

Report of Congress 2014

The 146th Annual Trades Union Congress
7–10 September 2014, Liverpool

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General Council members

2014–2015

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

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

Billy Hayes
Communication
Workers Union

Sally Hunt
University and College
Union

Karen Jennings
UNISON

Tony Kearns
Communication
Workers Union

Chris Keates
NASUWT

Paul Kenny
GMB

Leslie Manasseh MBE
(chair)
Prospect

Sue Mather
Community

Fern McCaffrey
GMB

Paul McCarthy
GMB

Len McCluskey
Unite

Sean McGovern
Unite

Lesley Mercer
Chartered Society of
Physiotherapy

Gloria Mills CBE
UNISON

Steve Murphy
Union of Construction,
Allied Trades and
Technicians

Ged Nichols
Accord

Christine Payne
Equity

Dave Penman
FDA

Peter Pinkney
National Union of Rail,
Maritime and Transport
Workers

Tim Poil
Nationwide Group Staff
Union

Dave Prentis
UNISON

Roy Rickhuss
Community

Malcolm Sage
GMB

Eddie Saville
Hospital Consultants
and Specialists'
Association

Mark Serwotka
Public and Commercial
Services Union

Eleanor Smith
UNISON

John Smith
Musicians' Union

Liz Snape MBE
UNISON

Michelle Stanistreet
National Union of
Journalists

Jane Stewart
Unite

Patricia Stuart
Unite

Niamh Sweeney
Association of Teachers
and Lecturers

Mohammad Taj
Unite

Chris Tansley
UNISON

Steve Turner
Unite

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 2014 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 Child poverty and the cost of education

Congress deplores the coalition government's ideologically driven economic and social policies that have led to an unacceptable rise in child poverty and homelessness since 2010.

Congress further deplores the failure of the coalition government to secure progress towards meeting the national targets under the Child Poverty Act 2010 and notes that, instead:

- i. levels of child poverty are set to increase by over one million as a direct result of the policies of the coalition government
- ii. many thousands of children are coming to school hungry because of the coalition government's welfare policies.

Congress is deeply concerned by research that confirms that the cost of living crisis is impacting on children and young people's access to education.

Congress is further concerned by the coalition government's reforms that give schools freedom to apply financial charges for educational provision and 'optional extras', which is resulting in access to education increasingly being on the basis of parents' ability to pay.

Congress calls on the General Council to take urgent action to press the main political parties to make a manifesto commitment to:

- a. end child poverty by 2020
- b. require all public sector bodies and bodies in receipt of public funding to advance equality for children and young people from low-income backgrounds
- c. remove the freedom for state-funded schools to charge for education and impose statutory standards on schools charging for 'optional extras'.

NASUWT

13 Immigration Bill

Congress notes the positive contribution made by migrant communities to the UK. It rejects the myths and lies spread by the coalition government and some media that has led to an increase in racist abuse and attacks.

Congress believes that attacks on pay, jobs, working conditions and public services is not as a result of immigrants but of government attacks, in line with their austerity agenda.

Congress rejects the government's racist Immigration Bill which will significantly reduce the right of appeal against deportation and compels landlords, public and private sector staff to police the immigration status of tenants and service users. This undermines the right to family life enshrined in the Human Rights Act.

Congress applauds the work of Movement Against Xenophobia (MAX) in opposing the Immigration Bill.

Congress calls on the TUC Race Relations Committee and affiliates to campaign in opposition to the Immigration Bill, to include:

- i. calling on all constituency MPs to oppose the bill
- ii. calling on the Labour Party to give a commitment to repeal the Bill
- iii. supporting and joining the MAX campaign
- iv. opposing and dispelling myths and lies spread about migrants as part of wider anti-austerity and anti-cuts campaigns.

TUC Black Workers' Conference

15 Onshoring

Congress welcomes the increasing prevalence of onshoring – particularly in the textiles sector – with some studies indicating one in six UK manufacturers intend to bring production back from overseas, far exceeding the number planning to move jobs abroad. Congress notes the recent PwC report, which forecasts that onshoring could lead to the creation of up to 200,000 new UK jobs over the next decade. Congress further notes that a significant proportion of these jobs are expected to be concentrated in manufacturing and some traditional industries such as textiles, and as such will make an important contribution to rebalancing the economy away from financial services and London.

Congress recognises that onshoring should present trade unions with huge opportunities in terms of organising new workplaces and supply chains and that trade unions must be ready to organise effectively and represent these new groups of workers. Congress acknowledges the paramount importance of ensuring these new

jobs are good jobs; it remembers Rana Plaza and jobs onshored must not undercut existing employment or standards at work. Congress recognises that the General Council must campaign for policies to encourage future onshoring but also, crucially, to ensure our existing industries and jobs are sustainable and remain on our shores.

Therefore, Congress calls on the TUC to campaign for UK government policies that support onshoring through sustainable employment, the promotion of UK industrial supply chains and increased investment in skills and Apprenticeships.

Community

16 British shipping

Congress reaffirms its opposition to the spending cuts imposed on the Maritime & Coastguard Agency (MCA) and notes with continuing concern the detrimental effect on shipping safety that is arising from reduced resources and staffing.

Congress notes with alarm recent internal documentation suggesting that the MCA could, within five to 10 years, lose the capacity to fulfill its international obligations to maintain safety on domestic ships and vessels visiting UK ports.

Furthermore, Congress calls upon the TUC to actively support the concerned unions in resisting attempts to delegate further MCA work to outside bodies such as the Classification Societies and resist the Agency's declared strategy of moving to minimum international standards in an attempt to compete with other registers such as flags of convenience, as opposed to ensuring that the UK maintains a high quality ship register dedicated to safety of life at sea, the protection of the marine environment, the highest standards of competence and decent working conditions for all those working onboard British registered vessels and globally.

Nautilus International

18 Equality monitoring in the creative industries

On its website, Arts Council England (ACE) states: "We will forge a new relationship with the arts sector on issues of diversity and equality, characterised by shared discourse and

the sector taking the lead with our support." One of the BBC's stated aims is to "advance equal opportunities to diversify and develop our workforce and our senior leaders so that they better reflect our audiences."

Yet our stages and screens utterly fail to reflect the full diversity and gender balance of the UK's population and workforce.

Congress welcomes ACE's recent announcement that it will require equality monitoring of performer employment as part of the funding process. It is incumbent upon all organisations subject to the Public Sector Equality Duty and in receipt of large sums of public money to undertake equality monitoring.

Congress believes that it is unacceptable that broadcasters have over the years failed to undertake or transparently publish comprehensive on-screen equality monitoring data. How can arts organisations or broadcasters meaningfully promote equal opportunities in the absence of this data?

Congress calls on the General Council to support Equity's campaign to secure a commitment from all Arts Councils, Creative Scotland, public service television broadcasters and Ofcom- licensed commercial television broadcasters to:

- i. equality monitoring of performers and creative teams
- ii. the transparent publication of equality monitoring data.

Equity

19 The future of local newspapers

Congress notes the continuing crisis in local newspapers:

- i. more than 140 newspapers closed since March 2011
- ii. local, paid-for daily newspapers losing subscribers at 14 per cent a year and weeklies by eight per cent
- iii. advertising revenues predicted to fall by more than eight per cent this year
- iv. a quarter of local government areas not covered by a daily local newspaper
- v. a further 35 per cent covered by only one daily newspaper, with three quarters of these monopolies controlled by just three companies – Newsquest, Trinity Mirror and Local World.

Local newspaper owners are attempting to fill their papers with free copy and photographs submitted by readers whilst struggling to service debts incurred by ill-judged acquisition strategies. Short-term management strategies aimed at protecting shareholder value are achieving the opposite, with huge cuts in staff numbers, unacceptable workloads and stress, and insufficient investment in digital services, threatening the long-term future of the industry.

Congress recognises the efforts of the NUJ in defending jobs and quality journalism – journalism that provides entertainment, holds local politicians and businesses to account, and supplies vital community information.

Congress calls on the General Council and affiliates to support a campaign for a government-commissioned inquiry into the future of local newspapers, to consider new models of ownership and how newspapers can be protected as community assets, limiting owners' ability to close publications overnight and allowing time for consultation to protect their future. Congress reaffirms its commitment to campaigning for reform of newspaper ownership, greater plurality and a more diverse press.

National Union of Journalists

20 Venues under threat

The MU and its members are concerned about a worrying trend of long-established music venues being forced to close after only one or two complaints from neighbours, which often result in the issuing of noise abatement notices from the local authority.

This is becoming more problematic as a result of the increasing numbers of new flats and houses being built in the vicinity of existing music venues. New residents are often unaware of the music venue when they purchase the property and then put in noise complaints.

Congress would like to see the introduction of an 'Agent of Change Principle' law, such as that in Australia, which would put the legal responsibility of remedying any issues on to the person or persons who have brought about the changes that inadvertently affect an individual's business.

Under this law, in the case of a property developer building homes in the vicinity of a

music venue, it would be the property developer's legal and financial responsibility to use sound-proofing to prevent any inconvenience to the residents and the music venue bears no responsibility, other than to continue to operate within the terms of their existing licence.

Congress calls on the General Council to support the MU's calls for a change in the law to protect music venues.

Musicians' Union

21 Collective and sectoral bargaining

Congress recognises with alarm that:

- i. workers are suffering the longest decline in living standards since the 1870s
- ii. the wages share of GDP has fallen from 66 per cent in 1975 to 54 per cent today
- iii. collective bargaining coverage over the same period has fallen from 83 per cent to 22 per cent
- iv. personal debt and the use of PDLs has exploded as workers borrow more to compensate for inadequate wages
- v. in-work benefits subsidising low-wage employers are increasing.

Congress believes that increasing wage share of GDP is a central element of sustainable economic growth and that collective bargaining between unions and employers or employers' associations and stronger trade unions delivers a more just, equal and fair society, protecting workers and reducing poverty.

Sector-level bargaining provides a mechanism through which wages and conditions can be established for all workers, as well as other matters of strategic importance, such as training and skills.

Congress condemns the government's abolition of the Agricultural Wages Board for England and Wales as a further ideological attack on collective bargaining.

Congress applauds the Britain Needs a Pay Rise campaign, welcomes the General Council's campaign to support and promote collective bargaining and calls on the General Council to develop the campaign further to:

- a. establish sector-level mechanisms that ensure collective bargaining is re-established across core sectors of the economy, including agriculture

- b. provide for full compliance, monitoring and enforcement of agreements
- c. promote the extension of sector agreements through contract compliance within supply chains and in public procurement of goods and services.

Unite

25 £10 minimum wage

Congress agrees that the General Council campaigns for a minimum wage of £10 per hour for all workers. This would lift five million people out of in-work poverty. Currently the benefits system is used to prop up low pay and to bail out exploitative employers.

Raising the minimum a worker can be paid to £10 per hour would significantly reduce pressure on the benefits system, freeing up funds for much-needed investment in the NHS, education and other welfare programmes.

While Congress realises some employers would claim not to be able to pay £10, Congress believes the government should means-test them by reviewing company profits, bonuses paid to senior executives and dividends paid to shareholders to ensure they are not out of line with employee rates of pay.

Bakers, Food and Allied Workers Union

27 Ferry standards

Congress notes with concern the evidence showing significant levels of substandard pay and conditions for many workers on ferries operating in and out of British ports. Congress also notes the recent plans by one leading operator employing hundreds of British and Irish seafarers to seek drastic cuts in the working conditions of its seafarers on Irish Sea services, claiming that it needed to compete with operators using low-cost foreign crews and in violation of minimum wage legislation. Congress therefore recognises the danger of a race to the bottom for jobs and conditions in the ferry industry and the threat that such developments pose to the recruitment and retention of British seafarers.

Congress urges the TUC to support the campaigns by the maritime unions for the government to act urgently to protect standards on ships operating services in and out of British ports – including enforcement of national

minimum wage provisions and work permit requirements – and for Europe to agree a directive upholding the principle of decent conditions on ferries running intra-EU services. Congress also urges the TUC to link up with the ICTU with a view to joint campaigns to support the maritime unions' objectives of decent pay for all seafarers and specifically those engaged on vessels serving the Irish Sea routes.

Nautilus International

36 A new model for school inspection

Congress notes the excessive stress and strain placed upon the education workforce by Ofsted's inspection regime and is concerned that the inspectorate is subject to political interference and is the enforcer of government policy, aiding – for example – the academisation of state schools. Congress believes Ofsted has no adequate systems to achieve consistency between inspections, undermines attempts at school improvement and risks children's education.

School and college accountability is important. Congress believes that education would be best served by less pressured, local inspection systems, quality assured by a national body and using up-to-date experience of classroom teaching and best practice inspection. By being implemented locally, with the involvement of current classroom teachers, inspection judgments would be respected, unique school circumstances better understood, and improvement plans would be relevant and effectively supported.

Congress calls on the TUC to bring together education, inspection and improvement professionals to develop a new model for school, college and early years inspection and improvement, which capitalises on the talents each can bring and is based upon the principles of:

- i. independence from ministerial and private sector interests
- ii. collaboration and support
- iii. valuing professional expertise and professional empowerment
- iv. mutual respect between inspectors and inspected
- v. fairness, consistency and transparency in making judgments, collating stakeholder perceptions, and dealing

with complaints against both schools and the inspection process.

ATL

37 Post-16 education for all

Congress notes that public investment in further, higher and adult education is essential for the UK's social and economic future and that a clear link exists between the conditions of work for staff and the quality of provision.

Congress therefore deplores the high incidence across this vital sector of casualised employment including zero-hours contracts; widespread job insecurity and redundancies among teachers and researchers; and taxpayer-subsidised privatisation of FE and HE provision, and utterly rejects recent dog-whistle moves by both the Tories and Labour towards compulsion and benefit loss as the answer to youth unemployment.

Congress instructs the General Council to highlight the importance of post-16 education in the run-up to the general election, raise the issues of job losses and casualisation at every opportunity and argue for a genuine, attractive and properly funded education and training offer for all young adults rather than compulsion.

University and College Union

The following amendment was ACCEPTED by the mover:

Insert new paragraph 3:

"Congress believes that the government must also focus on the continuing need for Apprenticeships across industry. Apprenticeships form a vital part of the solution to the UK's future skills challenge, skills providing the country with the key to greater productivity. Union-negotiated training agreements could facilitate wider uptake of Apprenticeships."

Unite

41 Access to NHS services for vulnerable people

Congress is concerned that within the current trend of service reorganisations and redesigns the most vulnerable people within our communities are experiencing increasing difficulties in accessing NHS services that they need, including podiatry.

The reason for this is not only physical barriers including location of clinics and clinicians but because the criteria for accessing podiatry and other NHS services are changing.

The consequences of delays or not accessing podiatric treatment can be catastrophic to patients. Loss of limbs or loss of life in extreme circumstances is not uncommon but almost entirely preventable if services are accessed at an early stage.

The financial impact to the UK economy, patients and their families runs into many millions of pounds due to this lack of access to treatment – treatment for what are largely preventable conditions that can cause family income to be drastically reduced which increases poverty and hardship, especially within the most vulnerable groups of our society.

Congress therefore calls on the TUC and the wider trade union movement to campaign to highlight the issues of access criteria to services and the location of services, within the All Together for the NHS campaign and wider public sector campaigns. These campaigns should be backed up by research that examines access to service and criteria issues and the effects that lack of access has on patients, the economy and levels of poverty within the UK.

Society of Chiropodists and Podiatrists

The following amendment was ACCEPTED by the mover:

Add new final paragraph:

"Congress is also concerned that those with mental impairments are particularly disadvantaged in accessing NHS services and calls on the General Council to actively work with all relevant mental health charities, e.g. MIND and others with proven expertise in this area."

Society of Radiographers

42 Bullying in the NHS

As bullying persists, whistle-blowers are silenced and the culture of fear in the NHS continues. The Secretary of State is failing in his duty to care for the carers. Day after day, hospital consultants and specialists are having to cope with and face up to the stresses of workplace bullying.

Congress knows that bullying in the NHS starts from the very top, and works its way

down the many chains of command. In its wake it creates intolerable anxiety levels, relationship breakdowns, mental health issues and eventual burn out. Throughout this journey patient care is bound to be affected, yet the consequences of reporting bullying behaviour and raising concerns can be a step too far for many. They may worry that the culture of fear, common in so many NHS institutions, will lead to even more victimisation, isolation and in many cases disciplinary action.

While we all know the saying we should “stand up to bullies” the reality in the NHS is that if you do, you might lose your job or even worse, career. Report after report has exposed bullying cultures in NHS organisations over the years but still it exists. Congress calls on the General Council to work with affiliates in the NHS to campaign actively to expose bullying in the NHS, to conduct a detailed piece of research into workplace bullying in the NHS and to report its findings and conclusions in 2015.

Hospital Consultants and Specialists Association

43 Heritage in a cold climate

Congress recognises and celebrates the positive contribution employees working in heritage, arts and culture have on the UK. The sector provides jobs, stimulates the economy, supports tourism, and improves well-being and social inclusion.

- i Twenty per cent of those who visit museums are more likely to report good health.
- ii A report by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport concluded that cultural participation had a monetary value of around £90 per month, per person.
- iii An Oxford Economics investigation concluded that for every £1 invested in culture and heritage, £5 is delivered back in value to society.
- iv Visits to museums, galleries and heritages sites in the UK are increasing.
- v Support for public funding is rising sharply (from 49 per cent in 2012 to 56 per cent in 2013 according to the Arts Council).

And yet, government funding to these organisations has been decimated in recent years resulting in pay stagnation, the loss of skills and expertise in many areas, and reduced community activities. Morale is worryingly low.

We may only realise the impact of these cuts when it is too late.

Congress calls on the General Council to press the government to increase financial investment in heritage, culture and the arts.

Prospect

46 Oppose the privatisation of children’s services

Congress is appalled at the government-proposed wholesale privatisation of children’s services. Decisions about vulnerable children, including removing them from their families, are some of the most difficult and sensitive ones that child protection professionals have to make yet Michael Gove considered this work could be outsourced for profit.

Congress believes establishing a market in child protection would create perverse incentives for private companies to either take more children into care or leave too many living within dangerous families.

Napo is already witnessing the chaos, confusion and increased risks arising from government efforts to privatise a huge part of the probation service despite the work and the staff being awarded the gold standard for service provision. The government repeated the same argument about private companies providing children’s services to “encourage innovation and improve outcomes for children”.

Whilst pre-election considerations and immediate campaigning by Napo and others in the sector contributed to these plans being put on hold for now, Congress must be vigilant and ready if they re-emerge post an election.

Congress calls on the TUC to mount a concerted campaign against any proposals to privatise children’s services by:

- i alerting parliament to the dangers to children, families, and communities inherent in proposals that see vulnerable children and families exploited for financial gain
- ii ensuring that resources continue to be directed at providing good public services for children and families on a ‘not for profit’ basis.

Napo

The following amendment was ACCEPTED by the mover:

Insert new paragraph 3:

“Congress asserts that such plans lack any evidence base. The government claims to have listened to concerns, but has left the back door open for profit-making companies to set up non-profit subsidiaries. Any outsourcing of these sensitive functions will cause problems of fragmentation and diluted accountability.”

In existing paragraph 4, line 4, delete “put on hold for now” and replace with “limited to non-profit organisations”

UNISON

47 Empowering the voice of young people

The pace and volume of education reform places enormous pressure on local authorities to respond to change whilst maintaining necessary services for children and families. The projected reduction in government funding in the period 2014–2018 compromises local authorities’ abilities to provide these key services.

The implementation of the Children and Families Act this month will create yet more responsibilities and duties for local authorities.

Whilst broadly supportive of the reforms within the Act Congress fears that there are insufficient resources to deliver its many intended changes.

Involving children and young people in their own learning, education and decision-making is a key element of the new Act and underlines the commitment to be ambitious for children with additional needs and for those suffering from the consequences of poverty and social exclusion.

Congress believes educational psychologists help to understand children’s behaviour, interpreting and responding to their ideas and views, whilst supporting other professionals in early years, schools, colleges and other settings to embed this into their everyday practice, particularly when conducting the person-centred assessment, planning and review procedures demanded by the Children and Families Act. The continuing decrease in funding for specialist support services threatens to undermine this work.

Congress believes that all children have a right to have their voices heard and will continue to work to reverse the government’s austerity programme, not least because of its

impact on the ability of local authorities to be able to provide high quality specialist children’s services.

Association of Educational Psychologists

48 Valuing diversity – developing talent

Congress recognises that citizens should rightly expect those who manage and deliver public services to reflect the diverse population they serve. A public service that does so – from the civil servants who draft policy to those delivering frontline services - is more likely to understand and address the needs of the public it serves.

Congress welcomes the positive role that trade unions can play in this objective, as evidenced by the FDA’s public sector mentoring scheme, which matched undergraduates from diverse backgrounds with graduates on the civil service management development programme, the Fast Stream. This project delivered key mentoring opportunities for Fast Stream graduates, helped support undergraduates as they considered their future career options and encouraged a more diverse pool of applicants to the Fast Stream, which remains a high quality and much sought after development scheme.

Congress recognises that more must be done – particularly at senior levels – to ensure that public services genuinely reflect the broader population, but rejects crude targets and definitions that are more about soundbite politics rather than a genuine commitment to diversity.

Congress calls on the government to invest in a long-term integrated talent pathway for public servants – from Apprenticeships through to the most senior levels, including graduate development programmes – that genuinely supports the promotion of talent and ensures equality of opportunity.

FDA

49 Floods and climate change

The winter of 2013–2014 was the wettest on record with around 8,000 homes and 3,000 commercial properties flooded.

Congress applauds the tremendous work carried out by firefighters and paramedics, Environment Agency and other civil servants,

water and other utility workers, local government and transport workers, and many others who provided support and assistance to those affected.

Congress notes that nearly 7,000 incidents and around 2,000 rescues were recorded by fire and rescue services across the UK, although this underestimates the true extent of emergency work carried out.

Congress also notes the hollow government promise that “money is no object” in flood recovery, particularly in the light of ongoing cuts and job losses to vital sectors engaged with flooding and other emergency work.

Congress further notes the growing risks of climate change, as set out by scientists and other professionals in the fifth IPCC report. Increased greenhouse gas emissions, arising largely from human activity in businesses, organisations and workplaces across the globe, are already affecting the climate.

Congress calls on the government to reverse all cuts to flood resilience, from flood defence to emergency response, and to implement the Pitt Review recommendations in full, including a statutory duty on the fire and rescue service to respond to major flooding. Congress calls on the Labour Party to actively support these measures.

Congress further calls on affiliates and union reps to integrate extreme weather and climate adaptation plans into collective bargaining.

Fire Brigades' Union

The following amendment was ACCEPTED by the mover:

In paragraph 6, add at end:

“, introduce statutory rights for workplace environmental representatives and reverse cuts in Defra, DECC and the Environmental Agency. Congress agrees to continue to consult TUC affiliates about a just transition to a low-carbon economy, including a moratorium on extreme energy such as shale gas extraction (fracking).”

Public and Commercial Services Union

52 Defending the BBC

Congress believes that an independent and well-funded BBC is the bedrock of public service broadcasting in the UK. Congress also believes that the BBC is able to produce the breadth and diversity of output across television, radio and digital services that it does today and to act as a

standard bearer for the audio-visual sector in terms of jobs, production values, quality and innovation only because of its unique source of licence fee funding.

Congress further believes that the BBC's scope, scale, remit and commitment to high quality original output protects the audience from declining standards and from broadcasting companies who would prefer to feed the audience drama imports mainly from the USA or home-grown reality shows which cost little to purchase or produce.

Congress notes with alarm the increasingly emboldened anti-BBC lobby whose aim is the break-up and sell-off of the BBC and its publicly owned assets to the private sector.

Congress calls on the General Council, in the lead-up to BBC Charter renewal in 2016, to support the Federation of Entertainment Unions' campaign to defend both the principle of public service broadcasting and also the BBC as the UK's primary public service broadcaster funded by the licence fee.

Equity

53 Resisting the attack on disabled people

Congress deplores the government's continuing assault on disabled people. The “reform” of welfare benefits means:

- i. the continuation of the Work Capability Assessments administered by ATOS for the DWP, leading to many wrong decisions and significant loss of benefits for many disabled people unable to work
- ii. the change from Disability Living Allowance to Personal Independence Payment designed explicitly to remove payments from thousands of disabled people
- iii. the impact of the ‘bedroom tax’, cuts in legal aid, the cap on housing benefit and many other cuts on people already living on the breadline
- iv. the closure of Remploy factories leaving disabled people previously employed in properly paid manufacturing jobs without work.

Congress condemns the government's imposition of a cap on welfare benefits and the Labour leadership's support for this; and

congratulates those Labour MPs who voted against it.

Congress welcomes the campaigning by disabled people themselves against these attacks, congratulates Disabled People Against the Cuts (DPAC) for its high-profile activities and its solidarity with Remploy workers, and calls on the TUC to:

- a. highlight the negative impact of government policy on disabled people both in and out of work
- b. encourage trade union branches to give active support to local campaigns by disabled people, especially those led by disabled people themselves
- c. lobby the Labour Party to reverse these measures when in government.

TUC Disabled Workers' Conference

54 Childcare

Lack of affordable childcare is the most persistent and disproportionate financial disadvantage that women workers face, particularly single parents, 90 per cent of whom are women. The stagnant gender pay gap is in no small part due to the high costs of childcare in the UK, and the reliance of women workers on low-paid, low status, part-time work to meet childcare needs.

Congress is concerned by recent figures showing that the average cost of childcare has risen by 30 per cent since 2010 and that there are now 35,000 fewer childcare places available, despite the 125,000 rise in children under four.

Congress further notes Ofsted ratings from 2012 indicating that the most affluent areas of the country received almost twice the level of top quality childcare provision compared to the most deprived areas. There were also three times as many outstanding providers in the wealthiest areas when comparing the least and most deprived local authorities in England.

Childcare is increasingly a major issue for all political parties in the run-up to the 2015 general election. The Labour Party has guaranteed wraparound 8am–6pm childcare for primary school pupils and 25 hours free childcare. Meanwhile, government measures to give childcare tax breaks to higher earners do nothing to help those who need it most. Childcare support for those on Universal Credit is less than was previously provided via the

childcare element of tax credits and is far less than the total investment made by this government in childcare relief for higher earners. According to the Resolution Foundation, under Universal Credit, a part-time cleaner with two children in childcare and working 25 hours a week would be £7 a week worse off than if she didn't work at all.

The "cost" of childcare is likely to be a high profile discussion in the run-up to general election. Congress opposes the proposals in the "More Great Childcare" consultation to weaken safeguarding requirements and change adult-child ratios, to narrow training opportunities and career paths for the least qualified parts of this workforce and discourage investment in staff and to create a group of EY 'teachers', who are not qualified teachers, to make them cheaper to employ.

Congress celebrates the co-ordination between trade unionists, women's rights groups and early years education experts to achieve a U turn on the adult: child ratios. Congress asserts that affordability must be achieved through increasing wages for working parents, increasing employer contributions to childcare costs and public investment.

Congress calls for a national debate about why childcare workers, early years teachers, early years professionals and nursery staff – a mainly female workforce – continue to attract such low rates of pay and status.

Furthermore, Congress calls upon the General Council to work with affiliates to:

- i. campaign for childcare support which will benefit all parents, including those who work shifts and unsociable hours and for comprehensive policy measures geared towards the introduction of universal free childcare
- ii. support the Gingerbread campaign for affordable childcare for single parents
- iii. campaign for decent terms and conditions for the staff providing childcare in schools and nurseries, including adequate training and safe child/carer ratios
- iv. lobby for childcare to be at the heart of 2015 election manifestos
- v. support unions to negotiate with employers on childcare, ensuring employees are aware of and have access to all available means of support for

- childcare costs and to make the case for the role of employers in supporting childcare through workplace nurseries or financial support for employees
- vi. examine and raise awareness of the obstacles linked to childcare that women face in the labour market
 - vii. continue to campaign to defend Sure Start nurseries.

TUC Women's Conference

56 Proton therapy

Congress welcomes the government's pledged £250m to build two new NHS proton beam centres. Currently patients needing such treatment have to travel overseas at a cost in excess of £90,000 per person. However, these two centres are not due to open until 2018, by which time Germany will have had a centre operational for a decade.

Congress is concerned that in the areas of imaging and oncology commissioning insufficient resources, both in terms of equipment and radiographers, are being allocated, given the evidenced increase in activity across all imaging modalities and cancer treatments.

Congress is further concerned at the variation in the rate of healthcare interventions undertaken per head of population. In two key modalities, magnetic resonance imaging and computed tomography, Congress notes with dismay that the UK is well down the league table of units per million of the population. Congress further notes with concern that whilst patient activity has increased significantly over the last decade, radiography numbers have remained broadly static.

Congress believes that this unacceptable state of affairs must be immediately addressed so that the process of ensuring that the health and care services provided meet the needs of the population effectively.

Congress does not believe that the government is currently meeting the pledge within the NHS constitution to "...deliver improved outcomes to patients". Congress therefore calls on the General Council to work with the Society of Radiographers and other relevant interested parties to lobby and campaign for an urgent review of capital equipment and manpower planning.

Society of Radiographers

57 Chuck the Junk Off the Checkouts campaign

Congress notes the increasing problem of childhood obesity and calls on the TUC to lead the responsibility of tackling this epidemic.

Action is required at many levels, simultaneously, to bring about population change in levels of obesity. The BDA has partnered with the Children's Food Campaign to run a Chuck the Junk Off the Checkouts campaign, which aims to encourage retailers to stop selling high-calorie snacks at the checkouts.

A survey conducted to support the campaign found that 8 out of 10 people are unhappy with the sale of sugary or high-calorie products at checkouts. Almost all the parents surveyed said they had been pestered by their children to buy junk food at the checkouts, and most found it difficult at that particular moment to say no.

Dietitians will engage with key policy-makers and retailers to lobby for a change in practice. Congress asks the General Council to call on politicians to ensure that a cessation of positioning of high-calorie food and drinks at impulse purchase points is included in the Department of Health's "Responsibility Deal." Congress encourages all affiliated unions to support the effort to protect children's health.

British Dietetic Association

58 Mental health and behaviour

Congress welcomes the fact that government attention is being drawn to the plight of young people with behavioural and/or mental health difficulties. These young people are often overlooked by policy makers and inadequately served by the limited resources of public sector psychology and mental health professionals.

Congress notes:

- i. Good mental health is essential for learning, facilitates academic success and economic independence and supports good parenting, thus perpetuating a virtuous circle.
- ii. Increasing stress is placed upon young people from their earliest years by the present testing and examination regime, which serves not to aid learning but to evaluate teaching.

- iii. There is a need to understand the underlying reasons for observed behaviours before condemning children to a diagnosis of pathology and medicalisation of problems, which should initially be considered in the context of the social context in which the child is growing up.
- iv. Schools and families face “patchy” access to appropriate help.

Educational psychologists can intervene at an early stage to listen to children and young people, and work with the school and family to prevent escalation of problems and help to liaise with a range of mental health professionals where necessary.

Congress supports current child and adolescent mental health initiatives to ensure that adequate numbers of educational psychologists and other well-trained primary mental health workers are available within communities so that access to the appropriate professional is faster and work is completed more quickly, resulting in fewer exclusions from school and fewer admissions to psychiatric services.

Association of Educational Psychologists

The following amendment was ACCEPTED by the mover:

Add new paragraph at end:

“Congress also notes that mental health problems are not age-restricted and that there are increasing numbers of workers struggling with this issue. As a result of the cut-backs in supportive services, trade unions have an increasingly important role to play in dealing with this issue in the workplace.”

Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers

69 International support for freelance and atypical workers

Congress welcomes the positive outcome, in particular for freelance and other ‘atypical’ workers, of the ILO Global Dialogue Forum on Employment Relationships in the Media and Culture sector held on 14–15 May 2014.

The Forum emphasised that fundamental principles and rights apply to all workers regardless of their employment status and that

competition law should not be used to undermine workers’ rights.

The Forum further recognised the need for governments and social partners to promote gender diversity and for good practice guidelines covering internships, Apprenticeships, volunteering and other placement schemes. The media industry is one where jobs have become increasingly casualised and where the competition for work has seen a drastic rise in the number of young aspiring journalists being exploited through unpaid internships. What is required is a basic floor of rights that will support all workers.

The discussions and the consensus reached underlines the potential benefits of greater involvement by the TUC and its affiliated unions in international affairs and inter-union cooperation both in recruitment and campaigns to defend and enhance the rights of workers, nationally and internationally.

Congress calls on the General Council to encourage and, as necessary, assist affiliates to participate in similar international forums. Congress further calls on the TUC’s delegation to the ILO’s 322nd Session in November 2014 to support and then work to promote and seek to implement the conclusions of this Global Dialogue Forum.

National Union of Journalists

70 Young workers organising strategy

Congress notes:

- i. Trade unions are finding it difficult to organise in sectors of the economy where young workers are far more likely to work, e.g. in retail, catering and hospitality where there is a high-turnover of staff, casualisation, poor employment contracts and a prevalence of small workplaces.
- ii. Additionally, as young people often see their engagement with the workplace to be temporary or transient, unions are finding it a challenge to represent young workers.
- iii. Furthermore, trade unions lack a clear strategic vision about how these young workers can be recruited and organised.

- iv. The trade union movement needs young workers if it is to continue standing up for working people of the future.

Congress further notes:

- a. Leading young members in the TUC have already been involved in successful campaigns to recruit and organise young workers from non-unionised workplaces, one of the most successful of which was the SERTUC young workers' committee campaign Save HMV Workers.

Congress resolves to:

1. call on the General Council to support the creation of a TUC young workers organising strategy that will be developed by the young members, alongside the Organising Department, which seeks to recruit and organise young workers, specifically in the casualised workplaces referenced above.
2. call for a review of how the TUC can more effectively deploy and train its lay companions to establish what more they can do to support individual members in non-unionised workplaces and promote the union to young workers.

TUC Young Workers' Conference

71 Statutory rights for equality reps

Congress notes that equal opportunities policies are almost universal in unionised workplaces (Workplace Employment Relations Survey 2011) but discrimination, harassment and under-representation remain common problems. Despite the high level commitments to equality, a minority of employers have taken steps to tackle under-representation and prevent discrimination.

Congress notes that research from Nottingham University Business School (NUBS) found that where employers bargain on equality, EO policies are less likely to be 'empty shells'. Such employers are more likely to monitor recruitment and promotion, encourage applicants from under-represented groups and have practices that support working parents and carers. It concluded that union equality reps would help put equality issues on the bargaining agenda.

Congress is alarmed by the large falls in discrimination cases since ET fees were

introduced. With other attacks by this government on the enforcement of equality rights, such as cuts in specialist advice services, cuts to the Equality and Human Rights Commission and the repeal of tribunal powers to make wider recommendations, the case for equality reps has grown even stronger.

Congress notes the findings of the TUC Equality Audit 2014 that some trade unions struggle to recruit equality reps because of the lack of facility time and also notes NUBS's evaluation of equality reps, which found that those that had time to spend on the role were more likely to have a positive impact.

Congress therefore calls on the General Council to raise awareness of the benefits of equality reps and to campaign for statutory rights for them.

Accord

72 Trade unions in the media

Congress agrees that trade unions continue to be the biggest social movement within the UK.

Congress is concerned at the apparent marginalisation of unions within the media and wider society.

Congress calls on the General Council to establish a study group to examine and test if trade unions are under-represented within the media.

Congress agrees a report on this to be presented at Congress 2015.

Communication Workers Union

73 Ethical procurement and union recognition

Congress welcomes the TUC's engagement with the Ethical Trading Initiative, and supports the principle that consumers, companies, and organisations should consider the position of workers in the supply chain of goods and services before making purchasing decisions.

The TUC's commitment to ethical supply was demonstrated by the highly effective Playfair project in which the Organising Committee for the 2012 Olympic Games insisted on suppliers complying with international labour standards.

Congress believes that the right of workers to organise, as evidenced by the presence of recognised unions at suppliers and providers, should be a key factor in the procurement

processes of progressive organisations, and others.

A union initiative in the United States, Labour 411 based in California, has successfully raised the awareness of American trade unionists about the opportunities to make purchases which are locally-sourced and union-made. The scheme is based on a catalogue of vendors who have been nominated by trade unions as having good working practices and full union recognition, enabling purchasers to positively favour union-friendly providers.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- i. consult with affiliates on the feasibility of a similar scheme in the UK to give union members and consumers at large the information they need to make ethical and union-friendly purchases
- ii. incorporate in the TUC's procurement process an obligation to favour providers who can demonstrate union recognition and ethical practices in their supply chains, and encourage affiliates to follow suit.

Broadcasting, Entertainment, Cinematograph and Theatre Union

74 Demystifying the world of work

Congress notes that the world of work is changing. It is undeniably more complex and less certain. Workers joining the labour market are confused by language of contracts, pensions, insurance and tax.

In many workplaces the inheritance of experience and wisdom has been lost as, in less than a generation, the traditional employer/employee relationship is being replaced by interns, zero-hours contracts, agency supplied short-term contracts, self-employed workers and managed service companies.

Those joining the pilot profession have the added challenge of understanding regulatory requirements, navigating the structures that keep flying safe and embracing the privilege of responsibility that they will shoulder as a commercial airline pilot.

Much as Congress regrets this shift and will negotiate with employers and campaign with politicians for a return to full and permanent employment, it is a lived reality and one that needs to be addressed.

Congress believes unions could be well placed to offer a professional service to demystify the world of work and advise on employment status. Progressive employers would have nothing to fear and everything to gain by involving an independent and experienced voice to advise, counsel and mentor individuals in their workplace as they enter the world of work.

Congress asks the TUC to both support unions wanting to reach out to employers to explore this concept and to seek political support to make the world of work less complex and more certain.

British Air Line Pilots' Association

75 Qatar

Congress notes there are over two million migrant workers in Qatar. These workers are forced to live in abject squalor and operate under the *kafala* system, a form of bonded labour where their passports are removed and they cannot leave Qatar without their employer's permission. Construction workers earn as little as 56 pence per hour and wages are often withheld for up to five months. In the summer, workers are required to work excessive hours, six days a week in temperatures reaching 55 degrees.

Congress is appalled that since the 2022 World Cup was awarded to Qatar in 2010 at least 1,380 construction workers from India and Nepal have died and the death rates of all migrant workers will be far higher. The majority of deaths are recorded as cardiac arrest or natural causes and as a result families are denied compensation.

Congress believes the announcement that the Qatar Government is to reform the *kafala* system is a sham and the changes do not comply with ILO conventions.

Congress calls on the General Council and all unions to put pressure on FIFA to put Qatar on notice that the exploitation of migrant workers must end or they will be stripped of the World Cup.

Those reforms to include:

- i. the complete abolition of the *kafala* system
- ii. migrant workers to have the right to freedom of association and collective bargaining

- iii. independent labour inspections
- iv. occupational health and safety standards to meet international standards
- v. an effective labour disputes system
- vi. decent living conditions.

Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians

76 International LGBT rights

Congress notes with concern the findings of the EU Fundamental Rights Agency survey showing an increase of deliberate, sustained and violent attacks on LGBT people.

Congress asserts that a major factor in the rise in homophobic and transphobic extremism is the punitive and discriminatory laws in countries such as Russia, India, Nigeria and Uganda that criminalise and stigmatise LGBT communities.

Congress is deeply concerned that these laws empower authorities to abuse, harass, extort, imprison and execute people on the grounds of their sexuality or gender identity.

Congress condemns the Ugandan Anti-Homosexuality Bill, dubbed the 'Kill the Gays Bill' which not only incites increased violence against LGBT people, but also justifies and legalises these actions.

Congress further asserts that these laws directly contravene international human rights obligations, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Congress endorses the work of affiliates with the global trade union movement to campaign against these human rights abuses and calls on the TUC and affiliates to:

- i. press the UK government to use its international influence to end the continuing human rights abuses in these countries
- ii. work with affiliates and campaign groups to establish a robust global campaign for the elimination of anti gay laws that criminalise homosexuality
- iii. develop a Trade Union Charter on International LGBT Solidarity, including a commitment to campaign with unions/organisations in countries concerned; pressure for governments to take strong action on countries violating LGBT rights; awareness-raising

throughout unions on international LGBT atrocities; and encourage unions' international departments/leads to prioritise LGBT issues and employer/contractor guidance and support for LGBT members working abroad.

TUC Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Conference

77 TUC Disputes Procedures

Congress recognises that clear and constructive arrangements for relations between affiliates are essential to optimise the efficient and effective working of the trade union movement. Congress recognises the important role the TUC Disputes Procedures has played in this regard.

However, Congress is concerned that there are worrying signs that some of the discredited practices that affected our movement as recently as the 1980s are beginning to reappear, with some unions being unable or unwilling to respect the spirit or the letter of certain parts of the Procedures.

Congress agrees that the clarity of the meaning and application of the Disputes Procedures is of the utmost assistance in helping all affiliates to abide by this common set of values. It therefore agrees that the Disputes Procedures shall be reviewed to ensure they remain fit-for-purpose in the current challenging circumstances.

Communication Workers Union

Composite 1 Cost of living crisis

Congress is appalled that the UK is facing the worst cost of living crisis in recent memory. Working people are, on average, £1,600 per year worse off than they were at the last general election.

Pay freezes and below-inflation pay rises have resulted in a fall in real wages, and attacks on in-work benefits have taken away much-needed support for low-paid workers. The recently announced substantial increases in energy prices will only make this situation even worse.

Congress believes that the policies of the coalition government are sowing the seeds of a disastrous future for our country with an ever more brutal free market for labour and housing, the creeping privatisation of the NHS, punitive

reforms to the welfare state and attacks on the wages and pensions of public sector workers.

Congress asserts that the decisions of the current government have led to enormous increases in inequality for current and future generations in the UK and do nothing to mitigate the findings of a recent report from the OECD which predicts that the global economy in 2060 will be one stagnating in slow growth, huge inequality and threatened by climate change.

Congress notes recent slowdowns in the key sectors of construction and manufacturing and is concerned that the UK's economic recovery is based on the fragile pillars of consumer borrowing and a dysfunctional housing market. Congress believes that sustainable growth can only be delivered by a programme which rebalances both the economy and the relationship between corporations and trade unions.

Congress welcomes the findings of recent research by the International Monetary Fund, which states that the 'restoration of poor and middle income households bargaining power' can be very effective in reducing the probability of another major economic crisis.

Congress supports the work of the People's Assembly and believes that this body represents the broadest coalition of unions, campaigning and direct action groups as well as political organisations operating under a democratic, action-focused programme to defeat austerity. Congress calls on the General Council to further develop this support.

Congress welcomes Labour's pledge to scrap the bedroom tax, to publish the Cost of Living Contract and its commitment to a 20-month freeze in energy prices; to support the living wage through incentives to encourage private sector employers to become living wage employers.

Congress asks the government to tackle poverty and the cost of living crisis by adopting policies including:

- i. promotion of the living wage in the public and private sectors
- ii. a reduction in overall taxation on low-paid workers and their families through measures such as a restoration of the 10 per cent income tax band
- iii. stronger enforcement measures for the national minimum wage

- iv. better employment protection and rights at work including abolition of employment tribunal fees
- v. initiatives to tackle the cost of housing through rent controls, a new house building programme and no increases to mortgage interest rates
- vi. a tax and benefit system that supports workers on low and average incomes
- vii. a commitment to tackle payday loan companies and enable access to affordable credit including through credit unions
- viii. measures to prevent private utility companies charging extortionate tariffs for gas, electricity and water
- ix. measures to regulate all rail fares and an end to massive annual inflation-busting increases
- x. improved provision of and access to affordable childcare facilities.

Congress supports the TUC's Britain Needs A Pay Rise campaign and demonstration on 18 October and calls on the General Council to continue to campaign for a rebalanced economy underpinned by strong trade unions.

Mover: Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers

Secunder: Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen

Supporters: Unite; Transport Salaried Staffs' Association

Composite 2 Young workers

Congress acknowledges that the economic recovery is an academic concept for the majority of workers, particularly young workers, trapped in labour insecurity, zero-hours contracts and agency work, while burdened by personal debt and the grip of unscrupulous lenders and with limited access to Apprenticeships or further educational opportunities.

Congress recognises that young workers are most affected by the scourge of unpredictable earnings and hours and the lack of employment rights in zero-hours contracts and agency work making home ownership an impossible dream for many young workers. The failure of supply in private and social housing has led to increasing house prices, unaffordable rents and young people excluded from the housing market. Congress deplores the chronic

uncertainty and insecurity this leads to for young workers.

Congress acknowledges the current system of vocational education has failed, leading to low-quality Apprenticeships in many sectors. We need a radical overhaul of the system, with an emphasis on advanced Apprenticeships to at least Level 3.

Congress is concerned that the burden of debt falls even harder on young people, with research by Demos showing that around half of 18- to 34-year-olds admit that their debt has increased over the past five years. Congress notes that personal debt remains an acute problem in Britain today with the average UK household debt standing at just over £6,000, excluding mortgages.

Congress believes that many ruthless companies regard this situation not as a problem but as an opportunity to make money from vulnerable workers, with debt charity Step Change highlighting an increase of more than 100 per cent in the number of clients with payday loans between 2011 and 2012.

Congress calls on the General Council to support initiatives that provide real sustainable opportunities for youngsters who are facing huge hurdles in their quest for decent work and employment.

The number of young players that are rejected is alarmingly high in the football industry and this seems to be replicated across the wider job market. Young people are working tremendously hard in education and training but sadly so often there is nothing at the end of this. This is indeed the case in football with young players being thrown on the scrapheap before they are out of their teens. The small numbers that do become professionals face another uphill battle in trying to establish themselves in the first team of their respective clubs.

Again opportunities are incredibly limited and Congress can see from the disappointment of England's early World Cup exit that this stifling of youth is having a real impact on our international prospects.

The trade union movement has always been prepared to stand up against injustice and unfairness and it is important that we do not let young people down at this very challenging time. We need to demand that training and

hard work does have its reward with good job prospects being a prerequisite.

This generation of young people is in danger of being forgotten and overlooked and for millions the future looks far from bright. Congress believes it is vitally important that unions work together to give our young people a fighting chance and a pathway into meaningful employment.

Congress calls on the General Council to campaign against the exploitation of young workers on zero-hours contracts, to support the work of credit unions as an alternative to exploitative payday loan companies and for more access to education and high quality Apprenticeships for young workers and calls for rent controls to be introduced alongside a programme of social housing construction.

Mover: Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Fireman

Secunder: Professional Footballers' Association

Supporters: GMB; Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians

Composite 3 Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)

Congress is extremely concerned about the proposed Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) free trade treaty, a wide-ranging trade deal giving unprecedented power and influence to transnational corporations that would become the benchmark for all future trade agreements, currently being negotiated between the EU and the USA and recognises the threat posed. While there may be economic benefits in reducing trade tariffs and reviewing regulation for certain industrial sectors, Congress believes that the primary purpose of TTIP is to extend corporate investor rights.

A key element of the TTIP is the introduction of the Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) clause, which would act as a tribunal/arbitration. The ISDS could see millions of pounds paid out to those big private sector corporations should NHS services be brought back into the public sector in the future.

As with all trade agreements, TTIP is being negotiated mainly in secret. The current negotiations lack transparency and proper democratic oversight.

TTIP would:

- i. allow corporations to sue sovereign states, elected governments and other authorities legislating in the public interest where this curtails their ability to maximise their profits, by recourse to an Investor-State Dispute Settlement mechanism
- ii. threaten the future of our NHS and other key public services
- iii. risk job losses, despite unsubstantiated claims to the contrary
- iv. potentially undermine labour standards, pay, conditions and trade union rights as the US refuses to ratify core ILO conventions and operates anti-union "right to work" policies in half of its states
- v. reverse years of European progress on environmental standards, food safety and control of dangerous chemicals, given US refusal to accept stricter EU regulation of substances long banned in the EU
- vi. deprive EU member states of billions of pounds in lost tariff revenue.

Key concerns are:

- a. the threat to our National Health Service and sections of the public sector that may be opened up to the private sector leaving a future Labour government with no legal right to take back into public ownership (including previously publicly owned transport and utilities) and that could lead to a far more widespread fragmentation of NHS services, putting them into the hands of big private sector corporations
- b. the quasi-judicial process on the Investor-State Dispute Settlement under which multinational corporations may sue, in secret courts, nation states whose laws or actions are deemed incompatible with free trade
- c. opening up European markets to US Frankenstein foods – hormone enriched beef, chlorinated poultry and genetically modified cereals and salmon
- d. the mutual recognition of regulatory standards which will lead to a race to the bottom and the creation of a Transatlantic Regulatory Council which will give privileged access to multinational corporations

- e. the impact on creators' intellectual property rights.

Congress notes that free trade agreements rarely, if ever, benefit working people and are pushed by corporations who use them as a means to maximise profits and further their own interests.

The idea of transatlantic trade may well be supported by those that would profit from it, but for our health services based on values, principles and sustainability it could be a financial disaster, adding another nail in the NHS coffin. The TUC and a number of other organisations have been campaigning to exempt the NHS from the negotiations and Congress now calls on the General Council to keep the pressure on and raise the profile of the calamitous affects the TTIP could have on the NHS.

Congress remains unconvinced by official claims of job creation arising out of TTIP, and considers that the dangers to public services, workers' rights and environmental standards outweigh any potential benefits. Congress remains unconvinced about the likelihood of a binding labour rights chapter based on ILO Core Conventions.

Congress has similar concerns over current negotiations for the proposed Trade in Services Agreement (TISA) and the Comprehensive Economic Trade Agreement (CETA).

Congress believes that on the current path we will be presented with a fait accompli in the form of an inadequate, unacceptable agreement that we have had no chance of influencing or amending and where time will make it difficult to mobilise opposition.

Congress resolves that the TUC should:

1. oppose Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) mechanisms and a ratchet clause
2. call for the exclusion of all public services, including education and health, public procurement, public utilities and public transport (whether in public or private ownership) from the negotiations
3. demand no levelling down in relation to consumer, worker or environmental protection
4. insist on genuine consultation with civil society organisations, including trade unions

5. work with like-minded organisations, including the ETUC, in opposing all detrimental aspects of TTIP and in campaigning for alternative EU trade and investment policies
6. welcome the decision of the EU Foreign Affairs Council on Trade to exclude the audio-visual sector from the initial TTIP agenda, and lobby the UK government to oppose its future inclusion, in order to preserve the European Cultural Exception and the unique national nature of arts and entertainment activity within Europe.

Congress therefore resolves that the trade union movement should now call for the TTIP negotiations to be halted and adopt a clear position of outright opposition to TTIP, and the other trade agreements currently being negotiated, whilst continuing to monitor progress and press for improvements to promote decent jobs and growth and safeguard labour, consumer, environmental and health and safety standards through lobbying, campaigning and negotiating, in alliance with the ETUC and AFLCIO.

Congress agrees that all pending and future trade agreements entered into by the EU should be subject to a vigorous and transparent regime of scrutiny and consultation, ensuring that they are of benefit and acceptable to the millions of people affected by their content, in all countries covered by the agreement.

Mover: Unite

Secunder: GMB

Supporters: University and College Union; Hospital Consultants and Specialists Association; UNISON; Musicians' Union; Broadcasting, Entertainment, Cinematograph and Theatre Union

Composite 4 Challenging the politics of poverty, inequality and racism

Congress continues to be deeply concerned at the effects of the government's austerity agenda which has already resulted in over 13 million people living in poverty with around five million people still earning below the living wage (currently standing at £7.65 an hour).

Congress condemns the fact that 10 per cent of our young people live with a level of social and economic deprivation that creates

educational barriers which blight the life chances of a significant proportion of our next generation.

Congress notes that, at a time of increasing poverty and austerity for the many, the UK is now the fourth richest nation in the world (GDP/capita) with the wealthiest 1,000 people in the UK currently worth over £518bn, an increase of 13 per cent since 2013.

Congress also notes with concern that the recession and the increases in poverty and inequality which come in its wake have also led to an upsurge in racism and xenophobia in the UK and across the whole of Europe.

Congress notes with concern the advance of UKIP and other even more right-wing, xenophobic and outright racist parties in the 2014 European Parliamentary elections. Congress continues to reject the policies put forward by such organisations, including on immigration.

Congress notes the deep disillusionment with mainstream politics revealed by the results of the 2014 elections. In particular, low turnout assisted UKIP to considerable gains. UKIP's true agenda stands counter to the interests of working people of all backgrounds. UKIP have previously called for the elimination of virtually all workplace protections, with employees' rights wholly dependent on the goodwill of the employer. UKIP have also called in the past for the privatisation of schools and hospitals and a flat rate of income tax, policies that would be disastrous for low-paid and working class people. Their success has damaged mainstream politics, leading to more punitive measures against migrant workers, legitimising racist rhetoric and attacks against vulnerable workers.

While UKIP preys on economic anxieties, Congress believes that the only real answer to low pay and exploitation is stronger employment rights protections and trade union solidarity. Congress asserts that trade unionists are uniquely positioned to challenge such propaganda.

Congress calls on the General Council, affiliated unions and others to continue to campaign vigorously against organisations who have no contribution to make to improving the living standards and quality of life of the millions of people suffering from the impact of austerity cuts imposed by various governments across Europe.

Congress is also critical of the UK right-wing media's obsessively prejudicial coverage of immigration issues characterised by exaggeration, lies and half-truths – including increased pressure on our schools, hospitals and other public services. Congress rejects this analysis and instead recognises the enormous positive contribution generations of migrants have made to the UK economy and society. Indeed, many areas of employment including vital services like the NHS and public transport would suffer greatly were it not for the hard work and commitment of migrant workers.

Congress rejects attempts to pit UK workers against migrant workers or claimants. It rejects the divide and rule rhetoric and notes that migrants pay more in taxes than they receive in benefits. Congress further notes that UK benefits are among the lowest in Europe, making claims of 'benefit tourism' ridiculous

Congress is also concerned about the opportunity for unscrupulous employers to exploit migrant workers as a cheap source of labour to undercut people's pay and pensions and considers this is the real problem that mainstream politicians need to address.

Congress calls on the TUC and its affiliates to challenge the politics of hate by:

- i. developing local community campaigns ahead of the 2015 general election in conjunction with groups such as HOPE not hate and UAF
- ii. counteracting voter disillusionment and UKIP's policies for workers, highlighting voter registration and engagement through active campaigning and political education
- iii. tackling the toxic rhetoric around migration and placing a renewed focus on organising and recruiting migrant workers.

Congress calls on the General Council to continue to fight for a more humane immigration policy. This, together with better employment rights for all workers and the reversal of austerity cuts, will help defeat racism, prejudice and discrimination. Congress, therefore, calls on the General Council to:

- a. continue its campaigning work to combat the structural inequalities that lead to poverty, including support for the establishment of the living wage across the economy

- b. continue to counter the racist anti immigration propaganda that originates in the overtly racist parties and groups in the UK but which is now being adopted by some of the established mainstream parties.

Mover: UNISON

Secunder: Educational Institute of Scotland

Supporters: Transport Salaried Staffs' Association; Public and Commercial Services Union

Composite 5 Delivering high-performance workplaces

Congress recognises the critical importance of developing an active industrial strategy that fosters strategic, tripartite engagement between business, unions and government, and ensures a long-term approach from employers that delivers high-performance workplaces and supports low-paid workers (often from diverse backgrounds) in all sectors trapped in low skills jobs. Congress is profoundly concerned that the current hands-off approach from government is hurting UK workers and business and the wider UK economy, and that government should make far more effective use of the levers at its disposal to support industry and the public sector in areas such as procurement, taxation and skills policy.

Congress notes that secure employment, self-development, fair pay and feeling valued are all factors associated with high-performing workplaces across all sectors, and that to assist in achieving these goals we need a hands-on strategic approach from government that promotes good industrial relations and creates and secures jobs.

Therefore, Congress calls on the TUC to support and develop:

- i. tripartite industrial strategies to create sustainable employment opportunities, provide ongoing productivity improvements and develop skills
- ii. procurement policies that recognise employers prepared to invest in skills and that recognise trade unions
- iii. policies that promote worker participation and good industrial relations such as by improving consultation arrangements

- iv. the crucial role of trade unions in delivering genuine staff engagement that captures the knowledge, expertise and ideas that workers have in all sectors that can make a real difference to the success of an organisation
- v. initiatives such as that led by the FDA supporting a younger and more diverse group to access roles and development within the public sector.

Mover: Community

Secunder: Chartered Society of Physiotherapy

Supporter: FDA

Composite 6 Energy policy

Congress notes that the future of indigenous coal mining in the UK is gravely at risk as a consequence of a number of external factors including the sterling/dollar exchange rate, the short-term availability of displaced cheap coal from America and the disproportionate burden placed on coal by environmental legislation.

This threatens the closure of UK Coal's remaining two deep mines. Although the government have offered a match-funded commercial loan of £10m, this initiative is predicated on the managed closure of the industry in 2015.

Congress views the reliance on coal imports as a danger to the security of energy supply. It is unknown whether fracking in the UK will produce the required energy, and also unknown is the potential damage to the environment. Coal is a proven indigenous source of energy that can be used cleanly.

Congress endorses the efforts by the TUC and mining unions to ensure a longer term future of indigenous mining by the UK applying for European state aid. Other member states have applied for such assistance and the EU Competition Directorate has indicated that it would expedite any application quickly.

Congress urges the TUC to press for such aid at every opportunity.

Congress welcomes the work done by the TUC in conjunction with the Carbon Capture & Storage Association and through the TUC Clean Coal Task Force.

Congress notes that a future market for coal in the UK requires the government to commit early to a number of carbon capture and

storage plants burning coal. Without this technology the government's environmental targets for CO₂ will not be achieved.

Given the above concerns Congress is also asked to press the government not to increase further the present level of the carbon price floor (CPF).

Congress applauds the workers buyout committee at Kellingley Colliery for their valiant efforts to prolong the life of the mine beyond the company's projected closure of the industry in late 2015, saving 1,000s of jobs within the associated industries.

Congress welcomed the budget announcement of further support for ELLs to mitigate the impact of green taxes, including the CPF. However, Congress calls on the General Council to lobby for support to be brought forward from 2016 and offered to less carbon-intensive industries not covered but suffering competitive disadvantage.

Mover: BACM-TEAM

Secunder: Community

Supporters: National Union of Mineworkers; National Association of Colliery Overmen, Deputies and Shotfirers

Composite 7 Public sector pay and living standards

Congress is appalled that the squeeze on living standards shows no sign of abating. The return to economic growth has brought no relief to the vast majority of UK workers, while the bonus culture continues to run amok.

Congress believes that George Osborne's much-heralded 'recovery' is a recovery only for the wealthy – as the 1,000 richest Briton's increased their wealth by £70bn in the last year.

Congress notes that the number of workers earning less than a living wage has rocketed to more than five million. With four-fifths of new jobs low-paid, for the first time more working families are in poverty than non-working ones.

Congress condemns the government's punitive public sector pay and pensions policy that has resulted in cuts of 16 to 20 per cent in the value of staff pay since 2010.

Congress also condemns the fact that the brunt of the economic crisis continues to be borne by those least able to afford it while large-scale tax avoidance and tax evasion

continues apace and notes that executive pay is up 74 per cent.

But Congress congratulates higher education staff and their unions for having broken through the pay cap with their latest pay award and securing the living wage at more than 150 universities.

Congress deplores the increasing use of privatisation and casualisation as a further means of restricting pay, allowing some employers to circumvent minimum wage law.

Congress also notes that 44 years after the Equal Pay Act was passed, the pay gap between men and women has recently steadily increased to over 15 per cent for full-time workers.

Congress congratulates those members who took industrial action on 10 July across local government and other public services, and offers support to those in the NHS and elsewhere considering further action.

Congress applauds all unions that have continued to engage in industrial action to frustrate the government's assault on the pay of public service workers by pursuing sustainable industrial action through action short of strike and strike action.

Congress believes that unions' industrial action on pay must be coordinated by the TUC across the public sector. We further believe the most effective way to challenge the policy is through developing common objectives in a dispute with government and a joint campaigning strategy, including joint industrial action.

Congress further condemns Tory hypocritical anti-union proposals to introduce thresholds for strike ballots, when no UK political elections are subject to such rules.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- i. put the case for ending below-inflation pay to all parties in the run-up to the 2015 general election and campaign for a commitment from all three Westminster Parties for an end to the public sector pay cap
- ii. coordinate joint campaigning over pay and pensions across unions representing public sector workers
- iii. draw up a joint industrial action strategy amongst affiliates, coordinating strike action amongst affiliates who are in dispute with their employers over the course of the next year

- iv. highlight falling living standards, ensuring this remains a central feature of the 2015 general election campaign
- v. promote a living wage as a means of ending the blight of poverty
- vi. campaign against any proposals to introduce thresholds for union strike ballots
- vii. campaign for greater pay transparency, including compulsory equal pay audits and stronger sanctions for employers who disregard their findings.

Mover: UNISON

Secunder: Public and Commercial Services Union

Supporters: Educational Institute of Scotland; NASUWT; University and College Union

Composite 8 Pensions

Congress believes that pensions are effectively deferred pay and that decent pension provision for all workers is at the heart of the welfare state, as well as a central aim for the trade union movement.

Congress notes the attacks made by this coalition government on all aspects of pension provision, including gerrymandering inflation uprating, attacks on public sector pensions, threats to universal pensioner benefits such as the winter fuel allowance and bus pass, and efforts to further undermine private sector pensions.

Congress believes that the state pension is not sufficient to meet the needs for retired working people, particularly in light of the fact that the £155 per week state pension due from April 2016 announced by the coalition is false and will see many people receive less than this, who have earned the right to a dignified retirement after a lifetime of work.

Congress further believes that an occupational pension remains a vital part of ensuring a decent standard of living during retirement.

Congress recognises that occupational pensions should reflect the nature of the work carried out in specific sectors and industries, and that no 'one-size-fits-all' arrangement is necessary for all schemes.

Congress also condemns this government's refusal to ensure that equal marriage is truly

equal by ensuring equality of provision for survivor benefits in occupational schemes. Congress will continue to fight to overturn laws that allow pensions to offer reduced benefits to same-sex couples.

Congress calls on the next Westminster government to reverse the detrimental changes made to state and occupational pensions since 2010, and ensure that all workers receive the pensions they have paid for.

Congress calls on the Labour Party to produce a coherent pensions plan, including an absolute guarantee on a weekly flat rate state pension that is clear and unambiguous and on occupational pensions, to ensure that workers do not have to pay more, work longer and still get less.

Congress notes the announcement in the Budget that from 2015 workers in private pension schemes will not have to buy an annuity. Investment advice is complex and costly. Congress therefore calls on the government to provide free advice for workers to use their fund wisely to avoid spending their retirement in poverty.

Congress calls on the General Council to continue to campaign for fair state pensions for all, and to coordinate action in defence of pensions among affiliated unions, including, where appropriate, industrial action.

Mover: Fire Brigades' Union

Seconder: Communication Workers Union

Supporters: University and College Union; Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen; Society of Chiropodists and Podiatrists

Composite 9 Defending quality public services

Congress recognises that effective and efficient public services are a shared goal of citizens, governments and public servants. Public services are now in an almost permanent cycle of reform, both to deliver efficiencies and meet the changing expectations of the public.

Congress notes that:

Cuts to services and jobs are becoming critical – with 60 per cent of cuts still to come. Congress rejects the approach of successive governments requiring substantial financial savings from public services with little rationale or evidence on how they can be delivered within the budget

allocated and condemns the political parties for adopting the same austerity spending plan for 2015–16. Congress believes that the government's austerity programme is aimed at creating a permanently smaller state.

The transfer of some government services to local authorities will pass the buck for austerity to local councils and lead to more outsourcing and a postcode lottery for currently universally provided public services, as happened with the social fund and council tax benefit.

Digitisation of public services should be seen as an opportunity to improve services for the public, not solely as a further rationale to reduce resources.

Privatisation, outsourcing and restructuring are disrupting the delivery of services and frustrating attempts to meet longer term challenges, such as meeting the needs of an ageing society and rising expectations of service users. This drives down wages and standards of service to the public, leads to the loss of revenues to fund public services through tax avoidance, evasion and off-shoring, and delivers riches for shareholder profit. Congress welcomes PCS opposition campaigns, including defence of the Land Registry. The Civil Service Reform Plan enshrines further privatisation.

The relentless downward pressure on budgets, with no letup in demand, has placed an unbearable strain on public servants who remain committed to quality public services. Staff morale is damaged due to pay cuts, downgrading, redundancies and consequent increased workload for remaining staff, leading to recruitment and retention problems. Many public servants are working hundreds of additional unpaid hours every year, effectively subsidising public services with their own time.

The democratic accountability and character of public services is being undermined by current government policies, such as the Council Tax cap and the hospital closure provisions of the Care Act.

The government's approach is reinforcing levels of inequality in society.

The tax gap is far higher than HMRC estimates and tax will be a major battleground for the next government.

Congress calls on the General Council to develop a campaign to ensure:

- i. the future of our public services is firmly on the agenda at the next general

- election, to challenge the main parties to demonstrate to voters and public servants, in a meaningful and robust way, how they will maintain and improve public services, match those commitments with the resources needed to deliver them and discharge their duties as a responsible employer
- ii. any incoming government after the 2015 general election immediately scraps the cuts in funding for public services planned by the current coalition government by means of an emergency budget immediately following the general election.
 - iii. the general election is used to highlight private sector failure and profiteering, and the benefits of public sector provision, with a major anti-privatisation event before the general election and a training programme on campaigning against privatisation
 - iv. the tide of privatisation and outsourcing that is disfiguring our services is decisively turned, including anti-cuts, anti-off-shoring and anti-privatisation campaigns aimed at defending public services and returning services to public ownership and the removal of public services from the provision of the proposed TTIP agreement
 - v. a moratorium on further job cuts in all parts of public services is implemented immediately
 - vi. tax justice is central to political campaigning on public services and welfare spending based on Tax Justice Network research and in particular to draw attention to the role of professionals in HMRC in combating avoidance and evasion to ensure that the money required to fund essential public services is collected
 - vii. an alternative vision for public services built on enduring values of fairness, valuing staff, compassion and social solidarity is vigorously promoted, along robust proposals about how they can be funded.

Mover: UNISON

Secunder: Public and Commercial Services Union

Supporters: FDA; Fire Brigades' Union

Composite 10 Maintaining a world-class education system

Congress welcomes the wealth of international evidence confirming that public education systems across the UK are amongst the best in the world.

Congress condemns the ideologically driven denigration of public education and the unremitting assault on the professionalism, pay, working conditions and jobs of teachers and support staff in schools, which are damaging to children's educational progress and achievements.

Congress deplores the politically motivated attacks on educational entitlements of children and young people and the failure to establish systems of governance, management and financial scrutiny that ensure that schools act in the public interest. Congress notes teacher working hours have gone up by over 10 per cent since 2010 and these extra hours are not spent on tasks that support students or improve teaching and learning.

Congress welcomes the work being done by teacher unions to highlight the damaging effect government policy is having on education. Congress congratulates those unions campaigning to reclaim the promise of public education by ensuring that quality educational opportunities are accessible to all children and young people.

Congress believes government attacks on the pay and conditions of school staff are an attack on education. Congress welcomes the fact that joint campaigning stopped the School Teachers' Review Body (STRB) bringing in changes that Michael Gove requested which would have made things worse. Congress notes this work is winning public support and that Michael Gove's approval rating amongst the public is somewhere between 9 per cent and 16 per cent.

With music education facing more cuts, the Musicians' Union and the Music Industries Association (MIA) have launched a new campaign to help support the invaluable work carried out by music teachers around the UK.

Music teachers across the UK are being affected by job cuts, a worsening in terms and conditions and the casualisation of the workforce. A whole generation of children is at risk of losing out on the life-changing opportunities that music education offers as we

see increasing fragmentation of the education system.

The campaign aims to raise awareness of the issues affecting music teachers everywhere and also to celebrate the inspirational work teachers have done, and are doing, to create and inspire the musicians and music lovers of the future.

Congress welcomes and supports the five demands of the NUT Stand Up for Education campaign, which have won support from parents and politicians.

Congress further welcomes the positive vision set out in ATL's Shape Education manifesto, which puts students' futures before profit, school collaboration before competition, and properly funds the transition from schools and colleges to work with excellent careers guidance.

Congress calls on the General Council to mount a vigorous and sustained campaign and resolves to:

- i. support campaign initiatives by education unions aimed at highlighting the effects of government education policy
- ii. make education a key strand of TUC campaigning up to the general election 2015 and setting out to all political parties an alternative education vision
- iii. secure a national framework of educational entitlement, accessible to all children and young people regardless of parental income
- iv. ensure that all children and young people receive a broad and balanced education, fit for life in the 21st century. Changes to the curriculum and assessment should be positive, planned and a result of discussions with the teaching profession.
- v. ensure that all children are taught by teachers who hold qualified teacher status
- vi. ensure there are enough teachers and stop picking fights with the ones we have
- vii. highlight the positive contribution to learning of well-deployed teaching assistants
- viii. secure national pay and conditions of service for all teachers and support staff in all state-funded schools
- ix. ensure educational staff have the right to continuing professional development
- x. secure increased investment in education, ensuring the recruitment and retention of teachers and support staff
- xi. fund schools and colleges properly and encourage them to work together
- xii. secure appropriate national systems of governance, management and financial scrutiny that reflect the values and ethos of a public education service. Local councils should have the right to build new schools where they are needed
- xiii. prevent any change to the charitable status of academy trusts that would allow them to become profit-driven businesses
- xiv. extend universal free school meals to junior classes, ensuring pupils aren't too hungry to learn
- xv. support the MU and the MIA's Support My Music Teacher campaign.

Mover: National Union of Teachers

Secunder: NASUWT

Supporters: Musicians' Union; GMB;

Association of Teachers and Lecturers

Composite 11 Restoring democratic accountability in the school system

Congress affirms that the coalition government's academies/free schools programme and its attacks on local government responsibilities and funding are causing huge problems of democratic accountability in the education service. Congress asserts that the secretive practices of the government in promoting unnecessary free schools and unregulated academies amounts to a gross misuse of public funds; and further, that inadequacies of oversight are inevitable in such an atomised system. These practices contrast markedly with the tight-fisted austerity applied to the rest of public expenditure.

Congress notes the acute and continuing concerns of the House of Commons Public Accounts Committee about the operation of the Education Funding Agency, including a lack of transparency and accountability in academies and free schools and the conflicts of interest of trustees on academy boards. Congress also notes the escalating number of fraud, nepotism and corruption investigations associated with

academies and free schools. Congress further notes that the Secretary of State has taken £400m from the basic needs budget to fill a hole in the free schools' budget at a time of a rapidly rising primary school population, and a rising number of infant schoolchildren in classes of over 30. These concerns echo the findings of the TUC's own *Education Not for Sale* report documenting the encroachment of profiteering into state education.

Congress notes the emerging crisis in school places, as millions are spent on free schools in areas with no shortage of places while growing pupil numbers creates ever growing shortages elsewhere. Congress believes that local authorities' dwindling ability to monitor, support and intervene in schools, and in particular in academies, is leading to increasing problems with regard to governance, accountability and educational standards. Local authorities are best placed to ensure fair access to education for students and support schools in times of crisis, being close at hand and familiar with local contexts, but must be permitted the resources needed to maintain and deploy the necessary support and expertise.

Congress supports the call from the Public Accounts Committee for a fit-and-proper persons test for academy trustees, but further demands a transparent and equitable funding system for all state-funded schools regardless of status, administered by a democratically accountable middle tier responsive to local needs. Funding for public services must not be for private gain.

Congress believes that 26,000 state schools cannot be run from Whitehall and that an effective and accountable 'middle tier', sitting between government and schools, for oversight of the education system is essential. Furthermore, Congress believes that its establishment must be based squarely on restoring an appropriate role for local authorities in relation to schools.

Congress therefore calls on the political parties to commit themselves to a middle-tier based on democratically elected local authorities, holding requisite powers over school place planning and admissions, funded adequately for their role in providing monitoring, support and intervention, and with a strong commitment to a community cohesion.

Mover: Association of Teachers and Lecturers

Secunder: National Union of Teachers

Composite 12 Sustainable funding for the NHS

Far from benefiting from economic recovery, spending on the NHS as a proportion of GDP is due to fall to 6.1 per cent by 2021, leaving the UK lagging behind most other European countries in terms of funding.

Congress believes that given ever-rising demand for health services, this raises serious questions about the future sustainability of the NHS.

In some services funding has been cut by up to a third; however, the needs of communities have remained unchanged. In fact with increased life expectancy, increasing incidences of diabetes and other chronic conditions, need has increased significantly.

The result of these funding cuts has seen NHS podiatry and other community services subjected to 'redesigns' or 'reorganisations': these are dressed up phrases for cost-cutting exercises.

Congress believes these service redesigns/reorganisations will have a devastating effect on the standard of care that NHS clinicians will be able to provide to patients as morale amongst members within the NHS is at an all-time low.

Consistently ranked among the best-performing and valued healthcare systems in the world, the NHS cannot continue to deliver universal quality care to patients without a significant rethink on how it is paid for and organised.

Congress calls on the TUC to take every opportunity to press for such a rethink, including how to:

- i. ensure that the NHS has the funding through taxation that it needs
- ii. base health and social care around the needs of patients, delivered in as seamless way as possible, with a much greater focus on prevention and keeping people out of hospital
- iii. restore staff morale, badly dented by rapidly increasing work pressures, the constant maligning of the NHS, and government failure to honour independent Pay Review Body recommendations

- iv. genuinely engage patients, NHS staff and their representatives in re-designing services that will deliver quality and stand the test of time, alongside making best use of taxpayer money.

Congress calls on the TUC to continue to campaign through the All Together for the NHS campaign and other campaigns to maintain the pay levels and the skills that clinicians need to provide a quality, safe and effective service to their communities.

Mover: Chartered Society of Physiotherapy
Seconders: Society of Chiropractors and Podiatrists

Composite 13 The economic and health impact of austerity

Congress believes government austerity measures are having severe and negative effects not just on the pockets but also on the health of the nation. Sickness absence costs the UK £15bn annually in lost economic output. Investment in quality healthcare and support for those whose health currently prevents them from working is good for people and good for the economy. Congress knows that for most people, even those with long-term conditions, health can actually be improved by being in work.

The research findings are clear. Major cuts in public spending and health services across Europe have triggered a drastic deterioration in people's overall health.

Job losses are leading to increases in incidents of depression, mental health problems and suicide.

Older workers, in particular women, are especially vulnerable to stress, juggling caring responsibilities for their extended families with the insecurity of redundancy and pressures of new performance procedures that accelerate capability issues into dismissal.

Efficiency savings and cuts to health care are preventing people from accessing the support they need to help them obtain or remain in employment.

Congress believes forward-thinking investment in health care can stop this downward spiral by enabling people to return to and stay in paid work, one of the key routes out of poverty.

Congress calls on the TUC General Council to:

- i. continue to highlight the impact of austerity measures, including both cuts to health care provision and cuts to welfare benefits, on the health of the nation
- ii. urge employers to ensure that they invest in effective occupational health services to keep workers in work and help them to return to work as quickly as possible
- iii. work with organisations like The Age and Employment Network supporting older workers in the workplace
- iv. highlight the importance of a well-funded NHS, free at the point of use, for all workers, including self-employed workers and those who are engaged in itinerant and highly mobile occupations
- v. campaign with NHS employers to highlight the vital importance of occupational health within the NHS and to work to create models of best practice for workplace health.

Mover: Chartered Society of Physiotherapy
Seconders: Association of Teachers and Lecturers

Supporters: Equity; Society of Radiographers

Composite 14 Protect probation and Speak up for Justice

Congress welcomes the TUC Speak Up for Justice campaign, which has a multi-union approach. Congress notes its aims and objectives and endorses the campaign, which calls for properly funded prison, probation and court services.

The coalition government's Transforming Rehabilitation (TR) agenda has caused the fragmentation of the 106-year-old probation service and foisted operational chaos within the National Probation Service (NPS) and 21 Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRCs) that came into effect on 1 June. Despite this, and overwhelming evidence that demonstrates that there is a real danger to community safety, the Secretary of State continues with his attempts to sell off the CRC network using a so-called tendering process that Napo believes is not only fundamentally uncompetitive, but morally corrupt.

Congress believes the Secretary of State's claims that privatising probation will bring about a decrease in re-offending rates and

introduce innovation is an abject misrepresentation of the facts. It follows his blatant misleading of parliament, his refusal to comply with FOI requests on his own department's damning assessment of TR, and his permanent state of self-denial about the disastrous impact of his grandiose project.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- i. express its full support for Napo's alternative plans to assist the under 12-month custodial community by publicly managed, locally accountable partnerships with proven providers
- ii. endorse the public and political campaign to halt the TR timetable, and to prevent the share sale of the CRCs taking place
- iii. call upon an incoming Labour government to revoke any contracts should any of these be awarded this side of the next general election.

Mover: Napo

Secunder: POA

Composite 15 Trade union and employment rights

Congress notes the British trade union movement has suffered a range of politically motivated legislative and legal restrictions all designed to undermine and weaken the campaign for social justice and equality.

Congress further notes these attacks have become the staple diet of Conservative Party politicians and their fellow travellers who seek to undermine or destroy the right to strike.

This is at a time when the International Organisation of Employers is challenging the existence of an international right to strike at the ILO, a challenge which hits to the heart of all workers' rights to organise.

Congress notes that the government's immediate response to the public sector strikes called for 10 July was not to seek a resolution of the issues but to suggest that further reform of trade union law was necessary.

The government said that it would seek to legislate in two areas:

- i. that there should be a threshold for the turnout in an industrial action ballot that must be reached

- ii. placing a time limit on the legality of a mandate a union has to call industrial action.

This, along with the much delayed Carr Review, is indicative of the industrial relations framework the Tories would hope to implement if they win the next general election, which is chipping away at the last vestige of trade union rights left to us in Britain.

Congress recognises that Britain already has some of the most restrictive rules on industrial action of any democratic country. The Prime Minister has already announced that within the Conservative manifesto there will be more restrictions on thresholds on union ballots, which will form legislation if they win the general election in 2015.

During the life time of this parliament we have seen the Tories and their LibDem allies severely curtail individual rights at work – the impact of which is shown by the most recent Employment Tribunal statistics. Single claim applications to the Tribunal are down from 13,739 to 5,619 – a 59 per cent drop over last year's figures. All types of cases were down: unfair dismissal, sex discrimination, unpaid wages, race discrimination and sexual orientation.

If workers can't rely on the law then they need strong trade unions to fight their corner. The case is unanswerable that an incoming government should legislate to support trade union rights based on international and European labour standards, including the:

- a. right to organise
- b. right to collective bargaining
- c. right to strike
- d. repeal, in the first term of a Labour government, of all aspects of legislation introduced by the coalition government that seek to deny justice for working people.

Congress is proud that it is the very core function of this trade union movement to promote and defend our members' interests, including fighting for social justice and against global exploitation.

The hallmark of a real democratic society is the measure of freedoms and rights that its citizens' institutions including trade unions, have access to.

The trade union movement has achieved much in the way of improving industrial and

social justice for working people; it is time for us to fight for the rights we need to continue that mission.

Congress agrees that the time has come to become proactive in the promotion of collective bargaining, employment rights and trade unions' democratic rights to organise politically on behalf of their members.

Congress agrees the time has come to stand up against this political bullying.

Congress resolves to resist further attempts to restrict the rights of working people and their trade unions to organise and campaign, including defending the basic freedom of the right to strike.

Congress calls on the General Council to bring the importance of strong independent unions to the core of the political debate of the next general election.

Congress resolves to work closely with the ITUC to defend these freedoms internationally and instructs the General Council to campaign with other political parties to block any attempt to formalise any legislative change in respect of further anti-trade union laws, should the Conservatives form the next government.

Congress opposes any attempt to remove the right to take industrial action from any "essential" or emergency service workers and any proposals to introduce the threshold for union strike ballots. Congress resolves to run a major positive campaign explaining the democratic importance of trade union rights, including the right to strike.

Mover: GMB

Secunder: Unite

Supporters: POA; National Union of Teachers; Communication Workers Union; Fire Brigades' Union

Composite 16 Zero-hours contracts and agency workers

Congress expresses its concern over the growing misuse of zero-hours and short-hours contracts and the continuing exploitation of agency workers.

Congress notes that the Office for National Statistics now acknowledges that there are at least 1.4 million zero-hours contract workers.

The exploitation of workers through the widespread misuse of zero-hours and short-hours contracts needs to be tackled. In addition,

the Agency Workers Regulations have failed to deliver the equal pay promised by the Agency Workers Directive.

Congress welcomes Ed Miliband's statement to the 2013 Congress that Labour will "end zero-hours contracts where workers are working regular hours but are denied a regular contract".

Congress notes that Labour's latest proposal is that "after six months, workers should have a right to request" a contract with fixed minimum hours and "after a period of 12 months continuous employment, workers on zero-hours contracts who are working regular hours ... should have a right to be offered a contract that is other than zero-hours".

Congress welcomes Labour's commitment to take action over zero-hours contracts. Congress, however, believes that workers on zero-hours contracts should have a right to guaranteed hours after working regular hours for a much shorter period, such as 12 weeks.

Congress recognises the exploitation of enforced zero-hours contracts particularly when there is an exclusivity clause attached and the long-term effects that the casualisation of labour will have on the individual and the economy as a whole.

Congress recognises the potential danger of zero hours contracts in safety-critical industries, including rail freight, where increased casualisation has undermined health and safety. Congress believes that zero hours contracts and the increased casualisation of labour are a major threat to health and safety standards in many industries.

Congress believes that workers on short-hours contracts should have a similar right to contracts reflecting their regular hours.

Congress believes that the Swedish Derogation loophole in the Agency Workers Regulations needs to be abolished.

Congress agrees that zero-hours contracts and agency workers' rights will be campaigning priorities in the year ahead and that the campaign will bring home to UK consumers the damage to the quality of the service they receive by employers' over-reliance on such contracts, which have no concept of mutuality.

Congress rejects the claims made for the Small Business, Enterprise and Employment Bill that it will deal with exclusivity. Loopholes in the government's proposals would allow

unscrupulous employers to offer exclusive ZHCs with a 'guaranteed' minimum number of hours, even if the hours were insufficient to yield a living wage.

Zero-hours contracts create an uncertain family income but in public services also lead to problems providing quality care, including no paid travel time and fear of getting no work if issues are raised. However, some councils have adopted UNISON's Ethical Care Charter to improve care and employment conditions.

Congress agrees to lobby government and the Labour Party to abolish the use of zero-hours contracts, except where expressly requested by the worker.

Mover: Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers

Secunder: Bakers, Food and Allied Workers Union

Supporters: Unite; UNISON; Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen; British Air Line Pilots' Association

Composite 17 Umbrella companies

Congress notes that endemic false self-employment has blighted the construction industry for decades. The problem has recently become more acute due to the use of employment agencies and payroll companies.

Congress further notes that in the 2014 Finance Bill the government introduced changes that mean that workers engaged via an employment agency or payroll company and under the "supervision, direction or control by any person" would be treated as an employee for tax purposes.

Congress regrets that much of the construction industry is still exploiting workers and denying them basic employment rights by forcing them to operate via umbrella companies.

Congress further regrets that this form of exploitation has spread across private and public sectors, with stable employment replaced by casual, precarious arrangements. Congress deplores that in education supply teachers are largely engaged through private umbrella agencies, offering low pay and negligible pension rights, draining funds from the public purse for agency profits.

Workers employed via an umbrella company have to pay both employers and employees

national insurance contributions and holiday pay is rolled up into the rate, denying them paid leave. In many cases workers are paid the national minimum wage, with total pay supplemented by expenses or performance-related pay. In some cases workers are placed on a zero-hours contract, with exclusivity clauses.

Congress condemns the exploitative employment practices that maximise profits by driving down the pay of supply teachers and other public sector workers. Congress deplores the victimisation, including the use of blacklisting, of agency workers who seek to assert their statutory workplace rights.

Congress calls on the General Council to condemn the use of umbrella companies and to lobby the government to immediately introduce measures for this exploitative practice to end.

Congress further calls on the General Council to campaign for the eradication of all forms of false self-employment and for the introduction of a simple form of employment status where workers are either an employee or genuinely self-employed.

Mover: Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians

Secunder: National Union of Teachers

Supporter: NASUWT

Composite 18 Corporate governance

Congress believes that there is no logical reason why our system of corporate governance should prioritise the interests of share traders over those of other stakeholders, nor why share traders should occupy such a privileged position in terms of their rights in relation to companies.

Congress is not alone in this view and over the past decade fundamental questions have been raised in separate reviews by Kay, Cox and Myners about the capacity of the modern investment management industry, and its preoccupation with quarterly results, to oversee the governance of listed companies.

Congress believes that fundamental reform of the corporate governance system in the UK is necessary and increasingly urgent. Congress endorses the TUC report *Workers on Board: The case for workers' voice in corporate governance* and calls for the following actions:

- i. Directors' duties should be reframed to make directors' primary duty the promotion of the long-term success of

- the company, rather than prioritising shareholders' interests as at present.
- ii. Shareholders' corporate governance rights in relation to companies should be subject to a minimum period of two years of share ownership.
- iii. Workers should be represented on company boards as full board members and a legal requirement to establish a system for this should be implemented.
- iv. Time off and training should be funded to ensure that workers representatives are able to fulfil their roles.
- v. There should be mandatory corporate reporting on measures of good work, devised in consultation with stakeholders, and which have at least equal weight to the financial metrics that currently predominate.
- vi. There should be mandatory introduction of equal pay audits and a maximum pay ratio between the highest and lowest paid workers in an organisation.

Congress believes that giving workers a voice in company decision-making would be one important step toward creating the long-term corporate culture that is desperately needed in the UK if we are to build a stronger and fairer economy.

Our long-run economic problems are well evidenced; now is the time to start shaping the solutions and Congress calls upon the General Council to continue its campaign for better corporate governance.

Mover: Accord

Secunder: Prospect

Supporter: British Air Line Pilots' Association

Composite 19 Health and safety

Congress celebrates the 40th anniversary of the 1974 Health and Safety at Work Act. It agrees that Lord Robens' approach has stood the test of time, that the key principles of universal coverage and employers' liability are just as important now as they were 40 years ago and that effective regulation through the HSE provides a fair and accepted platform for commercial success. Every £1 spent on UK health and safety regulation benefits the economy by £2.35, and all three reviews commissioned by government in the last four years have

concluded that health and safety law is fit for purpose.

Further, Congress notes that the triennial review of the HSE concluded that support for the HSE is a reflection of the impartiality and independence it maintains in its regulatory and other work, in addition to the professionalism and technical competence of its staff. The triennial review also concluded that the HSE's standard setting, regulatory, enforcement and advice functions form a mutually reinforcing whole.

Congress recognises the massive cuts to the HSE budget in recent years and the impact on its ability to undertake an effective inspection regime.

Congress deplores the continuing erosion of health and safety protection for workers across the economy, and applauds the efforts of the TUC to maintain safe workplaces in the UK in its dealings with government and the Health and Safety Executive (HSE).

In two years to 2013, 321 workers were killed in UK workplaces, 387,000 reportable absences resulted from workplace injury and 54 million working days were lost due to occupational injury and disease, costing society an estimated £27.2bn.

Over the same period, employers' strict liability for safety breaches was abolished, the RIDDOR reporting threshold was raised from three to seven days, the HSE's budget was cut by more than 30 per cent, and large sections of the economy were defined as "low-risk", where no proactive HSE inspections are now conducted.

In 2014, the Deregulation Bill began progress through Parliament, including provision for the UK's 4.5 million self-employed workers to be exempted from all health and safety legislation, unless their sector or activity was included in a prescribed list held by the HSE. A draft list revealed that a large proportion of the self-employed were to be denied full health and safety protection, despite being three times more likely than employees to die at work.

This attack on the Health and Safety at Work Act (HSWA) will cause chaos, exposing workers to further workplace dangers. In industries such as construction, unscrupulous employers will tell workers that they cannot seek compensation for workplace injuries as they are no longer covered by the HSWA.

Congress therefore calls upon the General Council to:

- i. campaign for proper resourcing of the HSE so that it can fulfil all its key functions effectively while maintaining regulatory integrity
- ii. campaign for all workplaces to be subject to regular inspection by enforcing authority and encourage the HSE to work with local authorities to ensure that inspections are targeted on the significant risks for the sectors they enforce
- iii. publicise the achievements of the 1974 Health and Safety at Work Act, including the role played by health and safety representatives
- iv. campaign for effective rights for health and safety representatives to protect the safety of employees based at work sites not directly owned by their employer
- v. oppose this historic set-back exactly 40 years after the Health and Safety at Work Act was enacted and to lobby for the restoration of health and safety legislation for all self-employed workers
- vi. call for the new government post May 2015 to review changes made to the 1974 Health and Safety at Work Act since 2010.

Mover: Prospect

Secunder: Broadcasting, Entertainment, Cinematograph and Theatre Union

Supporters: Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers; Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians; Community; Chartered Society of Physiotherapy

Composite 20 Maritime and offshore industry

Congress believes the maritime and offshore industries should be essential in supporting UK employment and the UK skills base.

Congress is therefore deeply concerned at the continued decline in UK seafarers, which have fallen by nearly 30 per cent in the last two years to under 9,000 ratings and fewer than 12,000 officers.

Congress notes this decline has largely been caused by the failure to protect the UK's ferry and offshore sectors from unfair competition and 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.

This has led to shocking examples of exploitation, such as seafarers working in UK waters being paid £2.41 an hour and living on ships for the entirety of the four-month contract, with no shore leave.

Congress is appalled this exploitation is taking place while the shipping industry benefits substantially from the UK Tonnage Tax System and other forms of state aid.

Congress is concerned that undercutting and exploitation is also a growing feature of the offshore industry specifically in the supply, standby, and windfarm sectors.

Congress calls for a new Maritime and Offshore Act which would include:

- i. all those employed in the UK maritime and offshore sectors being fully protected by UK employment and working time legislation, regardless of nationality
- ii. taxpayer support for these industries being directly linked to the creation and retention of UK jobs and skills in the sector
- iii. improved safety legislation, including equal arrangements for seafarer, offshore and land-based safety representatives
- iv. the adoption of Norwegian safety standards in the UK offshore sector in respect of the powers of safety reps.

Mover: National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers

Secunder: Nautilus International

Composite 21 Public transport for all

Congress reiterates its support for renationalisation of a wholly integrated railway and for continued public ownership of London Underground.

Congress notes most of the private operators on the railway who have fleeced passengers and the taxpayer are the same operators who dominate our bus industry.

In this 100-year anniversary of the first publicly owned buses, Congress believes a publicly owned bus industry is the best way to provide affordable, accessible and regular bus services.

Congress condemns the EU's continued drive to privatise public transport and welcomes the TUC's support for campaigning against this agenda.

Congress notes research and passenger surveys continue to show passengers want properly staffed stations, trains and infrastructure to provide more efficient, safer and reliable services.

Congress pays tribute to transport workers for taking strike action to defend passenger services and safety and welcomes the public support for this action. Congress agrees to continue to support affiliates taking such action.

Congress congratulates the TUC and the trade unions that make up Action for Rail (AfR) for the diverse range of campaigning and research activities that have been undertaken in connection with promoting public ownership for Britain's railways.

Of particular note is the Keep East Coast Public campaign that has sought to build community and passenger links to oppose the coalition government's determination to privatise the one publicly owned passenger train operator just two months before the next general election. That privatisation is for politically ideological reasons alone and comes despite the success that the government-owned franchise has been able to demonstrate, leading the Office of Rail Regulation to call it the most 'cost-efficient' franchise. Additionally, and in stark contrast to the privately owned train operators that pay most of their profits to shareholders, East Coast reinvests all of its profits for the benefit of passengers and workers.

The success of the AfR campaign to date can be measured by the strenuous efforts that the industry's Rail Delivery Group is now making to justify maintaining the failed privatised system without willingly recognising that it is propped up by record government investment and an annual taxpayer subsidy of £4bn, at a time when fares paid by passengers have reached absurd heights, often outstripping wage rises.

Congress welcomes Labour's commitment to reviewing the failed franchising process. Congress believes that to safeguard passengers and taxpayer interests, lines must be taken into public ownership including as franchises expire. Congress condemns rail industry attempts to undermine political/democratic processes by

threatening legal action against a future Labour government doing this.

Congress calls for:

- i. early and sustained discussions between affiliates and government so that transport workers can play a full role in shaping transport policy
- ii. the next government to introduce a Transport Act for an integrated, publicly owned transport network, supported by long-term stable funding, and consideration of big business paying their share through such measures as a Land Value Tax.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- a. consider how the rail union/Action for Rail campaign can be continued beyond the 2015 general election
- b. continue working with affiliates, community groups and passengers to campaign for a publicly owned rail network that works in the social, economic and environmental interests of all citizens.

Mover: National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers

Secunder: Transport Salaried Staffs' Association

Emergency 1 Situation in Ukraine

Congress notes the comments of the NATO Secretary-General Anders Fogh Rasmussen on the day of the NATO summit on 4th September 2014, that the summit was taking place in a "dramatically changed security environment".

Congress further notes that these comments follow the announcement on 3rd September 2014 from the Pentagon that the US was sending 200 US soldiers to Ukraine for "training exercises", the first time that U.S. ground troops have been in the region since hostilities began.

Congress also notes the UN Refugee Agency warning on 2nd September that the fighting to date has displaced more than a million people and that

"...If the crisis is not quickly stopped, it will have not only devastating humanitarian consequences, but it also has the potential to destabilize the whole region...after the lessons of the Balkans, it is hard to believe a conflict of these proportions could unfold in the European continent."

Congress is concerned that the crisis has also witnessed attacks on trade unionists and the empowering of fascists groups, including the Odessa Massacre which saw that City's trade union centre burned to the ground.

In light of the dangerous and urgent situation in Ukraine, Congress calls for:

- i. the General Council to hold an urgent meeting to consider how best to support those fighting for trade union rights and against fascism in the Ukraine
- ii. an immediate, permanent ceasefire in Ukraine and a peaceful, negotiated settlement
- iii. opposition to the use of British forces in the Ukrainian conflict

National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers

Emergency 2 Check-off

Congress notes with concern that on 1 September 2014 the Home Office announced the withdrawal of check-off with effect from 1 December 2014.

Since the end of July a number of civil service departments have announced that they are considering ending check-off. Congress notes that the Minister for the Cabinet Office, Francis Maude, urged government departments to review check-off and has stated that it is undesirable.

A number of government departments have consulted civil service unions, with a view to giving three months notice of the withdrawal of check-off. PCS sought assurances from departments that they would continue with check-off. However, by 31 August, all departments had refused to give such assurances.

If check-off facilities are withdrawn in government departments this will give the green light to employers across the public sector, and private companies, to withdraw from check-off arrangements.

Congress believes that check-off is an important and well established trade union right, and notes that withdrawing check-off has been used by right-wing regimes as an attempt to undermine trade union membership and income.

Congress calls on the TUC to:

- i. urgently lobby all government ministers, asking them to continue to provide check-off arrangements in their departments
- ii. lobby the Labour Party to include in their election manifesto a statutory right to have union subscriptions deducted through salary by check-off
- iii. launch a campaign to defend the right to check-off and counter the government anti-union rhetoric in the media.

Mover: Public and Commercial Services Union

Secunder: POA

Emergency 3 René González denied a visa to visit Britain

Congress notes that:

- i. twenty-nine Members of Parliament have invited René González, the first of the Miami Five to be freed, to visit the UK this week
- ii. he was due to speak to our Congress in Liverpool as well as at a meeting at the House of Commons
- iii. the British government have denied a visa to René González
- iv. despite three legal appeals, including a Judicial Review on Friday 5 September, the courts have refused to overturn the decision of the Home Secretary.

Mr González has received visas to visit other European Union countries including France and Portugal, meaning that Britain appears to be the only member state continuing to punish him and the campaign for the freedom of the remaining three members of the Miami Five.

Congress therefore urges the General Council to:

- a. protest this decision in the strongest possible terms directly to the Home Office and ask them to grant a visa to René González, a Cuban man who spent 13 years in a US jail for trying to defend his country against terrorism
- b. work with the Cuba Solidarity Campaign and others to ensure that this ban is overturned and that René González is allowed to visit Britain as soon as possible.

Mover: Unite

Secunder: National Union of Teachers

Part 2

Motions lost

78 Trades Union Councils' Conference delegate to Congress

Congress has major concerns that the motion from the 2013 Trades Union Councils' Conference, "Supporting Local Campaigning", chosen to go to Congress 2013, and passed by delegates at Congress, has since been put on the back burner by the General Council. This General Council "reservation" apparently rules out bullet point 3 contained in the motion that a trades union council delegate attends TUC Congress and moves the Trades Union Councils' Conference motion as a delegate.

Congress deplores the decision of the General Council of the TUC to confirm the "reservation" concerning the Trades Union Councils' Conference successful motion to the 2013 TUC Congress.

Congress further calls for immediate action by the General Council on the full implementation of this motion.

TUC Trades Union Councils' Conference

Part 3

General Council Statements

The TUC Campaign Plan

Congress reaffirms its support for the TUC's *Campaign Plan* launched on May Day 2013 and unanimously backed at last year's Congress.

We recognise the progress that has been made by our campaign for a new economy, decent jobs and fair pay, public services and welfare fit for the 21st century, stronger rights and unions, and corporate governance reform to deliver more democracy at work.

We welcome the campaign activities that have been organised by the TUC and affiliates over the past year, and the progress and plans for the year ahead set out in the *General Council Report* and *Campaign Plan* update. In particular, we welcome the achievements of Fair Pay Fortnight, the Saving our Safety Net campaign, joint working with affiliates across public service sectors, work to expose insecure work such as abusive zero-hours contracts, and the coordination of union action to defend pay and services.

Congress calls on unions to consider how best they can step up the campaign, and work together as a united movement to bring about its objectives, including through support for the 18 October Britain Needs A Pay Rise demonstration.

Congress recognises that the next general election will be a crucial one for the country, as it will determine the kind of economy we build after the financial crash.

Austerity economics have made Britain's recovery from the 2008 crash the most delayed in recent history. The government has tried to pass some of the blame onto the Eurozone, whose economic problems are the result of similar austerity policies across Europe. Living standards, which were in decline even before the recession, have now been depressed for longer than any period since the 1870s.

But while economic growth has returned, the benefits have not fed through to wage packets, public services or large parts of the country outside the prosperous parts of London and the south-east.

This makes it harder for the government to argue that their political programme is driven by economic necessity. Instead, it exposes it as a political choice to reduce the size of the state, permanently cut and privatise services and institutionalise an unequal society. This has led to a huge gap between those at the top that have hardly been touched by the slump and the rest, particularly those at the bottom in a growing insecure, casualised part of the labour market characterised by zero-hours contracts, bogus self-employment and agency work and insecurity.

We can therefore expect a renewed political offensive to try to justify policies that have been rejected when put at previous elections. This will lead to increased scapegoating of unemployed and disabled people, migrants and public sector workers. Public services will be undermined as we can see through the increased attacks on the NHS, where the effects of cuts are misrepresented as problems inherent to a national taxpayer-funded service. The welfare safety net will come under renewed attack to pave the way for the further cuts announced by the Chancellor.

Above all we can expect further attacks on our movement as staunch opponents of such policies and champions of an alternative. Plans to introduce restrictions that will make industrial action close to impossible and allow the routine surveillance of union activists will feature in the Conservative Party manifesto.

Our movement's task is to step up our efforts to put the popular practical policies designed to tackle inequality, as set out in the *Campaign Plan*, at the heart of the 2015 General Election debate and to urge political parties to adopt them.

We will work to expose the unbalanced nature of the recovery, oppose tax dodgers as we argue for a fair tax system, and campaign for a million new council and affordable homes, root and branch banking reform, a jobs guarantee for the young and a transformed Apprenticeship and skills system. We need a new economy that can generate fulfilling, well-paid jobs that deliver decent living standards and a strong tax base. This will require new approaches not just at the UK level, but throughout the EU and international institutions.

We will continue to expose Britain's cost of living crisis, oppose the growing gap between those at the top and the rest, demand a higher minimum wage and the spread of the living wage and help unions extend their collective bargaining power to fight pay caps and freezes, and win fair pay.

We will resist planned spending cuts – half of which are still to come under current government plans – and continue to defend properly funded, publicly owned and democratically run public services, step up our defence of the welfare state and press for a comprehensive child and adult care system.

We will continue to expose the growth of vulnerable employment and defend workers' rights both in the UK and round the world. In particular, we will step up our campaign to scrap employment tribunal fees that price workers out of justice. We will argue for a strong employee voice in the workplace with representation up to and including remuneration committees and company boards, in line with best practice across the rest of Europe.

Everyone has a right not to be discriminated against on grounds of their class, race, gender, sexuality, disability or age and our campaign will reflect and promote a diverse approach to securing improvements both at work and in society, and expose the disproportionate effects of cuts on groups already subject to discrimination.

A formidable union presence is the best way of giving working people decent standards at work, and a strong and diverse movement is essential if we are to challenge austerity effectively and build a more equitable society. Building stronger unions will be at the heart of the campaign and Congress commits to ensure that this goal underpins all that we do.

Gaza

Congress deplores the fact that since 7 July, over two thousand Palestinians have been killed, two thirds of them civilians and including many people going about their daily work, as well as nearly 500 children, and 69 Israelis, four of whom were civilians. Tens of thousands of residents of Gaza have fled their homes or seen

them damaged or destroyed, and have nowhere to go.

Congress welcomes the ceasefire negotiated between the Palestinian Authority, Hamas and the Israeli Government, as called for in the General Council statement in July, and recognises the partial relaxation of the blockade of Gaza, but recognises that it will not be sufficient unless the blockade of Gaza and occupation of the West Bank are resolved in line with UN resolutions. Congress deplores the announcement by the Israel Defence Forces' Civil Administration on 31 August of further annexations of land for settlement construction in the West Bank, allegedly as a response to the kidnapping and killing of three Jewish teens by Hamas militants in the area in June. This is a shocking provocation that will redraw the map of the West Bank and can only stoke up further resentment.

Congress particularly deplores attacks on UN facilities, including the attacks on seven UNWRA schools between 21 July and 3 August which killed more than 50 people and injured over 300, and notes the UNOCHA's regular reports of the terrible damage done to properties, infrastructure and people.

Congress believes that international law against the targeting of civilians must be enforced, and that those responsible for breaches of such law should be dealt with in the International Criminal Court. We welcome the UN Human Rights Council's announcement of an independent Commission of Inquiry to investigate purported violations of international humanitarian and human rights laws in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and particularly in the Gaza Strip since the conflict began. We reiterate our condemnation of the collective punishment of the residents of Gaza.

Congress welcomes the creation of a unity government for the Palestinian Authority, which necessarily involves both Fatah and Hamas, and urges the UK government and the European Union to support this development, in the context of the TUC's longstanding support for a two-state solution based on security for both Israel and Palestine and justice for the Palestinian people. Congress resolves to step up the campaign for a free Palestine, and welcomes the ITUC Day of Action for Gaza held on 7 August and the demonstrations for peace

organised across the UK by the Palestine Solidarity Campaign and others.

We deplore racism, discrimination and hate crimes of any form, including anti-semitism, such as attacks on synagogues.

Congress considers the response of the UK government, the EU and the UN to Israel's attack on Gaza has been unacceptable. We join with Amnesty International, the Palestine Solidarity Campaign and others in calling on the UK government and the EU to end immediately arms trading with Israel including all military-industrial collaboration. The TUC should, working with the relevant unions, press those companies involved in supporting Israel's military to cease to do so.

Congress reiterates its call for the suspension of the EU-Israel Association Agreement until the rights of the Palestinians are established, and calls on the Israeli state to pay for humanitarian assistance and rebuilding Gaza. We encourage unions and their members to give generously to international trade union humanitarian aid funds aimed at providing assistance to the people of Gaza and urge Global Union Federations to seek affiliation from Palestinian unions, as many already have.

Congress commits to raise the pressure on corporations complicit in arms trading, the settlements, occupation and the wall by organising a seminar for affiliated unions to consider strategies – such as worker capital strategies including pension funds – to put pressure on complicit corporations to cease to do so and withdraw from the Occupied Territories. Congress agrees to work with the international trade union movement and workplace representatives to co-ordinate such action against complicit corporations. We reiterate our encouragement to unions to affiliate to the Palestine Solidarity Campaign, urge union members to join the PSC Trade Union network, and agree to organise, jointly with the PSC, a trade union conference in 2015 to review progress on the action points listed above.

Congress reiterates its solidarity with the Palestine General Federation of Trade Unions, and our commitment to visit Gaza with the PGFTU as soon as is practicable. We will continue to be guided by the PGFTU and encourage unions to revitalise their contacts with sister organisations in Palestine, especially

to assist them in rebuilding their organisations in Gaza. We will seek the support of the ETUC and ITUC for the policies set out in this statement, and support the calls of the ETUC and ITUC for a just settlement to the problems of the Middle East.

Section 2

Keynote Speeches

The following pages contain a record of key speeches given at the 146th Congress in Liverpool, by the General Secretary, the President, and guests Mark Carney, the Governor of the Bank of England, and Chuka Umunna MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills.

Frances O'Grady, General Secretary

Monday, 8 September 2014, Liverpool

I have always believed that at its heart trade unionism is about friendship between working people. So I want to give my sincere thanks to you, President, for all your encouragement over 25 years to me. Thank you. I also want to place on the record of Congress – we will be playing tribute to him tomorrow – my personal condolences to the family and the union of Bob Crow. Bob may be gone but his spirit lives on.

In moving the General Council Statement I want to explain why this is an important moment both for our movement's – and our country's – history. But, first, I want to take a moment to celebrate what we've achieved since we last met. Let us start by paying tribute to our elected workplace reps and shop stewards, who are dedicated to supporting fellow workers, from winning agreements with employers that give a quarter-of-a-million workers new learning opportunities, saving jobs and making our workplaces safer, to standing up against bigots and bullies. I am very, very proud of the work that our reps do.

Secondly, we've also achieved in that we've put that cost of living crisis centre stage on the public policy agenda in a way that no newspaper and no politician can any longer ignore. In the private sector, from the car workers at Cowley, using their strength to support contract cleaners, to the devoted staff of Care UK, and to those magnificent young workers at the Ritzy Cinema in Brixton, all campaigning for a living wage, they are all proof that solidarity workers. And at rallies and picket lines, from Newcastle to Newquay, we've also proved that public service workers won't take cuts lying down, whether it's fire-fighters, school staff, transport workers, benefit advisers, NHS workers and council workers. The TUC is proud of all our public service workers. They do a tough job in tough times. And let me say this: it's high time this government gave them respect as well as the pay rise that they are due.

Last but not least, we saw off some of the worst of that Big Brother Lobbying Bill that sought to gag not just unions but charities too. And then, of course, this year there was that

much-hyped government inquiry into trade unions and our so-called 'extreme' tactics. You remember, that review even failed to mention the real scandal of blacklisting. Apparently, and you can heckle at this point – it's the only point in my speech when you can heckle – the brains behind the review was the Cabinet Minister, Francis Maude. He's a man who, apparently, believes that an inflatable plastic rat posed a real threat to public safety, a bigger threat to public safety, presumably, than when he advised the public to fill up their garages with jerry cans full of petrol. It seems that the review has more or less shut up shop, citing a lack of evidence from employers and a progressively politicised environment. This, of course, followed the Conservative Party's announcement that they plan to attack union rights, regardless of anything the review says.

As a consequence, the review chair, Mr Bruce Carr QC, is now saying that he will not make any recommendations, not one. In fact, if I didn't know better, I'd say that Mr Carr had embarked on his own personal work to rule.

Delegates, today I will be writing to the Chair of the Public Accounts Committee, Margaret Hodge, to ask how much taxpayers' hard earned cash has been wasted on this Conservative Party political stunt. And I know, delegates, that you will join me in demanding that they pay back ever single penny. But, frankly, over the coming weeks we all know that we can expect plenty more of the same from where that little exercise in spin and smear came from, because today there are just 240 days to go before the general election which is one of the most important in which any of us will have a vote. It's a fundamental choice about the kind of country that we want to be, not just for the next few years but for a generation. This is the moment when we get to shape our own future.

Ever since the bankers crashed the economy, the big question has been what would replace it? We found out the hard way that a let-the-market-rip model can't deliver decent living standards, homes and public services. It can't deliver patient capital, productivity or prosperity in which ordinary people share. All it's fit for is piling yet more riches on to a privileged few.

Economic growth is back but there's no sign of it in people's pay packets. In fact, we know the gap has got worse. Chief executives of the biggest companies now earn 175 times the

wages of the average worker. So, come the election, we all face a choice. Are we going to settle for a nastier and poorer Britain, a Downton Abbey-style society, in which the living standards of the vast majority are sacrificed to pay for the high living of the well to do, where the blame is heaped on the most vulnerable – migrants and claimants – while the powerful and the privileged sit pretty? Or are we going to seize the opportunity, and build a new and fair economy that provides the people of this country with good, skilled and secure jobs, a civilised society that provides decent welfare, and the nurseries and adult social care that families need, and a true democracy in which we all enjoy fundamental rights and freedoms and where we have as real say over how our lives are run?

Now the economy is recovering, any reasonable person might think that this is the time that a government would help repair household budgets and share the proceeds of growth more fairly. But the jobs that are being created too often are low paid and insecure. While there's nothing wrong with being genuinely self employed, working on the lump for half the pay is no foundation for a strong economy.

This is a government that appears intensely relaxed about young people stuck in unpaid internships, dead-end jobs and wasting their talents and education. George Osborne has been clear. He has absolutely no intention of relieving the pressure on public services. In fact, we've already seen severe cuts, but we, quite literally, haven't yet seen the half of it, with £12 billion worth of cuts still to come under this government. The NHS is already buckling under the strain, despite the so-called ring fence. What's worse? As I have to say, remember what those absolutely brilliant mums from Darlington showed when they were on the march. What's worse is that privatisation is corrupting the core principles of public service and wasting billions.

Then, of course, there's welfare. Of course, people get fed up when they read in some of the papers about the tiny minority who cheat the system, just like they resent corporations which cheat on tax, but there is still strong support for a decent welfare system in this country, and ministers are getting found out, just as we saw with the bedroom tax, the nastiest, most

regressive and downright cruel policy since the Poll Tax.

Delegates, the truth is that three-quarters of welfare cuts are hitting people who are in work. Working parents, who already dread opening ever gas and electricity bill when it comes through the letterbox, are now losing a thousand pounds or more in child benefit and tax credit cuts. Think about all those children who didn't even get a trip to the seaside this year. No chillaxing in Cornwall, like the Prime Minister, for them. It's time that the government came clean. They are deliberately hacking away at our welfare safety net. Nothing demonstrates that better than the five-week benefit wait under Universal Credit. No matter for how long you've worked, no matter how much you've paid in, if you lose your job you will have to wait five weeks before you even see a penny. It's welfare for Wonga – a policy guaranteed to line the pockets of loan sharks.

I have to mention this point. What was the advice of the Employment Minister, Ester McVay to the young unemployed? Did you see what she said. She said: "They've got to be realistic. They could get a job in Costa or they could go and work in Dubai"? Delegates, I think I have heard it all. I remember when we were told to get on our bikes, but being told to get a ticket on an Easyjet to the Middle East is something else entirely. (Applause) This brand of Conservatism is the enemy of aspiration, because as inequality soars, social mobility has hit reverse. We are seeing silver spoons ever more firmly clamped in the mouths of those who were born with them. Whether it's the judiciary, the media, business or public life, wearing the old school tie means you're more than 10 times more likely to reach the top.

Under this government, class prejudice is becoming respectable once again. Think about the mixed housing apartment blocks forcing social housing tenants to use a separate entrance, the so-called poor door! The shame! According to the Family and Childcare Trust, private nurseries are refusing to offer publicly subsidised places to children from the wrong side of the tracks because wealthy parents don't want their children to mix with them. While youth unemployment is still too high, the Government may boast that record numbers of young people are entering university, but what

they don't tell you is that it's *Brideshead Revisited* for the few but decades of debt for the rest. Think, too, about that basic principle of democracy, any democracy: equality before the law.

If a burglar robbed your house, even if that house was a mansion, the victim wouldn't be expected to pay up front for the privilege of seeing that burglar in court. So if a boss robs a worker of holiday pay, why on earth should that worker have to find more than £1,000 to see justice done in an employment tribunal? It's plain wrong that workers are priced out of justice. So, delegates – let's demand it -- we want those employment tribunal fees scrapped once and for all. The truth is that we are witnessing a regeneration of the class society in new forms for sure, with financiers increasingly dominating the wealthy elite and a growing number of graduates finding themselves stuck in the ranks of the low paid, but a class system none the less that bears down on working people's voice and aspirations.

The new Conservative Party is a case in point. You may remember this summer that the Prime Minister had to abandon plans to rebrand his party as one of "opportunity" when, after searching high and low for MPs of humble origin, he could only find 14. Then, of course, there was that difference of opinion with Baroness Warsi. She resigned in protest at the Prime Minister's policy on Gaza, a humanitarian crisis that we will be debating later this week.

But she said something else of interest. She accused the Conservatives of having a problem, and I quote, "with brown working-class women from the north." In my opinion, that's a little unfair. They don't much like working-class women from the south, either. But it is the sheer snobbery which Baroness Warsi rightly complained of which, in part, explains why the Conservative Party has made such a fetish out of attacking the only institutions in this country that were set up to be run by and for working people – trade unions. That and fear!

Because while it may not always feel like it, be in no doubt, they are afraid of us. Afraid that, while most of us don't care – we don't care – what background you come from, we take people as we find them, but we do not accept that a public school education makes some people our betters. They are afraid that we see through government spin; that we point out

when the emperor is wearing no clothes, and that we have intelligent, credible policy alternatives based on our values of equality and democracy. Above all, they are afraid that we can mount formidable opposition to the damaging flexible market free-for-all policies that they want to see implemented. That's why we must make the Britain Needs a Pay Rise demonstration on October 18th a brilliant, peaceful and massive show of our strength, all the more so because now we know that unions are firmly in their firing line.

Only authoritarian regimes attack union rights, but that is precisely what the Conservative Party has promised to do. After all, how else to defend an undeserving elite than by demonising democratic dissent? The Conservative Party's proposals on industrial action are draconian. They set an arbitrary ballot threshold that no other democratic election in Britain is required to meet. Make no mistake, delegates, they intend to ban strikes by the back door. And new rules about ballots will give employers new ways to use the courts. We already have very tough public order laws in the UK, but now we face new criminal offences for industrial disputes. That will give authorities licence to snoop on trade unionists, using all the technology and surveillance techniques which Edward Snowden warned of. This flies in the face of fundamental values that I believe the people of this country hold dear, values of fairness and freedom. These proposals represent a threat, not just to working people and their unions but to everyone who cares about civil liberties and democracy. Let me promise you this, delegates: the TUC will fight them every step of the way.

Altogether, this adds up to perhaps the most radical right-wing programme put at an election for a generation. It would make us even more unequal where trade agreements like TTIP are giving multi-national corporations free rein to rip our precious public services apart. It would be a country where not the lowest paid but where the great working majority struggle to make ends meet, where millions more are trapped in casual work, never knowing what they are going to earn each week and where workers' rights and liberties are trampled on. Worst of all, a country, just like a dictatorship, that stops its unions from doing anything about it.

So if there is one message from this Congress, it is this for sure: the next election matters. We have to decide who will measure up to the aspirations of working people as set out in our campaign plan, unanimously endorsed by this Congress. Who do we most trust to really deliver a real industrial policy so that we rebuild manufacturing, reform the banks, cut carbon and end the North-South divide? Ask yourself, who respects the need not just for a higher minimum wage or even a living wage, but collective bargaining so that we can deliver fair wage? Who will give us fair taxes and tackle boardroom greed? Who will listen to our case for workers to have a voice, not only on top pay committees but – just like most of Europe – up to and including on company boards?

Who will promise to build one million new homes? Who values welfare? Who really cares about the old, the sick and the disabled? Who is really going to get tough on zero hours and agency abuses? And who will give our children a brighter future with genuine apprenticeships and a youth jobs guarantee? The choice is clear. If you value our NHS, if you value our public services, if you value a decent standard of living, if you value the right of the many to band together against the power of the might few, it's time for us to stand up and be counted.

This is the biggest battle in my lifetime, and we know that they won't give up power without a fight. We know that it won't be a clean fight, but let me tell you this. I believe that everybody in this hall is determined. I believe that justice is on our side. I believe that working people will win, and so together, I want us, delegates, to send out a message from the hall: let's tell them, loud and clear: bring it on! Thank you.

Mohammad Taj, President

Sunday, 7 September 2014, Liverpool

Sisters and brothers, this is our last Congress before the general election, an election that I believe, and probably you do as well, will be the most important election since 1945. Make no mistake, it is going to be the fight of our lives, a fight we can and must win.

Sisters and brothers, we know that the Tories are gearing up to finish the job that Thatcher started in the eighties. She sold off our utilities and this lot are hell-bent on selling off the rest. They claim there is no money but the reality is they are redistributing our wealth to their friends, to their cronies, and to their funders. It is a bit ironic. They must be having a laugh. We were supposed to be doing the redistribution. I think they might have stolen our Clause Four!

The Tories have always been good at taking care of their own but, first, before I go on, please let me thank Len from Unite, who with the union has provided massive support. Many thanks to Frances, who is an inspiration and a tower of strength. Thanks also to the TUC staff, and also my employer, First Bradford, who continue to pay my bus driver's salary. To tell you the truth, I still do not know if it was because they were proud to have one of their drivers in such a prestigious role, or they were just glad to see the back of me for 12 months.

And last, but definitely not least, thanks to my wife, Naseem. She is here today. Back in the 1970s it was common practice on the Asian subcontinent to have arranged marriages. We were a bit hippy, we both had long hair. She still does and, as you can see, I do not. That was not our only rebellion. We both rebelled against arranged marriages and chose each other. After 41 years, she knows we are still madly in love with each other. I want to thank her publicly for her help and encouragement. I know I would have not got to where I am today without her support. Naseem, thank you.

Congress, the issue that is likely to dominate our political debate must be the terrible attempt by this Coalition government to dismantle our public services. They are covering up the race to the bottom by cooking the books. They are trying to convince us that there

is growth but the only growth I see is the number of food banks. The main charity report tells us that almost one million people received food parcels last year. What does Iain Duncan Smith say: people are using them because they are there. No, Mr. Duncan Smith, people are using them because they are hungry.

They tell us that there is less unemployment but we know that jobs worth having are being replaced by zero-hours contracts and phoney self-employment. We are almost back to the times when dock workers were given a brass tally that meant they would have work that day. As Len points out, the bosses would cynically throw these tallies into the air and watch while workers would scabble to pick them up. Not having a tally would mean that their families would go hungry.

Now, in the 21st century, workers have to wait anxiously for a text to tell them if they are hired or not required. It might not be the dock gate, but the effects are still as humiliating. They may be called employees, but they will not have a written statement of terms and conditions and they will not have protection against unfair dismissal. Congress, it is a disgrace. We should not dignify zero-hours with the term "contract" since the bosses have no obligations and the workers have no rights. To add salt to the wound of job insecurity, an important lifeline provided by an employment tribunal has been cut off from employees. When this government look at employment tribunals or health and safety legislation, they do not see protection, they see red tape to be abolished or made too expensive for workers to afford.

In the battle to counter job insecurity and ever-growing inequality we need strong trade unions, trade union freedoms and collective bargaining. None of us are surprised that this bankrupt government is continuing its attacks on trade unions, their latest demand being that unions have to cross a 50 per cent plus threshold before strike action yet they are happy enough to take their seats in the House of Parliament with less than 24 per cent: hypocrisy, pure hypocrisy.

I could go on and talk about the demonisation of immigrants or the hated bedroom tax that destroys lives, and public services that are struggling as the cuts continue to bite. Living standards are falling, prices are

rising and wages are stagnating. That is the hard truth of this so-called economic recovery. When the unemployment figures were released, Iain Duncan Smith boasted that the Tories' long-term economic plan was working. I have only one question, who is it working for because it is not us, we are not feeling it. No, the real story of those unemployment figures is the calamity of falling wages. The economic recovery does not benefit the many; it benefits only a few rich.

We have a critical role to play in shaping the battle for the hearts and minds of the British public. Next month we are holding our major national demonstration. One demand, Britain needs a pay rise to end low pay. On wages, on the economy, as with so much else, it is time for change.

In 1945, the Labour government, faced with economic difficulties that we can hardly begin to imagine, remained true to their values. In just six years, Clem Attlee, the Labour Prime Minister, created our welfare state, launched our National Health Service and built homes fit for heroes. As if that was not enough, he transferred key national industries into public ownership, including our railways. Delegates, social security, the NHS, housing, industry and transport, seven decades on these issues remain crucial. That is why I want Labour to be bold, to give workers hope for a better future, and to rekindle the spirit of 1945.

Congress, I hold our movement dear to my heart. I first got involved in the T&G after I started working for Bradford City Transport in 1974. I became a shop steward and I have spent over a decade on the TUC's General Council. To be part of that movement has been a huge privilege. Today, I represent 650 bus drivers, engineers, cleaners, and clerical staff, some of them who are here today as observers, ordinary, extraordinary, men and women whose labour keeps our economy moving. These workers, and others like them, make trade unionism what it is, a powerful force for social and economic justice.

My father was a labourer. He worked the land and there were times when he was so wretchedly tired he could not even eat. He told me not to forget my roots. He said being in the union is not only about wages and conditions for yourself, it is a noble endeavour. Congress, he was right. He was damned right. He would have been proud of me. We have a movement

that touches millions of lives. We can all be incredibly proud of what we do. Thank you, and have a great Congress.

Mark Carney, Governor of the Bank of England

Tuesday, 9 September 2014, Liverpool

Thank you very much, Taj, and I would like to thank the Congress for that welcome and for this opportunity. President and Congress, it is, truly, a great pleasure for me to address this Congress, it is a pleasure to be back in Liverpool and it is an important time to discuss conditions in the UK labour market, and that is what I am going to focus on exclusively in my prepared remarks.

I am going to do that because as, you well know, the growth and distribution of jobs and incomes matter to everyone. Employment does much more than provide the means to support workers and their families. It is essential to personal fulfilment and human dignity, and part of that dignity is being paid a living wage. (Applause) During the past year, at the Bank of England, we have ensured that we pay all of our staff at least the living wage, and we have recently brought up all our contracted service staff in central London up to the London living wage. Because it is important to get this absolutely right, we are going through our final review, but I want to make it absolutely clear that by the time of the next TUC Congress our intention is to become an accredited Living Wage employer.

Of course, the Bank of England's responsibilities for promoting the good of the people of the United Kingdom go much further than being a responsible employer. We manage monetary policy to achieve price stability; in other words, low, stable and predictable inflation, and we promote financial stability by regulating and supervising banks as well as taking action to ensure against unsustainable indebtedness, such as we did earlier this year for the housing market. By maintaining price and financial stability we put in place the foundations for sustainable job creation and income growth. It is that stability that gives workers the confidence to invest in skills or to change jobs, and it gives businesses the confidence to hire new workers, to invest in new equipment, to introduce new products and to pursue new markets. We, obviously, need the right workers with the right skills, and we

need our companies taking the strategic initiatives to grow productivity because it is productivity that will secure the real wage increases that the British workers deserve over the medium term.

As I have started to explain, and I think it is clear, the labour market is central to the Bank's decisions, decisions which have to take into account both short-term fluctuations in employment and the profound changes that are sweeping labour markets across the advanced economies. These changes include powerful demographic forces, notably the ageing of the workforce, increases in longevity and increased female participation. They include, as you were just discussing, I think, how globalisation and new technologies are splitting production chains not just across companies but across borders; how financial risk is steadily shifting to employees from employers and the state and, finally, how job polarisation is increasing; that is the phenomenon that the employment share of middle-skilled jobs is being reduced relative to higher and lower-skilled employment. So, collectively, all of these forces have been acting for some time, they all affect the dynamism of our labour market and they affect the spending patterns of families. As a central bank, the Bank of England has to assess the extent to which these structural changes have an impact on labour markets, on the economy and on inflation, and we are grappling with what it means for monetary policy. That is not unique to us, it is the same across the advanced world, it is the same in the US and it's the same in Europe.

The answer to these questions, the weight of these forces, are different in different economies, and that is one reason why monetary policy in the United States, in the euro area and here in the UK can be expected to be less synchronised than in the future than they have been in recent years.

Indeed, despite common underlying influences, differences in how the labour markets of the major economies have performed in response to the Great Recession have been striking. Let us take the world's largest economy, which is still the United States, and take that as a benchmark. Unemployment there more than doubled during the recession. While that unemployment rate has recently fallen back, the headline is much better than

the details. The number of Americans in work has only just returned to where it was before Lehman Brothers failed six years ago, even though there are now 14 million more Americans of working age. Much of the fall in the unemployment rate in the United States is the result of workers in their prime actually leaving the labour force; in other words, giving up and stopping looking for work. In addition, far more vacancies remain unfilled than usual, indicating that there are big mismatches between skills and jobs in the labour market, and fewer people are switching jobs, suggesting an ongoing reluctance to take risks. In short, the American labour market still is not working as it used to.

Turning to the UK, even though times for many families here have been very tough, in comparison to the United States, the UK labour market has performed well. Despite a recession that was deeper and more prolonged than in the United States, unemployment did not rise as much in the UK and it has fallen back almost as sharply as it did in the US. More importantly, in contrast to the United States, this rapid fall in unemployment here has been accompanied by significantly higher participation rates. There are now one million more people in work in the UK than at the start of the crisis. But as this Congress knows, as the theme of this Congress illustrates, that exceptional employment performance has come at a cost. Wage growth has been very weak. In fact, adjusted for inflation, wages have fallen by around a tenth since the onset of the crisis. In order to find such a fall in the past, you would have to go back to the early 1920s. What has happened, in effect, has meant that the weakness of pay has purchased that increased job creation. The burden, put another way, of the Great Recession has been shared across this country, profits have been squeezed almost as much as labour costs, employees have seen their real incomes reduced but more people are in work as a result.

What has made the performance even more remarkable is that we have faced the additional challenge, unlike the Americans, of rebuilding competitiveness. If you look over the Channel to the euro area, they had a similar challenge but they had to face that challenge with less flexible labour markets and less flexibility in their currency. The results have been dire.

Euro-area unemployment has risen sharply through two recessions. It now stands at over 11 per cent. It is over 14 per cent in Portugal, 20 per cent in Spain and 25 per cent in Greece. There is a clear danger of a misplaced, if not lost, generation of workers in the US as well as the euro area.

Britain's labour force and Britain's trade unions deserve great credit for ensuring that this risk of a lost generation is much lower here in the UK. By sharing the burden of the recession, our economy is better positioned for the future, but the question you are asking is whether we will seize this opportunity.

Before I talk a bit about how we could seize that opportunity, I think it is helpful to understand a bit more why the UK labour market outperformed, or at least outperformed in terms of employment. What happened was when the recession hit, naturally, the demand for work fell but, surprisingly, the potential supply of labour appears to have increased at the same time. The number of additional people wanting to work actually overwhelmed the longer-term effects of populating ageing. Why was that the case? It appears that the greater risks and financial burdens that many families are now facing have been driving this phenomenon. Changes to pension arrangements have encouraged people to work longer. Reforms to the UK's welfare system, including attaching job-search conditions to welfare payments, are prompting those affected to seek work. But on top of all of that, sharp falls in wealth and increased uncertainty about future incomes following the financial crisis have undoubtedly forced many people to retire later in order to compensate, and the scale of the debts weighed on British households has undoubtedly encouraged more people to work and to work for longer. So the strong performance of the UK's labour market reflects in part people feeling compelled to work for financial or other reasons.

Again, to your great credit, when British workers have been challenged, they haven't given up. Some have taken on less productive or lower-skilled jobs. Others are working part-time, some have become self-employed and others are prepared to do the same work for less than they would have done. If you bring that together to wage pressures, wage pressures based on past relationships are as low today as

if the unemployment rate were 10 per cent, not the 6.4 per cent rate it currently is.

Basically, with more workers at competitive wages, companies have been encouraged to hire, and they have substituted labour for capital across the economy. This dynamic – the substitution of labour for capital – has lowered productivity, but that weak productivity growth is not the result of laziness on anyone's part. It's the natural consequence of so many people wanting to work and companies employing them instead of investing in capital.

Although this adjustment has been painful, trading off lower productivity and lower wages for much higher – and it is much, much higher – employment, on balance, that trade off provides a solid foundation for a durable expansion. By staying in work individuals retain and learn new skills and they are better placed to participate in the expansion as it gathers force. The consequence of all of this is that Britain has an opportunity, seldom seen after a deep and prolonged recession, to reach and sustain a higher level of employment than in the past, and workers have an opportunity now to maximise their pay prospects.

But you are, rightly, asking when will this start? When will Britain get a pay rise? As employment approaches its new higher level, wage pressures should increase and capital investment should continue to recover. Productivity growth should pick up bringing the higher, sustainable pay rises that British workers deserve. Specifically, the Bank's latest forecast expects real wage growth to resume around the middle of next year and then to accelerate as the unemployment rate continues to fall to around 5½ per cent over the next three years. By the end of our forecast, we see 4 per cent nominal pay growth on average across the economy, and this is consistent both with our inflation target, which is our core mandate, and with the economy's potential.

At the end of my remarks, I will touch on how workers and employers can raise that potential and, as a consequence, raise the size of that pay rise. But let me, first, turn to the implications of all these developments for monetary policy.

As I said at the outset, one of our roles at the Bank of England is to deliver price stability and to do so in a way that supports jobs and growth. Our price stability objective is clear: an inflation

target of 2 per cent consumer price inflation. Supporting jobs means helping the economy reach the maximum sustainable level of employment. What we have recognised, and this is the reason why I went through all of those dynamics and forces in the labour market, is that sustainable level of employment changes over time. That is why, a little more than a year ago, even though inflation had been above target for almost five years, even though growth was returning and was poised to accelerate, the Bank of England did not raise interest rates from their historic low of ½ per cent. We did not raise interest rates because we recognised that the UK had a huge number of unemployed and under-employed workers. We did not raise interest rates because we knew the economy was running below full capacity. We did not raise interest rates because we expected inflation to fall back. We did not raise interest rates because we saw that confidence might have been returning but we knew it remained fragile and, in short, we did not raise interest rates because we knew that the nascent recovery that began about 15 months ago was not yet secure. So what we did do was to use the flexibility in our mandate to return inflation to the target over a longer period than usual in order to support sustainable jobs and growth.

In order to make our intentions clear, the Bank committed not even to think about raising interest rates until unemployment fell back to least 7 per cent. That so-called "forward guidance" gave businesses the confidence to hire and invest. It reassured households that the cost of servicing their debts were not about to rise suddenly just because the economy was returning to growth.

The effectiveness of that policy was reinforced by actions taken to help heal the banks and the rest of the financial sector. The resultant recovery has exceeded all expectations. It has momentum. Over 800,000 jobs have been created in the past year alone, and we expect robust economic growth of 3½ per cent this year and 3 per cent next. But that is not enough. The challenge now is not to nurture a nascent recovery – we've done that – but the challenge now is to secure a durable expansion and to make sure that this economy realises its full potential.

An obvious question is what does that mean for interest rates? We are in a position where many of the conditions, although not all, for the economy to normalise have now been met and, with that, the point at which interest rates begin to normalise is getting closer. In recent months the judgement about precisely when to raise bank rate from its historic low has become more balanced. But the Bank does not have a pre-set course. However, the timing of these moves will depend on the data and how the economy evolves.

Moreover, the precise timing of the first rate rise is much less important than our expectation that, when rates do begin to rise, those increases are likely to be gradual and limited. Interest rates will only go up as far and as fast as is consistent with price stability as part of a durable expansion, with the maximum sustainable level of employment.

For a variety of reasons, ranging from the weakness in the euro area, to that ongoing repair of household balance sheets that I spoke about a moment ago, we are not expecting interest rates to head back to the levels seen before the Great Recession. The actual path of interest rates will be determined the balance of aggregate supply and demand in the economy. Before the crisis hit, these decisions were somewhat easier. Monetary policy largely tracked developments in aggregate demand because the structural dynamics of labour supply and the rate of productivity growth in the economy were relatively constant, but in the wake of the crisis the supply side of the economy has been anything but predictable.

If I had been here a year-and-a-half ago, I would have said that we thought at that point the major uncertainties on the supply side centred around productivity growth. But as we have observed, wages, employment and productivity evolve in recent quarters, we are increasingly of the view that there has been a material labour supply shock for the reasons that I have just discussed.

So our economic forecast for the next three years, and hence our judgements about interest rate decisions, are based on some key judgements about the labour market, particularly that the number of people participating in the labour force will continue to rise; secondly, that the unemployment rate that the economy can sustain without generating

accelerating inflation will return to where it was before the Great Recession in contrast to some other major economies, and, thirdly, that there is scope for average hours that people work to continue to increase.

In short, unlike the US and the euro area, the British economy is likely to be able to sustain a higher level of employment than in the past. Our uncertainty is less about the direction of this change than about the magnitude. In order to assess the magnitude of this change, this higher level of employment and to assess its implications for inflation, we are tracking a range of indicators including those of the prospective path for wages and unit labour costs.

Actual wage growth, as you have been discussing, is currently very weak. It is just 0.6 per cent excluding bonuses. There are beginning, however, to be some leading indicators that point to a modest pick-up in coming quarters. For example, job-to-job flows have been increasing and some surveys of pay growth have picked up more sharply in the last year. This offers some encouragement of better wage prospects for those changing or finding new jobs but, of course, the pay of existing employees needs to pick up as well. After all, what matters for economy-wide inflation is the average wage relative to economy-wide productivity. To that end, the Bank will be monitoring closely pay settlements that are bunched towards the turn of the year and will be taking a steer from the pay of new hires as a potential leading indicator of broader pay pressures.

Some observers have discounted the implications for inflation of the recent weakness of pay growth because some of it stems from the types of jobs that are being filled, but these are real jobs being performed by real people, and an increase in lower-skilled, lower-wage jobs is one consequence of working off the labour supply shock. We also need to be mindful of those longer-term trends that I spoke of at the start. We also need to be mindful, in other words, that this could represent part of a trend towards greater job polarisation.

The point is that what matters for inflationary pressures, irrespective of the type of job, is the relationship between wages and productivity, and that relationship is captured by unit labour costs. When we look across the

economy at the moment, wage growth is barely above productivity growth. Soft unit labour costs indicate that there is further to go before we reach the new sustainable level of employment. In other words, there is still slack in the labour market. That slack is wasteful, and if it were to remain inflation would remain below the 2 per cent target.

Our best current collective judgement is that, while the degree of slack has narrowed rapidly, this slack remains broadly in the region of 1 per cent of GDP. As I said a moment ago, as this margin of slack continues to narrow, we expect wages to pick up slightly faster than productivity. However, we expect that it will take the better part of three years for this to happen materially enough to bring inflation back to target.

With inflation at 1.6 per cent, continuing downward pressure from past appreciation of sterling, and with that margin of slack remaining, the current inflation environment is benign. But it will not remain benign if we do not increase rates prudently as the expansion progresses. The Bank's latest forecasts show that if interest rates were to follow broadly the path expected by markets, or at least the path expected by markets in August – that is, beginning to increase by the spring and thereafter rising very gradually – inflation would settle at around 2 per cent by the end of our first forecast and a further 1.2 million jobs would have been created. In other words, we would achieve our mandate. That's a forecast. There is, as always, uncertainty about the future. But uncertainty does not mean stasis. You can expect interest rates to begin to increase.

The exact path of interest rates will depend on the economy, and the Bank's assessment will, undoubtedly, change as the economy evolves and, of course, policy will be adjusted if geopolitical events have a material impact on the outlook. If indicators suggest the economy is moving more slowly towards our goals, we will have learned that we are further from sustainable capacity. Prospective wage and unit labour cost growth will be weaker. Rates will go up later and more gradually. But if we see faster progress, prospective wage and unit labour cost growth will be stronger, which will suggest we are closer to maximum capacity in the economy and that the economy can sustain

higher rates sooner. In all of those scenarios, rate rises can be expected to be gradual and limited compared to the experience of the UK in the past.

Let me conclude and then we will get to questions. We are under no illusions. The Great Recession was a calamity. British workers have borne many of the consequences. Our job at the Bank of England is to maintain price and financial stability, because price and financial stability support sustainable growth in jobs and incomes. But monetary policy cannot do it alone. Others – you, including trade unions, governments and businesses – will determine the potential of this economy. You will ultimately determine the size of Britain's pay rise. Those in work need to be able to seize new job opportunities in a world where technology and globalisation cause labour markets to shift rapidly.

As you have been discussing over the last day-and-a-half but much, much longer, skill levels need to be raised continually. That is, first and foremost, clearly about education but, crucially, it also means access to life-long learning both on and off the job and access that is available to all.

The TUC's engagement with the UK's skills agenda is a major contribution to achieving that imperative. Let me give one example from the past year alone. Unionlearn helped more than 200,000 people invest in their skills. These are the types of investments that are absolutely crucial for the durability of this expansion and for Britain's future. These are the type of investments that will help to deliver long-term productivity so that the British people get the pay rise that they deserve.

Thank you very much for your attention.

Chuka Umunna MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills

Monday, 8 September 2014, Liverpool

President, Congress, thank you so much for having me to speak. It is an honour to address you for the first time today. Let me begin by paying tribute to your General Secretary. Frances, you are doing a fantastic job leading this movement, keeping us on our toes, and fighting for social justice in this country.

Today, I would like to talk about the importance of this movement and our shared mission to build a new economy, but as my time is limited I am not going to be able to cover everything. I will be more than happy to pick up on the things I do not talk about in the Q&A after.

Let me start with a simple statement. I am proud to be a trade union member out of choice and out of conviction. I do not come from a family with a history of trade union activism but my late father, my Dad, a self-made man, always supported this movement, always voted Labour. Let me tell you why.

He arrived in this country, in this very city in fact, at Liverpool Docks, in the mid-1960s after a long boat journey from Nigeria. It took some courage, not just because he was leaving everything he knew but he could not swim; if the boat sank, he was going to go with it. He was seasick for the entire journey but carrying only a battered suitcase he made it here to Liverpool.

He came here, like so many immigrants to create a better life for himself and to make a contribution as well, but like every other person of colour in the 1960s Britain that he arrived in, he faced rampant discrimination. Just remember the famous signs – I was not around then but I am sure there are people in this room who do – “No Irish, No Blacks, No Dogs”.

The reason my entrepreneur father supported this movement – in fact his hero was Harold Wilson – was simple, this movement gave my father a chance. The reason those racist signs came down and my father got his

opportunity was because of the trade unionists and Labour governments leading the charge for equalities legislation in the 1960s and 1970s.

That, Congress, is why I am so proud to be speaking to you today. Too easily, I think, people forget the impact that this movement has had. Sometimes, and this happens quite often in Westminster, you just shake your head at some of the rubbish you have to sit through, government members, week after week, smearing and denigrating our trade unions.

If you just think, they have had this big push to appoint more women ministers. That, of course, is great yet they seem to forget that these very same Conservative women have benefited from the right to equal pay, maternity leave, and all the other social reforms that this Movement worked so tirelessly to introduce. They attack the very people who have helped remove the barriers to their progress. It is a disgrace and it must stop.

Maybe they think it is pro-business to attack you. It is not pro-business. Just as I am clear that you cannot be pro-worker if you do not back the businesses that create decent jobs, you cannot be pro-business if you constantly attack the rights and representative organisations of the people who work in our businesses.

Pro-worker, pro-business, that is our approach. That is the right approach. After all, many of the most successful FTSE 100 companies are the ones that recognise the important role of trade unions and your members. It is an approach that is going to be more important than ever in the future.

As a movement, we have always worked to ensure the right balance of power between those who have and those who do not. That ideal endures. But, let's face it, and I think we all know this, the context in which we seek to achieve social justice, to ensure people have good, fulfilling work, is changing.

We have all seen the winds of change blowing through towns and communities across Britain. The emerging economies, globally; the South and East are posing greater competition than ever to our firms and our workers. New technologies are transforming how we live, how business is done; and, yes, creating new jobs but also making many of the jobs people have done for generations disappear, and the new jobs are not always better jobs.

The thing is we cannot stop this change. We cannot stop the rise of international competition. We cannot stop the onward of technology. Doing so through protectionist measures, for example, would be entirely counterproductive but we can and we must shape these forces of change together to build the kinds of jobs and the better future we want for our children, our families, and our communities.

We have to ensure it is our firms – our firms – which are the ones producing and creating those new technologies the world wants, enabling us to pay our way in the world, building an economy of good jobs and higher wages for all. And, Congress, for this we need you. I think, and I do not know about you, too often trade unions only come to prominence in the media when things reach crisis point, during difficult pay negotiations, when a plant is under threat, during a dispute.

That essential role for you, for trade unions, will continue but we need unions to be engaged not just in times of dispute or crisis but much earlier, in a continuous discussion, shaping the process of change I have talked about, working with our businesses to transform themselves, to harness the new technologies and compete with India, China, and beyond.

At the level of each firm, we must be ready for these kinds of discussions, as I know you are, and we need employers engaging with you, including you in this process, promoting investment in people and business so we are producing goods and services in each business that can be sold to the world.

I am clear, adding value is what this Movement does for our economy and this approach is needed at the level of each industry sector, too. It is essential trade unions are included and play an active part on different sector bodies in shaping the different industrial strategies we have. Government, of course, must play its role in the implementation of those industrial strategies across all departments, bringing employers and union representatives together to help forge that future, resolutely backing those sectors where we have a competitive edge or might do in the future.

That is not happening right now. Look at the defence industry, for example, at the beginning of this Parliament where the government

abandoned UK firms to buy off-the-shelf kit from the US. Look at renewables and the damage caused by their U-turn on feed-in tariffs, putting the whole of that industry in peril. More recently, look at pharmaceuticals where they were happy to wave through the takeover of our second biggest firm, AstraZeneca, by Pfizer, a firm with a record of intellectually asset-stripping companies and cutting R&D investment.

As Ed Miliband says, we can and must do better than this. Under Labour our long-term plan for growth with industrial strategy at its core – we call it “Agenda 2030” – will animate the whole of government, backing our businesses and those working within them, a strategic and strong pro-worker, pro-business agenda that has us all working together, employers, trade unions, and government, to ensure the UK and all of our people succeed. It is the only way we will rise to the challenge of building a new economy in this new modern global world that I have talked about.

Now, the Conservatives – sorry, I have to talk about them – do not understand that you have to build an economy, not on the stress fractures of conflict but on the firm foundations of collaboration. They see workers as a threat to be controlled, not as the inspiration for everything our companies achieve. They see unions as a brake on our nation’s success, not as partners in building the new shared economy we need. They say we are all in this together but their actions – just look at Francis Maude – seek to divide and rule. And do not even get me started on UKIP, who take division to a whole new level.

Congress, we cannot meet the challenges our nation faces by setting our communities against each other, by scapegoating and blaming each other. Let’s be frank, the rhetoric that seeps out of that party in respect of our fellow Europeans is not at all dissimilar from the rhetoric deployed against black and Asian people in times past. We will not stand for it.

That is why when people argue, and you will hear it, we are all the same, they are all the same, I am resolute in my view that we are not. We are not. The Tory way, the UKIP way, is not the Labour way of doing things. Labour is a political party built on the power of common endeavour, the value of collaboration, the

importance of solidarity, respecting people's rights and ensuring they have a voice.

That is why I am proud we voted down the move by Tory MPs to abolish trade union facilities time in this Parliament. That is why I am proud we saw off the threat of Adrian Beecroft's compensated no-fault dismissals. That is why I am proud we blocked the proposal by Vince Cable – sorry, I have to mention him too – to end the Equality and Human Rights Commission's duty to promote equality.

Above all, Congress, that is why I am proud to say we will do what this Government has refused to do, launch a full inquiry, held publicly, into the inexcusable blacklisting of workers in the construction sector. Let me be clear, if I am given the privilege by Ed Miliband of serving as business secretary in the next Labour government, we will deliver justice to those workers who lost their livelihoods and end blacklisting once and for all.

Labour believes not just in words but, proudly, in our actions too and in government this will continue. We have fought to defend people's rights in opposition and these rights, of course, are only meaningful if you can get proper redress. We are clear the current employment tribunal system is unfair, unsustainable, and has resulted in prohibitive costs.

What this government has done is lock people out of the justice they are entitled to. Affordability should not be a barrier to workplace justice. It should not be a barrier to workplace justice. It would also be a mistake simply to return to the system of the past where you know tribunals were so slow that meaningful justice was not always available.

So, I am happy to say this today, if we are elected, the next Labour government will abolish the current system, reform the employment tribunals, and put in place a new system that ensures all workers have proper access to justice, openness and respect, rights and justice under a future Labour government.

It is the same drive for social justice that lies behind our commitment to restoring the value of the national minimum wage, with increased fines and better enforcement. It lies behind our commitment to incentivise employers to pay a living wage. It lies behind our commitment to outlaw exploitative zero-hours contracts. If you work hard, day in, day out, in 2014 you should

not have to live in poverty or have insecurity heaped upon you.

There is more. We will take action to ensure agency workers are properly protected and that there are no exemptions from equal treatment on pay, and that includes ending the Swedish derogation. We will extend the remit of the Gangmasters Licensing Authority.

I could go on but, of course, all of this will only happen if a Labour government is elected.

We will extend the remit of the Gangmasters' Licensing Authority. I could go on, but the red light will start showing. But all of this will only happen if a Labour government is elected next year.

I should say that if you live in Scotland, the SNP would have you believe that social justice can be achieved by voting for separation, but when asked what measures in their White Paper redistribute money and power from those who have it to those who do not, they have no answers because there are none. Instead, they are committed to a further 3p reduction in corporation tax for the biggest and wealthiest companies. Congress, there is only one way to achieve better social justice in this United Kingdom and that is through the pro-worker, pro-business agenda I have talked about which the election of a Labour government will deliver, not by separation.

To finish, I would like to go back to the beginning and to my father. When he arrived here in Liverpool, he was filled with hope and ambition. That is what this country represented to him – and what it proved to be all the way to his death. Due to your work protecting his rights, the infrastructure this country provided and his ability to see opportunity in the world, he was able to make it. That simple story of hope, hard work, rights, opportunity and success is what we want for all our people so that we can lead lives where tomorrow is better than today and, above all, we can give our children more than we had.

Let us work together, in solidarity, to make that happen. Thank you, Congress.

Section 3:

Unions and their delegates

Accord

Union address: Simmons House, 46 Old Bath Road, Charvil, Reading RG10 9QR
 Telephone: 0118 934 1808
 Out of hours media number: 07973 642592
 Email: info@accordhq.org
 Email (officials and staff):
 firstname.surname@accordhq.org
 Web: www.accord-myunion.org
 Main trades and industries represented:
 the Lloyds banking group
 Membership stats:
 Male 7,958 | Female 16,219 | Total 24,177
 General Secretary: Ged Nichols
 Delegates:
 Margaret Betts Vickie Bullough
 Chris Goldthorpe Ged Nichols
 Caroline Pollock Christine Robinson
 Male: 2 Female: 4 Total: 6

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 1,771 | Female 5,013 | Total 6,784
 General Secretary: Linda Rolph
 Delegates:
 Gerard Moloney Linda Rolph
 Male: 1 Female: 1 Total: 2

AEGIS

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:
 Finance
 Membership stats:
 Male 1,283 | Female 1,592 | Total 2,875
 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 688 | Female 2,609 | Total 3,297
 General Secretary: Kate Fallon
 Delegates:
 John Drewicz Kate Fallon
 Male: 1 Female: 1 Total: 2

AFA-CWA

Association of Flight Attendants
 Union address: AFA Council 07 United Airlines Cargo Centre, Shoreham Road East, Heathrow Airport, Hounslow TW6 3UA
 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:
 Total 20,054
 (male/female split not available)
 General Secretary: Mick Whelan
 Delegates:
 Alan Donnelly Hussein Ezzedine
 Deborah Reay Simon Weller
 Mick Whelan
 Male: 4 Female: 1 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 32,920 | Female 94,979 | Total 127,899
 General Secretary: Dr Mary Bousted
 Delegates:
 Ray Amos Mark Baker
 Victoria Barlow Mary Bousted
 Alec Clark Shelagh Hirst
 Mark Holding Julie Huckstep
 Avie Kaur Kim Knappett
 John Laidlaw Matt Mугan
 Julia Neal Peter Pendle
 Hank Roberts Alison Sherratt
 Ralph Surman Niamh Sweeney
 Richard Thompson
 Male: 10 Female: 9 Total: 19

BACM-TEAM

British Association of Colliery Management –
 Technical,
 Energy and Administrative Management
 Union address: Edwinstowe House, High Street,
 Edwinstowe, NG21 9PR
 Telephone: 01623 821510
 Email: gs@bacmteam.org.uk
 Web: www.bacmteam.org.uk
 Main trades and industries represented:
 Mining and other energy workers
 Membership stats:
 Male 1,795 | Female 73 | Total 1,868
 General Secretary: Patrick Carragher
 Delegate:
 Patrick Carragher
 Male: 1 Female: 0 Total: 1

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 7,420 | Female 480 | Total 7,900
 General Secretary: Jim McAuslan
 Delegates:
 Martin Drake Jim McAuslan
 Male: 2 Female: 0 Total: 2

BDA

British Dietetic Association
 Union address: Charles House, 148/149 Great
 Charles Street, Queensway, 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 343 | Female 7,266 | Total 7,609
 Head of employment relations: Debbie
 O'Rourke
 Delegates:
 Dennis Edmondson Clare Jones
 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 16,407 | Female 6,999 | Total 23,406
 General Secretary: Gerry Morrissey
 Delegates:
 Luke Crawley John Handley
 Jane Perry 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 20,216 (male/female split not available)
 General Secretary: Ronnie Draper
 Delegates:
 Ronnie Draper Joe Knapper
 Pauline 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 85 | Female 934 | Total 1,019
 Chair: Lesley-Anne Baxter
 Delegates:
 Fiona Beckett
 Male: 0 Female: 1 Total: 1

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 658 | Female 1,715 | Total 2,373
 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:
 Dougie Fairbairn Keith Jordan
 Sue Mather Rob Middlemas
 Robert Mooney Chris Rice
 Roy Rickhuss
 Male: 6 Female: 1 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 7,950 | Female 31,800 | Total 39,750
 Director of employment relations and union
 services: Lesley Mercer
 Delegates:
 Jill Barker Rachael Machin
 Lesley Mercer Myles Mwanza
 Tony Shakesby Claire Sullivan
 Barbara Verrall
 Male: 1 Female: 6 Total: 7

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 164,001 | Female 37,728 | Total 201,729
 General Secretary: Billy Hayes
 Delegates:
 Craig Anderson Nick Darbyshire
 Maria Exall Jackie Gatward
 Billy Hayes Kate Hudson
 Olufemi Igbekele Mick Kavanagh
 Tony Kearns Andy Kerr
 Jim McKechnie Ali Moosa
 Jaqueline Morrey Beryl Shepherd

Amarjite Singh Joyce Stephenson
 Mark Walsh David Wilshire
 Male: 11 Female: 7 Total: 18

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 12,306 | Female 41,536 | Total 53,842

General Secretary: Larry Flanagan

Delegates:

Tommy Castles	Celia Connolly
Nicola Dasgupta	Larry Flanagan
Edith Swinley	Ken Wimbor

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 19,088 | Female 19,109 | Total 38,197

General Secretary: Christine Payne

Delegates:

Max Beckmann	Di Christian
Nicholas Goh	Christine Payne
Lynda Rook	Malcolm Sinclair

Male: 2 Female: 4 Total: 6

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 37,324 | Female 2,659 | Total 39,983

General Secretary: Matt Wrack

Delegates:

Kerry Baigent	Kevin Brown
Otis Graham	Tam McFarlane
Alan McLean	Ian Murray
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 8,361 | Female 8,605 | Total 16,966

General Secretary: Dave Penman

Delegates:

Jan Fenell Rutherford	Sue Gethin
Dave Penman	Tony Wallace

Male: 2 Female: 2 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:

General

Membership stats:

Male 314,129 | Female 302,935 | Total 617,064

General Secretary: Paul Kenny

Delegates:

Kathy Abubakir	Charles Adje
Dotun Alade Odumosu	Rehana Azam
Sheila Bearcroft MBE	Liz Blackman
Justin Bowden	Dana Bruno
Kevin Buchanan	Caroline Campbell
Maragaret Clarke	Ida Clemo
Billy Coates	Harry Donaldson
Brendan Duffield	Roy Dunnett
Brian Farr	Gerry Ferguson
Karen Guest	Sharon Holder
David Hope	Kamaljeet Jandu
Janette Jepson	Lisa Johnson
Kevin Jones	Farzanna Jumma
Joan Kelly	Paul Kenny
Mick Lancaster	Maria Ludkin
Evelyn Martin	Fern McCaffrey

Paul McCarthy John McDonnell
Linda Moore Joe Morgan
Cathy Murphy Pete Murphy
Lorraine Parker Tim Roache
Malcolm Sage Lena Sharp
Kath Slater Viv Smart
Gary Smith Cath Speight
James Stribley Brian Strutton
Mary Turner MBE Kathleen Walker Shaw
Male: 24 Female: 27 Total: 51

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 2,593 | Female 635 | Total 3,228
General Secretary: Eddie Saville
Delegates:
Eddie Saville John Schofield
Male: 2 Female: 0 Total: 2

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 21,908 | Female 8,802 | Total 30,710
General Secretary: John Smith
Delegates:
Harriet Bennett Kathy Dyson
Tom Edwards Dave Lee
John Smith
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@nacocoop.org
Web: www.naco.coop
Main trades and industries represented:
The Co-operative Group
Membership stats:
Male 1,175 | Female 644 | Total 1,819
General Secretary: Neil Buist
Delegates:
Neil Buist Sue Powell
Male: 1 Female: 1 Total: 2

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:
Total 233 (male/female split not available)
General Secretary: Rowland Soar
Delegate:
Terry Fox
Male: 1 Female: 0 Total: 1

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 2,280 | Female 5,843 | Total 8,123
General Secretary: Ian Lawrence
Delegates:
Ian Lawrence Yvonne Pattison
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 927 | Female 855 | Total 1,782
 Chief Executive: George McGrath
 Delegates:
 George McGrath Kevin Parsons
 Male: 2 Female: 0 Total: 2

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:
 Male 78,042 | Female 214,972 | Total 293,024
 General Secretary: Chris Keates
 Delegates:
 Tariq Arafa Lynn Bayliss
 Geoff Branner Fred Brown
 Brian Cookson
 Michelle Corrington-Rogers
 Lena Davies Graham Dawson
 Nigel De Gruchy Kathy Duggan
 Claudia Glasgow Karen Hopwood
 Chris Keates Dave Kitchen
 Mick Lyons Dan McCarthy
 Derek Moore Jennifer Moses
 Abdullah Muhsin Pullum
 Paul Nesbitt Darren Northcott
 Ben Padley Jim Quigley
 Timothy Ramsden Patrick Roach
 Sue Rogers Peter Scott
 Nick Trier Tracey Twist
 Kathy Wallis Chris Weavers
 Amanda Williamson Gareth Young
 Male: 21 Female: 12 Total: 33

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 15,261 | Female 539 | Total 15,800
 General Secretary: Mark Dickinson
 Delegates:

Ronnie Cunningham Mark Dickinson
 Mike Jess Norman Martin
 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
 Web: www.ngsu.org.uk
 Main trades and industries represented:
 Staff within the Nationwide Group
 Membership stats:
 Male 3,512 | Female 8,340 | Total 11,852
 General Secretary: Tim Poil
 Delegates:
 Christine Cooper Gill Grocott
 Tim Poil
 Male: 1 Female: 2 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
 Web: www.nuj.org.uk
 Main trades and industries represented:
 Journalism
 Membership stats:
 Male 18,669 | Female 11,765 | Total 30,434
 General Secretary: Michelle Stanistreet
 Delegates:
 David Campanale Alan Gibson
 Sian Jones Andy Smith
 Michelle Stanistreet
 Male: 3 Female: 2 Total: 5

NUM

National Union of Mineworkers
 Union address: Miners’ Offices, 2 Huddersfield
 Road, Barnsley S70 2LS
 Telephone: 01226 215555
 Email: chris.kitchen@num.org.uk
 Web: www.num.org.uk
 Main trades and industries represented:
 Coal mining
 Membership stats:
 Total 1,283 (male/female split not available)
 National 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

Main trades and industries represented:

Teaching

Membership stats:

Male 78,744 | Female 251,975 | Total 330,719

General Secretary: Christine Blower

Delegates:

Andrew Baisley	Sian Bassett
Marilyn Bater	Rachel Baxter
Christine Blower	Anton Brcar
Amanda Brown	Chris Brown
Dominic Byrne	Bridget Chapman
Kevin Courtney	Caroline Cowie
Beth Davies	Chris Denson
Christine Dickinson	John Dixon
Colin Dyson	Jerry Glazier
Philipa Harvey	Dave Harvey
Mandy Hudson	Beverly Humphries
Max Hyde	Betty Joseph
Alex Kenny	Roger King
Gawain Little	Amanda Martin
Heather McKenzie	Ros McNeil
Andrew Morris	Ian Murch
Annette Pryce	Louise Regan
Ken Rustidge	Chrissie Smith
Sarah Troughton	David Wilson

Male: 16 Female: 23 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

Main trades and industries represented:

Civil service and privatised ex-civil service
agencies

Membership stats:

Male 99,269 | Female 148,076 | Total 247,345

General Secretary: Mark Serwotka

Delegates:

Ian Albert	Kenny Baird
Chris Baugh	Sue Bond
Paula Brown	Martin Cavanagh

Helen Flanagan	Cheryl Gedling
Janice Godrich	Jackie Green
Austin Harney	Zita Holbourne
Ian Lawther	Fiona MacDonald
Kevin McHugh	John McNally
Gordon Rowntree	Vicki Searle
Mark Serwotka	Maurice Shaw
Sian Thomas	Katrine Williams

Male: 11 Female: 11 Total: 22

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 2,899 | Female 43 | Total 2,942

Chief Executive: Gordon Taylor OBE

Delegate:

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:

Prison, correctional and secure psychiatric
workers

Membership stats:

Male 23,165 | Female 7,965 | Total 31,130

General Secretary: Steve Gillan

Delegates:

Andrew Darken	Mick Deveraux
Mark Fairhurst	Stephen Gillan
Peter McParlin	Mike Rolfe
Neil Ross	

Male: 7 Female: 0 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 87,880 | Female 27,163 | Total 115,043
 General Secretary: Mike Clancy
 Delegates:
 Michael Clancy Lorna Daniel
 Sue Ferns Kevin Garside
 Archie Glen Alan Grey
 Trudy Ham Mike Hardacre
 Gordon Hutchinson Tom James
 Caitlin Kinsella Leslie Manasseh
 Marie McGrath Denise McGuire
 Robert Spicer Mick Upfield
 Male: 10 Female: 8 Total: 18

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 workers
 Membership stats:
 Male 70,032 | Female 10,073 | Total 80,105
 Acting General Secretary: Mick Cash
 Delegates:
 Mick Cash Chris Davidson
 Jennifer Gray Peter Hall
 Mark Harvey Billy Jones
 Peter Lewis Karlson Lingwood
 Kevin Morrison Peter Pinkney
 Nick Quirk Bill Rawcliffe
 John Reid Neil Sharples
 Steve Skelly Paul Walker
 Male: 15 Female: 1 Total: 16

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:
 Chiropody and podiatry
 Membership stats:
 Male 2,510 | Female 6,788 | Total 9,298
 General Secretary: Joanna Brown
 Delegates:

Joanna Brown Patricia Schooling
 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 26,485 (male/female split not available)
 Chief Executive Officer: Richard Evans
 Delegates:
 Pamela Black Richard Evans
 Steve Herring 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 178 | Female 345 | Total 523
 Chair: Julie Holton
 Delegates:
 Joanne Fellows 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 workers
 Membership stats:
 Male 15,644 | Female 6,082 | Total 21,726
 General Secretary: Manuel Cortes
 Delegates:
 Rebecca Barnes Mick Carney
 Manuel Cortes Hilary Hosking
 Mitch 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:
 Total 3,815 (male/female split not available)
 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 84,922 | Female 2,061 | Total 86,983
 General Secretary: Steve Murphy
 Delegates:
 Ged Cooney Brian Davis
 Stuart Grice Alan Jolley
 Andy Jones John Kemp
 Steve Murphy Tony O'Brien
 Mark Page Terry Palfrey
 Simon Pantry Bill Parry
 Wayne Sloane Neil Vernon
 Andy Wilson
 Male: 15 Female: 0 Total: 15

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 55,644 | Female 57,583 | Total 113,227
 General Secretary: Sally Hunt
 Delegates:
 Mandy Brown Helen Carr
 Joanna De Groot Rob Goodfellow
 Terry Hoad Sally Hunt

Vicky Knight Dominique Lauterburg
 Liz Lawrence Martin Levy
 Loraine Monk Mahmona Shah
 Male: 3 Female: 9 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 402,241 | Female 864,470 | Total 1,266,711
 General Secretary: Dave Prentis
 Delegates:
 James Anthony Paula Barker
 Kerry Baugh Amanda Berger
 Nicole Berrisford Josie Bird
 Jean Blevin Belinda Burton
 Liz Cameron Jane Carolan
 Beth Corris Paul Couchman
 Peter Crews Ruth Davies
 Lesley Discombe Neelo Farr
 Waida Forman Paul Glover
 Dan Goodwin Dettie Gould
 Margaret Greer Susan Highton
 Michael Hines Greta Holmes
 Kevin Jackson Karen Jennings
 Conroy Lawrence Jackie Lewis
 Lilian Macer Ann Macmillan Wood
 Gordon McKay Margarat Mckee
 Lucia McKeever Mark McSheehy
 Gloria Mills CBE Caryl Nobbs
 Roz Norman June Poole
 Dave Prentis Nicky Ramanandi
 Davena Rankin Eve Rose
 Satwant Sagoo Kim Silver
 Stephen Smellie Eleanor Smith
 Polly Smith Liz Snape
 Antoinette Solera Irene Stacey
 Sian Stockham Michael Stowe
 Chris Tansley Mark Trask
 Denise Ward Glen Williams
 Clare Williams Asha Wolfe-Robinson
 Rena Wood
 Male: 17 Female: 42 Total: 59

UNITE

Union address: Unite House, 128 Theobald's Road, London WC1X 8TN
 Telephone: 020 7611 2500
 Web: www.unitetheunion.org
 Main trades and industries represented:
 General
 Membership stats:
 Male 983,155 | Female 327,494 | Total 1,310,649
 General Secretary: Len McCluskey
 Delegates:

Terry Abbott	Stan Benefield
Mary Branigan	Paula Brennan
Tony Burke	Gail Cartmail
John Cooper	Tracy Coxhill
Anthony Curley	Hortense Donaldson
Donna Donnelly	Karim Fashesin
Debbie Figures	Richard Foster
Nigel Gawthrop	Vicki Grandon
Marina Gunn	Graeme Haines
Bronwen Handyside	Daksha Haria
Joe Harrickie	Ruth Hayes
Brian Hemsley	Agnes Hildich
Diana Holland	Oliver Kelly
Mahf Khan	Marie Kieran
Tony Lewington	Catherine Mallon
Shelley Maxfield	Dawn McAllister
Len McCluskey	Linda McCulloch
Sean McGovern	Liz McInnes
Jackie McMonagle	Lawrence Mitchell
Ivan Monckton	Hefin Morris
Andrew Murray	Brian Norbury
Phillip Norton	Brad Oliver
Temidayo Omitogun	Howard Percival
Stella Ridgeway	John Roscoe
Stan Ruddock	Taj Salam
Steve Sargeant	Stan Sims
Michelle Smith	Kathy Smith
Ian Smith	Jane Stewart
Joyce Still	Pat Stuart
Jasmin Sureya	Mohammed Taj
Steve Turner	Dave Uren
Lenford Vassell	Katherine Walters
James Watson	Debbie Wilkinson
Leroy Willis	Tony Woodhouse
Ollie Woodman	

Male: 36 Female: 33 Total: 69

Unity

Union address: Hillcrest House, Garth Street, Hanley, Stoke-on-Trent ST1 2AB
 Telephone: 01782 272 755

Web: www.unitytheunion.org.uk
 Main trades and industries represented:
 Ceramics
 Membership stats:
 Male 2,488 | Female 1,418 | Total 3,906
 General Secretary: Harry Hockaday
 Delegates:
 Thomas Dawkins MBE
 Male: 1 Female: 0 Total: 1

URTU

United Road Transport Union
 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 12,200 (male/female split not available)
 General Secretary: Robert Monks
 Delegates:
 Brian Hart Robert Monks
 Lee Pimbley
 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 191,064 | Female 242,338 | Total 433,402
 General Secretary: John Hannett
 Delegates:
 Balbinder Auluk Lorraine Barr
 Robert Bell Jeff Broome
 Valerie Cooke John Crick
 Tony Dale Peter Devine
 Brendan Duggan Garry Gibson
 Helen Grindley Susan Hallam
 John Hannett Shaun Jones
 Clare Jones Julie Keenan
 Paddy Lillis Ann Lloyd

Karl Lockley	Pauline Markham
John McLean	Milena Partington
Joan Samuels	Rosaria Sansone
Adam Skwierawski	Janette Thomas
Angela Thomas	Shelley Vaughan
Simon Vincent	Frederick West
Anne Will	Barbara Wilson
Fiona Wilson	Alan Woodhouse
Carla Woodley	

Male: 17 Female: 18 Total: 35

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
Web: www.writersguild.org.uk
Main trades and industries represented:
Television, radio, film, books, theatre, video
games, multimedia
Membership stats:
Male 698 | Female 428 | Total 1,126
General Secretary: Bernie Corbett

YISA

Yorkshire Independent Staff Association
Union address: c/o Yorkshire Building Society,
Yorkshire House, Yorkshire Drive, Rooley Lane,
Bradford BD5 8LJ
Telephone: 01274 472629
Email: ahgrota@ybs.co.uk
Main trades and industries represented:
Staff of Yorkshire Building Society
Membership stats:
Male 539 | Female 1,188 | Total 1,727
General Secretary: Ania Grota
Delegates:
Pat Cook Maureen Torrance
Male: 0 Female: 2 Total: 2

SUMMARY

Number of affiliated unions: 53
Membership:
Male: 2,905,943
Female: 2,796,738
Male/female split not available: 84,053
Total: 5,786,734

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
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

No.	Date	Venue	President	General Secretary	Delegates	Unions	Members
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 Operatives)	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
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

Section 4: Details of past Congresses

No.	Date	Venue	President	General Secretary	Delegates	Unions	Members
121	1989	Blackpool	Tony Christopher (Inland Revenue Staff)	Norman Willis	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

*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, 1921–2014

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
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 *Bondfield, M: 1921–23, 1925–29
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 Bothwell, JG: 1963–67
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 Bousted, M: 2003–12
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 Davies, DH: 1967–74
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 Macgougan, J: 1970–78
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 Plant, CTH: 1963–75
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 Ritchie, A: 2005–10
 Rix, M: 2001–2002
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 Robinson, SA: 1959–69
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 Rooney, M: 1990–2002
 Rosser, R: 2000: 2003
 Rown, J: 1921–34
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 Sanders, B: 2007
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 Sherwood, W: 1934–36
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 Smith, E: 2007–14
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 Smith, P: 1999–2002
 Smith, R: 1957–66
 Smithies, FA: 1983–89
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 Sonnet, K: 2001–06
 Spackman, EW: 1945–46
 Spanswick, EAG: 1977–82
 Spence, WR: 1931–41
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 Stanley, BC: 1983–85
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 Stevenson, RB: 1984–89
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 Sweeney, N: 2013–14
 Swindell, B: 1962–65
 Switzer, B: 1993–97
 Symons, E: 1989–95
 Taj, M: 2000–14
 Talbot, P: 1999–2008
 Tallon, WM: 1957–66
 Tami, M: 1999–2000
 Tanner, J: 1943–53
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 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: 2011–14
 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
 Warrillow, E: 1997–1999
 Warwick, D: 1989–91
 Webber, WJP: 1953–62

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 Weighell, S: 1975–82
 Weller, S: 2011–14
 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: 2007–14
 Winsett, J: 1986
 Wolstencroft, F: 1928–48
 Wood, L: 1979–84
 Wood, W: 1936–37
 Woodhouse, T: 2008–14
 Woodley, T: 2003–10
 Wrack, M: 2006–14
 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

