 Bromley, J: 1921–35  
 Brookman, K: 1992–98  
 Brown, J: 1936–45  
 Brown, Joanna: 2009–15  
 Brumwell, G: 1992–2004  
 Buck, LW: 1972–76  
 Buckton, RW: 1973–85  
 Burke, T: 1993–2002, 2008–15  
 Burrows, AW: 1947–48  
 Bussey, EW: 1941–46  
 Cameron, K: 1981–83, 1991–99  
 Camfield, B: 2000: 06  
 Campbell, J: 1953–57  
 Callighan, A: 1945–47  
 Cannon, L: 1965–70  
 Carey, M: 1998–2005  
 Carolan, J: 2005–15  
 Carr, J: 1989–92  
 Carrigan, D: 2001  
 Carron, WJ: 1954–67  
 Carter, J: 1989–92  
 Cartmail, G: 2005–15  
 Cash, M: 2014–15  
 Caton, B: 2001–9  
 Chadburn, R: 1981  
 Chalmers, J: 1977–79  
 Chapple, FJ: 1971–82  
 Chester, G: 1937–48  
 Chowcat J: 1998  
 Christie, L: 1988–92

Christopher, AMG: 1977–88  
 Clancy, M 2012–15  
 Coldrick, AP: 1968–71  
 Collinridge, F: 1961–62  
 Collison, H: 1953–69  
 Conley, A: 1921–48  
 Connolly, C: 1995  
 Connor, Sir Bill: 1997–2003  
 Cook, AJ: 1927–31  
 Cookson, B: 2010–15  
 Cooper, J: 1959–72  
 Cooper, T: 1996–99  
 Cortes, M 2012–15  
 \*\*Cousins, F: 1956–64, 1966–68  
 Covey, D: 1989–98  
 Cramp, CT: 1929–32  
 Crawford, J: 1949–32  
 Crawford, Joseph: 1960–72  
 Crow, R: 2003–04, 2006, 2010–14  
 Curran, K: 2003– 04  
 Dale, A 2012–15  
 Daly, L: 1971–80  
 Daly, JD: 1983–89  
 Dann, AC: 1945–52  
 Davenport, J: 1921, 1924–33  
 Davies, DG: 1986–96  
 Davies, ED: 1984  
 Davies, DH: 1967–74  
 Davies, O: 1983–86  
 Deakin, A: 1940–54  
 Dean, B: 1985–91  
 Dear, J: 2002–10  
 De Gruchy, N: 1989–2002  
 Dhamrait, M: 1995–2000  
 Dickinson, M: 2009–15  
 Doherty, G: 2004–10  
 Donaghy, R: 1987–99  
 Donnett, AM: 1973–75  
 Doughty, GH: 1968–73  
 Douglass, H: 1953–66  
 Drake, JLP: 1990–2007  
 Drain, GA: 1973–82  
 Dubbins, AD: 1984–2007  
 Duffy, D: 1988–91  
 Duffy, T: 1978–85  
 Dukes, C: 1934–46  
 Dunn, V: 2001–2002  
 Dwyer, P: 1992–94  
 Dyson, F: 1975–78  
 Eastwood, H: 1948  
 Eccles, JF: 1973–85  
 Eccles, T: 1949–58  
 Edmonds, J: 1986–2002  
 Edmondson, LF: 1970–77  
 Edward, E: 1931–46  
 Ellis, JN: 1988–91  
 Elsom, R: 1996–97  
 Elvin, HH: 1925–39  
 Evans, AM: 1977–84  
 Evans, D: 1991–99  
 Evans, L: 1945–52  
 Evans, RL: 1985–91  
 Evans, W: 1996–99  
 Evans, WJ: 1960–62  
 Exall, M: 2006–12  
 Farthing, WJ: 1935–43  
 Fawcett, L: 1940–51  
 Fenelon, B: 1998  
 Ferns, S: 2005–14  
 Figgins, JB: 1947–52  
 Findlay, AAH: 1921–40  
 Fisher, AW: 1968–81  
 Flanagan, L 2012–14  
 Ford, SWG: 1963–70  
 Forden, L: 1958–65  
 Forshaw, W: 1933–34  
 Foster, J: 1999–2003  
 Foulkes, P: 2006  
 Fysh, M: 2001–10  
 Gallagher, G: 2007–09  
 Gallie, CN: 1940–46  
 Garland, R: 1983  
 Garley, A: 2005–10  
 Gates, P: 2001, 2003  
 Geddes, CJ: 1946–56  
 Geldart, J: 1991–94  
 George, E: 1988  
 Gibson, A: 1988–99  
 Gibson, G: 1928–47  
 Gilchrist, A: 2000 –04  
 Gill, K: 1974–91  
 Gill, WW: 1983–86  
 Gillan, S: 2010–15  
 Gladwin, DO: 1986–89

Godrich, J: 2003–15  
 Godwin, A: 1949–62  
 Golding, J: 1986–87  
 Gormley, J: 1973–79  
 Gosling, H: 1921–23  
 Graham, JA: 1982–83, 1985  
 Grant, J: 2002  
 Grantham, RA: 1971–74, 1983–91  
 Gray, D: 1982–83  
 Green, GF: 1960–62  
 Greendale, W: 1978–85  
 Greene, SF: 1957–74  
 Gretton, S: 1969–72  
 Grieve, CD: 1973–82  
 Griffiths, AE: 1963–69  
 Guy, G – 2011  
 Guy, LG: 1977–82  
 Hagger, P: 1988–94  
 Haigh, E: 1982  
 Hall, D: 1996–97  
 Hall, E: 1954–59  
 Hallsworth, J: 1926–46  
 Hallworth, A: 1955–59  
 Halpin, A: 1996, 1999, 2001– 08  
 Hammond, EA: 1983–87  
 Hancock, F: 1935–57  
 Handley, RC: 1938–39  
 Hanley, P: 1968–69  
 Hannett, J: 2004–12  
 Harrison, HN: 1937–47  
 Harvey, D: 2008–15  
 Hawkes, P: 1992–2004  
 Hayday, A: 1922–36  
 Hayday, F: 1950–72  
 Hayes, W: 2002–15  
 Haynes, E: 1964–68  
 Henry, J: 1989–90  
 Hewitt, H: 1952–63  
 Heywood, WL: 1948–56  
 Hicks, G: 1921–40  
 Hill, AL: 1955–57  
 Hill, D: 1992  
 Hill, EJ: 1948–64  
 Hill, J: 1921–35  
 Hill, JC: 1958  
 Hill, S: 1963–67  
 Hillon, B: 1987–97  
 Hindle, J: 1930–36  
 Hodgson, M: 1936–47  
 Hogarth, W: 1962–72  
 Holloway, P: 1997–2000  
 Holmes, W: 1928–44  
 Houghton, D: 1952–59  
 Howell, FL: 1970–73  
 Hunt, S: 2002–15  
 Isaacs, GA: 1932–45  
 Jackson, Sir Ken: 1993–2001  
 Jackson, T: 1967–81  
 Jarman, C: 1942–46  
 Jarvis, FF: 1974–88  
 Jenkins, C: 1974–87  
 Jennings, K: 2013–15  
 Jinkinson, A: 1990–95  
 Johnson, A: 1993–94  
 Jones, J: 1934–38  
 Jones, JL: 1968–77  
 Jones, JW: 1967–69  
 Jones, RT: 1946–56  
 Jones, RT: 1921–32  
 Jones, WE: 1950–59  
 Jordan, WB: 1986–94  
 Jowett, W: 1986–87  
 Kaylor, J: 1932–42  
 Kean, W: 1921–45  
 Kearns, T: 2008–15  
 Keates, C: 2004–15  
 Kelly, J: 2004–07  
 Kelly, L: 2004  
 Kenny, P: 2000–15  
 Keys, WH: 1975–84  
 King, J: 1972–74  
 Knapp, J: 1983–2000  
 Laird, G: 1979–81  
 Lambert, DAC: 1984–93  
 Landles, P: 1995–2003  
 Lascelles, D: 2001–05  
 Lawther, W: 1935–53  
 Leahy, M: 1999–2014  
 Lee, P: 1933  
 Lenahan, P: 1991–92  
 Leslie, J: 1925  
 Littlewood, TL: 1968–70  
 Lloyd, G: 1973–82  
 Losinska, K: 1986

Loughlin, A: 1929–52  
 Love, I: 1987–94  
 Lowthian, GH: 1952–72  
 Lynes, A: 2010–13  
 Lyons, CA: 1983–88  
 Lyons, J: 1983–90  
 Lyons, R: 1989–2003  
 Macgougan, J: 1970–78  
 MacKenzie, HU (Lord): 1987–99  
 Mackney, P: 2002–06  
 Macreadie, J: 1987  
 Maddocks, A: 1977–90  
 Maddocks, WH: 1979–81  
 Manasseh, L: 2001–15  
 Martin, A: 1960–70  
 Mather, S: 2013–15  
 Mayer, M: 2007–08  
 McAndrews, A: 1949–54  
 McAvoy, D: 1989–2003  
 McCaffrey, F: 2011–15  
 McCall, W: 1984–88  
 McCarthy, CP– 1983–84  
 McCarthy, P: 2011–15  
 McCluskey, L: 2007–15  
 McCulloch, L: 2003  
 McCullough, E: 1958–62  
 McDermott, JF: 1949–57  
 McGahey, M: 1982–85  
 McGarvey, D: 1965–76  
 McGonigle, A: 1992  
 McGovern, S: 2010–15  
 McGrath, H: 1995–98  
 McGregor, M: 2004  
 McGurk, J: 1932  
 Mckay, J: 2002–03  
 McKnight, J: 2000–07  
 Mercer, L: 2000–14  
 Mills, G: 1994–2015  
 Mills, LA: 1983–95  
 Moore, JH: 1922–23  
 Morgan, B: 1995  
 Morgan, G: 1981–89  
 Morris, W: 1988–2002  
 Morritt, M: 1989–91  
 Morton, J: 1975–84, 1987–89  
 Murnin, H: 1921  
 Murphy, S: 2012–15  
 Murray, A: 2011–13  
 Murray, JG: 1980–82  
 Neal, J: 2007–2010  
 Naesmith, A: 1945–52  
 Nevin, E: 1985–88  
 Newman, J: 1990–91  
 Newton, JE: 1953–69  
 Nicholls, D: 2005  
 Nichols, G: 2000–02, 2005–15  
 Nicholas, HR: 1965–66  
 Nicholson, B: 1983–87  
 Noon, P: 2001–12  
 O’Brien, T: 1940–69  
 Ogden, JW: 1921–29  
 O’Hagen, J: 1953–66  
 O’Kane, E: 2003  
 Openshaw, R: 1948–56  
 Orrell, B: 1999–2008  
 Owen, J: 1948–52  
 Page, M: 1988–89  
 Papworth, AF: 1944–48  
 Parry, T: 1968–80  
 Patterson, CM: 1963–84  
 Payne, C: 2008 –09, 2012–15  
 Paynter, W: 1960  
 Peel, JA: 1966–72  
 Pemberton, S: 1974–81  
 Penman, D: 2012–15  
 Pickering, R: 1985–96  
 Pinder, P: 2001–2003  
 Pinkney, P: 2014  
 Plant, CTH: 1963–75  
 Poil, T: 2005–15  
 Poole, L: 1957–58  
 Poulton, EL: 1921–29  
 Prentis, D: 1996–2015  
 Prime, AM: 1968–76  
 Prosser, M: 1985–95  
 Prudence, J: 1995–99  
 Pugh, A: 1921–35  
 Purcell, AA: 1921–27  
 Purkiss, B: 1994–99  
 Qualie, M: 1923–25  
 Reamsbottom, BA: 1992–2001  
 Richards, T: 1925–31  
 Rickhuss, R: 2014–15  
 Ritchie, A: 2005–10

Rix, M: 2001–2002  
 Roberts, A (Sir): 1940–62  
 Roberts, A: 1967–71  
 Robinson, A: 2011–13  
 Robinson, SA: 1959–69  
 Rogers, S: 2002–08  
 Rooney, D: 1998–2010  
 Rooney, M: 1990–2002  
 Rosser, R: 2000: 2003  
 Rown, J: 1921–34  
 Russell, JG: 1982–86  
 Sage, M: 2009–15  
 Sanders, B: 2007  
 Sapper, AL: 1970–83  
 Saville, E: 2012–15  
 Scanlon, H: 1968–77  
 Scard, D: 1990–2000  
 Scargill, A: 1980–82, 1986–87  
 Scott, J: 1961  
 Scrivens, EM: 1982–86  
 Serwotka, M: 2002–15  
 Sexton, J: 1921  
 Sharp, L: 1957–65  
 Shaw, A: 1929–38  
 Sheldon, J: 1992–97  
 Shepherd, A: 1995–2012  
 Sherwood, W: 1934–36  
 Simpson, D: 2002–10  
 Sinnott, S: 2005–07  
 Sirs, W: 1975–84  
 Skewes, J: 2015  
 Skinner, H: 1921–31  
 Slater, JH: 1974–82  
 Slater, JW: 1972–73  
 Smillie, R: 1921–36  
 Smith, A: 1921  
 Smith, AR: 1979–92  
 Smith, E: 2007–15  
 Smith, GF: 1959–78  
 Smith, H: 1922–24, 1931  
 Smith, J: 2007–15  
 Smith, LJ: 1980–87  
 Smith, P: 1999–2002  
 Smith, R: 1957–66  
 Smithies, FA: 1983–89  
 Snape, L: 2001–15  
 Sonnet, K: 2001–06  
 Spackman, EW: 1945–46  
 Spanswick, EAG: 1977–82  
 Spence, WR: 1931–41  
 Squance, WJR: 1936–39  
 Stanistreet, M: 2011–15  
 Stanley, BC: 1983–85  
 Steele, NJ: 1983–90  
 Stevens, L: 1983  
 Stevenson, RB: 1984–89  
 Stewart, J: 2011–15  
 Stott, W: 1936–39  
 Stuart, P: 2004–15  
 Sullivan, C: 2014–15  
 Swales, AB: 1921–34  
 Sweeney, E: 1996–2006  
 Sweeney, N: 2013–15  
 Swindell, B: 1962–65  
 Switzer, B: 1993–97  
 Symons, E: 1989–95  
 Taj, M: 2000–15  
 Talbot, P: 1999–2008  
 Tallon, WM: 1957–66  
 Tami, M: 1999–2000  
 Tanner, J: 1943–53  
 Tansley, C: 2012–15  
 Taylor, S: 2003: 05  
 Thomas, JH: 1921, 1925–28  
 Thomas, KR: 1977–81  
 Thomas, P: 1989–91  
 Thomson, GW: 1935–47  
 Thorburn, W: 1990  
 Thorne, W: 1921–33  
 Thorneycroft, GB: 1948–52  
 Thurston, J: 1999–2004  
 Tiffin, AE: 1955  
 Tillet, B: 1921–31  
 Todd, R: 1984–91  
 Townley, WR: 1930–36  
 Tuffin, AD: 1982–92  
 Turner, B: 1921–28  
 Turner, J: 1921–24  
 Turner, M: 1981–86  
 Turner, P: 1981–88  
 Turner, S: 2011–15  
 Twomey, M: 1989–96  
 Urwin, CH: 1969–79  
 Vannet, M: 1997–2001

Varley, J: 1921–25, 1926–34  
Wade, JF: 1983  
Walkden, AG: 1921–25  
Walker, RB: 1921–27  
Walsh, B: 1950, 1957–59  
Walsh, J: 2005–10  
Ward, B: 1985  
Ward, D: 2015  
Warrillow, E: 1997–1999  
Warwick, D: 1989–91  
Webber, WJP: 1953–62  
Weakley, J: 1985, 1987–94  
Weighell, S: 1975–82  
Weller, S: 2011–15  
Whatley, WHP: 1979–85  
White, J: 1990–92  
Whyman, JR: 1983, 1985–89  
Wilkinson, F: 1993–96  
Williams, A: 1985–91  
Williams, DO: 1983–86  
Williams, JB: 1921–24  
Williams, RW: 1938–46  
Williamson, T: 1947–61  
Willis, R: 1947–64  
Wilson, F: 2007–15  
Winsett, J: 1986  
Wolstencroft, F: 1928–48  
Wood, L: 1979–84  
Wood, W: 1936–37  
Woodhouse, T: 2008–15  
Woodley, T: 2003–10  
Wrack, M: 2006–15  
Wright, LT: 1953–67  
Yates, T: 1947–60  
Young, AI: 1989–2001

\*Resigned on appointment as Minister of Labour

\*\*Resigned on appointment as Minister of Technology, 1964