

CONGRESS 2018

REPORT OF CONGRESS



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REPORT OF CONGRESS 2018

The 150th Annual Trades Union Congress
9–12 September 2018, Manchester

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General Council members

2018–19

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GMB

Josie Bird
UNISON

Mary Bousted
NEU

Tony Burke
Unite

Gail Cartmail
Unite

Mick Cash
RMT

Mike Clancy
Prospect

Manuel Cortes
TSSA

Kevin Courtney
NEU

Ruth Cross
Usdaw

Nick Cusack
PFA

Tony Dale
Usdaw

Neil Derrick
GMB

Mark Dickinson
Nautilus International

Maria Exall
CWU

Sue Ferns
Prospect

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Steve Gillan
POA

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UCU

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NASUWT

Vicky Knight
UCU

Ian Lawrence
Napo

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BDA

Susan Matthews
Unite

Len McCluskey
Unite

Seán McGovern
Unite

Roger McKenzie
UNISON

Gloria Mills CBE
UNISON

Ged Nichols
Accord

Christine Payne
Equity

Dave Penman
FDA

Dave Prentis
UNISON

Davena Rankin
UNISON

Roy Rickhuss
Community

Patrick Roach
NASUWT

Tim Roache
GMB

Maggie Ryan
Unite

Malcolm Sage
GMB

Mark Serwotka
PCS

Jon Skewes
RCM

Liz Snape MBE
UNISON

Michelle Stanistreet
NUJ

Jane Stewart
Unite

Claire Sullivan
CSP

Chris Tansley
UNISON

Horace Trubridge
Musicians' Union

Steve Turner
Unite

Dave Ward
CWU

Simon Weller
ASLEF

Tony Woodhouse
Unite

Matt Wrack
FBU

Frances O'Grady
TUC General Secretary

Section 1

Congress decisions

Listed below are the decisions taken by the 2018 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

1 Industrial strategy: an economy for the many

Congress believes that the government has abjectly failed to produce an industrial strategy that meets the needs of working people by re-balancing the economy for sustainable, job-creating growth.

The last year has been a litany of government failures, from the refusal to intervene in the takeover of GKN by asset-stripping firm Melrose to the cancellation of the Swansea Tidal Lagoon.

Congress echoes the concerns of shadow chancellor John McDonnell that the deep structural problems in our economy that led to the financial crisis – and the decade of subsequent austerity – have not been dealt with.

One result of the chronic levels of underinvestment is the alarming fall in the number of high-quality apprenticeships. Young workers remain more likely to be offered a zero-hours contract than a union-recognised, well-paid apprenticeship.

Congress calls on the General Council to campaign for an industrial strategy for the many, which includes:

- i. strengthening worker voice by promoting and extending collective bargaining and sectoral collective bargaining
- ii. support for UK manufacturing, construction and infrastructure investments
- iii. a commitment to positive procurement to support foundation industries, such as the use of UK steel for the next generation of RN fleet support ships
- iv. strategic support so the UK remains a world leader in emerging technologies, such as electric vehicles
- v. high-quality apprenticeships and an urgent review of the apprenticeship levy to close

loopholes and guarantee a union voice on national skills bodies

- vi. reform of takeovers, merger and acquisition regulation to promote longtermism and protect the interests of workers and communities.

Unite

The following amendment was ACCEPTED by the mover:

Add sub-paragraph vii. at end:

“vii. support for investment and strategic planning to ensure UK industry is at the forefront of a just transition to a low-carbon economy and the fight against climate change, including by means of an integrated transport strategy.”

ASLEF

2 The future of the retail sector

Congress is alarmed at the level and frequency of restructuring within the retail sector, which is a constant source of worry for the UK's three million retail workers.

Congress believes that retail workers have been overlooked for too long. Job security in the sector has not been a priority of the current government, which has failed to develop a coherent industrial strategy for retail, despite it being the UK's largest private sector employer.

Retail workers' concerns about the increasing pace of changes in technology and customer spending, and the risks posed by Brexit, must be addressed as a matter of urgency.

Congress agrees to campaign for:

- i. urgent government action to address the challenges facing retail
- ii. investment in skills for retail workers, including through union learning and high-quality apprenticeships
- iii. reform of tax law to level the playing field between online and bricks-and-mortar retailers
- iv. stronger corporate governance rules, to prevent asset-stripping
- iv. action to curb excessive CEO pay, to close the gap with the lowest paid workers and ensure that business failure cannot be rewarded with bonuses

- v. a legal right to collective consultation on the implementation of new technology in workplaces
- vi. a review of the law on redundancy, to remove the loophole that allows large chains to avoid consulting over small sites
- vii. every alternative to job losses to be explored, including the option of reducing working hours, while protecting workers' take-home pay.

Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers

3 Save Our Steel

Congress recognises the ongoing steel crisis is driven by global overcapacity and policies of the Westminster Conservative government that force our industry to compete at a disadvantage. Congress notes that our steel industry and supply chains as well as the wider manufacturing sector are constrained by the absence of an effective UK-wide industrial strategy.

Congress notes the recently imposed 25 per cent tariffs on US steel imports and the devastating impact this could have on the UK steel industry and British jobs. Congress is clear the US tariffs cannot be justified on national security grounds and that self-defeating economic protectionism is no answer to the ongoing challenge of global overcapacity, which will require a multilateral solution.

Congress acknowledges the ongoing importance and successes of the multi-union Save Our Steel campaign. However, Congress is under no illusion that our steel industry is continuously fighting for its future and that more must be done to ensure a sustainable future for UK steel making. Congress calls on the General Council to:

- i. lobby government to deliver the long-overdue Steel Sector Deal
- ii. continue campaigning to ensure that the UK steel industry is the foundation of a comprehensive government strategy for manufacturing
- iii. condemn the US steel tariffs and lobby government to secure an exemption and support strong EU safeguards to protect our industry from trade diversion

- iv. lobby government to deliver a robust trade defence regime to protect our industry from steel dumping after we leave the EU
- v. continue to support the Save Our Steel campaign.

Community

4 Local casting

On-screen talent is currently excluded from the regulator Ofcom's criteria for a television production to qualify under its regional production guidance. "Regional" includes productions that are currently badged as being produced in one of the UK's nations.

The intention of the Ofcom regional production guidance, which arose from the Communications Act 2003 is to "support and strengthen the nations' and regions' production sector". Congress agrees with this intention and believes that the performing workforce is as crucial to a strong production sector as other personnel and inputs involved in productions.

Film and television production is heavily concentrated in London and the South East of England. Performers based in the UK's nations and regions often struggle to find enough opportunities to sustain a career, particularly those from working class backgrounds. The rising cost of living in London, combined with housing shortages in the capital and welfare cuts have also led to a decline in the physical and social mobility of the performer workforce.

Recruitment practices in the performing arts are often built around personal relationships, subjective judgements and networking. Congress believes that all stakeholders in the industry need to do more to ensure that due consideration is given to talent based in the community or region in which a production is made or set.

Congress therefore calls on Ofcom to work with unions to come up with an appropriate inclusion of on-screen talent through a revision of its regional production guidance.

Equity

5 Automation

Congress notes there are clear challenges and threats to workers presented by technological change, but that there are also opportunities to create positive change to boost productivity and provide workers with greater flexibility and creativity in their work.

Congress further notes some sectors, such as finance, are impacted by a more advanced wave of technological change. Congress acknowledges the extent to which automation has the potential to change or threaten jobs across the economy.

Congress recognises the vital role of trade unions in responding to and negotiating around workplace changes driven by automation and welcomes the work of unions across the movement in seeking to develop a trade union response to automation.

Congress firmly believes employers and government have a duty to ensure workers are equipped with the skills they need in response to automation and to adapt to technological change and potential changes to jobs or job roles.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- i. bring together unions whose members are most affected by current developments in automation, such as those working in the finance and professional sectors, to discuss collective bargaining responses to the ongoing challenges artificial intelligence and automation will bring and to secure a fair share of productivity gains for workers.
- ii. support unions working with employers to provide opportunities for upskilling, retraining and redeployment for workers whose jobs are impacted by technological change
- iii. explore what government policy change is required to ensure workers can realise the benefits of automation and prosper in a rapidly changing advanced economy.

Community

6 Automation and its impact on black workers

Congress is concerned about the speed of automation in our industries with its major impact on black workers. Many sectors with a higher risk of automation are dominated by black workers including those in precarious employment.

Therefore, Congress calls on the General Council and affiliates to fight the threat of automation by assessing the risks and organising a campaign for the job security, terms and conditions, health and safety, new skills and training of black workers, through considering the following:

In the short term:

- i. assessing the threat of automation
- ii. collecting information from reps to predict risk
- iii. developing a risk register
- iv. raising awareness among black members and reps
- v. bargaining for job security
- vi. signing new technology agreements.

In the long term:

- a. safeguarding our unions by organising the lower risk sectors
- b. building global union power.

Through changes in legislation:

1. shorter working time without loss of pay and job protection
2. strong flexible-working regulations
3. better retirement policies
4. jobs and/or salary guarantees based on production volumes or service delivery
5. wide-scale sector bargaining
6. research and development in sectors most able to get more secure and better jobs from automation
7. education and training in skills needed for the future, including quality apprenticeship schemes.

TUC Black Workers' Conference

7 Just transition and energy workers' voice

Congress recognises our country's legally binding targets for a lower-carbon economy as part of international efforts to tackle climate change.

Congress notes that over 80 per cent of homes currently use gas, and that alongside the objectives of achieving lower and zero-carbon energy sources, governments must also ensure security of supply, meet requirements of industry and infrastructure as well as ensure affordability for the public.

Congress believes a balanced energy mix is essential to meeting these targets and objectives and that such a mix must include investment in renewables, alongside new nuclear and lower-carbon gas.

Congress notes that 'just transition' is a much-used but often ambiguous term and there is no shortage of voices who believe they are qualified to say what energy workers and communities want and need.

Congress wholeheartedly believes that trade unions are the best democratic vehicle for working people to collectively make their voices heard in public life and to defend their jobs.

Congress congratulates GMB, Prospect, UNISON and Unite for calling a just transition conference to ask members employed in energy precisely what they, their communities and industries want and need from an energy sector of the future.

Congress believes that the views of the workers affected, as expressed through these trade unions, should be paramount and central to development of all TUC policies on energy, industrial strategy and climate change, and that the TUC should develop a political and lobbying strategy led by the voices and experiences of energy unions and their members.

GMB

The following amendment was ACCEPTED by the mover:

In paragraph 2, after "industry" insert "transport"

At end of paragraph 3 add: "underpinned by an expanded programme of energy R&D"

At end of paragraph 5 add: "Trade unions are the only bodies with the expertise and experience to deliver fair change for workers."

At end of paragraph 6 delete full stop after "future" and add "and supports the continuation of this important programme of work."

Prospect

8 Fracking

Congress notes that Ireland, Scotland and Wales have effectively banned fracking. England remains an exception. The Labour Party has said it will ban fracking.

Congress acknowledges that decarbonisation of heat remains a huge challenge given the UK's high reliance on gas, and that imports have increased. However, pursuit of fracking is not the answer to this challenge.

Evidence of a changing climate is clearer than ever in both the UK and globally. Pursuing fracking will lock in fossil fuel infrastructure for decades to come and detracts from pursuing real alternatives to wholly decarbonise our economy.

Fracking also poses health risks to workers and communities, and the long-term viability of our water resources on which other sectors such as agriculture and manufacturing depend. The Environment Agency reports that current levels of abstraction leave "little room for increases in demand".

Congress recognises and supports the rights of affiliates to protect their members' interests in the sectors they represent. However, the threat of climate change to all workers requires that we work in solidarity to repurpose and create new jobs that will wholly decarbonise the economy by 2050.

Congress calls on the General Council to work with unions to consult affiliates on energy and decarbonisation policy, and to develop strategies to support workers in the transition to a zero-carbon economy and industrial strategy.

Congress further calls on the General Council to lobby the government to immediately ban fracking and provide public investment in the skills and jobs needed to achieve the above aim.

Bakers, Food and Allied Workers Union

The following amendment was NOT ACCEPTED by the mover:

In the second sentence of paragraph 3, replace “will” with “could”, and at the end of the sentence, after “decarbonise our economy”, add “without programmes to decarbonise gas.”

In the last paragraph, after “lobby the government to”, delete the remaining text and replace with: “independently evaluate the risks fracking might cause local communities versus the benefits of developing indigenous supply; support a moratorium whilst evaluation is concluded and commit government to a clean gas strategy, decarbonising gas fully using hydrogen/bio gas, ensuring affordable warmth is available to all.”

UNISON

9 Strategy for a low-carbon industrial region

Congress 2018 welcomes the following:

- i. Trade Union Councils in Yorkshire & the Humber TUC region have been working together with the regional TUC to develop a low-carbon regional strategy.
- ii. The Yorkshire & the Humber region hosts a strategically important industrial complex that generates more carbon gas emissions than any other region in the UK.
- iii. These industries include steel, chemicals, glass and cement, which are strongly unionised and provide thousands of much-needed, good quality jobs.
- iv. Our international commitments to reduce carbon gas emissions could pose a threat to the future of these industries and the jobs they provide unless real action is taken to ‘clean up’ their production processes.
- v. Yorkshire & the Humber TUC has already taken a lead in promoting a strategy for a Yorkshire & the Humber low-carbon industrial region

Yorkshire & the Humber TUC is committed to working with all competent actors to find environmentally sustainable solutions that can ensure the continued operation of these essential industries and protect the jobs they provide. This of course must include working with our trade union partners including shop stewards and activists employed in these industries. But we must also work with employers, local enterprise

partnerships, local authorities, environmental groups and relevant civil society organisations to develop a sustainable strategy for a Yorkshire & the Humber low-carbon region. Some of the solutions must include:

- a. carbon capture and storage technology
- b. new technology and modernised industrial processes that reduce carbon gas emissions
- c. recycling, combating waste, and other “green” solutions
- d. capture and use of carbon gases where possible
- e. collective bargaining agreements between unions and employers to achieve change whilst protecting jobs (including retraining where necessary)
- f. a just transition for workers so that no-one is left behind as industry and commerce adjusts to a low-carbon future.

Congress agrees to encourage Trade Union Councils in other regions of England and Wales to work with their regional TUC to develop appropriate low-carbon regional strategies, taking into account the particular carbon footprint applicable in their area.

Congress further agrees to put the fight against climate change at the heart of its campaign strategy, and urges the affiliated trade unions, the Trade Union Councils and most importantly our army of shop stewards and activists to give it their full support.

TUC Trades Councils’ Conference

11 High fares and the decline in season ticket fares

Congress is concerned that commuters are being priced off our railways and are being forced to change jobs, move home, or take alternative modes of transport – which also has a knock-on impact on road congestion and air pollution.

Congress regrets that in January 2018 fares across all operators were 20 per cent higher in real terms than they were in January 1995. This year regulated fares rose by 3.6 per cent, which is a much higher rate than the median increase in wages.

Congress notes that DfT figures reveal a 9.4 per cent drop in season ticket sales between July and September 2017, compared with the same quarter the previous year, and ORR figures indicate that rail usage fell by 1.4 per cent in the 2017–18 financial year: the biggest fall since 1993–4.

Congress believes that the high cost of season tickets is forcing this decline in train use amongst commuters who are no longer willing to pay rising fares for overcrowded rail services running on unreliable timetables.

Congress condemns the fact the UK's franchised rail system is run for the profit of private enterprises, not in the public interest. Overall revenue has continued to grow for train operators but now that passenger numbers are stagnating and their massive growth rates are in decline, companies are bailing out and taxpayers are footing the bill.

Congress calls on the General Council to campaign for: an end to the failing franchise system; higher levels of investment in the railway network; affordable fares; and a quality service for all.

ASLEF

13 The danger of rail freight decline for UK infrastructure

Congress is concerned about the decline in freight transported by rail over the last five years. Total freight moved grew steadily from 1995–96, reaching a peak of 22.7 billion net tonne kilometres in 2013–14. This has now fallen by over 25 per cent, to 17.0 billion net tonne kilometres.

The fall is largely due to government policy to tax coal traffic and the difficulties the

UK steel industry has endured. Over the last year, coal transported has fallen by 12.7 per cent and metals by 5.4 per cent. Areas of growth for rail freight, intermodal consumer goods and construction have not managed to keep pace with this rapid decline.

Congress notes that the rail freight industry has lost much of its capacity due to the decline in traffic but, that whilst decline in capacity can happen quickly, growing capacity and recruiting drivers takes far longer. Rail freight operators do

the infrastructure repairs and enhancements across our network.

Congress is concerned that if the government does not do more to support the rail freight industry, the UK's infrastructure and railways will go into decline. Additionally, we will see far more freight go onto our roads despite the fact that rail produces 76 per cent less carbon dioxide emissions than the equivalent road journey.

Congress calls on the General Council to campaign for more support for the freight industry and for the introduction of a publicly owned rail freight operator in order to ensure our network has the capacity for renewals and enhancements.

ASLEF

14 ETF fair transport campaign

Congress welcomes the European Transport Workers' Federation Fair Transport Campaign, re-launched earlier this year, and expresses full support for the ETF's initiatives that seek to eradicate social dumping and secure decent work and quality services in all forms of transport. Congress notes that many workers in the European transport sector – and in shipping in particular – are exposed to extraordinary levels of exploitation, social dumping and unfair competition, which undermine their job security, pay and conditions. Congress also notes that transport workers often experience excessive working hours, stress, fatigue and substandard working conditions and urges the TUC to give full support to the Fair Shipping element of the ETF Fair Transport campaign, which seeks to create a European maritime space without social dumping and decent terms and conditions for all crew.

Nautilus International

21 Continuing the fight against insecure work

Congress believes the consequences of insecure agency work, false selfemployment and zero- and short-hours contracts can damage people's finances, health and ability to plan for the future.

Congress notes that those who already face discrimination in the labour market are more likely to experience insecure work, including women,

disabled workers, BAME workers and younger people.

Congress believes the Conservative government has failed in their duty to ensure justice at work and has not effectively enforced current employment rights in the UK.

Congress believes the government's long-awaited Taylor Review was a missed opportunity and condemns the failure of ministers to implement basic measures such as tackling employers' abuse of Swedish derogation.

Congress supports unions exposing the unfair treatment of workers and taking action to achieve justice for members in insecure workplaces.

Congress will highlight the longer-term consequences of insecure work for people's health, finances, pensions and skills and the impact this has on different groups in society.

Congress praises unions who have taken cases to the courts but recognises that ultimately justice for working people will be achieved in the workplace.

Congress welcomes the Labour Party's proposal of a new Ministry of Labour focusing on jobs and resolves to develop in detail:

- i. new rights for trade unions to have the freedom to access and organise in all workplaces and with greater ability to pursue agreements and collective bargaining
- ii. a new framework of employment rights from day one with a new agenda for enforcement.

GMB

The following amendment was ACCEPTED by the mover:

Add new final paragraph:

"Finally, Congress condemns the fact that Network Rail, which is entirely dependent on public funding, continues to tolerate the use of bogus self-employment and zero-hours contracts on the railway infrastructure. Congress will campaign to ensure public funding of our services, including rail, is linked to eradicating insecure work.

National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers

22 A better deal for low-paid workers

Congress expresses its deep concern over the continued growth of in-work poverty along with the Conservative government's failure to implement policies that would tackle the issue.

The number of workers in poverty has increased by over 60 per cent during the last 20 years. Research from the Joseph Rowntree Foundation has identified a 'poverty premium' of £490 per year for low-income households.

At the same time, the proliferation of poor working practices such as zero- and short- hours contracts, agency work and bogus self-employment has been disproportionately directed at those in low-paid jobs. Low pay appears to be particularly entrenched for young workers who face continued discrimination caused by the national minimum wage age bandings.

Congress notes with disappointment that despite launching the Taylor Review into Modern Employment Practices at the end of 2016, Theresa May's government has yet to implement any legislative changes to help address these issues.

Congress agrees the TUC will campaign for a better deal for low-paid workers. Such a campaign must target:

- i. young workers to be paid the full adult rate
- ii. a £10 per hour minimum wage rate
- iii. tackling zero- and short-hours contracts through introducing a statutory minimum contract of 16 hours per week, which can only be reduced by the individual worker, accompanied by their union representative, requesting to optout and take fewer hours
- iv. a statutory right to an employment contract that reflects an individual's normal hours of work.

Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers

The following amendment was ACCEPTED by the mover:

At the end of paragraph 3 add:

"In the entertainment industries, workers are regularly asked to undertake engagements for no pay at all."

Equity

23 Promoting flexible working

Congress recognises that a positive approach to flexible working by employers leads to a better motivated workforce, improves staff retention and productivity and attracts a wider pool of applicants for jobs. Many workers will benefit from flexibility at some point in their working lives. Whether to care for children or older relatives; to manage a disability or long-term health condition; or to enable them to continue working longer as the retirement age increases.

Yet many employers are still reluctant to agree to flexible working arrangements that meet the demands placed on modern working families. Even in the NHS, employers continue to lose experienced staff because they are unable to negotiate the flexibility that they need. This not only leads to increased recruitment costs but places additional workload on remaining hard-pressed staff already struggling to cope with increasing patient needs.

In June, in a major speech on the future of the NHS, the prime minister recognised that the government must “take better care of staff and offer greater flexibility over where they work, when they work and what they can do”. We welcome this approach but need action rather than words. The 2017 NHS England staff survey revealed that only 50 per cent of staff were satisfied with their opportunities for flexible working patterns.

Congress calls on the government to introduce the right to request flexible working from the first day of employment and to do more to promote to employers the benefits of flexible working at all levels.

Chartered Society of Physiotherapy

The following amendment was ACCEPTED by the mover:

Add new paragraph at end:

“In addition, Congress agrees to support workplace representatives to review local policies to include provisions above the statutory minima, including:

- allowing more than one request in any 12-month period
- a strong commitment to, and promotion of, flexible working at all levels/grades, with rejection only if the employer can provide clear evidence that this would be unworkable.”

Royal College of Midwives

24 Bullying and harassment

Congress applauds the brave men and women who, through publicising their own experience, have brought attention to the widespread culture of bullying and harassment that exists in employment.

The abuse of power that drives this behaviour takes many forms. In the public sector there is a unique dynamic where those who may seek to exploit that power are elected politicians, separate to the employment structure.

It has been evidenced through the exposure of systematic bullying and harassment in parliament, where there is little or no scrutiny, or where political expediency overrides the interest in protecting individuals, that employees are left with little or no effective way to challenge behaviours. In the civil service, whilst there are long established processes handling complaints, this does not include ministers.

Workers, wherever they are employed, can expect to do so free from bullying and harassment. Employers have a responsibility to ensure that there is an effective process to investigate complaints and to apply remedies and sanctions if appropriate. The public sector should be the exemplar for this issue, even where this challenges the power of elected politicians, political parties or government.

Congress therefore calls upon all public bodies, including the civil service, parliament and local authorities to:

- i. ensure there is a transparent process for reporting harassment and bullying, whether committed by another public servant, contractor, politician or other externally employed person
- ii. ensure visible independence in the process of investigation and decision- making appropriate to the nature of the complaint.

FDA

The following amendment was ACCEPTED by the mover:

Add new final sub-paragraph iii.:

"iii. learn from the good work undertaken in the NHS by unions and employers that led to the initiative called Creating Positive Workplace Cultures and Tackling Bullying in the NHS – a Collective Call to Action."

The College of Podiatry

25 Regulation matters

Congress believes that effective, evidence-based regulation is essential to the proper functioning of our economy, the health and wellbeing of our society, and environmental protection.

However, the UK is currently falling short on all counts.

Post-Grenfell there is a renewed appreciation of the public value of social, safety and environmental regulation – which has been weakened by decades of deregulation.

The Brexit negotiations have put into question the future of UK regulatory regimes and their relationship with European agencies and standards. Congress is concerned that:

- i. vital regulatory agencies like the Health and Safety Executive, Environment Agency and Civil Aviation Authority have lost capacity and expertise due to cuts in budgets and staffing
- ii. successive governments have increased risks to individuals, society and the environment through promotion of 'light touch' approaches and crude deregulatory targets
- iii. strategic industries such as energy, transport and communications have been subjected to economic regulation that has prioritised cost-cutting over investment, safety, universal service and decent employment standards.

Congress calls on the General Council to include:

- a. demands for properly resourced regulatory agencies in its campaigning for public services
- b. consideration of the role of regulation in TUC work on industrial strategy and inclusive economic growth.

Prospect

The following amendment was ACCEPTED by the mover:

Add at the end of paragraph 3:

"As highlighted in the debate over employment tribunal fees, workers' ability to enforce workplace regulation relies on access to effective representation during the litigation process."

Add new sub-paragraph c. at end:

"c. a campaign to oppose the proposals in the Civil Liabilities Bill that would remove representation for workers when attempting to enforce workplace regulations."

Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers

27 Night working

Congress notes the radical changes in the nature of work and the increase in night working, not always reflected in better conditions, with employers often failing their duty of care responsibilities to provide a safe working environment for the growing army of people working unsocial hours.

The harmful potential health risks of night working are well established, especially for older women. Congress believes that long-term night workers should be eligible for regular 'holidays' from night work and that where possible employers should facilitate moves to other roles where an employee can no longer work night shifts.

Congress notes with concern the growing trend of employers using outsourced company doctors to set aside medical certificates from workers' GPs proposing exemptions from night working, and routinely cutting corners and costs in the provision of facilities through the night, such as staff canteens.

Congress further believes that the impact of night working should attract a premium in the calculation of workers' required working hours, and an acknowledgement that hours worked during the night are not equivalent to those in the daytime.

Congress calls on the TUC to campaign for better protections for night workers and to develop a best practice model for unions – that includes a policy on night work that focuses on health, safety and welfare at work and the work/life balance of employees.

National Union of Journalists

29 Social security

Congress condemns successive governments' cruel and vindictive record on social security, including massive cuts in benefits as part of so called 'austerity', and constant demonisation of benefit claimants.

The Tory flagship policy, Universal Credit, beset by failing IT and inadequate staffing, is being used as a vehicle for introducing cuts at the expense of unemployed, sick and low- paid workers, resulting in homelessness and increased poverty. Congress agrees Universal Credit is unfit for purpose and its rollout must be halted.

Congress welcomes the change in the main opposition party's position to oppose Tory welfare cuts following the election of Jeremy Corbyn as Labour leader. Previously there had been a cross-party consensus on welfare reform, which had accepted myths of "benefit dependency", claimants being "work shy" and the "unaffordability" of a decent social security system.

Congress believes that we must raise our demands for necessary fundamental change in the social security system, building on the Welfare Charter.

Congress welcomes the commitments in the last Labour manifesto on social security. Congress believes we must build on this to formulate the demands for a future Labour government to change the social security system fundamentally, based on the principles of social insurance, social security as a right, and a welfare system based on need. Congress calls on the General Council to work with PCS and relevant unions to develop proposals for a radical new social security system, to influence the next Labour manifesto and to influence the situation in the devolved nations.

Public and Commercial Services Union

30 Stop and scrap Universal Credit

Congress deplores the rollout of universal credit, a draconian system leaving many in debt, eviction and hunger.

The government is making further cuts by merging six benefits into universal credit, plus scrapping enhanced and severe disability premiums.

For the first time, workers could face savage sanctions for not demonstrating that they are seeking to improve their paid income. Claimants have at least a five-week wait for their first payment and some face 63p claw-back for every £1 earned.

Part-time workers could be forced to leave work that suits their disability or family life for a worse paid, full-time job, those in precarious employment will lose their pension credit and self-employed people will face greater bureaucracy. Housing benefit will not be paid to landlords but to claimants who may need to use the money for emergencies, resulting in rent arrears.

Congress, therefore, welcomes the forthcoming judicial review into this benefit.

Congress calls on the General Council to campaign around universal credit and consider the judicial review's recommendations and to call on the incoming Labour government to:

- i. stop and scrap universal credit
- ii. carry out a far-reaching social security reform that truly makes work pay and to protect those unable to work.

TUC Disabled Workers' Conference

31 Auto-enrolment and the lowest paid

Congress acknowledges that a major incentive for workers to save for retirement is the tax relief they receive on their pension contributions.

Everyone who saves into a pension is entitled to a government 'top up' of at least 20 per cent, whether they are a taxpayer or not. However, due to a tax loophole, thousands of the lowest paid workers are not benefitting from this and they, and often their employers, don't even know it.

As auto-enrolment contributions increase and personal tax thresholds rise, the number of people losing out and the scale of their loss will keep growing.

There are two types of scheme employers can choose to meet their auto-enrolment obligations. One type is called a Tax Relief at Source Scheme (TRS); the other is a Net Pay Scheme (NPS).

With a TRS scheme everyone enrolled gets tax relief on their contributions regardless of their income. However, non-taxpayers in an NPS scheme don't and they miss out on the government top up.

This significantly reduces the value of their pension pot.

Industry experts have highlighted this injustice to the UK government but it has done nothing to address it. It continues to encourage the lowest paid to save for their retirement while denying them tax incentives.

Congress calls on the General Council to raise awareness of this issue with workers and employers so they can put pressure on government to close the loophole and pay those on lower incomes the tax relief they are due.

Aegis

The following amendment was ACCEPTED by the mover:

Add new final paragraph:

"Congress also recognises that for millions of workers, current pension provision from their employer is wholly inadequate. While DB schemes remain the gold standard, Congress supports the introduction of CDC as an alternative to DC provision and calls for the government to permit CDC schemes in the UK."

Communication Workers Union

32 Corporal punishment of children in England

Congress notes the actions currently being taken by the Welsh government towards introducing legislation which will provide greater protection for children in Wales and a recent statement from the children's minister in Wales (Huw Irranca-Davies) when he said: "Physically punishing a child is outdated, and is no longer acceptable in a modern, progressive Wales. This is why we are committed to removing the defence of reasonable punishment, which reinforces our longstanding commitment to children's rights, based on the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child."

Congress further notes that the current UK government has not expressed any intention to take similar steps so as to give children in England the same protection as those planned in Wales.

Congress calls on the UK government to:

- i. affirm its support for the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (of which it is a signatory)

- ii. acknowledge that physical punishment can have negative long-term effects on a child's development (and is ineffective as a punishment)
- iii. express its intention to draft proposals for the removal of the defence of "reasonable punishment" in criminal law regarding the use of corporal punishment of children.

Association of Educational Psychologists

33 A strategy for children and young people (CYP)

Congress notes with concern the recent report from the Children's Commissioner outlining the large number of CYP who are living in circumstances that make them vulnerable to the negative impact of a range of adverse childhood experiences. All these adverse experiences can lead to immense stress for CYP – the impact of that stress is toxic for their healthy development and wellbeing, both short term and long term. Some of that stress could be alleviated if the impact of certain actions and policies was fully understood by all adults and taken into account when a wide range of decisions are being made.

Congress calls for:

- i. a national debate across all our communities about all our children and young people and their basic needs – this should include developing a consensus about what core skills and experiences they need in order to thrive as they grow up but also in the future so that they develop successfully as active and fulfilled adults in our communities
- ii. the government to publish a joined up strategy for CYP, which includes consideration of the outcomes of that debate, is guided by a growing body of research on the effects of early childhood experiences, promotes the overall holistic development and wellbeing of all CYP and ensures that all new government policies are assessed in terms of their impact upon CYP before agreeing to implement them.

Association of Educational Psychologists

36 Sexual harassment

The recent media coverage of the #metoo campaign and the University and College Union's survey revealed sexual harassment, assault and gender-based violence as endemic in our society and a serious unspoken problem. It has been clear how prevalent sexual harassment is across our most powerful institutions, including political organisations, entertainment industries, universities and colleges and unfortunately within our trade union movement, to name but a few.

Congress notes that companies treat sexual harassment and assault in the same way as other kinds of harassment, lost within a general harassment and bullying policy. Staff on precarious contracts, PhD students and early career lecturers can be particularly vulnerable because of dependence upon male white structures for promotion or work. They often suffer in silence.

Congress also notes that trade unions have a vital role to play in educating both employers and employees to eliminate sexual harassment and assault within the workplace.

Much more work now needs to be done on staff-on-student abuse and student-on-staff abuse and the particular vulnerability of black women. The NUS and 1752 Group are conducting research, and launching a campaign about, staff-on student sexual misconduct.

Congress calls on the General Council to/for:

- i. joint union resourcing to develop research and policy
- ii. a joint union campaign to highlight the issue
- iii. build on the TUC "Protection from Sexual Harassment" guidance and campaign for all employers to have a separate sexual harassment and assault policy to give it the prominence it clearly needs
- iv. promote an education programme including a model procedure for all trade unions on how to tackle and eliminate sexual harassment and assault in the workplace
- v. provide training for reps supporting members who have suffered this abuse
- vi. guidance on how trade unions should deal with cases against reps
- vi. resource training and support for reps and members who bravely come forward.

TUC Women's Conference

37 We trust women – abortion rights

Congress believes that UK abortion law is out of date with medical science, human rights and social norms; and that it is time to bring abortion under the same regulatory frameworks that govern all other medical procedures in the UK and remove it from criminal law. We should trust women to make their own decisions. We applaud the recent decision in the Republic of Ireland to repeal the 8th amendment and decriminalise abortion. The overwhelming weight of health opinion is now behind decriminalisation as evidenced by the RCM, RCOG and BMA etc. positions.

Under the 1861 Offences Against the Person Act abortion is a criminal offence and carries a sentence of life imprisonment. It is still in force today. The 1967 Abortion Act does not repeal the 1861 Act, it details a specific set of circumstances under which a woman or her doctors will not be prosecuted. It gives a limited defence against the 1861 Act. The 1967 Act is not in force in Northern Ireland which means there is no defence and all abortion is illegal.

Abortion is a workplace issue, a women's rights issue and a medical issue, not a criminal action.

Congress supports the statutory right to conscientious objection, making clear that healthcare workers have the right to refuse to participate in an abortion procedure in a 'hands on capacity'.

Congress calls on the General Council to support the We Trust Women Campaign to decriminalise abortion across the UK.

Royal College of Midwives

38 Equal pay/gender pay gap

Congress notes that the publication of the gender pay and bonuses of companies with more than 250 employees exposed the vast disparity between men's and women's pay; 91 per cent of media companies paid men more than women and gave them higher bonuses.

The publication of the BBC's top earners in 2017 lifted the lid on pay inequity at the Corporation, resulting in over 180 cases taken by the NUJ, and sparking significant work on equal pay at our public service broadcaster and across the media

industry to tackle the problem. It further notes that this is a societal problem – without proactive action, given the slow pace of change, it would take 40 years to reach pay parity between men and women.

Congress therefore calls on the General Council to press government to:

- i. require companies with 50 staff or more to publish gender pay gaps and make all companies publish their plans to reduce the gap as part of the gender pay audit process
- ii. fine companies that fail to address substantial pay gender gaps
- iii. penalise companies that do not comply with the Equality Act 2010.

Congress calls on the General Council to help trade unions lead the way on pay parity, within our organisations and in work done for members including:

- a. carrying out an audit of all TUC-affiliated unions and developing a programme to address the gaps
- b. encouraging the use of equal pay surveys to ascertain the scale of the problem within workplaces across the UK
- c. facilitating training for equality reps and equality training for officials.

National Union of Journalists

39 Armed forces and LGBT – dishonourable discharge

Previous to the European Court of Human Rights ruling in January 2000, radiographers and others who were gay and engaged by the Armed Forces received a dishonourable discharge from the service with the loss of their pension rights.

This discrimination and injustice is unfair, has to be rectified and cannot continue.

Congress calls on the General Council to support all efforts to open a dialogue with the Ministry of Defence to reinstate the pension rights to all who received a dishonourable discharge from the armed forces for their sexuality.

Society of Radiographers

40 Austerity, artists and discrimination

Artists, particularly black and female and LGBTQ artists, who contribute economic, social, emotional and cultural value to this country, have experienced the worst of the Conservative austerity measures. The value of creative industries' contribution to the UK economy is £250bn per year and increasing.

Yet this revenue fails to reach the individual artists. Congress notes from the Arts Professional online research, between July and August 2017, receiving 506 responses, from those working in or with the arts and culture sector, that 69 per cent agreed that local authority cuts are hitting grassroots arts the hardest. This has negative effects on artists, such as having to work for less money and receive less support for arts-led activities catering for young people and other vulnerable groups, such as those with mental health problems, who are suffering from an acute crisis in mental health and NHS resources. The role creative arts plays in mental health is vital, contributing to personal enrichment and community cohesion.

Congress instructs the General Council to:

- i. campaign against discrimination, disadvantage and under-representation within art and culture
- ii. lobby government to reinvest the £250bn contribution from creative industries back into said industries
- iii. campaign to protect funding to the arts
- iv. campaign to direct government funds towards community arts and grassroots creative businesses.

Artists' Union England

41 Support for gender self-declaration

Congress notes the announcement on 3 July by the government that it will, finally, be holding a consultation on changes to the Gender Recognition Act (GRA) 2004.

As trade unionists we support trans workers rights, and as champions of equality we welcome the increased visibility and empowerment of transgendered and nonbinary people in our society.

Congress calls on the government to take note of global best practice on gender recognition and to change the current processes for gender recognition that are lengthy, intrusive, humiliating and not fit for purpose.

Congress calls on the General Council to campaign for a simplified, free, statutory gender-recognition process based on self-declaration and to support rights for gender non-binary people at work and in wider society.

Congress welcomes the government's commitment that the provisions in the Equality Act 2010 will remain. We support the right of all women (including trans women) to safe spaces and the continuation of monitoring that can help identify discrimination against women and men.

Congress looks forward to the introduction of a social rather than medical model of gender recognition that will help challenge repressive gender stereotypes in the workplace and in society.

TUC Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender+ Conference

44 Challenging the politics of hate

Congress notes the continued normalisation of far-right discourse and action within the public realm at home and abroad. This includes but is not limited to:

- i. the rise in racist hate crime and speech in the UK, including far-right protest and Nazi salutes in London framed as defending 'free speech'
- ii. the impending closure of universities deemed hostile to the government in Hungary without any real sanction from fellow European states
- iii. recent comments by Italian MPs to draw up lists of Roma and "purifying the streets of Italy"
- iv. the on-going drive by the Trump Administration to "other" migrants that has led to vulnerable children separated from parents and held in chain link cages.

Congress believes the answer to this lies in part with a full embrace of the best of our union principles – internationalism and solidarity. This must include the strong defence of our links with sister unions across all nations and continuation to prioritise the role of organised workers in speaking out, organising and campaigning against the

chauvinist, divisive, racist and sexist policies that all too often are freely touted across the globe.

Congress affirms policy passed at Congress 2017 on freedom of movement and defending the rights of all workers in Britain.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- a. continue to challenge the current UK immigration system, which can also separate families.
- b. support campaigns and union initiatives that promote equality and diversity in our workplaces and communities.

University and College Union

The following amendment was ACCEPTED by the mover:

In paragraph 1 insert new bullet point ii.:

"ii. the Football Lads Alliance (FLA) attempting to organise football supporters in demonstrations against 'extremism'; > In final paragraph add sub-paragraph c.:

"c. launch a Jobs, Homes, Not Racism campaign to unite the wider trade union movement and to campaign effectively against the far right."

Unite

53 Mental health and the wellbeing of teachers

Congress is deeply concerned by the evidence from the NASUWT's Annual Big Question survey, which shows that:

- i. over four-fifths of teachers believe that their job has impacted negatively on their wellbeing
- ii. over three-quarters of teachers believe that they have experienced more workplace stress over the last year
- iii. almost two-thirds of teachers believe that the job had adversely affected their mental health in the last year.

Congress believes that the current environment in schools is now toxic for the majority of teachers and that this has been exacerbated by recent government reforms to education, by the impact of increasing levels of poverty upon pupils and by the government's negative attitude towards workers' rights and health and safety.

Congress is further concerned about mounting signs of mental health and wellbeing issues for pupils in schools. Congress believes that there is a

direct link between the mental health and wellbeing of teachers and that of their pupils.

Congress believes that the long-term consequences of these problems could be catastrophic upon the country as a whole.

Congress commits the General Council to press the government to:

- a. recognise the issues and address the causes of poor mental health and wellbeing in school
- b. understand and promote health and safety regulation and legislation as an avenue for addressing specific health and wellbeing issues in schools
- c. work with the TUC to promote and enhance workers' rights, recognising the importance of such rights in creating healthy working environments.

NASUWT

The following amendment was ACCEPTED by the mover:

Add "and school support staff" at end of motion title >

Insert new paragraph 2:

"Congress notes GMB analysis revealing that 2,800 teaching assistants and 3,000 additional school support staff members lost their jobs during 2017." > In existing paragraph 2, after "teachers" insert "and school support staff"

In existing paragraph 3, after "teachers" insert "and school support staff" > In final paragraph, add at end of sub-paragraph c.: "for all who work in schools."

GMB

56 Data misuse

Congress notes that in the field of education data is often analysed in a shallow manner by political interests to support particular policy agendas, to the detriment of effective teaching and learning practice in schools, often leading to target setting, league table, "teaching to the test" approaches.

Congress believes that assessment in schools should be driven by the needs of the learner, not by data demands of the system.

Congress acknowledges that quality data is critical to evidence-based decisionmaking but expresses its concern about the growing abuse of covert data gathering, such as the practices highlighted by the Cambridge Analytica scandal, and the misuse of such data by unscrupulous

parties with significant implications for personal privacy and security being posed by this practice.

In particular, Congress is concerned at the gathering of para-data, by agencies such as OECD in its Programme for International Student Assessments, almost always without explicit consent or even knowledge of survey participants.

Congress instructs the General Council to:

- i. support affiliates campaigning against the abuse of data in education policy and practice
- ii. investigate the ethical, operational, and legal issues pertaining to the use of para-data
- iii. campaign for transparency and full disclosure around data-gathering exercises.

Educational Institute of Scotland

61 NHS pay

Congress notes the change of direction in NHS pay rates away from austerity.

The recent pay offers in England, Scotland and Wales were achieved by the NHS unions working together for the greater good of NHS workers.

This model of joint working, with the support of the TUC, should be welcomed and saw real negotiations take place for the first time in a number of years.

Whilst these agreements will go some way to rebuilding pay rates in the NHS it needs to be acknowledged that NHS workers are still suffering the effects of austerity and the job is not yet finished.

Congress therefore calls on the General Council to continue to work with NHS unions in the years to come to ensure that our members can continue the journey towards decent pay to acknowledge the hard work and commitment of our members.

The College of Podiatry

The following amendment was ACCEPTED by the mover:

> Add at end of paragraph 4:

"For example, investment in senior bands and reform of boardroom pay is still required. We need to remove disincentives for staff, especially clinicians, to seek promotion into management roles and to ensure that – as originally intended –

Agenda for Change supports NHS career paths from porter to chief executive."

FDA

62 Preventing ill health

Physical inactivity is a major and costly public health problem. It is the fourth largest cause of disease and disability, directly contributing to one in six deaths in the UK, the same number as smoking. Only 50 per cent of UK adults do the recommended minimum of 150 minutes of moderate to vigorous exercise each week. Despite this only around 4 per cent of the UK health budget is spent on prevention.

Physical activity contributes to health improvement and can substantially reduce the burden of illhealth and unnecessary disability in our society. That is why the CSP launched its Love Activity, Hate Exercise? campaign this summer to make exercise more accessible to a wider range of people.

The huge culture change that is needed to make a real difference to levels of activity cannot be achieved through campaigns such as this alone. Greater investment in public health education and ill health prevention by the government is urgently needed. The recent announcement of an average 3.4 per cent increase to the NHS budget over the next five years disappointingly does not include an increase in the public health budget which has suffered real-term cuts in recent years.

Congress calls on the General Council and affiliates to use every opportunity in the coming months, as the details emerge of how investment in the NHS will be supported and sustained, to campaign for proper funding for public health and ill health prevention as part of the solution.

Chartered Society of Physiotherapy

65 Civil service impartiality

Congress condemns, in the strongest possible terms, the unwarranted attacks on the impartiality, integrity and professionalism of the civil service.

Congress recognises that, for some politicians and commentators, across the political spectrum, undermining the public's trust in a politically impartial civil service is a price worth paying to further their ideological objectives.

That these attacks have now come from the despatch box, from a serving government minister,

signals a new low in the conduct of a government so evidently at war with itself.

Congress recognises that the prime minister, minister for the cabinet office and all serving government ministers owe a duty to their civil servants, to defend the integrity and impartiality of the service. Failure to do so swiftly and publicly, in the knowledge that civil servants cannot defend themselves publicly, risks further undermining the public's trust in the service.

These attacks will inevitably have profound longer-term consequences for any government seeking to convince the electorate of major policy initiatives where it seeks to use the analysis and expertise of the civil service to make its case.

Congress therefore calls on:

- i. all politicians to avoid undermining the impartiality and integrity of the civil service
- ii. the prime minister to publicly condemn the attacks on the impartiality and integrity of the civil service and to discipline members of the government who conduct such attacks.

FDA

66 Family justice system in crisis

Congress notes the record number of appearances before the family courts and the unparalleled numbers of children in care whilst the agencies tasked with supporting these vulnerable children and families are doing so on standstill budgets.

Research from the Nuffield Foundation and Family Rights Group found a £2bn shortfall across children's social care services. The same research highlights:

- i. children in the system having a sense of the crisis
- ii. professionals frustrated, overwhelmed and overstretched – Napo's own research shows members choosing to work reduced hours to manage their caseloads in their days off
- iii. a culture of blame, shame and fear permeating the system.

Austerity savings are false economies – legal aid cuts prevent or delay access to solicitors, resulting in delayed mediation and increased court costs from litigants in person; cuts to children's centres

mean less access to information for vulnerable children and parents; cuts to benefits often trigger or worsen a family crisis. Tragically, children in care are far more likely to re-emerge in the criminal justice system. These wider social costs don't feature on treasury spreadsheets.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- a. support campaigns for a fairer funding settlement for vulnerable children and families
- b. lobby for cross government strategic planning and shared responsibility to resolve the crisis
- c. lobby for adequate funding – including guaranteed staffing levels and pay, and training and support for initiatives to incentivise recruitment and retention across all parts of the social work profession.

Napo

67 The transforming rehabilitation counter-revolution

Chris Grayling's dogmatic 'rehabilitation revolution' was supposed to transform probation services and support for offenders on their release from prison. It saw the abolition of locally accountable, publicly funded Probation Trusts, but the main achievement was the ruinous division of an award-winning service, leaving it in an unsustainable mess. Private community rehabilitation company contracts, despite additional funding by government of over £230m, are still operating at a loss, prompting further dangerous staffing and service cuts. Napo believes it is no coincidence that serious further offences have increased since this disastrous privatisation.

The National Probation Service can't recruit, pay or collect staff pensions adequately or consistently, further undermining morale. Calls to their HR department cost the taxpayer 88p a minute. The MoJ, following the qualification of recent accounts, is seemingly being run from the Treasury with every major financial decision taken by its auditors.

It is time for a rehabilitation counter-revolution and a new model, built around consensus not dogma, where an independent, locally accountable, reunified and publicly funded core probation service is run in the public interest and not for profit.

Congress calls on the General Council to facilitate and support unions in:

- i. building a cross-sector alliance with HM official opposition, charities, public sector partners and supportive cross-party politicians and academics to develop a consensus and refine a new model
- ii. lobbying politicians to secure the funding and legislation needed to deliver a better, safer and more sustainable model for probation founded upon these principles.

Napo

68 Grassland fires

Congress applauds the professionalism of firefighters who tackled the grassland fires across the UK this summer, notably in the North West and South East of England.

Congress notes the ongoing need for firefighters to tackle these moorland and heathland fires during periods of hot weather.

Congress further notes the increased risk of grassland fires now and in the future as a result of climate change.

Congress notes the excessive working hours worked by firefighters during these fires and the strain these fires put on fire cover.

Congress is concerned that firefighters had to rely on external support and on public donations for simple supplies like sun cream, insect repellent, caps and socks, and for appropriate vehicles to deliver supplies to firefighters.

Congress further notes the lack of water pressure in some areas that complicated firefighting efforts.

Congress condemns the Westminster government for an unprecedented period of austerity against public services, which has included cuts to one-in-five firefighter jobs since 2010.

Congress believes that these cuts put the public and firefighters at risk.

Congress believes that grassland fires, like flooding and other extreme weather events, are foreseeable matters of national resilience and that resilience is being undermined by local cuts.

Congress demands that the Westminster government invest in fire and rescue services

across the UK. This must include new national structures (fully involving trade union representatives) for planning and preparation for emergency incidents as well as funding the recruitment of a new generation of firefighters to attend these kind of emergencies.

Fire Brigades Union

70 Collective voice

Congress welcomes the focus of the TUC, in its 150th anniversary year, on renewing the case for trade unions for newer and younger workers. Increasing the proportion of younger workers, particularly in the private sector, is essential to the future of unions between now and 2030. Congress also believes that making a new case for collective voice should be a priority for the TUC. Many younger workers have no experience of collective bargaining and are unaware of how unions bargain for workplace improvements.

Congress believes:

- i. The economy is not delivering for workers. A decade on from the financial crash neither wages nor productivity have recovered.
 - ii. Lower levels of collective bargaining correlate with higher income inequality in OECD countries.
 - iii. Government attempts to promote collective voice have been inadequate and must mean more than simply workers on boards.
 - iv. Increasing collective voice is good for workers, unions and the economy.
 - v. A greater voice for unions, at company and industry level, is key to improving productivity, skills and sharing prosperity.
 - vi. Collective voice is not just about traditional workplaces, it is also relevant to improving conditions for freelancers and the gig economy.
 - vii. The decline in collective bargaining has many causes, from the changing nature of work to systematic government attacks on union rights.
- Congress calls on the General Council to:
- a. prioritise collective voice and the future of collective bargaining part of the TUC's work on the future of unions
 - b. investigate how we make the case for collective bargaining to younger workers.

Prospect

71 General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR)

Congress deplores the attempts by some employers to deny trade unions access to information by hiding behind GDPR legislation in order to pursue exploitative and discriminatory employment practices that attack the pay, conditions and jobs of workers.

Congress asserts that the right of trade unions to be given access to relevant information on such matters as redundancy and equal pay is paramount and must be protected.

Congress commits the General Council to press the Information Commissioner's Office to issue clear and unequivocal guidance to protect the rights of trade unions to be provided with information in order to represent and advocate for their members.

NASUWT

72 Organising fast food workers

Congress applauds and supports the courageous actions of fast food workers across the world, in particular the workers of global giants McDonald's and TGI Fridays, fighting to better the lives of thousands of underpaid, overworked people. Congress also recognises the part that young people are playing in these successful actions and the difference these actions can make to the whole trade union/labour market.

Bakers, Food and Allied Workers Union

73 Winning against atypical employment models

Congress welcomes the breakthrough in the campaign against unfair atypical employment that has seen the achievement of full collective bargaining rights by Ryanair pilots and cabin crew in the UK. Congress urges Ryanair to negotiate good quality agreements with unions representing all sections of its workforce in all countries in which it operates.

British Air Line Pilots' Association

74 Make 2019 the year of young workers

Congress welcomes the work of the TUC Young Workers Forum and affiliated unions to raise the profile of young workers and young trade unionists through recruitment, organising and campaigning work, and the work that takes place during young workers month.

Congress notes, however, that

- i. in 2016, only around 6.2 million UK workers were in trade unions, a fall of 4.2 per cent over the previous year
- ii. while workers under the age of 25 make up 14 per cent of the workforce, only
- iii. 4.7 per cent are members of trade unions.

Congress agrees that there is an urgent need to bring young workers into the trade union movement to help maintain and improve bargaining power and to ensure the building of sustainable union organisation.

Congress believes this requires a step-change to deliver an intensive young-worker focused, year-long programme of properly resourced recruitment, organising, and campaigning activity.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- a. designate 2019 the Year of Young Workers, and call for the TUC to adopt 2019 as the Year of Young Workers
- b. devote a meeting of the TUC Young Workers Forum to planning support for the Year of Young Workers, including encouraging affiliates to participate
- c. encourage all delegates to Congress to raise this issue with their union, with the aim of securing a commitment to full support, including appropriate resources
- d. report back to the Young Workers Conference and Congress 2020, with an assessment of the impact of the Year of Young Workers.

TUC Young Workers Conference

76 International Labour Organization

Congress notes that 2019 will be the centenary of the International Labour Organization (ILO), the only part of the UN system that is genuinely tripartite.

We welcome the work that the ILO has done to protect and advance workers' and trade unions

rights, and affirm that the core labour standards of the ILO – covering child and forced labour, discrimination at work and freedom of association and collective bargaining – are not just trade union rights but human rights.

We welcome the work that the ILO Commission on the Future of Work is doing to address the challenges of new employment arrangements.

Congress calls on governments and employers' organisations here and around the world to work with the global trade union movement to conclude ILO conventions on the current proposals: workplace aspects of gender-based violence and global supply chains. Congress demands that all current ILO conventions should be ratified and implemented in the UK (including those covering pay), and the core ILO labour standards should form a key part of UK development, foreign, migration and trade policy.

Congress calls on the government, in particular, to ensure that the ILO is properly funded and plays a key role in the work of international institutions such as the G7 and G20.

Accord

The following amendment was ACCEPTED by the mover:

Insert new paragraphs 3 and 4:

"Congress is appalled by the evidence of increased attacks on freedom of speech, freedom of association and the right to strike worldwide.

"Congress congratulates the ILO for highlighting labour rights violations and urges the TUC to continue to assist the ILO in challenging these attacks at home and abroad."

NASUWT

77 Food security and sustainability

Congress is concerned that the UK has no food policy and that the health gap between rich and poor is heavily associated with diet and food costs. Cheaper prices and more food banks is not a reasoned policy response.

Food security combines the politics of population growth, diet, the globalisation of food production and distribution with the limitations of soil, water, land use availability and climate change. Nearly 800 million people across the world are undernourished and about two billion are deficient

in key micro nutrients. There is an increasing demand for food from a growing population, and a challenged food system that is already stressed by the degradation of global ecosystems.

Congress believes:

- i. The food system is already dominated by huge food companies and Brexit must not be an opportunity for further corporate capture of market power.
- ii. The UK must ensure that whatever the outcome of Brexit the food system is firmly shaped by values of justice and decency, good quality and safety.
- iii. Our global industrial food system should no longer be entirely dependent on the use of cheap external inputs. Particularly petrol, pesticides, fertilisers and cheap labour.

Congress calls on the General Council to campaign for global access to sustainable diets that:

- a. minimise environmental impact
- b. ensure food and nutrient security
- c. promote health for present and future generations
- d. protect biodiversity and ecosystems
- e. are culturally acceptable and affordable
- f. are nutritionally adequate, safe and healthy.

British Dietetic Association

Composite 1 Seafarers' working conditions and workforce safety in the offshore and maritime industries

Congress expresses sadness and condolences to the families and loved ones of workers killed or injured when working at sea, including the 165 offshore workers and two seafarers who perished in the Piper Alpha disaster thirty years ago, on 6 July 1988.

Congress notes that the Health and Safety Executive regulates compliance with the Offshore Installations Regulations 1989 that cover safety representatives and safety committees and were introduced as a result of the Piper Alpha disaster. Congress is concerned that 26 compliance inspections since 2015 uncovered over 50 non-compliance issues, yet the HSE has not taken enforcement action against any installation owner

or manager in the 29 years since these regulations came into effect.

Congress also notes that in the maritime sector safety culture is less developed than many transports sectors, which has contributed to safety incidents in crucial areas such as lifeboat drills.

Congress congratulates the Offshore Coordinating Group comprised of BALPA, GMB, Nautilus International, RMT and Unite for its continuing efforts to improve safety in the North Sea.

Congress records its concern at the continued evidence of substandard shipping and appalling working conditions for many seafarers working on ships around the UK coast. Congress notes the shocking number of cases involving owed wages and poverty pay, as well as the prevalence of problems such as excessive working time, fatigue, stress, little or no ability to communicate with friends and family, and workplace ill health, injury and fatality rates well in excess of any shore-based occupation.

Congress is further concerned that social dumping, as well as resulting in breaches of the Maritime Labour Convention, is also undermining safety standards in the maritime and offshore sectors.

Congress calls for:

- i. the government to enforce compliance with elected offshore safety representatives' standards
- ii. continuous improvement of the safety culture in the maritime and offshore sectors
- iii. a full-scale review of the effectiveness and enforcement of regulations governing worker engagement in safety standards on offshore installations and merchant shipping.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- a. support the maritime unions in their work to continuously improve the Maritime Labour Convention as an effective global minimum standard to underpin improvements in the lives of seafarers
- b. ensure that the UK has the necessary staffing, resources and political commitment to police and enforce the requirements of the Maritime Labour Convention
- c. resist any attempts to dilute UK maritime regulatory standards or for the UK ship register

- to move to minimum international standards to compete with flags of convenience
- d. promote the collective voice concept within the maritime industry and to seek to restore the principles of sectoral collective bargaining within the shipping industry.

Mover: National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers
Seconder: Nautilus International

Composite 2 Brexit

Congress believes that more than two years on from the referendum, the Brexit process has now reached a critical juncture. How our movement responds to events in the months to come will be decisive.

Congress recognises that crashing out of the European Union would put at risk many of our hard-won rights at work, and that many thousands of good jobs rely on trade; is concerned that continued inept mishandling of the exit negotiations and bitter divisions on the government benches pose the very real risk of a disastrous no deal Brexit; and fears that if the UK ends up in this position, workers will be the ones who are hit hardest.

The warning from Airbus – which supports 110,000 jobs in the UK – against a hard Brexit which does not achieve either access to the single market or a customs union should be a wake-up call for anyone who believes the government can deliver a Brexit which protects, let alone enhances, workers' interests. Congress is opposed to a no deal Brexit and to the creation of a hard border in Ireland and is deeply concerned that many worker and trade union rights will be under threat post Brexit. Our movement cannot countenance a cliff-edge Brexit. The economic and social shockwaves would echo the financial crisis of 2008, leaving no one in our movement untouched. No measure can be ruled out to avoid this outcome.

Congress strongly condemns the government for its inept handling of the Brexit process. Congress notes the lack of progress in Brexit negotiations, the government's weakness which may lead to further concessions in negotiations

with the EU and the division within the Tory government which led to the resignations of David Davis and Boris Johnson prior to the long overdue White Paper outlining the government's vision for the UK's future relations with the EU. Congress doesn't believe that the current government is capable of delivering a Brexit deal that will work for ordinary people. It's now clear that the Brexit originally promised is undeliverable and what we'll get is likely to do damage to our economy.

Congress agrees that the trade union movement has a responsibility to unify all workers whether they voted leave or remain and the best way of achieving this is to directly link the fight for a new deal for workers in the UK with the TUC's work on Brexit. Congress also agrees that we must continue to fight for reform of the EU to promote the interests of workers across Europe.

As set out in the General Council statement agreed at Congress last year, Congress continues to believe that in order to bring together workers, we must respect the referendum result and continue to call for a 'jobs and rights first Brexit.'

Congress reaffirms calls for:

- i. the retention of all the hard-won workers' rights that come from the EU, and making sure that UK workers get the same rights as workers in the EU into the future
- ii. the rejection of a job-destroying "no deal" Brexit, with the priority being a final Brexit deal that offers tariff-free, barrier-free, frictionless trade with the rest of Europe
- iii. the rights of EU citizens working in the UK, and those of UK workers elsewhere in the EU, to be guaranteed.

Any Brexit deal must enshrine and enhance working rights, social and environmental protections; maintain the Good Friday agreement and prevent a hard border in Northern Ireland; secure a customs union with the EU; and protect barrier free access to the single market.

Congress is encouraged to note that Labour's position on Brexit includes a commitment to vote down any deal which doesn't meet its six tests and also doesn't deliver a post-Brexit customs union with the EU. If, despite itself, the government reaches a withdrawal deal that is put to Parliament before March, the prospects that it can meet the

tests set by Congress or the Labour Party are remote. When this happens, our movement must be prepared, politically and industrially, to mobilise against it.

Congress calls on the General Council to mobilise our movement politically and industrially to prevent either a cliff-edge Brexit or if the government's withdrawal deal fails to meet the TUC's tests. Congress agrees that the TUC should campaign against any deal that does not meet these tests with the aim of forcing an early general election to secure a Labour government with a mandate for a Brexit deal that puts working people first. Congress believes a defeated deal would be tantamount to a confidence vote in the government, warranting an immediate general election.

Congress, recognising the real risk of a collapse in the talks, or a deal that does not deliver on the TUC's priorities and, whilst respecting the outcome of the 2016 referendum, therefore calls for the option of a public vote to be kept on the table. Congress does not rule out the possibility of a campaign for people to have a final say on the final Brexit deal through a popular vote being held in order to make an informed decision on the deal on offer, break parliamentary deadlock or overcome the Fixed Term Parliament Act.

Mover: Unite

Seconders: Communication Workers Union

Supporters: Transport Salaried Staffs'

Association, Royal College of Midwives

Composite 3 Grenfell Tower

Congress stands in solidarity with the 72 people who died as a result of the Grenfell Tower fire, and with all those affected by it.

Congress applauds the tremendous work carried out by local organisations to support the community and to fight for justice.

Congress notes that the Grenfell Tower Inquiry has begun taking evidence about the fire.

Congress notes the inquiry's expert reports, which show that the cladding applied to the building led to fire that spread in 12 minutes to the top of the building and then across the rest of the tower.

They show almost every aspect of fire safety – including the walls, compartmentation, windows, doors, ventilation, fire lift and water supply – utterly failed.

Congress notes the impossible situation facing firefighters and emergency control staff on the night and applauds their courage in continuing to help people and carry out rescues in appalling conditions.

Congress acknowledges the widespread anger with the Inquiry and the media for some of the questioning and for unfair criticism of firefighters.

Congress demands that the inquiry focus on those who produced and installed the cladding, and those politicians who established the system which enabled the use of these combustible materials.

Congress also demands that the inquiry considers the de-regulation of building standards and practices, health and safety deregulation, austerity spending cuts and the consequent shortcuts taken when commissioning exterior cladding works, cuts to fire services, and the failure to listen to tenants and tenants' organisations.

Congress notes the Hackitt review, which found the building fire safety regime unfit for purpose.

Congress demands a universal ban on such combustible materials on the external walls of buildings and an overhaul of building regulations to ensure that they are fit for purpose.

Congress calls on the government to reverse the outsourcing of health and safety and building control, which has resulted in many high-rise buildings being unsafe.

Congress recommits to fighting for justice and to holding politicians, contractors and other agencies to account for the Grenfell Tower fire.

Mover: Fire Brigades Union

Seconders: Unite

Supporter: UNISON

Composite 4 Healthcare workers and workplace violence in prisons

In 2017 it was reported that the number of assaults on prison staff had risen by 25 per cent since the previous year. Congress notes a recent study looking at large prisons showed that most workplace violence (44 per cent) occurred in adult male prisons. Many of the victims were healthcare workers. Verbal abuse (71 per cent) was more common than physical abuse (29 per cent). Abuse can result in both physical and mental injuries and heightened stress levels following any abusive incident is common.

Congress praises the work of GMB and other unions involved in the successful Protect the Protectors campaign. With the support of Labour MPs Holly Lynch MP and Chris Bryant MP this will result in new legislation and stronger sentencing for those who physically or sexual assault emergency service workers.

Congress agrees that healthcare workers including podiatrists, physiotherapists, nurses and doctors should not have to face the fear of violence and abuse when they go to work each day. College of Podiatry members have reported a lack of training given to staff coming into the prison environment. The prisons themselves are facing disastrous reductions in funding, leading to understaffing, stretching of resources and the support they are able to give to the healthcare workers.

Congress therefore calls on the General Council to highlight and campaign on the issue of workplace violence for prison staff, including healthcare workers.

Congress also calls on the General Council to lobby the government to adopt minimum standards throughout the sector including; adequate staffing levels, effective health and safety measures and more training and development opportunities to encourage staff retention and ensure prison officers have the skills to do their job effectively.

Mover: The College of Podiatry

Seconders: GMB

Supporter: Community

Composite 5 Fighting sexual harassment in the creative industries

Congress believes that this is a moment of change. Since November 2017, a raft of high-profile allegations has shone a spotlight on harassment, not only in the creative industries but elsewhere including male dominated sectors. Behaviour that was never acceptable and should never have been tolerated.

Congress notes cases reported to the MU highlight a range of issues including adverts calling for 'attractive' female violinists, inappropriate dress policies, unsuitable changing or bathroom facilities for female performers, unacceptable 'laddish banter', as well as instances of sustained harassment in a place of employment. The MU has also received several reports of sexual assault. In several cases threats to job security have been made when female musicians have tried to challenge the behaviour.

Congress welcomes the General Council's statement on sexual harassment, which demonstrates the movement's clear leadership on this issue. As unions we have always championed the rights of our members. We are the first line of defence against bad behaviour and the go-to source of advice whenever our members face problems of any kind. We collaborate with good employers on initiatives to tackle sexual harassment, such as the principles commissioned by the British Film Institute in partnership with industry bodies and unions.

The MU is leading the music industry's response to issues of sexual harassment by investigating individual cases, surveying musicians to find out the extent of the problem and challenging all music professionals to promote appropriate behaviour and put in place clear policies to protect musicians from harassment. The Musicians' Union (MU) has created a 'safe space' email address where musicians can report abuse and ask for assistance whilst remaining anonymous.

These problems can exist anywhere and that is why legislative changes are needed to protect and empower workers regardless of their employment status or sector.

Congress therefore agrees to redouble its efforts to bring change to the law including through:

- i. calling for the reinstatement of the statutory equality questionnaire which allowed claimants to ask for information pertinent to a case of harassment or discrimination
- ii. ensuring recognition of third-party harassment claims
- iii. investigating the use of Non-Disclosure Agreements by employers
- iv. campaigning for the recognition of self-employed workers in the Equality Act 2010
- v. seeking an extension to the current time limit for lodging a claim of discrimination and/or harassment from three months to at least six months
- vi. highlighting the advice and assistance provided by the MU to all musicians suffering harassment or abuse.

Mover: Equity

Seconder: Musicians' Union

Supporter: Prospect

Composite 6 Ending the hostile environment immigration policy and justice for the Windrush generation

Congress is appalled at the treatment of the 'Windrush generation'. Deported or shamed into leaving the country, refused vital healthcare, separated from families and asked for multiple pieces of documentation, for every year, for decades.

Far from accidental, this is the inevitable outcome of the 'hostile environment', turning public service workers, private landlords and UK banks into immigration officers. Migrant people are being treated as second class citizens by a raft of legislation that impinges on every aspect of their life, a violation of citizens' fundamental rights. Congress notes this 'hostile environment' started under the then Home Secretary, now Prime Minister, Theresa May, who deployed 'go home' vans around London in 2013.

Rather than appease anti-immigrant sentiment, this has led to an emboldened and violent far-right, white nationalist movement. UKIP policies have been mainstreamed and groups such as

Britain First, the Football Lads Alliance and 'For Britain' are mobilising in our streets – and are seeking to radicalise young people online. These developments have also seen a targeted attack on RMT members and others in London by supporters of Tommy Robinson, representing an attack on the whole trade union movement.

Congress is deeply concerned that with political and economic turmoil ahead, communities are being divided while trust in public services and institutions is eroded.

Congress recognises, on the 70th anniversary of both the creation of the NHS and the docking of the Empire Windrush, the contribution to the NHS made by the Windrush generation since its inception and throughout its history. Without migration the health and care service could not survive.

Congress notes:

- i. The Home Office administrative hurdles placed in the way of the Windrush generation to have their British citizenship recognised cause hardship, deprivation, denial of public and health services and their right to work and, in some cases, lead to deportation.
- ii. That 120,000 children, many born in the UK, including children who are stateless, are required to register their entitlement to British citizenship, which is their right.
- iii. That to access their citizenship right, children, their parents or guardians are required to pay an exorbitant and prohibitively high registration fee of £1,012, of which £372 is said to constitute the cost of administration and £640 is profit to the Home Office.
- iv. That for those children who are in local authority care, such a fee constitutes a direct transfer of funds from hard-pressed local authorities to the Home Office.

Congress applauds, and resolves to support, the campaign by Amnesty International UK to:

- a. remove any element of the registration fee over and above the actual cost of administration
- b. exempt the entire fee in the case of children in local authority care

- c. introduce a waiver of the fee in the case of any child who is unable to afford the administrative cost of registration
- d. improve awareness so that children exercise their rights to registration before a host of deplorable Windrush-type barriers and additional costs impact them when they reach 18 years of age.

Congress calls on the General Council to campaign:

- 1. to end the 'hostile environment' for all immigrants and for an independent inquiry into its implementation
- 2. for a rights-based and humane immigration policy that ensures the dignity of all workers and that tackles labour market exploitation
- 3. for the restoration of full rights for those affected by the Windrush scandal and full compensation for losses suffered
- 4. to reject the blame the government have placed on Home Office staff, and work with the Home Office unions to expose Conservative government policy.
- 5. to raise awareness of, and celebrate, the enormous contribution made by the Windrush generation and other migrant people to the NHS and all public services over many years, and which they will continue to make in the future.
- 6. to organise within our communities and at work to challenge the rise of the far right and tackle the politics of hate, wherever they arise.
- 7. to organise a conference/forum of affiliates to discuss a trade union-based response to the threat of the far right.

Mover: UNISON

Seconder: Accord

Supporters: Public and Commercial Services Union; National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers; Chartered Society of Physiotherapy; Royal College of Midwives

Composite 7 Public services outsourcing – lessons from Carillion

Congress is opposed to the privatisation of public services, PFI and the use of wholly owned subsidiaries by public bodies.

Congress notes the debacle and collapse of Carillion and notes with concern the cost to the taxpayer with further privatisation announced, including new prisons, probation services and some health services.

The recent TUC report 'What lessons can we learn from Carillion?' exposed the extent to which private companies running public services put short-term shareholder interests above the proper stewardship of public services, the wellbeing of workers who provide them, and the needs of communities that depend on them.

After Carillion's liquidation, damning National Audit Office reports and further evidence that profits are created at workers' expense, the need for trade union recognition, collective bargaining and common standards on pay, terms and conditions and pensions is pressing.

A Smith Institute report found that outsourcing has weakened employees' bargaining rights, further fragmented services, cut productivity, clouded accountability and damaged public service. PFI is now recognised as the costliest form of contracting.

Against that background the seven principles of public life (the Nolan principles) must now form part of the statutory requirements placed on those organisations that provide public services, to strengthen the public service ethos and benefit the public.

Congress notes that there has been no independent inquiry on the costs of privatisation and the failed Private Finance Initiative. The lessons of privatisation of our railways, healthcare, energy, Royal Mail, prisons and other services have been ignored by successive governments.

Congress demands a new approach that puts public interest and public service at the heart of decision-making. Congress calls on the General Council to develop policies on in-sourcing that rapidly end outsourcing on PFI and other contracts. In bringing services in-house the minimum

standards for pay, terms, conditions and pension arrangements must be those sector-wide arrangements secured through collective bargaining.

Congress welcomes Labour's opposition to the continued use of PFI and privatisation of services.

Congress calls on the General Council to campaign for:

- i. an independent inquiry into the collapse of Carillion and privatisation, where trade unions can give evidence regarding their particular sectors to consider the evidence of poorer services and terms and conditions for workers in the race to the bottom and the long-term benefits of public ownership that has been ignored due to the dogma of privatisation
- ii. all commissioning decisions to be based on a public interest test with clear criteria and in-house provision as the default
- iii. the government to compile a comprehensive record of significant contracts across the public sector and enable central oversight of companies across multiple contracts
- iv. providers of public services to provide details of supply chains, company ownership and governance structures, employment, remuneration and tax policies and practices
- v. reform of directors' duties to require promotion of the long-term success of the company as their primary aim
- vi. the government to extend joint and several liability laws so that workers can bring claims for employment abuses against any contractor in the supply chain
- vii. an end to the use of PFI/PF2 models for the delivery of public infrastructure projects
- viii. the application of the seven principles and Freedom of Information Act requirements to all service providers
- ix. the sector-wide agreements secured through collective bargaining and the relevant public sector pension schemes becoming the minimum basis for the pay, terms, conditions and pension provision applying to all service providers in that sector
- x. trade union recognition in all service providers and the framework for their participation in sector-wide collective bargaining.

Mover: UNISON

Seconders: Unite

Supporters: POA; ASLEF

Composite 8 Public sector

The public sector is facing unprecedented challenges after years of austerity and cuts. The ability of public services to deliver the quality provision our citizens deserve is seriously undermined. Leaders and managers in the public sector are in the unenviable position of implementing this government's agenda whilst trying to protect their services and their staff. Effective, ethical leadership relies upon fairness, transparency and collaborative cultures. The blame for job losses, inferior terms and conditions of employment and job insecurity rest with government, not on the shoulders of leaders and managers (many of whom are union members) in public service who face an impossible task. Leaders stand with Congress in actively opposing austerity cuts. We should not allow government to divert attention away from itself by blaming fellow trade unionists or public servants for its policy failure:

it must not seek to pressurise leaders into damaging, morally compromising decisions that harm outcomes for service users.

Congress calls on the government to:

- i. recognise the damage to society that has resulted from cuts to public services
- ii. reinvest in our critical public services
- iii. incentivise better training for aspiring leaders, including the principles of ethical leadership.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- a. lobby government to invest in the public services that this nation needs
- b. recognise that responsibility for austerity measures lies with government
- c. reject any attempts to divide our members as workers and leaders in the public sector
- d. publicly resist attacks designed to undermine the impartiality and professionalism of civil servants and other public sector workers.

Mover: National Association of Head Teachers

Seconders: National Education Union

Supporter: FDA

Composite 9 Education funding crisis

Congress condemns the government's continuing failure to take meaningful action to provide higher funding for schools, colleges and early years education.

Schools and colleges continue to suffer staffing losses, curriculum narrowing and cuts to spending on equipment and services. Schools serving the most disadvantaged students are suffering some of the greatest cuts. School teacher numbers fell by more than 5,000 last year, while pupil numbers rose by 66,000. And while 24,000 teaching jobs have gone in further education colleges and staff have seen the value of their pay fall by 25 per cent in the last 10 years.

Congress is dismayed that funding for students with special educational needs has come under particular pressure, affecting the very right to education for some. Congress affirms that funding for special educational needs, post-16 education and early years education must be afforded the same prominence and priority as funding for mainstream schools.

Congress notes that the real-terms cuts to school funding since 2015 are having a devastating impact in schools, with the majority of schools anticipating a deficit budget by 2020 on current funding plans. Schools have already made every efficiency possible and now face cuts to teaching and support staff jobs. This is hurting children, narrowing opportunities and having the greatest impact on the ability to support our most vulnerable pupils with special educational needs and disability. As every area of school expenditure is being cut, school buildings are starting to fall into disrepair and schools are having to ask parents for basic equipment.

Congress reaffirms its support for funding campaigns, including the School Cuts campaign led by GMB, NAHT, NEU, UNISON and Unite, and parent and head teacher campaigns.

Congress praises the campaigning on school funding, undertaken by trade unions representing school leaders, teachers and support staff, as well as parents and school-funding campaigns across the country, but there is more to do. We cannot deliver a world-class education system on the cheap at the very time that a post- Brexit Britain

will require investment in our children and young people.

Congress calls on the government to:

- i. recognise that like the NHS, education is critical to underpin our society
- ii. fully fund schools for the 2018 support staff and teacher pay increases
- iii. fully fund a pay increase in colleges that meets the further education unions' 2018/19 claim
- iv. announce an immediate investment in education funding in its Autumn Budget to reverse real terms cuts in education and the process of cuts of £2.8bn per annum since 2015
- v. increase education spending in its comprehensive spending review in order to bring forward fair funding and activity led funding
- vi. work with education unions and parent groups on the deployment of additional funding and a fairer funding system.

Congress calls on the General Council to continue to work with education unions and campaign groups in pursuit of the above priorities.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- a. lobby the government to address real terms cuts to school budgets
- b. ensure that the needs of all children and young people are addressed to achieve equal access to a good education for all, including those pupils with special educational needs and disabilities.

Mover: National Education Union

Second: National Association of Head Teachers

Supporter: University and College Union

Composite 10 National education service

Congress notes that education is in crisis.

Educators, learners and society are losing out.

Congress demands change. Congress welcomes Labour's pledge to create a national education service. This must cover all education provision (from early years to adults, through schools, alternative provision, post-16 and HE), all education workers, and all learners – whatever their needs, means or age.

The education system requires better funding and the recruitment and retention of sufficient staff. Any national education service must end and then reverse privatisation of education. It should be democratically accountable, locally and nationally, with rigorous financial oversight, providing national pay and conditions for all.

Congress calls on government and all political parties to create the social and economic conditions for young people to succeed, establish consensus for a long-term approach to education, and institute an inspirational, aspirational and principled national education service, delivered locally, and accessible universally:

- i. enabling learners to understand and contribute to wider society and the world in which they live and to change it for the better
 - ii. ensuring parents are a valued part of the education community, including through school/college governance arrangements
 - iii. recognising that every member of staff has a role to play in creating a supportive and stimulating environment in which learners can flourish and achieve their full potential
 - iv. seeing education professionals as trusted partners and ethical leaders – redefining their professional identity to guarantee a confident, informed profession of choice with agency and moral purpose, supported throughout their careers and whose work, based on educational research, is valued by society
 - v. fostering collaboration, not competition, between education establishments to provide the highest quality education for all, recognising the capacity to learn has no limits.
- c. empowering – ensuring that learners, employees and institutions are all enabled and respected
 - d. genuinely lifelong – with opportunities for retraining and chances to re-engage at every stage, and parity for part-time and digital distance learning
 - e. coordinated – flexible pathways for learners between providers and strong partnerships involving providers, employers, unions and technology platforms
 - f. outcome-focused – designed to meet social and economic needs, with far more adults receiving productivity-enhancing education but also recognising that learning brings wider benefits.

Congress urges all political parties to work towards the principles of a national education service with a clear commitment to support a professional workforce.

Congress also welcomes campaigns to liberate the life choices of students by moving to a system where students apply to university after they receive their results, as happens in other countries.

Congress calls on the General Council to campaign for a system that:

1. rejects marketisation of education
2. makes teaching an attractive career choice
3. ends the use of casualised contracts
4. invests in quality professional development
5. increases engagement with staff and respects their professional autonomy.

Mover: National Education Union

Seconded: University and College Union

Supporter: UNISON

Congress notes the Fabian Society's Life

Lessons: A national education service that leaves no adult behind. This publication sets out how a Labour government should deliver on its promise to create a free, universal 'cradle to grave' education system.

Congress endorses the publication's proposals:

- a. accountable – democratically accountable and open at every level
- b. devolved – with local decision-making that delivers coherent, integrated local provision, albeit within a national framework

Composite 11 Health and social care workers

Health and social care in the UK is facing a funding crisis. According to NHS Improvement 44 per cent of trusts overspent their budgets in 2017/18 and alarmingly, the NHS provider sector as a whole ended 2017/18 with a deficit of £960m.

Furthermore, the Health Foundation suggested the social care funding gap is projected to reach £2.1bn by 2019/20.

These funding gaps are leaving dedicated staff in the sector having to pay for resources from their own pockets. The British Dietetic Association has gathered evidence that shows a high percentage of members are forced to pay for stationery, equipment and other resources in order to do their jobs effectively. This ranges from basic stationery to fridges, fans, uniforms, weighing scales and essential reference books. Staff are also conducting home visits to members of the public using their own vehicles but not being paid the nationally agreed mileage rates, thus incurring additional costs for already low paid NHS staff. Congress is appalled that staff are also buying food and other essentials such as baby milk and nappies for vulnerable patients.

Congress condemns the practice of workers paying to do their jobs. And local government budget cuts that have increased financial pressures on the social care system.

Congress is concerned that NHS workers are facing immense difficulties in securing funding and time off to undertake essential professional development training, leaving them to self-fund. This can amount to hundreds of pounds per year for course fees, text books, accommodation and travel along with the loss of annual leave and rest days.

Congress calls for:

- i. continued pressure on the government to spend a higher proportion of the UK's wealth on health and social care in line with other comparable economies and bring an end to reliance on the good will and dedication of already hardpressed staff to deliver the services so desperately needed
- ii. a long-term funding settlement for health and social care
- iii. adequate funding and time off for essential professional development, including for care workers.
- iv. a campaign to highlight the widespread practice of public sector workers subsidising services
- v. integration of health and social care services to improve the quality of care.

Mover: British Dietetic Association

Seconder: Chartered Society of Physiotherapy

Supporters: Community; The College of Podiatry

Composite 12 Mental health

Congress believes the government's claim to have brought about "parity of esteem" between mental and physical health in England lies in tatters.

Recent UK polling shows that concern about mental health has doubled in the last year.

The systemic underfunding of mental health services, beds and training provision has had a progressive and continuing detrimental impact on both staff and service users at the same time as austerity generally has contributed to increasing mental ill health.

Congress shares the concerns of MPs that proposals to transform mental health care for young people through maximum waiting times and improved support in schools will take too long to effect real change and fails to address the wider population.

Congress is alarmed that yet again the crucial issue of improved social care funding has been postponed, with the green paper delayed until autumn 2018.

Congress believes the mental health crisis can only be properly addressed by adopting an holistic approach that involves not just the NHS, but also social care, education, youth work, housing and also policing.

Congress welcomes improvements in awareness of mental health with long-held taboos beginning to be overcome. The increase in the level of awareness has led to a spike in those seeking help and put a strain on NHS mental health services.

The lack of any appreciable increase in trained staff or funding for mental health amount to real-terms cuts. Those that cannot afford to pay for private services are waiting for essential help in their time of highest need.

Many GPs suggest that vulnerable people seek help from workplace occupational health departments as an alternative to mainstream services. However, this shifts the burden of responsibility to already stretched services that were never designed to take the overspill or to act as a stopgap for NHS services. Many workers, including freelance and atypical workers, have no access to any workplace occupational health or support services.

Congress asserts that mental health is also a workplace issue and that there is a need to ensure improvements in how employers are tackling the causes of work-related stress, which can cause or exacerbate mental ill health. The rise in insecure work, the fall in real wages and the frequent removal of sick pay provisions are all factors which have contributed significantly to the mental health crisis.

Congress supports a campaign to ensure that there are sufficient staff and facilities to meet the needs of the most vulnerable in our society.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- i. campaign for improved mental health funding across the UK, working with service users and community groups
- ii. lobby for the RIDDOR system to be changed so that work-related stress absence is reportable
- iii. campaign to ensure that government and employers take action to address the mental health implications of poor employment protections
- iv. work with affiliates to organise a concerted trade union response on mental health and wellbeing that expects employers to conduct risk assessments that identify workplace and other risk factors and underlying causes of the condition, before making a commitment to address recommendations
- v. organise a one-day conference in 2019 on mental health in the workplace to bring together unions and organisations specialising in mental health issues
- vi. set up a cross-union working group on mental health to share best practice and co-ordinate campaigning work.

Mover: UNISON

Seconder: Society of Radiographers

Supporters: Usdaw; CWU; Equity; TSSA

Composite 13 A new deal for workers

Congress agrees the 12 May New Deal rally is the catalyst for stronger collective action in the biggest trade union campaign for decades to reclaim our purpose as the collective voice of workers and to change the balance of forces in the world of work. Current volatility means now is the time to bring

people together around a new deal manifesto with worker and trade union rights at its core.

The General Council must agree, publish and deliver a new deal next steps plan based on the following:

- i. Agree a common bargaining agenda for individual sectors to tackle insecure employment, inequality and in-work poverty and stress.
- ii. Convene a summit to agree a charter, similar to Bridlington, which promotes greater co-operation on how we recruit the millions of unorganised UK workers and bring an end to inter-union competition.
- iii. Agree a trade union new deal manifesto that builds on the Labour Party manifesto and the work of the Institute of Employment Rights.
- iv. Develop links and solidarity with other groups campaigning for social justice to build a better future and stronger society.
- v. Urgently challenge the government to amend the current Trade Union Act in respect of postal balloting for industrial action. The case for modernisation of the balloting laws and the introduction of workplace/e-balloting is clear. The current law restricts unions ability to defend our members.
- vi. Organise a day of action in support of the new deal in the first half of 2019, backed up and preceded by our biggest ever collective communication, social media and workplace meeting strategy. The action will be deliverable by agreeing an innovative menu of options that workers everywhere can participate in on a given date.

Congress recognises that with the structural inequality and imbalance of power in today's economy, the major problems in today's world of work and the challenge of the fourth industrial revolution it has never been more important for unions to come together like never before and deliver a bold new deal for workers and their communities.

Mover: Communication Workers Union

Seconder: National Education Union

Supporter: Public and Commercial Services Union

Composite 14 Turkey

Congress is concerned with the Turkish government's continued mis-treatment of workers perceived as being opponents of the state, in particular members of the Kurdish community. It is reported that since the 2016 election, some 60,000 people have lost their freedom and 150,000 have lost their jobs, including some 21,000 teachers, in the on-going purge by the Turkish government.

Congress notes the work of Academics for Peace in mobilising solidarity action from UK based academics in defending their academic colleagues in Turkey. Congress also sends its support to Education International and their work in coordinating international observers at the trials of academics in Turkey.

Congress reaffirms its call for the Turkish government to reinstate the tens of thousands of unfairly dismissed public servants and resolves to support further those Turkish trade unions, such as Egitim-Sen, fighting back against this repression.

Congress demands that the Turkish government immediately stop the war against the Kurdish population, restart the abandoned peace process with the PKK, and releases imprisoned Kurdish political leader Abdullah Ocalan so that he can play a full role in the peace process.

Further, Congress instructs the General Council to seek to persuade the UK government to actively support the reinstatement of dismissed workers and to demand the upholding of academic freedom.

Mover: Educational Institute of Scotland

Seconders: Unite

Supporter: University and College Union

Composite 16 Music, arts and culture in the curriculum and lifelong learning

Congress notes that the Musicians' Union is currently conducting research into access to instrumental music tuition for young people. Early indications show what we have long suspected – that children from poorer backgrounds are not getting the same access to music education as their wealthier peers.

Cuts to funding for music education over the years have affected job security for highly qualified

instrumental teachers, and many have left the profession. The National Plan for Music made a number of positive recommendations to ensure that all children would have the chance to learn an instrument, but schools were never required to engage with music hubs and so musical opportunities for young people continue to be a postcode lottery. Congress asks the General Council to support the MU's campaigning on music education.

Congress notes that in many schools, there is no provision or subsidy for music tuition, and so only young people whose parents can pay for instrumental lessons are given the opportunity to learn to play. Not only will this deprive many young people of the recognised benefits of learning an instrument, there will also be serious knock-on consequences for society. Orchestras are already criticised for a lack of diversity and there are fewer and fewer up and coming bands from a working-class background. The rich tapestry of our music industry will be seriously impoverished unless music education is properly invested in and made a part of the national curriculum.

Congress notes that:

- i. Art and culture are an essential part of human life, central to education, health and wellbeing.
- ii. The Conservative policy of austerity has resulted in massive cuts in arts funding, both nationally in schools and colleges and regionally in arts education and arts services funded by councils, including museum funding.
- iii. Conservative education policies have resulted in 90 per cent of secondary schools cutting spending in at least one creative subject.
- iv. The Conservative government's policy of deregulation has resulted in thousands of children and young people being denied access to arts education on the basis of their parents' ability to pay.
- v. Predicted shifts of labour due to improved technology means we should be directing our efforts towards more cultural and creative work spaces/work lives.

Congress calls on the General Council to campaign for:

- a. art subjects to be included as a statutory curriculum entitlement for all ages – STEAM not STEM subjects (art as well as science, technology, engineering and maths)
- b. increased funding for art education, particularly in colleges and further education, reintroducing no-fee or low-fee courses
- c. increased funding for regional and national arts organisations, that work bringing art to deprived areas.
- d. increased funding to continue to ensure free access to library, gallery and museum services in all local areas
- e. the arts to be more central in future economic planning.

Congress calls on the General Council to support unions that provide education and training for their members so that they have the necessary skills and qualifications to meet the challenges of today's labour market. Statistics show that the average worker changes their job every five years which inevitably will require re-training and a need to acquire new skills.

In an industry like football where players are relatively young when their playing careers come to an end, it is imperative that they prioritise training and learning for a new career. The Professional Footballers' Association provides a wealth of support in this area and funds a wide range of courses and learning opportunities to ease the difficult transition from the dressing room to the more conventional workplace. This commitment to their members not only helps them with recruitment but also demonstrates that as their trade union they are also looking to the long term and their wellbeing after football. This extensive education provision is vitally important for players' futures and is perhaps a good template for the movement in general to adopt as union membership continues to decline and our relevance is questioned. Finally, Congress acknowledges the excellent work undertaken by the TUC here and calls on all unions to work together for the benefit of all our members in this area.

Mover: Professional Footballers' Association

Seconder: Musicians' Union

Supporters: Artists' Union Engand, NASUWT

Composite 17 Nationalisation of Britain's railways

Congress believes the collapse of Carillion, a major rail contractor; the failure of Virgin/Stagecoach on the East Coast Line; the rail timetable chaos (which also led to increased threat of assaults against rail workers); and loss of skilled rail jobs has shown again that the privatisation and fragmentation of our railways and public services has been an abject failure. Congress recognises that Britain's railways are in trouble after continued bungling and buck-passing by the government's transport secretary.

The introduction of new passenger timetables in May 2018 saw hundreds of train services cancelled or delayed on Northern and Thameslink, disrupting the daily lives of thousands of passengers. The minister blamed the publicly owned Network Rail when one of the main causes for the problem was the Department for Transport's refusal to allow a pause on introducing the new timetables. This way of running Britain's railways characterises the government's ineptitude whereby:

- i. Conservative dogma re-privatised the highly successful East Coast franchise in 2015, only for it to fail for a third time and be returned to public ownership in June 2018.
- ii. Electrification projects have been scaled back, especially in the north of England, perpetuating the antiquated rail network there, and incurring additional expense for diesel engines in less environmentally friendly bi-mode trains.
- iii. There has been a failure to attract private sector investment, resulting in taxpayer-funded subsidies of £34.7bn between 2019 and 2024.

Despite this, Network Rail is apparently being prepared to be fragmented and privatised, which could see industry standards relaxed to attract private investors, raising the spectre of the safety failings of Railtrack.

Even though these rail policy disasters have taken place under Chris Grayling he has refused to take any responsibility and Congress supports the growing calls for Chris Grayling to resign.

Congress also notes the government has been behind protracted disputes to introduce Driver Only Operation and has persistently attacked rail

unions, including shamefully seeking to blame hard-pressed rail workers for massive fare hikes.

Despite these attacks, rail workers, who remain constant public servants while privatised rail companies come and go, have continued to do their best to protect safety and service on the railway. This includes taking principled action to keep guards on trains.

Congress pays tribute and sends full solidarity to these workers.

Congress therefore reiterates its support for nationalisation of the railways and calls on the General Council to:

- a. campaign for properly funded, integrated, publicly owned rail and tube networks, which:
 - ends outsourcing, bringing core functions such as catering, cleaning and renewals and track/train maintenance in-house
 - makes for optimum access for older and disabled passengers
 - ensures the involvement of rail workers through their unions in overseeing the running of the railway.
- b. oppose rail privatisation and support public ownership of our railways
- c. campaign to keep Network Rail as one entity in the public sector
- d. establish a cross-union working group to progress transition plans for transport and other sectors.

Mover: National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers

Seconder: Transport Salaried Staffs' Association

Emergency 1 (Composite) Public sector pay

Congress notes that the government's attempts to suppress public sector pay have met with resistance from union members. This was most recently demonstrated by the ballot result of PCS members in the Ministry of Justice, announced on 30 August, with 94 per cent voting to oppose a derisory pay offer on a 74 per cent turnout.

We believe that we now urgently need a coordinated campaign for above inflation pay increases across the public sector.

Congress welcomes the pay settlements reached in the public sector during 2018 which have breached the 1 per cent government pay cap, in some instances with extra funding, but notes that inflation (RPI) was running as high as 3.7 per cent in January 2018, and that our members have suffered years of real-terms pay cuts.

Congress notes that following the 2017 general election the issue of the public sector pay cap was at the forefront of political debate and that in September 2017 the chief secretary to the treasury said that the pay cap would be lifted.

Despite this announcement, the government has continued to limit pay increases in the civil service and related areas to between 1 per cent and 1.5 per cent. The pay cap has already had a devastating effect on the value of the incomes of our members. PCS research shows the effect of that policy will mean that average civil service pay will have fallen in value by over 20 per cent by 2020.

Congress notes TUC estimates that show public sector workers such as crown prosecutors, NHS specialist dieticians, prison officers, firefighters, nuclear maintenance engineers, teachers and NHS ancillary staff are out of pocket by between £1,000 and £4,000 in real terms (based on CPI).

Congress notes the 85 per cent "yes" vote by PCS public sector members in a statutory strike ballot in July, but that PCS was denied the right to strike because of the threshold for turnout demanded by the Trade Union Act. Congress supports PCS in planning for another ballot next spring.

Congress recognises that pay review bodies in the United Kingdom is a government mechanism to replace collective bargaining for certain groups of employees in the public sector, including the prison service pay review body. Different pay review bodies also cover school teachers, nurses, doctors and other health professionals. It is noted by Congress that the review bodies are supposed to be independent of government when making recommendations after taking evidence from employer and trade unions but unfortunately the review bodies are selected, paid, and follow a remit from treasury and government which has led to

pay cuts since 2010 with review bodies adhering to the government agenda.

Congress accepts that the Prison Service Pay Review Body is not an adequate compensatory mechanism for prison officers not having the right to strike and therefore we believe that review body should be abolished in favour of collective bargaining.

Congress notes existing models of national collective bargaining, such as the National Joint Council for Local Authority Fire and Rescue Services and the Middle Managers' Negotiating Body for firefighters across the UK.

Congress calls on the General Council to coordinate a public sector pay campaign for above-inflation pay increases for all public sector workers, to include the coordinating of bargaining timetables and pay demands, campaign activities, ballots and industrial action.

Whilst recognising the sovereignty and independence of other trade unions who come under the remit of pay review bodies, Congress further instructs the General Council to explore with the Labour Party and other organisations who support a return to national sectoral collective bargaining.

Mover: Public and Commercial Services Union

Second: POA

Supporter: Fire Brigades' Union

Emergency 2 Jesus Santrich

Last week the health of Jesus Santrich, a leader of the FARC and Colombian congress member-elect, who is being held in La Picota maximum security jail pending extradition to the US on trumped-up charges, rapidly deteriorated. He was not taken to hospital nor was he seen by a trusted doctor and his lawyers had to take him medication. Santrich, who is also blind, is being held in solitary confinement, has only limited access to visitors and has been denied access to audio books. Congress believes that access to medical treatment is a basic human right and calls on the Colombian authorities to immediately ensure he has safe medical treatment, to provide for his specific access needs and to move him to more adequate conditions.

Neither Santrich nor his lawyers have been given details of the alleged evidence against him nor

have the US authorities provided evidence. His arrest and detention, as well as attempts to weaken the transitional justice system, pose a direct threat to the agreement between the Colombian government and the FARC.

Congress calls on the TUC to write to the Colombian government urging them to comply with their obligations under the agreement.

Mover: UNISON

Second: ASLEF

Emergency 3 Defend journalism in the public interest

Congress condemns the arrest last month of two Belfast-based journalists and NUJ members responsible for a documentary film that highlights collusion between the British Army, RUC police and Loyalist paramilitaries in an unsolved murder investigation in Northern Ireland.

The film, *No Stone Unturned*, sheds light on six unsolved murders and a violent attack on civilians in 1994 and contains information based on a leaked Police Ombudsman report.

Congress believes that the ability of journalists to act in the public interest is contingent on their ability to honour commitments made to confidential sources and whistleblowers and calls for the immediate lifting of the threat of legal action against the journalists Trevor Birney and Barry McCaffrey following their arrest on 31 August 2018.

Congress further notes that the protection of journalistic sources is a key principle enshrined in the NUJ's ethical code of conduct and that, under international law and the European Convention of Human Rights, the highest priority must be afforded to the journalistic right to protect information and material received and published in the public interest.

Congress therefore calls on the General Council to:

- i. condemn the targeting of whistleblowers and the criminalisation of journalists
- ii. endorse the NUJ campaign and disseminate related information via the TUC's e-newsletters and website

- iii. encourage trade union members to support the campaign by screening the film at union meetings
- iv. support the NUJ's efforts to defend public interest journalism and journalists.

Mover: National Union of Journalists

Second: Communication Workers Union

Emergency 4 Cuts to UNWRA and the nation state law

Congress condemns the Knesset (Israeli Parliament) majority decision on 19 July 2018 to adopt the new "nation-state law".

Congress shares the opposition expressed by a wide range of Israeli citizens, including Palestinians, to this law which institutionally discriminates against Palestinian citizens of Israel.

The passing of the law has led to demonstrations in Tel Aviv called by groups asserting that "we are all equal citizens – Arabs and Jews, women and men, Mizrahim, Ethiopians, those of us from the former USSR and members of the LGBTQ community".

Opposition to the law has also been expressed by the distinguished conductor and activist Daniel Barenboim, a group of over 100 writers and artists, members of the Druze community and the Peace Now group.

Congress expresses its solidarity with all those seeking to oppose this law and calls on the General Council to make representations to the UK government and to the Israeli authorities.

Congress also condemns the 24 August 2018 decision by the Trump Administration to cut \$300 million from the aid budget to the United Nations Works & Relief Agency (UNWRA) which is responsible for 5.4 million Palestinian refugees. This will result in threats to the education of over 526,000 Palestinian children and the jobs of 22,000 teachers.

Congress further calls on the General Council to make representations to the FCO to significantly increase the British contribution to UNWRA to avoid this humanitarian disaster.

Mover: ASLEF

Second: Unite

Emergency 5 RBS bank closures

Congress condemns the announcement from Royal Bank of Scotland on 5 September 2018 that 54 bank branches will close by January 2019.

With 162 closures announced in April, a total of 216 branches across England and Wales have been marked for closure in the last nine months, resulting in over 1,300 job losses.

When branch closures of the other major banks are included, high streets are losing branches at a rate of more than one a week. This leaves local communities bereft of financial access.

The impact is most keenly felt by those who rely on branches, including the elderly. Each closure erodes public trust in banks which have done little to atone for the financial crisis of 2008.

Congress notes that it has been ten years since the collapse of Lehman Brothers, triggering the banking crisis resulting in a £130bn bailout and a decade of austerity.

Bank workers have been on the receiving end of austerity no less than any public sector worker. At RBS alone 36,000 workers have lost their jobs since 2008.

RBS is still 62 per cent owned by the taxpayer. Government should use this stake to bring boardroom scrutiny and support bank workers and communities.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

- i. support trade union and community campaigns to defend local bank branches
- ii. lobby the current government, and any future Labour government, to proactively use its stake in RBS as part of a strategy for transforming the banking sector into a valued community service.

Mover: Unite

Second: Accord

Emergency 6 Support national unity demonstration against fascism and racism

Congress notes:

- i. the disturbing rise of racist and fascist activity across Europe exemplified by events in Chemnitz, Germany and the confidence given to the far right globally by the Trump presidency
- ii. the coalescing of racist and fascist groupings from the Democratic Football Lads Alliance through to UKIP and the fascists around the 'Free Tommy Robinson' campaign
- iii. the violent, 15,000-strong, far right 'free speech' rally on 9 June in central London, the assault on trade unionists following the Stand Up To Racism/Unite Against Fascism counter-demo against Robinson's supporters on 14 July and the fascist attack on the TUC's official bookshop Bookmarks on 4 August
- iv. the call by Shadow Chancellor John McDonnell for a mass movement against the racist and fascist right in the spirit of the Anti-Nazi League
- v. the Islamophobic comments made by Boris Johnson that have also added to the confidence of the far right
- vi. the call by Stand Up To Racism, Unite Against Fascism and Love Music Hate Racism for a national unity demo against the fascist and racist right on Saturday 17 November.

Congress believes that:

- a. internationally we face the biggest threat from the far right since the 1930s
- b. we need a mass movement in Britain to halt the growth of the racist and fascist right.

Congress calls on the General Council to:

1. support the Stand Up To Racism international conference on Saturday 20 October – building opposition to fascism and racism
2. co-organise the national unity demo in London on 17 November, which is supported by Shadow Home Secretary Diane Abbott, Shadow Chancellor John McDonnell and a number of key figures from Labour, the trade unions and faith communities; and to co-organise with Stand Up To Racism and Unite

Against Fascism a major demonstration to mark UN anti-racism day on Saturday 23 March.

Mover: University and College Union

Seconder: Public and Commercial Services Union

Emergency 7 Fair pay in schools

Congress notes that the government delayed its teachers' pay announcement until 24 July, after most schools' summer break had started, with its formal consultation running during that summer break, closing on 3 September.

The School Teachers' Review Body (STRB) recommended a 3.5 per cent increase for teachers and headteachers because of its profound concerns about teacher recruitment and retention.

Congress regrets that the government has:

- i. denied that recommended increase to the overwhelming majority of teachers and school leaders
- ii. failed to fully fund the teachers' pay award
- iii. failed to fund the support staff pay award.

Congress further notes that no government has previously refused to implement an increase recommended by the STRB, with increases delayed or staged on only a very few occasions, and that this government has given no explanation for doing so.

Congress condemns the government for ignoring concerns about teacher supply and failing to fund the increase in full, threatening further cuts to our children's education.

Congress agrees that the government must:

- a. fully fund all pay awards
- b. treat review body recommendations as the very minimum for pay settlements.

Congress supports member unions taking action to secure fair pay in schools and full implementation and funding of pay recommendations.

Mover: National Education Union

Seconder: NASUWT

Emergency 8 Public sector pensions

Congress notes with concern the announcement by Elizabeth Truss, Chief Secretary to HM Treasury, on 6 September, on the valuation directions given to public service pension schemes.

Congress notes that the directions issued by the Treasury effectively dictate the assumptions made by actuaries when valuing public service pension schemes. This includes the assumptions about the discount rate, any changes to which can have a significant impact on the cost of pensions.

Congress further notes the reduction in discount rate required by the directions will increase the cost of many public service schemes including those covering NHS workers, firefighters, civil servants and teachers.

Congress is concerned that this change is a unilateral, technical decision made by government that will significantly increase pension costs for employers at a time when public services continue to suffer from the effects of years of austerity.

Congress believes this will inevitably lead to more public service employers finding ways to entice workers, particularly young workers, to give up hard-won pension rights.

Congress calls on the General Council to demand that the increased costs caused by this accounting manoeuvre are fully funded by central government and do not result in cuts to services or attacks on public service pension schemes.

Mover: Society of Radiographers

Seconder: Fire Brigades' Union

Emergency 9 (Composite) Attack on rail workers' pay

Congress notes with some concern that on 14 August the Secretary of State for Transport, Chris Grayling, wrote to trade unions and the rail employers' body, the Rail Delivery Group (RDG), asking employers to introduce CPI as opposed to RPI as the inflation measure for future pay deals.

Congress further notes the RDG as well as Network Rail is comprised of private sector rail employers who make massive profits out of railway privatisation. Congress notes CPI is consistently lower than RPI and does not include many

important costs incurred by workers, such as housing costs.

Congress views this as a potential declaration of hostilities on rail workers who have long since grown accustomed to RPI being used as the accepted benchmark when their earnings are reviewed. Not content with hammering the standard of living of passengers, Chris Grayling wants to also hammer rail workers so the government can protect the massive profits and pay rises of rail bosses.

Rail unions will rightly resist and fight any attempts to attack the living standards of their members and widespread industrial action across the rail network is inevitable.

Congress notes the TUC's analysis shows that:

Since 2008 rail fares have risen by 42 per cent whilst average weekly pay has grown by only 18 per cent.

Private train operators paid at least £165m in dividends to their shareholders last year, at a time when overall taxpayer subsidy to the rail industry reached £3.5bn.

Congress is also appalled that as many rail contracts allow for the private rail firms to be reimbursed for revenues lost as a result of the industrial action, Chris Grayling is using public money to bankroll private employers in his war against rail workers. Congress notes the ever-worsening chaos around the rail industry under 'Failing Grayling' and views with contempt his shameful attempt to link inflation-busting rail fare increases for underperforming services directly to the earnings of rail workers.

Congress will not allow rail workers to be used as cannon fodder in the face of ministerial incompetence and private greed. Congress condemns the Secretary of State's letter and commits the General Council to support the rail unions in resisting the proposals and any attempt by industry employers to move from RPI to CPI as the accepted benchmark for future pay negotiations.

Mover: National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers

Seconder: Transport Salaried Staffs' Association

Part 2

General Council statements

Brexit

With less than eight months to go before the UK is due to leave the EU, the Conservative government has comprehensively failed to negotiate a Brexit that meets its own red lines, let alone one that protects the jobs, rights and livelihoods of working people across the UK.

Since Congress 2017, internal Conservative party politics have taken priority over the interests of working people. Sackings and resignations have made it impossible for the government to agree a negotiating position with itself - never mind with our EU partners. The Chequers agreement took two years to develop yet fell apart within days. The EU Withdrawal Act revealed as a sham the prime minister's repeated promise to workers that their rights would be protected, while at the same time denied MPs a truly meaningful vote on the Brexit deal. The trade and customs bills have been subject to delays, concessions, and backroom deals to avoid embarrassing parliamentary defeats, with the prime minister barely surviving key votes and her fragile working majority under constant threat.

The government has also failed to address many of the reasons why people voted to leave the EU in the first place.

Insecurity at work, employer abuses of open labour markets and bad jobs; a failed industrial strategy; lack of investment in transport and infrastructure and a failure to address a growing housing crisis alongside on-going austerity driven cuts to our schools and hospitals continue to blight people's lives and devastate communities. The people who are most affected by these issues will not benefit from the sort of hard, right-wing Brexit that is being proposed by the government.

The far-right, bolstered by international support, have taken advantage in our communities, taking their message of hate, fear and despair onto our

streets and football terraces. Their opportunistic narratives and new, digital ways of organising do not disguise their true motivations or age-old anti-semitism and attempts to scapegoat Muslims, migrants and other minorities for the government's decisions to deliver an economy that works only for big business and the rich, abandoning communities and neglecting our public services. EU citizens and other migrants in the UK are feeling less and less welcome, and British citizens abroad face similar uncertainty and worry.

Unions are tackling the issues that matter to our members and workers generally, whether Brexit-related or not. The Brexit that is being proposed, poses threats to our manufacturing and service industries, to the funding and staffing of public services, to further and higher education, science and research institutions, health and social care provision, arts, media and heritage. Some of the impacts of Brexit are already affecting people's jobs and livelihoods but worse may be to come. People have seen prices rise and wages stagnate or fall. As the Cabinet's own leaked advice revealed, any Brexit scenario is likely to make the situation worse, but some scenarios will be even worse than others.

While the government flails and the far-right marches, the countdown to Brexit continues - and the risk that the UK will crash out of the EU in 200 days becomes ever more real. There can be no doubt that if that happens, working people our families and communities will pay the price.

The General Council statement 'Making a jobs first rights first Brexit a reality' agreed by Congress in 2017 set out the TUC's objectives for the Brexit negotiations. It highlighted three tests that any withdrawal agreement and final status deal must collectively meet:

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

These three tests continue to guide our work on Brexit.

The Withdrawal Agreement and the risks of crashing out in March 2019

A smooth and orderly Brexit can only happen if the UK and EU approve a withdrawal agreement before the UK leaves the EU on 29 March 2019. This package must include agreement on citizens' rights, Northern Ireland, budget contributions and a transition period. It is likely to be accompanied by a non-binding political declaration on the UK's future relationship with EU.

The TUC is particularly concerned that the transition period must be agreed as this will provide both the additional time necessary for the detailed negotiation of our future trade and political relationship with the EU during which we will benefit from a further (albeit short) period of protection for tariff-free, barrier-free frictionless trade with the EU, as well as protecting workers' existing rights and making sure that UK workers benefit from any further EU rights introduced during this period. We have also repeatedly called for no hard border between Northern Ireland and Ireland, to preserve jobs, livelihoods and peace.

The prime minister's red lines on no membership of a customs union or single market threaten the Good Friday Agreement and continued peace in Northern Ireland by making a hard border inevitable.

The cabinet has looked for a way out of this self-created crisis, proposing a number of customs proposals that have not survived scrutiny and have not been considered serious by EU negotiators.

The lack of progress on agreeing a Withdrawal Agreement means that the UK could crash out of the EU without a deal on 29 March 2019. Even if the UK and the EU somehow agree a deal in time, it is not clear that the prime minister can command a majority for it to pass in parliament.

If the government fails to agree a Withdrawal Agreement with the EU, there would be no smooth transition period giving space to negotiate a final status deal. A disorderly exit would lead to the immediate creation of trade barriers and the imposition of tariffs by the EU under generic World Trade Organization rules. This will have a profoundly damaging impact on trade and on jobs across the UK. It will mean prices in the shops will

go up and there could be shortages of EU sourced products and goods.

A 'no deal' Brexit would expose the vulnerability of workers within the UK economy given our comparatively low levels of social protection and constrained Union rights. It will lead to an immediate hard border on the island of Ireland, jeopardising peace.

A range of key cross border agencies, initiatives and sector level regulatory forums will break down in many areas, including the certification for use of components and manufactured goods, nuclear safety, air travel and medical co-operation. There would be a damaging impact on the recognition of professional qualifications. Britain would lose its access to Euratom, the European Medicines Agency and the European Aviation Safety Agency, as well as the Galileo project. And it would leave EU citizens in the UK and UK citizens in the EU in an uncertain legal position.

The economic and social damage that would be caused by crashing out mean that no responsible government should allow the UK to leave the EU in this way.

With 200 days to go before the UK leaves the EU, there is no sign of a realistic resolution on the table. The TUC calls on the government urgently to rethink their failed negotiating strategy and abandon their self-defeating red lines. We reject the argument put by the government that MPs have no choice but to vote for whatever deal the prime minister can secure, or risk the UK crashing out of the EU without a deal. If the government cannot conclude a Withdrawal Agreement, or if what it negotiates does not secure Parliament's support, or

If the deal would be bad for workers' jobs, rights and livelihoods, we demand an immediate general election to allow parties to put their plans for Brexit to the voters, and the extension of the Article 50 process to avoid crashing out of the EU with no deal and allow time for the a post-election negotiation of a deal that works for working people.

The UK's future relationship with the EU

As well as the Withdrawal Agreement, the UK and EU need to agree a future relationship before the end of a transition period to avoid a damaging shock to the UK economy, similar to the impact of crashing out without a Withdrawal Agreement.

And as the 2017 General Council statement said, we believe in keeping all options on the table and ruling nothing out. Any deal must be realistic and achievable through positive, constructive but tough negotiations with the EU.

Over the past year we have made the case for a relationship that meets the TUC's three tests set out above on workers' rights, jobs, and Northern Ireland:

- For workers' rights to be protected and enforceable now and into the future, Britain's final status deal with the EU must include a level playing field for workers' rights to stop unfair competition and ensure good employers are not undercut by the bad.
- A prosperous UK needs tariff-free, barrier-free, frictionless trade in goods and services with the rest of Europe. EU trade accounts for about half of all British exports; is vital to the employment of over three million workers either directly or indirectly; and provides good jobs with higher wages, training opportunities and skill levels than average.
- There must be no hard border between Ireland and Northern Ireland, or more restrictions on the border between Gibraltar and Spain

As we agreed in 2017 General Council statement, we are willing to consider any proposals that would meet those tests, including negotiating a new single market relationship, or working up from a bespoke trade deal. At present we should not rule out unrestricted access to the single market through continued membership outside the EU as this meets our tests.

Several other countries are outside the EU but inside the single market and if the outcome of negotiations with the EU was for the UK to stay in the single market in the longer-term, the TUC would continue to push, especially through the ETUC, for reforms so that the single market better serves working people's needs including reforming

competition rules. And the UK should look at other EU countries' models of free movement, and should use all the domestic powers at its disposal to manage the impact of migration. Membership of a customs union with the rest of the EU is vital to ensure that tariffs are not imposed between the UK and the rest of Europe.

As we stated in 2017, we are opposed to any deal for a long-term relationship with the EU that focuses narrowly on trade, without a strong social dimension. All trade deals that cover the UK must provide for enhanced labour rights and protection for public services. We reject a vision of free trade that does not include fair trade, deregulates employment, food, consumer and environmental standards; offers up public services like the NHS to rapacious multinational companies; and undermines UK sovereignty by giving foreign investors privileged rights to sue democratically-elected governments for acting in the interests of working people. We reject corporate focused trade deals such as those being proposed by the government with Australia, New Zealand, the USA and the Comprehensive and Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership, and together with trade unions in the relevant countries we will oppose such deals.

In the face of so much instability and mistrust in the ability of politicians to deliver, it comes as no surprise that polls show a growing number of people want a say on the Brexit deal. Whether that's through a meaningful vote in parliament, an early general election or a popular vote on the terms of Brexit, it is essential that the Brexit deal secures the confidence and support of the country.

Given the real risk of a collapse in the talks, or a deal that does not deliver on the TUC's priorities, whilst respecting the result of the 2016 referendum to leave the European Union, we do not rule out the possibility of campaigning for people to have a final say on the Brexit deal through a popular vote.

A better future for working people

The TUC's ambitions for a more equal, more prosperous country do not stop with a Brexit deal that protects jobs, rights at work and peace in Northern Ireland. Working people need a new deal.

Many people voted for Brexit to hit back at a political elite that has inflicted austerity on

communities all over the UK and has created an economy where good jobs are being stripped out of too many places and apprenticeships alongside other opportunities for good secure jobs for young people have nosedived. We share these concerns. The trade union movement has a responsibility to unify all workers whether they voted leave or remain and the best way of achieving this is to directly link the fight for a new deal for workers in the UK.

Getting the best possible Brexit deal must be accompanied by a national recovery plan to bring more good jobs to communities across the country. That means funding our public services properly, political intervention in the economy, growing investment and restoring public ownership of key industries. It means getting wages rising again – and cracking down on the disastrous spread of insecure work that leaves people trapped in poverty and vulnerable to exploitation. It means banning zero hours and other exploitative contracts. It means building the infrastructure we need for the twenty-first century – and stopping rampant profiteering by bringing public services and utilities back into public ownership. Above all, it means tackling the inequalities within and between regions and nations after decades of unregulated globalization and deindustrialisation.

We need a government with a plan to put working people first. And that starts with getting the right Brexit deal - one that protects workers' rights and helps create more good jobs – as we start to rebuild the UK in the interests of working people and their communities.

Collective bargaining

The TUC and our affiliated unions are united in our belief that effective union organisation, collective bargaining and collective voice and action at work are the best way of protecting working people's interests, regardless of where or how you work. The freedom to organise, join and participate collectively in trade unions, and negotiate pay and conditions in the defence and promotion of workers' interests are fundamental rights. And we demand these rights to support workers in their fight back against the tide of sky high inequality, low pay, and working conditions that hark back to the Victorian age. Collective bargaining is a key way to tackle inequality, improve working lives and ensure that decent employers are not undercut by the bad. Guaranteeing workers a voice at work can help tackle Britain's poor productivity record, deliver fairer rewards, and prevent unfair competition.

The balance of power in the workplace has been shifting against working people for too long. In the face of ideological austerity, attacks on trade union rights and undermining of collective bargaining, workers have faced the worst wage squeeze for 200 years, and the rise of business models that have resulted in an epidemic of insecurity at work. Working poverty is rising while boardroom greed has seen CEO pay rocket. Bad employers are taking the opportunity to avoid their responsibilities, to both workers and society: cancelling shifts at the drop of a hat, pushing people into bogus self-employment, and exploiting every loophole to get out of paying their workforce a fair day's pay for a fair day's work, or their fair share of taxes.

The past forty years have seen repeated attacks on unions' rights to organise and represent workers collectively. The Thatcher governments of the 1980s deregulated employment rights, restricted the right to strike and dismantled support for collective bargaining, in a deliberate attempt to weaken the power of workers. And the Conservative government of 2015 further developed this attack, imposing a new draconian and undemocratic Trade Union Act that placed

restrictions on unions' ability to organise, campaign and take industrial action.

Despite all these attacks, many decent employers already recognise and bargain with us. And unions are still a powerful force winning every day for workers across the public and private sectors, including in areas where traditionally membership density has been low – with bold new organising campaigns in sectors like retail, parcel delivery, telecoms and hospitality. We need to protect the victories we have won, including existing recognition and bargaining arrangements.

But despite this work, over this period, the fall in collective bargaining coverage in the UK has been one of the fastest in the developed world. The situation is urgent; if we do nothing, we risk seeing the number of workers who benefit from trade union representation reduced still further – the US, for example, has just over one in ten workers benefiting from collective bargaining. But we also have the best opportunity for some time to turn this trend around; an increasingly widespread recognition of the fact that the decline in trade unions' influence is a problem for anyone who cares about a fairer economy, and a Labour party committed to roll out sectoral collective bargaining.

The TUC is committed to extending collective bargaining in the UK. That starts with unions' organising efforts – and we congratulate our member unions on the gains they have won this year – taking on employers and winning for working people from the gig economy to major corporate giants.

We need a positive policy framework that helps workers get the strong, confident voice and representation they need to win better pay and conditions and to make the economy fairer. We don't believe there is one measure to address the issues we face; forty years of sustained attacks on trade unionism, and an increasingly diverse and fragmented labour market mean that we need a framework of measures to begin to turn the tide. And we know that with real reform we can deliver a better future for workers.

That starts with re-establishing sectoral collective bargaining – essential to deliver greater equality across the economy. Establishing joint

industrial councils, bringing together unions and business to agree minimum standards across an industry, ensuring that there's a level playing field and that no employer can compete on a race to the bottom. The TUC and unions will have a critical role in making these institutions work for workers. And where the public sector is a purchaser of services from the private sector, stronger procurement rules are essential to deliver better employment for all those whose employment is funded directly or indirectly by the public purse. Contractors – many of whom have repeatedly sought to reduce workers' rights – should be required to respect public sector collective agreements, ensuring outsourced workers receive the rate for the job, and agreed terms and conditions, alongside trade union recognition and collective rights to organise.

We need to make sure that workers have a strong collective voice at enterprise level, and in every workplace, whether they are working in a restaurant, warehouse, public space, factory, office, or freelance. Too many employers are hostile to unions or won't come to the table to negotiate in good faith – unwilling to respect workers' right to have a say in the decisions that affect them at work – and unable to recognise the benefits that a strong workplace presence can deliver in terms of engagement, productivity and better business decisions. The decline in collective voice at work is a missing part of the story in the UK's productivity puzzle.

Employers should be under a duty to bargain with TUC unions within the framework of the TUC's principles and procedures. This should include all issues important to workers, including pay and conditions, equality, family friendly rights, pensions, workplace procedures, work organisation and the strategic direction for the organisation, putting anti-democratic employers on notice that talking to your workers and their unions is no longer optional. Detailed work on strengthening the tools that give independent unions the right to negotiate with their employer will be a key focus of TUC work over the next year. The TUC supports the commitment by Labour for a new Ministry of Labour to ensure that workers' voices are heard in the heart of government, and employers are forced

where necessary to respect that voice in the workplace. That principle extends to the boardroom, which must include elected worker directors.

The law should also assist unions to organise workers so that workers can exercise their right to join a union. Unions must have the right to access workplaces during working hours to tell people about the benefits of joining a union. The right to be accompanied should be expanded to ensure all workers have the right to collective union representation when seeking to improve their pay and conditions. Rights to paid time off for union duties should be extended to all workers, not limited to employees.

Collective bargaining is the best way to ensure that new technology, including artificial intelligence and automation, helps us deliver a future that works for working people – so we need to update our framework of legislation to make sure that unions can deliver and that workers share in the collective wealth we create. Union activists should be able to use social media as an organising tool, without the risk of victimisation or dismissal. And we need government to put working people front and centre in shaping the future of work, with a clear role for unions in delivering new learning entitlements, and seats at the table for unions in a new future of work commission.

The attacks on unions have weakened workers' power, and led to increased insecurity, rising income inequality and working people missing out on their fair share of growth. But we have the best opportunity in a generation to turn that around. In its 150th year, the TUC is fully committed to this goal, delivering the new deal that workers need.

Section 2

Keynote speeches

The following pages contain a record of key speeches given at the 150th Congress in Manchester, by Frances O'Grady, General Secretary; Sally Hunt, President; and guests the Rt Hon John McDonnell MP, the Shadow Chancellor; the Most Reverend Justin Welby, the Archbishop of Canterbury; and Shakira Martin, President of the National Union of Students.

Frances O'Grady General Secretary

Monday, 10 September 2018

Thank you very much to our fantastic President. Thank you, Sally. I am formally moving the General Council Statement on Collective Bargaining, and my thanks to you, delegates, to the General Council and to all our unions.

As we know from Sally's speech, 150 years ago unions met in a small room in the Mechanics Institute, and here we are. We are back in Manchester, still fighting for working people with the same belief, we're stronger together, and that same spirit of hope and determination.

Let's also be proud of our contribution to other great causes that we are celebrating. Seventy years of our wonderful NHS; ninety years since all women got the right to vote and one hundred years since the birth of Nelson Mandela. He led people on that long road to freedom, and I'm proud — we should all be proud — that the global trade union movement, born in Manchester, backed him every step of the way.

This seems to be the year of anniversaries because, of course, 30 years ago Jacques Delors gave his famous address to our Congress. It was in 1988, the year Kylie Minogue topped the charts with her song, 'I should be so lucky, lucky, lucky'. Funnily enough, we weren't feel it either. Then, as now, we were under a Tory government and the prime minister was rolling out the red carpet for another American president — you'll remember him well — Ronald Regan, the original war-mongering, anti-trade union, B-list celebrity, president.

But Jacques Delors offered us something different. He spoke about peace in Europe and plans to boost trade. That mattered for jobs. And he encouraged us to become architects in a new plan for better working lives. So over time, alongside our friends in Europe, we won paid leave for working parents, stronger equal pay rights for women, pensions for part-timers and, at long last, one of the first ever goals of our movement, paid holidays for everyone.

Now, countries don't have to belong to the European Union to be in the single market, but if they want to trade inside the market, every worker must get these rights. They are the rock that national laws and union agreements are built on. But now we face Brexit in exactly 200 days. This country needs a deal that works for working people but, frankly, there's no sign of that.

As they stand, the prime minister's Chequers' proposals won't get past Brussels or Westminster. And if she really believes that an agreement with the EU can be signed and delivered by November, then she's either fooling herself or she's trying to fool the British people.

The risk of crashing out is real. Theresa May says, and I quote her, "No deal wouldn't be the end of the world". I think that most people would like the bar set a little higher than that. Frankly, it's cold comfort for the millions of people whose jobs are on the line.

Of course, for wealthy Tory MPs like Jacob Rees-Mogg, no deal is the holy grail. On Planet Mogg, 50 years of hardship is a small price to pay, but, then again, he won't be paying it.

The TUC is clear. We want a Brexit deal that protects working people, not just the well-to-do in the posh parts of Surrey and not just the City of London or big business either, but a deal for the people who are the backbone of this country. All along, we've said that we are open to any deal that protects workers' jobs and rights and peace in Northern Ireland. That's what most people want: decent livelihoods, dignity at work, the kind of country where their children get a better life than they did, and that's what we want, too.

But the stark reality is this. If we crash out, or if we end up with one of those CETA-style deals, trade barriers will go up. That means it's more expensive to make things here. Companies move factories abroad and investors look elsewhere. Bang go good jobs, up go prices and Dover becomes one big lorry park.

So this is what needs to happen next. The PM needs to be straight with us about how her deal would hit jobs, and she needs to serve notice that we need an extension to Article 50 so, instead, we can negotiate the deal that workers need. This isn't about delaying Brexit. It's about leaving the EU on

the right terms, where jobs and rights come first. And if she won't do it, or if her party won't let her, then I'm serving notice on the Prime Minister. If you come back with a deal that doesn't put workers first, and if you won't call a general election, then I'm warning you. We'll throw our full weight behind a campaign and demand that the terms of the deal are put to a popular vote. After all, we're the movement that fought for the vote for working class people, and we know that democracy belongs to all of us. When it comes to our future, one way or another, people must have a say.

The point is that we've had 10 long years of wage freezes, cuts and austerity, and the stakes are very high. The poet — he is my favourite poet, as people will know — Seamus Heaney wrote that when human beings suffer, they get hurt and they get hard. That's what the far right wants to exploit, stirring up division and spreading hate. Some politicians have warned of violence on the streets. Well, I've got news for them. It's already happening.

Since the referendum two years ago, there's been a shocking rise in attacks by far-right thugs against Muslim and Jewish people, against gay and disabled people and against migrant workers, too. Look at Tommy Robinson's gang, recruiting on the terraces, rampaging through our streets and targeting trade unionists. But this isn't the 1930s or the 1970s. This time, they're not just organising on the streets. They've mobilising on Facebook and WhatsApp, aided and abetted by Russian hackers, paid for by American billionaires. And when neo-fascists threaten public order and peace, we don't retreat. We don't let them intimidate us. Our response must be more democracy, not less.

Let me say this. Any self-serving politician who flirts with the far-right is playing with fire. Let me be clear. A woman who wears a niqab or a burka is still our sister. And we defend the right of Muslim women, and all women, to wear whatever they want.

So I want to say this to Boris Johnson. We see you. We know what you're about. We know exactly what buttons you're pushing. But our movement will always call out those who dog whistle racism. So, Boris Johnson, shame on you!

Delegates, here's another prejudice that needs nailing, which I'm fed-up about, from the far-right rich men. They claim to champion the interests of blue-collar workers, but they don't. It may suit them to try and stereotype everyone who's white and working class as a racist, but they're wrong. The great majority are decent men and women. Look at the trade union movement. Whatever our nationality, race or religion, we stand together as workers and we will keep speaking up for common decency because this movement's mission is to unite working people, and we can stop the far-right in its tracks. So here's what we'll do.

First, we'll mobilise our members. Trade unions bring people together. We build friendships and communities. There are nearly six million of us, and our members are the most powerful force we have. We're not in denial. We know we've got work to do on attitudes about anti-semitism, immigration and Islam. So, first, we will get behind our workplace reps so they feel confident to counter far-right views and build a bulwark against them.

Second, we need Parliament to wake up and take urgent action. That means new rules to take big overseas money out of our politics, not just at election time but for good. It means tough new duties on social-media giants to stop the spread of hate. And, yes, it must mean a new deal for working people, too. Because it's true that our hospitals are understaffed and waiting lists are too long. It's true that school staff are overworked and classes are too big, and it's true that too often our kids can't find an affordable home or a decently-paid steady and secure job. But we don't blame Poles or Romanians. We don't blame Muslims and we don't blame migrants.

We blame a Tory government that is bankrupting public services. We blame tax-dodging transnational companies, too greedy to pay their fare share. And we blame bad bosses, always on the lookout for cheap labour, under-cutting wages and driving decent employers out of business.

So today let's pledge that we'll organise working people into movements in towns across the country, and we'll work with unions in Europe and internationally, too, to demand decent jobs, homes and public services and stop racist scapegoating

once and for all. And wherever the far-right marches or tries to attack mosques or synagogues, the trade union movement will be there, defending our communities and standing firm. Let's send the message, delegates, that They will not pass!

But all the while we'll keep our eyes on the future and tackle the root causes of hate and win the better life that working people deserve.

Right now we're living through a time of rapid industrial disruption. Capital is grabbing more and more of the gains, and Labour is short changed. But as new tech grows everyone should get richer. Productivity gains from artificial intelligence alone could be worth £200bn. If even half of those promised gains are true, then we can afford to make it happen. Now, as ever, we demand fair shares. That means higher wages, less time at work and more time with our loved ones.

In the nineteenth century unions campaigned for an eight-hour day. In the twentieth century, we won the right to a two-day weekend and paid holidays. So, for the twenty-first century, let's lift our ambition again. I believe that in this century we can win a four-day working week, with decent pay for everyone. Let's take back control of our working time. Ban zero-hours, win two-way flexibility and end exploitation once and for all, because it's time to share the wealth and stop the greed. Take Jeff Bezos. He runs Amazon, now a trillion-dollar company. He's the richest man in the world. He's racking up the billions but his workers are collapsing on the job. Ambulances are called because staff are exhausted; workers afraid to go sick in case they get disciplined, and camping out because their pay won't stretch to cover the cost of transport. Britain today! You bet we need strong unions, and we want the right to go into every workplace, starting with those warehouses.

You know, Amazon's company motto — I looked this one up — is: "Work hard, have fun, make history". Let me say to Amazon and all those other companies that exploit workers: that's exactly what our union organisers intend to do.

Brothers and sisters, we're at a crossroads, and the political choices that we make now will determine our future. Used for good, technology can protect the planet from climate change, help advances in healthcare and make working lives

richer and better, but we know there are risks, too. No one needs to tell this movement what happens when a company goes bust overnight, what happens when there is no help for industries to upgrade or for workers to retrain. We know how much that hurts people, people used to respect and a decent standard of living, treated like nobodies, abandoned and on the scrapheap. We can't let bosses make working lives worse, tracking and timing workers' every move, snooping on what staff say in their own time on Facebook or Instagram, sweating them with impossible targets set by computer.

But trade unionists are optimists. We've won this battle before and we can do it again. We can win a share of the wealth, stop big brother surveillance and negotiate new technology agreements so people can move smoothly into the jobs of the future. Because if we want a more equal Britain, collective bargaining is a big part of the solution. Let's agree that every worker should have the right to a collective voice. Let's have an obligation on employers to bargain with us in good faith and let's deliver a tech revolution that benefits the whole country.

But we need a government that wants to work with us, not one obsessed with its own party power games, when they should be focused on the real lives of the people that they are supposed to serve.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was the architect of the original New Deal, took over as American president years into the Great Depression. He spoke of the despair when a nation looks to government but the government looks away. Well, today in Britain we have exactly such a 'hearing-nothing, see-nothing, do-nothing' Government.

Theresa May stood on the steps of Downing Street promising to help the Just About Managing. Remember that? But two years later — nothing! Nothing to stop Universal Credit cuts, nothing to get wages rising, nothing on zero-hour contracts, nothing on building council homes and nothing for the Windrush generation. What's this government's plan to help working people? Absolutely nothing.

I believe it's time for change. We need a better government than this one. Working people deserve a better government than this one. So I want to end with this message to the prime

minister: If you can't deliver a Brexit that protects jobs and rights, if you can't invest in our NHS, our schools and our public services, if you won't put the railways, water and Royal Mail back into public hands where they belong, if you won't build a country where we can live in peace with our neighbours and where, right across the nation, people get fair shares, if you won't give us the New Deal that working people demand, Mrs May, Stand down! Stand down, Theresa and take your 'do nothing' Government with you. Give us a general election and we will do everything in our power to elect a new prime minister and a new government that will. Thank you, delegates. Happy 150th birthday. Stay strong, and here's to the next 150.

Sally Hunt President

Sunday, 9 September 2018

Congress, thank you. Sally Hunt, TUC President, very proud to be here in Manchester, this brave and radical city, in this our anniversary year. Before I do anything else, I want to say thank you, thank you to this wonderful movement, all of the extraordinary hard working and committed people who make up this Congress of ours. It is such an incredible privilege to be your president but it is lovely, too, for me to have members of my family here, particularly my daughter Katherine. My mum cannot be here but I want to thank her now for the courage she has shown for all her children and the values that she taught us all.

I want to say hello to my Auntie Val, who is here. You, along with my Uncle Ivan, taught me many of the trade union values that I hold dear today. You need to know, Congress, that my Auntie Val is a lifelong member of the Labour Party and of her trade union as well, and rightly she is very proud. She has told me many stories and I will share just this one with you today, about her trade union congress in the 60s, mainly blokes, who thought it was right to vote against her and other women like her being allowed to wear trousers to work. Well, for you, Auntie Val, and for all those other women of that time, I would like to say for the record that today the female president of the TUC is wearing trousers to work. I want to thank you. I want to thank you for starting that argument because we always get there in the end.

My family have been a rock for me in so many ways and I am really pleased to introduce you all to each other, one family to another, because we are family as well, all of us here together, the trade union family. 150 years ago, just down the road from here, at the Mechanics Institute, 34 delegates met to discuss matters, as they said it, "pertaining to the general interests of the working classes." There has been an almost unbroken line of meetings since that date, year on year, building our movement so that today the TUC is recognised as the voice of working people and we are its

custodians. Our different unions are only part of that story, one which will see us in the next few days focusing on our future, how we build our industrial strength, how we grow our numbers, how we expand our political influence, building, growing, taking forward what our forebears started and taking strength from our movement's birth, our beginnings, our roots.

In 1817, 10,000 weavers and spinners gathered just outside this hall. They had blankets, rugs, and coats, wrapped in bundles under their arms. It was the biggest meeting of its kind ever organised in Manchester. They planned to march to London to draw attention to the poverty from which they suffered: the Blanketeers March. The King's Dragoons were sent in to disperse that meeting, which they did, violently. Still they marched and were attacked a mile from here, bullet wounds and sabre cuts inflicted.

In 1819, again just outside this building 60,000 people gathered to demand parliamentary reform. They wanted a vote that counted. At least 15 people died: the Peterloo Massacre.

In 1834, six agricultural workers in Tolpuddle swore an oath to support each other. For that they were sentenced to penal transportation to Australia for their crime.

In 1882, the socialist and antifascist Sylvia Pankhurst was born here in Manchester, and struggled for years, years, for women's suffrage and isn't it about time that woman was honoured with a statue in parliament? I think it is.

In 1888, women workers at Bryant & May went on strike for better, safer terms and conditions.

In 1900, in Taff Vale, over 1,300 workers went on strike in solidarity with a victimised colleague. The court then held that the union was liable for the company's losses.

In 1910, in Cradley Heath, women chain makers, who had to hammer 5,000 links a week to earn the equivalent of 25p, laid down their tools to demand a living wage, and did so for four long months.

In 1926, the General Strike; 1968, Dagenham; 1972 and 1984, the Miners' Strike; 1989, the ambulance drivers; and 2011 public sector pensions.

It does not matter which place, which industry, there will always be employers or government, or

both, saying no, and there will always be people, trade unionists, workers, who will say yes and be willing to fight. We do not always win but we will always try because that is who we are. We do not limit that to this country.

I have just come back from a Justice for Colombia delegation visit to Colombia. There are still trade unionists there being put in jail or killed but they do not stop fighting.

I have been in Palestine, watching young children have rubber bullets shot at them by painfully young conscripts sat on a wall which divides populations and destroys people's lives, but good people, Palestinian and Israeli, do not stop fighting for these injustices to end.

I have sat with Zimbabwean trade unionists, their arms in bandages after beatings, who are organised workers with no resources whatsoever, and face real physical danger.

I have sat in more than one embassy demanding the release of people unjustly imprisoned. This year that was South Korean trade union leaders, jailed for their activism and now, because of us, released.

I have been with trade union members giving their time and resources to refugees and migrants, here and abroad.

I have listened in horror, more times than I can count, to the testimony of trade unionists from around the world, arrested, beaten, penalised, for defending their rights. It is always a humbling experience but it is one that has taught me the real value of my trade union card and the absolute need for the TUC to be international in its perspective. Our collective voice matters. It literally saves lives.

Congress, if I look around this hall at this Congress, I see unions doing the same today as they have always done: Equity with its Safe Space campaign to confront sexual harassment; Unison defeating the government to secure access to justice for millions of working people; NUJ defending freedom of speech for their members' safety here and abroad; GMB fighting for decency at Uber and Amazon, and Usdaw doing the same at Lidl and M&S; the PFA fighting hard to kick racism out of football; the FBU with everything you have done since Grenfell, respect; Community working to keep a steel industry in this country; EIS,

NASUWT, NEU, NAHT making the case for good education, taught by well rewarded staff; and my own union fighting for pensions justice; Prospect, science funding; finance unions, staff and customer safety in banks and building societies; ASLEF, RMT, TSSA, all campaigning for a publicly owned, properly staffed railway; and the CWU doing the same for a publicly owned post office; Nautilus, safe seaways; the Justice unions, a respectful and secure system; the health unions, protecting patients, representing staff, keeping the NHS alive in the face of a sustained right-wing assault; the bakers' union at McDonald's; Unite not so large that it will not prioritise three branches of TGI Fridays, who made the mistake of thinking it was okay to mess around with the tips of minimum wage staff. Next to them, one of our smallest and newest affiliates, the Artists' Union, not afraid to prioritise support for a national petition to prevent forced deportations, and all the others, all of you, too numerous to mention, doing everything you can to advance the cause of labour.

We are the trades union movement. We are powerful agents of change. We do not just observe history, we make it. The Trades Union Congress – you – doing what you have always done, standing with and for working people in this country, making sure this is a country for those people. 150 years ago today, and today, it is the same family, the same fight.

Let me return to 1868. Just think what that must have been like standing with each other for the first time, different industries, different skills, to make common cause. Twenty years later, those match girls, some as young as 12, working 14-hour days, on their feet, forced to buy their own equipment. They developed "phossy jaw", and for those who do not know what that is, it rots the inside of your mouth: all to make matches.

There was an article written about them at the time saying they were slave labour. It caused an absolute scandal so their managers asked them to sign statements effectively saying, "Oh, no, we love our jobs. We love our managers. We love our company." They refused. One of their number was sacked. It was meant to shut them up but instead they walked out and did not go back until they got

her back, got time off, and got a complaints procedure.

Congress, I am proud that today we have the great granddaughter of one of those strike leaders, Sarah Chapman, with us today. It is lovely to have you here. So while those fantastic young women were doing that, the TUC was meeting, it was organising, growing stronger, as were its unions. In 1906, they had their strongest vote in parliament and one of the first things those trade union-supported MPs did was to pass legislation that turned back Taff Vale and then what they did is made it illegal to use white phosphorous, the same white phosphorous that had rotted the jaws of those young women.

I say all of this because in our 150th year it is worth remembering just how hard those people worked for our benefit. Everything we have today has been fought for by people just like us, who came together, stood with each other, sometimes died for each other, to give us decency and dignity. So that when we look at the challenges we have, which are many – we have casualisation, we have Brexit, we have the rising intolerance which is coming through in many places – and it is all coming at us, saying, "You are worth less. You must work harder. You must feel less secure in your job," none of that is new and none of that is stuff that we cannot deal with. We have done it throughout our history and we will do it now, ordinary people like you and me, and all those we represent.

I wanted to end with this. (the president struck a match) 130 years ago this was something that killed people, painfully, cruelly, and avoidably. Today it is just a match. That is because of the trade union movement, and that is you. So, happy birthday, and thank you.

Rt Hon John McDonnell MP Shadow Chancellor

Tuesday, 11 September 2018

Thank you, brothers and sisters. I am a bit late because the train in front of us broke down, so I speak on behalf of the nation with an appeal to Theresa May: Please do not allow Chris Grayling near any government department ever again in the history of this country.

Let me thank Sally for the introduction. It was very kind of her. I listened to Sally's speech on Sunday, taking us through the 150-year history of the TUC. I have to say I found that speech profoundly moving – the whole history of struggle of working-class people throughout the last 150 years.

As Sally said, I came off the shop floor myself. I worked for the NUM. I then joined the TUC at Congress House as a researcher. I have always been immensely proud of my trade union origins. This is an honour, an absolute honour, to be invited to address Congress. Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity.

As Jeremy and I have repeatedly said, the trade unions founded the Labour Party. Never again should there be a Labour leadership that looks upon the trade union link as some form of anachronistic embarrassment. We are one movement. We are the labour and trade union movement, as we will always be and we will always stand together.

Strangely enough, I was at a retirement do of one of my former TUC colleagues a couple of years ago and she reminded everyone that when I was at Congress House I set up a reading club, and it met once a week in the basement at Congress House. She only had one complaint, and it was that the only book we ever read was *Das Kapital*.

Look, this week is the 10th anniversary of the collapse of Lehman Brothers, the start of the financial crash overall. I remember it as if it was yesterday. What followed were the crises in Northern Rock and RBS. Someone recently dug out a film of the interviews and speeches that I did on

the TV and in the Commons at the time. As the banks teetered on the edge, I called upon Alistair Darling, who was then the Chancellor, to nationalise the banks to stabilise them. He, initially, delayed but eventually nationalisation was implemented. I always remember that Alistair had a dry sense of humour, so when I got up in the Commons to welcome nationalisation, his response was, "I have been calling for the nationalisation of the banks for 30 years, so I was bound to be right on at least one occasion during that period".

Let's be clear. The financial crash was caused by the deregulation of the banking system, the finance sector and greed. It turned the City into a giant casino. Here is the irony for me. The money that we pumped in to save the system through quantitative easing inflated asset prices, and many of the very speculators whose reckless gambling caused the crisis actually benefited from it! The election of the Conservative government in 2010 meant that it was not those speculators who caused the crisis who would eventually pay for it. The Conservatives made the choice that it would be the rest of us, especially some of those most vulnerable within our society.

So, 10 years on, after eight years of grinding austerity, in the sixth-richest country in the world, I find it a disgrace that there are five thousand of our fellow citizens sleeping on the streets every night. I find it unacceptable that 70,000 of our children are being brought up in temporary accommodation, never having a permanent roof over their heads. There are a million people now who are not receiving the social care they need, and over a million food parcels handed out to our people last year from the food banks because they haven't even the means to feed themselves! There are four million of our children now living in poverty. What is particularly telling is that two-thirds of those children are in households where someone is at work. What does that tell you? It says that wages are so low that they no longer for many people cover the basics in life. The Tories talked about "those who are just about managing". Yes, there are issues there, but there are some people out there who are just about surviving.

The Conservatives have been boasting in the last few days again about the number of jobs in the

economy. What they don't tell you is how many are low paid, insecure and with zero-hour contracts. We know why, don't we? We know why they are insecure, we know why they are low paid. It's because year after year under Conservative governments there have been attacks on trade union rights. The role of Conservative governments throughout history has always been to restrict the rights of workers so that they can maximise the profits of some companies, and they are the companies that so generously fund their party. It is a straight quid pro quo. The Conservatives try and dress it up as some form of restoring or securing a balance of power between workers and employers, but few today can argue that the balance has not been overwhelmingly tipped against the workers, as concluded in the recent IPPR report, supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The result is that the amount of national income going to wages has actually now reached record lows. The massive growth in zero-hour contracts and the gig economy have produced a workplace environment of insecurity not seen since the 1930s.

My father was a Liverpool docker and my grandfather was a Liverpool docker in the 1930s. They were those dockers who used to stand outside the dockyard and wait on the street to be pointed at to see if they worked that day, and if they didn't there were no wages. Zero-hours contracts and bogus self-employment simply replicate that system in a modern form, and we can't tolerate it any more.

The decline of collective bargaining has meant that workers now have little say often over key decisions taken by their employers over the future of their work and their companies as well.

So let me make it absolutely clear. When Labour returns to government the anti-trade union era will end, and if it is up to me it will end once and for all. Our programme of workplace reform will restore the balance between employer and worker, and it will do so, yes, by installing basic trade union rights into law again, modernising corporate governance structures and by extending the opportunity for employees to share collectively in the benefits of ownership of their company, their concern. This is how we will do it. The government at the moment, I think, is rapidly being destabilised by the bitter

internal disputes within the Tory Party. I believe an election can come at any time. So we are now going through an exercise, a preparation-for-government exercise. We are preparing for every policy in our last manifesto and, yes, the new policies we are now developing, an implementation manual. We are getting the draft legislation on the shelf. Yes, we are consulting extensively on the new policy initiatives that we are developing. To install basic trade union rights in law, we published our 20-point plan and we are now working it up in detail. So, in our first Queen's Speech – let me give you this commitment – we will be setting up the new Department for Employment. The new Secretary of State for Employment in Cabinet will drive through a transformation of the workplace environment. Here is just part of it. We will fulfil the late John Smith's promise that all workers will have equal trade union rights from day one, whether they are part-time, full-time, temporary or permanent. Zero-hour contracts will be banned, so that every worker gets a guaranteed number of hours each week. We will repeal the Act that I fought so hard against. We will repeal the Trade Union Act in our first hundred days, and we will role out sectoral collective bargaining. All of those other things that we have discussed over the years: trade unions will have the right of access to workplaces guaranteed. We will introduce a real living wage of £10 an hour. Yes, and like you, we believe that public sector workers deserve a decent pay rise. We support those unions that are still campaigning for a decent settlement now.

I was asked at my media huddle after Treasury Questions about what would I be doing if there were further strikes on the railway industry this winter. I said that if there are, they will be provoked by management, but the role of a Labour MP isn't just in Parliament. It's on the picket lines! So I'll be on the picket line with you. We will legislate to secure online and workplace balloting for industrial action votes and internal union votes, all those things that we have simply made reasonable requests of this government and they have refused to respond.

Yes, we will abolish employment tribunal fees, so people have access to justice again. We will prioritise the strengthening of protections for

women against unfair redundancy. No one should be penalised for having children. We will tackle the gender pay gap once and for all.

In addition, our government will clamp down on the bogus self-employment that we have seen develop and, yes, we will ban the payroll companies, the umbrella companies, that have been developed in recent years.

One way of using public spending to drive up standards will be this. We will include in conditions in public contracts that companies will only get those contracts if they recognise a trade union representing their workers.

Just on something which I have been dealing with personally, maybe over the last 20-odd years or more. We will hold a public inquiry into blacklisting so that we ensure that blacklisting never, ever comes back again.

Since we published that 20-point plan, there has been the Taylor Report. The answers to the gig economy, to be frank, will not be found in the Taylor Report or the months of consultation that have taken place because the report's starting point is that flexibility must come at the price of insecurity. This is just wrong. Just because you don't work regular hours doesn't mean you can afford not to work when you are sick. Just because you work several jobs, it doesn't mean that you can afford to lose one of them without warning. Just because you value the freedom of independence or the convenience of flexibility, it does not mean that you have to forego basic trade union rights. So our manifesto, *For the Many not the Few*, we published nine months before the Taylor Report, and it contained a set of policies that would put a complete stop to the exploitation in the gig economy. First, we will shift the burden of proof so that the law treats you as a worker unless your employer can prove otherwise. Secondly, we will extend full rights to all workers, so that includes so-called "limb (b)" workers, entitling everyone in insecure work to sick pay, maternity rights and the right against unfair dismissal, and that again will be from day one. Thirdly, we will properly resource HMRC. Yes, we will fine employers who break the rules so that people get the rights that they are entitled to. When employers continue to employ legal loopholes or weak enforcement to duck their

responsibilities, we will close those legal loopholes and strengthen enforcement. We will work alongside the TUC to do that.

When technology creates new employment relations, yes, we will extend regulation to keep pace with your advice in our ears. When the balance of power shifts so dramatically away from workers, as it has done today, it is time for us to tip it back in the direction of the workers. So I think, taking that with all our other commitments, that what we are about to see, and when Labour goes into power, is the biggest extension of individual collective rights our country has ever seen. It will transform irreversibly the workplace and our working lives. Right at the heart of it are the principles of trade unionism.

Even if the government adopted every recommendation of the Taylor Report, it wouldn't be enough. It is because Taylor ignored the crucial history lesson that we have learnt, which is that the most effective way of improving the lives of working people – you know it – is to join a trade union, participate in collective action and work that way.

When we go into government, we will have to work together to rebuild our economy. I will just give you a few stark figures to demonstrate what we are likely to inherit. This may well have come up in your debates already. You know as well as I do that wages are still below the level of 2010. Investment in 2017 was the lowest of all G7 nations on the share of GDP. We have had the slowest recovery since modern records began. We are the only major economy where wages fell while the GDP grew. Research and development investment is amongst the lowest in Europe. For use of robotics, we are the 22nd in the world. Our productivity gap is 16 per cent between the UK and the rest of the G7. These statistics demonstrate a record of economic mismanagement and failure, and we have an economy now that is supported by record levels of household debt.

I am grateful now for the supports, the ideas and the creativity that our trade union partners have brought to the detailed economic planning that we are undertaking. Step by step we are working together on the economic and industrial strategy that we need to build the future. First, we

need to clear away the debris of the past privatisations that are ripping off both consumers and taxpayers and, yes, exploiting workers. So, we have told you, yes, we will bring back into public ownership rail, water, Royal Mail and we will develop our own community energy sector as well.

I want to say to Dave Prentis, who first raised the concerns of PFI through Congress and into the Labour Party as well, we will end PFIs and, yes, we are going to start the process now of bringing them back into public ownership and control as well as the staff themselves, who deserve the protections against the vulnerabilities they have experienced. We have also said very clearly that when we bring these services back into public ownership and control, the management of these services in future will always involve representatives of the workforce via their trade unions. Who better to ask in how to manage a service than those at the front line represented by their trade unions? That is the first step.

The second step is the investment we need to undertake. We recognise the scale of the investment we need if we are to rebuild our economy. That's why we have put forward what we have called a National Transformation Fund of £250bn, mainstream funding through government departments. It is why we will set up a national investment bank, alongside regional development banks, again to lever in another £250bn over that 10-year period. So that is £500bn invested over 10 years in our infrastructure, road and rail, digital, research and development and, yes, alternative energy sources. That is a figure supported by the CBI, who, again, we are working alongside to develop our proposals. These resources will be invested to modernise our economy and make us fit for what you have been debating this week. It will make us fit for the fourth industrial revolution. They will be directed by our industrial strategy. Trade unions already are, and will be throughout our period of office, at the heart, at the very heart, of developing and implementing our industrial strategy.

A few months ago, one of my advisers, Graham Turner, who I have worked with during the last 15 years — he is an adviser in the City — was asked to produce a report on the future of the finance

sector, but also how we will secure the investment that our economy needs. We published that report a couple of months ago. It recommended the establishment of a strategic investment board to harness and direct investment, bringing together the Bank of England, the Treasury, the Business Department, business but also representatives of the trade union movement. That SIB will enable us then, democratically, to manage our economy and ensure that we have the investment we need for the twenty-first century.

On skills, alongside the capital investment, we need the skills and the public services to ensure that we have a productive workforce. That's why, as you know, we have put out the proposals for consultation to introduce a national education service. First of all, ending the cuts in education. We are going to make sure we properly fund our schools and colleges and, yes, teachers will be supported rather than oppressed in the way that they are at the moment, which means investment in the long term. We believe in education as a gift from one generation to another, not a commodity to be bought and sold, so that is why we are scrapping tuition fees. Our ambition is to achieve an education service like the NHS, free at the point of need, from cradle to grave, providing world-class education. Yes, we will be developing alongside that our proposals for child care. The NES, the national education service, like all our investments in the NHS, local government and all our public services, will be paid for by a fair taxation system. Yes, we have said we will raise taxes, Income Tax, on the top 5 per cent. Not a lot but we will. We will reverse some of the Corporation Tax cuts that the Tories have introduced, which have failed because they have cut the taxes to the corporations and yet they are sitting on £700bn of earned income not invested. Yes, we will introduce what some of you have been campaigning for for years. You called it a Tobin tax. We are going to introduce a financial transaction tax on the City of London so they pay their way to fund our public services. We are going to tackle tax evasion and tax avoidance that goes on on an industrial scale at the moment. During the last general election campaign the Tories kept on accusing me of having a magic money tree. I found

the magic money tree. It's in the Cayman Islands. We are going to dig it up and bring it back here!

As we rebuild our economy we insist that everyone shares in the prosperity that we will generate. Yes, by better wages, of course, but also we want to extend ownership so we are committed to doubling the co-operative sector within our economy. We are going to give workers the right to buy when their company is sold on. This week we have launched a consultation on an inclusive ownership fund. It is an idea brought to us by the Co-op, and it is developed elsewhere right the way across Europe. This will give workers a direct stake in their companies. We will legislate to create a new workers' fund for each large corporation, which will place a part of that corporation directly into the collective ownership and control of the workforce. These funds will grow over time and mean workers getting a say in the management and direction of the company like every other shareholder. Research has proved time and time again that worker-owned companies do better for pay and conditions but are also more productive and they invest for the long term and engage in long-term stability within the economy. So you can see that this is a huge programme of work that will transform our economy and the lives of all of our members.

Yet it risks being jeopardised by the mess that this government are making over Brexit. We do not believe that Theresa May will be capable of bringing back from Brussels a deal that will pass the vital test of protecting jobs and our economy. In fact, it is doubtful that she can bring back anything that can survive the bitter in-fighting in the Tory Party itself.

We believe that we need a general election where any deal can be properly debated and people can choose the future negotiating team as well. Like you, we haven't taken any option of democratic engagement off the table, but we have an overwhelming preference for a general election because we need, our community, our members desperately need a Labour government. Whenever that general election comes, I am confident that Jeremy Corbyn will be elected into No. 10. I am hoping, if he makes the right decision and the right

appointment, we will also have a socialist in No. 11. That was a job application.

You have seen from the programme that we have put forward, you have seen from the debates that you have had this week, that we have the opportunity of transforming our society, of building a new future. Some of my proudest moments in the last couple of years have been to see the new generation of trade unionists come forward. I have been on the picket lines with the McDonald's workers and with the TGI Friday's workers as well. This is the new generation coming forward. We have got to work with them to build this new future, this new society, where we eradicate the social injustices that the Tories have inflicted upon us, where we build an economy where prosperity will be shared by all, and in solidarity to the labour and trade union movement, the Labour Party and trade unions working together, I believe, deep in my heart, we will achieve that in solidarity. Solidarity! Thank you.

The Most Reverend Justin Welby, Archbishop of Canterbury

Wednesday, 12 September 2018

President and Congress, it is a great honour to be here today, a huge privilege. An unlikely one it felt like, but here we are.

Two thousand, five hundred years ago the prophet Amos, speaking into a society divided between rich and poor, which had forgotten the values which alone could establish stability in a hostile world, cried out: "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream". Five hundred years later, near Nazareth, a young pregnant woman called Mary, went to see her cousin, Elizabeth. Mary, greeted by Elizabeth as the mother of the saviour Jesus, cried out in what we know as the Magnificat, saying about God: "He has shown strength with his arm, he has scattered the proud in the thoughts of bare hearts. He has brought down the powerful from their thrones and lifted up the lowly. He has filled the hungry with good things and the rich he has sent away empty". By the way, I'd better warn you that there is quite a bit of God in this. It's, sort of, my job.

Mary's song is revolution in immortal verse. It is describing God, not describing human aspiration. It says justice is who God is. Who God is sets the pattern for who we should be and what our society should be. That is political but not party political. The Bible is political from one end to the other, but we step into dangerous territory when either left or right claim God as being solely on their side. Jesus was highly political. He told the rich that they would face woe. He criticised the king of the time as a fox. He spoke harsh words to leaders of the nations when they were uncaring of the needy. Mary's song, the Magnificat, central to the New Testament, is so revolutionary that anyone who takes it seriously finds it a threat to power and entitlement.

Like all human institutions the church has been very variable in holding to its originating vision. In

Jerusalem the earliest Christian community chose to share what they had with those who had the greatest needs. They held to generosity and equivalence before God so that neither gender nor social status nor identity nor ethnicity gave privilege. Justice is God's nature, but it is our responsibility. To speak to the TUC in its 150th year is to receive the enormous gift of being in the presence of a gathering that has been instrumental over that century-and-a-half in reducing inequality, challenging injustice and speaking up for the poor, the marginalised and the oppressed.

The TUC itself began by facing prejudice, legal disadvantage and persecution. It took on the mantle of the Tolpuddle Martyrs, betrayed by their local vicar. It took many years for that to be unwound, probably right until the years of social change, which began after 1910 and were brought to an abrupt halt by the outbreak of the Great War.

In 1879 my predecessor, Archbishop Tate, met with the TUC at the urging of a number of Christian leaders to begin the process of changing the Church of England's scandalous hostility to unions. In the years that followed, one of those who called the meeting, Bishop Lightfoot of Durham, together with Bishop Westcott of Durham at another moment, were involved in mediating between mine owners and mine workers to try and bring the very minimal levels of humanity that were so clearly absent in the privatised pits before the 1940s. All this is not mere history, nor is it long ago and far away. Contrary to the proverb, the past is not a different country, and we still do today many of the things that were done in the past in different forms. Things that diminish human dignity and treat labour as a mere resource like capital.

In 2007 I was asked to go to Liverpool as Dean of the Anglican Cathedral there. It was one of the happiest periods of my life, not only for me but also for the whole family. In 2010 we had the privilege of welcoming a couple of thousand local trades unionists at the end of their march of protest against austerity where they were addressed in the cathedral by Tony Benn. In Liverpool the bitterness of the docks remained from before the system was reformed, when daily work was uncertain and, thus, also the ability to feed the family. John McDonnell knew of that from

his father and experienced the gig economy and zero hours in those days.

Today there are some who view that kind of oppression of the employed as a virtue. The gig economy, zero-hour contracts, is nothing new. It is simply the reincarnation of an ancient evil. And God says: "Let justice flow down like waters and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream".

Great and historic advances were won over this last century-and-a-half by the determination and vision of working men and women in trade unions. Not everything was perfect. Not every decision of every union was without fault. I have no illusions about the fallibility of institutions, whether they be churches, companies, governments or trade unions. It is all too easy to find privilege and power, influence and importance an overwhelming temptation which often subdues our original vision and motivation. We know that in the church. Let us not delude ourselves into thinking that the gig economy is the only reincarnation of oppression of the vulnerable in employment.

Pensions are just one example of the profit motive leading to the weakest being given the most risk and the strongest the most protection. In these areas, in employment rights and in many others, we see that where inequality and profound injustice seem entrenched, insurmountable, it leads to instability in our society, divisions between peoples, vulnerability to the populism that stirs hatred between different ethnicities and religious groups, the rise of ancient demons of racism, anti-semitism, Islamophobia and xenophobia, and the rise of extremism. But let justice flow down like waters and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream.

I meet frequently with other religious leaders, not only those from my own tradition but from the other faith traditions, that are part of the essential fabric of this country. It would be wrong of me to stand before you today and not speak of some of the anxiety that I have heard from my Jewish and my Muslim friends about the language used to refer to them in political discussion and debate. It is an anxiety I share. On both left and right we have too often in recent times seen language which has been insensitive to the very real vulnerabilities of those who are too often talked about, much less

often talked with. I know that all people of goodwill in this hall share that sense of concern and will do all they can to build that society and that politics of mutual respect, understanding and friendship.

We all know that when any vulnerable group is objectified, trolled in social media and dismissed, then all of us are diminished. Such things are not worthy of our country, of its great Christian heritage, of its possibilities and vision of a generous, just and righteous society. Many of us know the great poem by Pastor Niemöller, written after 1945: "First they came for the socialists and I did not speak out because I was not a socialist. Then they came for the trade unionists and I did not speak out because I was not a trade unionist. Then they came for the Jews and I did not speak out because I was not a Jew. Then they came for me and there was no one left to speak for me".

Oppression of minorities, division, instability and economic injustice march together. A few weeks ago it was reported that households are now even more indebted than they were in 2008. That is the result of low pay, an economy that allocates rewards through power, not for labour. The result is that debt-support charities, including one based in Bradford of which I am patron, Christians Against Poverty, find more and more people crowding to their doors caught in debt slavery. More than that, when these charities help them, strengthening their families and working with them to negotiate with their lenders, it has been the understanding that the creditors would contribute so that the charity can help people get their life back on track. A full third of lenders and debt-collectors simply fail to contribute. That is not an economic decision of the market, but a failure of common human decency and values. It says no to the common good to solidarity, and God replies, "But let justice flow down like waters and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream".

It is for us to bring justice, for trade unions, church, government, everyone in society. The alternative to our action is a destructive fatalism. A book was published last year called *The Great Leveller*. The author's pessimistic thesis is that inequality has only ever been addressed through war, famine, disease, revolution and natural

disaster. He gives an example of privileged societies. Among many he looked back at the Aztec elite who, as he puts it, and I quote, "War, featherwork and jade ornaments lived in two-storey houses, ate the flesh of human sacrifices, drank chocolate and did not pay taxes". Well, if you will excuse a sarcastic remark, thank goodness we are not like that. By the way, before I am accused of not liking chocolate, that is the one bit of the quote for which I have every sympathy for the Aztec elite. But not paying taxes speaks of the absence of our commitment to our shared humanity, to solidarity and justice. If you earn money from a community, you should pay your share of tax to that community.

I was in business and I know that, within limits, it is right and proper for people to arrange their tax affairs and for companies to do so, but when vast companies like Amazon and other online traders, the new industries, can get away with paying almost nothing in tax, there is something wrong with the tax system. They don't pay a real living wage so the taxpayers have to pay to support their workers with benefits. Having leeches off the taxpayer once, they don't pay for our defence, for security, for stability, for justice, for health, for equality, for education! Then they complain of an under-trained workforce from the education they have not paid for. And they end up not paying for apprenticeships! Those are only a fraction of the cost of aggressive tax management.

Mary spoke of the God who gave us Jesus as "The one who has shown strength with his arm. He has scattered the proud in the thoughts of their hearts. He has brought down the powerful from their thrones, lifted up the lowly and filled the hungry with good things, and sent the rich away empty". But this book, *The Great Leveller*, is wrong. We need not await an apocalypse in despairing fatalism. The future of justice is in our hands.

The TUC for over 150 years, together with so many other parts of civil society, stands as one of those groups which offer hope to our future, to the vulnerable and to the weak. But for good values to be in the ascendant, the TUC must have both the clear focus and genuine flexibility, a lesson that we in the church, too, are seeking to learn.

There is a need for a focus on the founding vision, to know what it is that you are seeking to achieve and never to lose sight of that. The TUC has profound socialist roots and also profound Christian ones. Christian socialism itself can be dated back to 1848. Fired with enthusiasm after a Chartist demonstration, F.D. Morris, Charles Kingsley and John Ludlow formed the first Christian socialist group. The Christian faith teaches that all men and women are created equally and they are created in the image of God. This belief was shared by an increasing number of activists through the years. At the same time, the influence of what were then called the "non-conformist churches" was seen in the organisation of trade unions and co-operatives and ultimately in the foundation of the Labour Party. At the heart of the TUC was the vision that for every oppressed worker there should be an organisation that will speak truth to power with conviction and strength, not only in the public sector but in every area of work where the weak face the powerful and the hungry face the satisfied. There must be unions in the gig economy. There must be unions in industries being automated, unions wherever workers are vulnerable. There must be a new unionisation or, President, there will be a new victimisation.

Unions must have a vision of a just and righteous society. Power and influence are not zero-sum game. When we seek the common good all benefit. The world in which we live at the moment in which for people at lower levels of income real earnings are virtually the same as they were almost 20 years ago, rising by just 1.7 per cent, and lower by 7 per cent than at the crash as was reported by the BBC this morning. It is matched by the 11 per cent increase in FTSE 100 chief executives' remuneration over the last 12 months! We need genuine living wages that enable people to save than £10 a month, if they are lucky and put an end to the days when replacing a fridge or a car tyre is a household crisis. Unions are crucial to achieving real living wages.

Five years ago I said to the chief executive of WONGA that I wanted credit unions to compete him out of business. Well, he's gone. Today I dream that governments now and in the future put church-run food banks out of business. I dream of

empty night shelters. I dream of debt-advice charities without clients when justice rolls down like water and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream. The food banks closed, the night shelters are empty, families and households are hopeful of better lives for themselves and their children, money is not a tyrant and justice is seen. But this is not a vision for government alone.

Governments of any party, all parties, will fail, act foolishly and be far away. Only partnership between governments, civil society, including unions and churches and everyone else, business and community, can heal the sicknesses of society now and in the future.

With focus on our aims, there must also be flexibility. Your own paper on the Future of Work speaks of the monumental changes before us. Once again, I do not lecture you as one who has got it right. Flexibility is about adjusting to a world where, through communication and social networks, we may have information but not affection. We risk recognition of issues but not relationships to stand alongside people. We amplify communication but not conversation. We embrace automation and risk losing human dignity. Unions will bring people together, negotiate through change, keep the eyes of all on the dignity of the human person. To do that they must be present, having members in the affected parts of our economy, which will be almost all of it. To gain the members needs imagination, flexibility and seeking the good of the worker, not just the power of the union. The church fell into the trap of seeking its own power for many centuries.

Regardless of Brexit, a principal need of the next few years is a resilience in our society, resilience in the face of change and resilience in a world where the rule-based order that we have become used to and which gives us security is more and more fragile. Resilient societies need resilient institutions, including unions. Resilience comes with solidarity, the common good and the right use of power, including by all here.

In talking of power and accountability, the church, unapologetically, returns to the teaching of Jesus, as I do now. From the beginning to the end of the Bible, with prophets, with Luke, who recounts Mary's song in the New Testament, above

all with Jesus himself, there is the call to justice and justice means the right handling of power, the willingness to serve. On the last night of his life, he knelt and washed his disciples' feet. Abuse of power, whether from government, employer, church or trade union – yes, it has happened in all of them – creates a free-fire zone in which only the powerful survive while the vulnerable are destroyed and all human value is lost. It is the cradle of chaos and from it rises havoc and destruction.

For 150 years the TUC has served as a model for other trade unions around the world in their fight for the rights of workers and the defence of their dignity. In 150 years from now the world will, surely, look entirely different, but if we all adapt, if you adapt, the church also, serving the common good, helping to establish justice, acting in righteousness, not frightened and self-protective and power seeking, but courageous and self-giving, then we may expect, with joy, that in this land justice will flow down like waters and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream. Thank you, Congress.

Shakira Martin President, National Union of Students

Monday, 10 September 2018

Hello, how's everybody doing this morning? I have a lot of energy so I feed off the audience and I am going to try and make you laugh and give you a bit of energy. I am going to go a bit off script at first. First, I am really, really honoured to be here to celebrate the 150 years. Being the first black woman in the role and the second not to go to university I think it is really important that we show alternative routes. Also, I would really, really like to give a shout out to Frances and Sally, doing this job as a woman, as a mother, is really, really difficult and these two ladies, as well as many grass-root organisations and the women in them, have supported me in my role. It is very challenging and they have really, really helped mentor me in this role. I just want you to give a round of applause for them.

As the President of the National Union of Students I represent seven million students and apprentices across the UK, students who are very often workers, and apprentices, and your colleagues in the workplace. We share the same challenges and we can do so much more by working together. For this reason NUS is and will always work and be a friend of the trades union Movement, working in partnership with you, standing in solidarity with you when your members take action to defend their rights.

I want to congratulate the TUC on its 150th birthday and thank you in so many ways for what you have done to transform the lives of workers in that time. Once upon a time I thought that politics started in 2013 when I got political but obviously it has been going on for 150 years so standing on their shoulders is really important.

My trade union family, I know there is a lot to celebrate but I want to talk to you about the next 150 years and you cannot talk about that without talking about education. I want to talk about what education will look like, what work will look like. I want to talk about my experience in education and

what education will look like for my children and their children.

Things have changed for the people in the UK since I started college. They have changed over my life and I am not sure it is getting any better. When I was elected NUS President last year I wanted to talk about poverty. When we talk about students many of us think about the typical 18-year old going to university. People think of students whose parents give them a weekly allowance or pay their rent in big schools, in big universities, in big cities, but NUS represents many more students than that. We have to remember those students who do not have those privileges: the single mother trying to work and study at a further education college; the apprentice who is being paid poor poverty wages maybe even below the minimum wage they are entitled to; the working class student at university whose loans have almost run out and is making the choice between eating and heating.

There is a common myth that says if you are working or educating yourself, you can get on, you can get by. The myth says that students have enough unless they are reckless with money and people say students are reckless with money. Society likes to say the reason people are poor is because they are reckless with money, not because society demands that some people should be poor.

My trade union family, we know that is a myth. It is a myth for workers and a myth for students. The NUS I lead has been examining student poverty to show exactly how class and poverty create barriers that stop so many students in not just getting in but getting on. We have heard from apprentices, learners, students, from academic providers to sector agencies, from campaigning organisations, charities, and of course trade unions, including the TUC. We found that class and poverty in further and higher education are linked. The decisions made about funding of education and students, the assumptions made about students and learners is too often based on a middle-class assumption and perspective, of people who run our institutions, and the increased cost of living together create barriers, again in not just getting in but getting on. The system creates a poverty premium that means working class students have to pay more. They pay more directly, like higher

interest because they are more reliant on debt. They pay more indirectly, like higher transport costs because they have to travel longer distances. The impact is to restrict choice, restrict access, and increase dropout.

Congress, if we are to change this, there is so much we have to do. We have one of the biggest issues facing students and young people, the “B” word – Brexit. I am so proud that my National Union of Students – “my national union”, I feel so proud saying that – were one of the first national organisations to come out in support of the people’s vote on the final Brexit deal. I am even prouder that more and more of our allies in the trades union Movement are coming now to the same conclusion. This botched Tory Brexit will harm workers and their rights but, more than that, this is a movement for students and workers to unite around a common area. We deserve a people’s vote. There is nothing socialist about making the working classes in this country poorer, which we know Brexit will do. There is little leftwing about allowing racism and fascism to run free within our society, and there is nothing progressive about turning our backs against the world.

To TSSA, Prospect, the Royal College of Nursing, and others, I salute you and I urge all of us in this room to unite in proper solidarity and back a people’s vote, including our friends in the Labour Party. There is nothing more important than the rights and opportunities for working class young people and as we call for a people’s vote, NUS will be campaigning on a broad range of issues relating to smashing down those barriers and scrapping the poverty premium.

One example, one that is important, is housing and having a home that is right. Everybody is entitled to the right home but the housing has to be fit for the people who live there and fit for study. Often, housing is not accessible to people on low incomes. Students often need a guarantor, even when they are estranged, or independent adults, and whether they have people who can act as a guarantor, and that person is in the UK, deposits and fees are disproportionate and applied to renters again and again. Housing should be affordable. Students’ rents soar not just in the private sector but in the halls in our universities

too, and their excuse is, “Oh, we’re just charging the market rate.” The cost of market rent is unaffordable for so many. What about universities and colleges, or as an apprentice, where does the hope lie for those to have houses? What about if you have a family? What about the people who never apply for housing for themselves or their family because they will not be able to afford to study. Housing costs then become a trap against making their lives better through learning.

I want to take a moment to talk about what is happening in Westminster right now. The Conservatives say they are on the side of renters. They say they are on the side of young people, of those who want to be able to live a good life, and have affordable housing, and they proposed some great changes. Since Parliament came back they have started to turn around on their policies. They have turned around on addressing fees for renters. They are reconsidering three-year tenancies. They have abandoned market policy changes in this area, and they are abandoning another generation of housing for students. This has to stop.

My trade union family, all too often government policy drives down standards and removes the right that makes it necessary to have personal debt to access housing or education. All that means is that opportunity relies on who your parents are, not what you can do. This is not just about class. A priority for NUS this year is black attainment at our universities. That means black and BAME students are less likely to get an upper second or first-class degree. That gap exists after you account for entry grades, types of qualification, and the school that they attended. It exists after you account for the socioeconomic background. It exists in our universities and our universities can and must fix it.

Real solutions for the outcomes that disadvantage black students can benefit all of us as a society. The black attainment gap is a symptom of an issue in education. Finding the solution is not going to be simple or straightforward, but addressing and dismantling this is not easy. If we can get things right, if we can make our universities fair, it will be much better for women, disabled students, trans students, students from working class backgrounds. It can show the way to make our colleges and universities fairer and better for

everyone, black, BAME, or not, and giving all our students real opportunities to transform our workplace, break the cycle of deprivation and be who they can and want to be.

So, my trade union family, there is a lot of work to do over the next 150 years and I do not want it to be the next 150 years before we see the next black woman president leading NUS or any of these organisations. Let's be ambitious for our students. Let's be ambitious for our society. One thing I have learnt – I am going off script here because I feel like it is really important to drop it in – is that the game has stayed the same and the players have changed. Nobody wants to play Monopoly any more so I shout out to you, let's change the game, use this opportunity to do things different. I want to see decent housing, decent homes, to be considered a right we all should have. I want choosing to get on with study to be something our society can celebrate. I want study not only to be about money but to be about being a bigger and better person. I want things to get better.

I know that when we come together and we stand in proper solidarity, and the reason why I say "proper" is because sometimes you just say "solidarity" at the end of the speech and do not really mean it, proper solidarity. The people who are laughing know what I am talking about. There is more that unites us than divides and I am sure if we work together over the next 150 years – Keisha will be standing here, my 7-year old daughter – because student unions and trade unions are partners and us working together will mean a better society. This is for us all. Thank you very much for having me.

Section 3:

Unions and their delegates

Accord

Simmons House
46 Old Bath Road, Charvil
Reading RG10 9QR
Web: accord-myunion.org
Membership
Male 7,995 | Female 15,932 | Total 23,927
General secretary Ged Nichols
Delegates
Sheeba Hamid Tom Harrison
Allison Howie Ged Nichols
Lisa Sullivan
Male: 2 Female: 3 Total 5

Advance

16/17 High Street
Tring HP23 5AH
Web: advance-union.org
Membership
Male 2,013 | Female 4,835 |
Total 6,848
General secretary and press officer
Linda Rolph
Delegates
Gerard Moloney Linda Rolph
Male: 1 Female: 1 Total: 2

Aegis

Aegon UK plc
Edinburgh Park
Edinburgh EH12 9SE
Tel: 0131 549 5665
Web: aegistheunion.co.uk
Membership
Male 1,760 | Female 2,810 | Total 4,570
General secretary Brian Linn
Delegates
Brian Linn Fiona Steele
Male: 1 Female: 1 Total: 2

AEP

Association of Educational Psychologists
4 The Riverside Centre
Frankland Lane
Durham DH1 5TA
Web: aep.org.uk
Membership

Male 641 | Female 2,755 | Total 3,396
General secretary Kate Fallon
Delegates
Lisa O' Connor Kate Fallon
Male: 0 Female: 2 Total: 2

AFA-CWA

Association of Flight Attendants
c/o 32 Wingford Road
London SW2 4DS
Web: afanet.org
Membership
Gender unknown 450 | Total 450
President Anthony King

ASLEF

Associated Society of Locomotive
Engineers and Firemen
77 St John Street
London EC1M 4NN
Web: aslef.org.uk
Membership
Male 20,878 | Female 1,200 | Total 22,078
General secretary Mick Whelan
Delegates
Lesley Atkins David Calfe
Deborah Reay James Walsh
Simon Weller Mick Whelan
Male: 4 Female: 2 Total 6

AUE

Artists' Union England
69 Queen Alexandra Road
North Shields NE29 9AS
Web: artistsunionengland.org.uk
Membership
Male 96 | Female 199 | Total 295
General secretary Sheree Matthews
Delegates
Sheree Angela Matthews Loraine Monk
Male: 0 Female: 2 Total: 2

BALPA

British Air Line Pilots' Association
BALPA House, 5 Heathrow Boulevard
278 Bath Road, West Drayton UB7 0DQ
Web: balpa.org

Membership

Male 7,589 | Female 423 | Total 8,012

General secretary Brian Strutton

Delegates

Martin Drake Brian Strutton

Male: 2 Female: 0 Total: 2

BDA

British Dietetic Association

Charles House, 148/149 Great Charles Street,
Queensway, Birmingham B3 3HT

Tel: 0121 200 8021

Web: bda.uk.com

Membership

Male 362 | Female 8,711 | Total 9,073

Head of employment relations

Annette Mansell-Green

Delegates

Caroline Bovey Annette Mansell-Green

Male: 0 Female: 2 Total: 2

BFAWU

Bakers, Food and Allied Workers' Union

Stanborough House, Great North Road,
Stanborough

Welwyn Garden City AL8 7TA

Web: bfawu.org

Membership

Male 10,726 | Female 6,869 | Total 17,595

General secretary Ronnie Draper

Delegates

Elizabeth Dinning Ronnie Draper

Joe Knapper Sarah Woolley

Male: 2 Female: 2 Total: 4

BOSTU

British Orthoptic Society Trade Union

Salisbury House, Station Road

Cambridge CB1 2LA

Web: orthoptics.org.uk

Membership

Male 157 | Female 1,625 | Total 1,782

Chair Veronica Greenwood

Delegates

Sam Aitkenhead Lesley Anne Baxter

Male: 0 Female: 2 Total: 2

Community

465c Caledonian Road

London N7 9GX

Tel: 020 7420 4000

Web: community-tu.org

Membership

Male 23,902 | Female 7,984 | Total 31,886

General secretary Roy Rickhuss

Delegates

Ross Clark Peter Hobson

Sue Mather Christine O'Sullivan

Roy Rickhuss Clive Royston

Janet Sarsfield

Male: 4 Female: 3 Total: 7

CoP

The College of Podiatry

Quartz House, 207 Providence Square

Mill Street, London SE1 2EW

Web: scpod.org

Membership

Male 2,338 | Female 6,757 | Total 9,095

Chief executive and general
secretary Steve Jamieson

Delegates

Martin Furlong Sarah White

Male: 1 Female: 1 Total: 2

CSP

Chartered Society of Physiotherapy

14 Bedford Row

London WC1R 4ED

Tel: 020 7306 6666

Web: csp.org.uk

Membership

Male 7,990 | Female 32,060 | Total 40,050

Director of employment relations
and union services Claire Sullivan

Delegates

Kate Baker Zoe Clare

Alex MacKenzie Claire Sullivan

Robert Davies Jim Fahie

Male: 2 Female: 4 Total: 6

CWU

Communication Workers Union
150 The Broadway
London SW19 1RX

Web: cwu.org

Membership

Male 154,309 |

Female 37,128 | Total 191,437

General secretary Dave Ward

Delegates

Jonathan Bellshaw	Eugene Caparros
Tom Cooper	Fiona Curtis
Katie Dunning	Maria Exall
Kate Hudson	Mick Kavanagh
Anthony Kearns	Andy Kerr
James McKechnie	Jacqueline Morrey
Terry Pullinger	Sajid Shaikh
Beryl Shepherd	Amarjite Singh
Angela Teeling	Mark Walsh
Dave Ward	Rob Wotherspoon

Male: 13 Female: 7 Total: 20

EIS

Educational Institute of Scotland
46 Moray Place

Edinburgh EH3 6BH

Web: eis.org.uk

Membership

Male 12,588 | Female 42,114 | Total 54,702

General secretary Larry Flanagan

Delegates

David Belsey	Mick Dolan
Larry Flanagan	Paula McEwan
Alison Thornton	Caroline Yates

Male: 3 Female: 3 Total: 6

Equity

Guild House
Upper St Martin's Lane
London WC2H 9EG

Web: equity.org.uk

Membership

Male 22,164 | Female 21,391 | Total 43,555

General secretary Christine Payne

Delegates

Ian Barritt	Maureen Beattie
Bertie Carvel	Louise McMullan

Christine Payne

Stephen Spence

Paul Valentine

Male: 4 Female: 3 Total: 7

FBU

Fire Brigades Union

Bradley House, 68 Coombe Road

Kingston upon Thames KT2 7AE

Web: fbu.org.uk

Membership

Male 30,630 | Female 2,412 | Total 33,042

General secretary Matt Wrack

Delegates

Paul Embery	Matt Lamb
Cameron Matthews	Ian Murray
Andy Noble	Samantha Rye
Matt Wrack	

Male: 6 Female: 1 Total: 7

FDA

Elizabeth House

39 York Road

London SE1 7NQ

Web: fda.org.uk

Membership

Male 7,812 | Female 8,932 | Total 16,744

General secretary Dave Penman

Delegates

Helen Baird-Parker	Jeremy Baskett
Fiona Eadie	Dave Penman

Male: 2 Female: 2 Total: 4

GMB

22 Stephenson Way

London NW1 2HD

Web: gmb.org.uk

Membership

Male 311,027 | Female 303,467 |

Total 614,494

General secretary Tim Roache

Delegates

Rehana Azam	Sheila Bearcroft
Justin Bowden	Kevin Buchanan
Carol Clarkson	David Clements
Neil Collinson	Bob Crosby
Craig Dawson	Neil Derrick
Ellen Dowson	Annette Drylie

Brendan Duffield	David Flanagan
Neil Foster	Ryan Gallagher
Angela Gilraine	Charlie Gray
Colin Gunter	Tommy Hall
Susan Harris	Fevzi Hussein
Lisa Johnson	Ann Leader
Evelyn Martin	John McDonnell
Linda Mercer	June Minnery
Linda Sylvia Moore	Joe Morgan
Cathy Murphy	Ruth Pitchford
Barbara Plant	Gordon Richardson
Tim Roache	Manetta Rodrigues
Malcolm Sage	Sarah Sheehan
Vivien Smart	Joshua Smith
Cath Speight	Kathleen Walker Shaw
Nigel Warn	Sharon Wilde
Lorraine Winson	

Male 21 Female: 23 Other: 1 Total: 45

HCSA

Hospital Consultants and Specialists Association
1 Kingsclere Road
Overton, Basingstoke RG25 3JA
Web: hcsa.com
Membership
Male 2,425 | Female 804 | Total 3,229
General secretary Vacant
Delegates
Joe Chattin Paul Donaldson
Male: 2 Female: 0 Total: 2

MU

Musicians' Union
60–62 Clapham Road
London SW9 0JJ
Web: theMU.org
Membership
Male 21,208 | Female 9,125 |
Gender unknown 88 | Total 30,421
General secretary Horace Trubridge
Delegates
Julian Field Horace Trubridge
Barbara White
Male: 2 Female: 1 Total: 3

NAHT

National Association of Head Teachers
1 Heath Square, Boltro Road
Haywards Heath RH16 1BL
Tel: 0300 30 30 333
Web: naht.org.uk
Membership
Male 20,714 | Female 7,786 |
Gender unknown 100 | Total 28,600
General secretary Paul Whiteman
Delegates
Magnus Gorham Anne Lyons
Andy Mellor Judy Shaw
Judith Stott Paul Whiteman
Male: 3 Female: 3 Total: 6

Napo

160 Falcon Road
London, SW11 2NY
Web: napo.org.uk
Membership
Male 1,307 | Female 3,689 |
Total 4,996
General secretary Ian Lawrence
Delegates
Ian Lawrence Yvonne Pattison
Male: 1 Female: 1 Total: 2

NARS

National Association of Racing Staff
The Racing Centre, Fred Archer Way
Newmarket CB8 8NT
Web: naors.co.uk
Membership
Male 869 | Female 1,268 | Total 2,137
Chief executive George McGrath
Delegates
Laurie Bell George McGrath
Male: 1 Female: 1 Total: 2

NASUWT

Orion House
5 Upper St Martin's Lane
London WC2H 9EA
Web: nasuwt.org.uk
Membership
Male 77,769 | Female 217,796 |

Total 295,565

General secretary Chris Keates

Delegates

Chris Allen	Robert Barratt
Lynn Bayliss	Fred Brown
Angela Butler	Michelle Codrington-Rogers
Brian Cookson	Lena Davies
Nigel De Gruchy	Kathy Duggan
Ruth Duncan	Harold Gurden
Alan Hackett	John Hall
Deborah Hayton	Chris Keates
David Kitchen	Dan McCarthy
Jennifer Moses	Abdullah Muhsin
Paul Nesbitt	Patrick Roach
Susan Rogers	Kathryn Salt Mbe
Jane Setchfield	Andrea Stephens
Colin Surrey	Peter Taylor
Nick Trier	Russ Walters
Chris Weavers	Gareth Young

Male: 19 Female: 13 Total: 32

Nautilus International

1-2 The Shrubberies

George Lane

South Woodford

London E18 1BD

Web: nautilusint.org

Membership

Male 14,041 | Female 549 | Total 14,590

General secretary

Mark Dickinson

Delegates

Ronnie Cunningham Mark Dickinson

Daniel McGowan

Male: 3 Female: 0 Total: 3

NEU

National Education Union

ATL Section

7 Northumberland Street

London WC2N 5RD

Web: atl.org.uk

NUT Section

Hamilton House

Mabledon Place

London WC1H 9BD

Web: teachers.org.uk

Web: neu.org.uk

Membership

Male 116,455 | Female 345,483 | Gender unknown

12 | Total 461,950

Joint general secretaries

Dr Mary Bousted and Kevin Courtney

Delegates

Louise Atkinson	Jacqueline Baker
Siân Bassett	Marilyn Bater
Rachel Baxter	Robin Bevan
Kathryn Booth	Mary Bousted
Amanda Brown	Chris Brown
Warren Chambers	Kevin Courtney
Caroline Cowie	Graham Easterlow
Graeme Edwards	Nansi Ellis
Rachael Ganderton	Avis Gilmore
Jerry Glazier	Deirdre Hanson
Dave Harvey	Philipa Harvey
Robin Head	Shelagh Hirst
Mark Holding	Julie Huckstep
Mandy Hudson	Alex Kenny
Sally Kincaid	Roger King
Kim Knappett	Lesley Koranteng
Amanda Martin	Heather McKenzie
Rosamund McNeil	Simmi Moodley
Andrew Morris	Ian Murch
Jane Nellist	Emma Parker
Adrian Prandle	Elizabeth Purnell
Louise Regan	Hank Roberts
Peter Sagar	Ralph Surman
Niamh Sweeney	Sara Tomlinson
Kiri Tunks	Sam Ud-Din
Josie Whiteley	David Wilson

Male: 20 Female: 32 Other: 1 Total: 52

NGSU

Nationwide Group Staff Union

Middleton Farmhouse

37 Main Road, Middleton Cheney

Banbury OX17 2QT

Web: ngsu.org.uk

Membership

Male 3,942 | Female 8,724 | Total 12,666

General secretary Tim Poil

Delegates

Nicola Huddleston Tim Poil

Sue Walker

Male: 1 Female: 2 Total: 3

NHBCSA

National House Building Council Staff Association
NHBC House, Davy Avenue, Knowlhill
Milton Keynes 8FP
Membership
Male 519 | Female 167 | Total 686
Chair Tom Howard
Delegates
Julia Georgiou Tom Howard
Male: 1 Female: 1 Total: 2

NSEAD

National Society for Education in Art and Design
3 Masons Wharf, Potley Lane
Corsham SN13 9FY
Web: nsead.org
Membership Total 1,240
General secretary Lesley Butterworth
Delegates
Lesley Butterworth Michele Gregson
Male: 0 Female: 2 Total: 2

NUJ

National Union of Journalists
Headland House, 72 Acton Street
London WC1X 9NB
Web: nuj.org.uk
Membership
Male 18,523 | Female 11,738 | Total 30,261
General secretary Michelle Stanistreet
Delegates
Steve Bird Chris Frost
Sian Jones Pennie Quinton
Michelle Stanistreet
Male: 2 Female: 3 Total: 5

NUM

National Union of Mineworkers
Miners' Offices, 2 Huddersfield Road
Barnsley S70 2LS
Web: num.org.uk
Membership
Male 311 | Female 8 | Total 319
National secretary Chris Kitchen
Delegates
Chris Kitchen Nicky Wilson
Male: 2 Female: 0 Total: 2

PCS

Public and Commercial Services Union
160 Falcon Road, London SW11 2LN
Web: pcs.org.uk
Membership
Male 73,905 | Female 107,194 |
Gender unknown 767 | Total 181,866
General secretary Mark Serwotka
Delegates
Chris Baugh Mark Emmerson
Felicity Flynn Janice Godrich
Jackie Green Fran Heathcote
Zita Holbourne Rhea James
Louise Kowalska Kevin McHugh
Gordon Rowntree Mark Serwotka
Mohammed Shafiq Steven Swainston
Male: 7 Female: 7 Total: 14

PFA

Professional Footballers' Association
20 Oxford Court, Bishopsgate
Manchester M2 3WQ
Web: thepfa.com
Membership
Male 2,084 | Female 84 | Total 2,168
Chief executive Gordon Taylor OBE
Delegates
Nick Cusack Gordon Taylor
Male: 2 Female: 0 Total: 2

POA

The professional trade union for prison,
correctional and secure psychiatric workers
Cronin House, 245 Church Street
London N9 9HW
Tel: 020 8803 0255
Email: gs@poauk.org.uk
Web: poauk.org.uk
Membership
Male 21,260 | Female 8,751 | Total 30,011
General secretary Steve Gillan
Delegates
Mark Fairhurst Dave Ferry
Steve Gillan Phil Hannant
Jackie Marshall Sarah Rigby
Joe Simpson
Male: 5 Female: 2 Total: 7

Prospect

New Prospect House

8 Leake Street

London SE1 7NN

Web: prospect.org.uk

BECTU Sector of Prospect

Head Office

373–377 Clapham Road

London SW9 9BT

Membership

Male 102,668 | Female 39,736 |

Gender unknown 83 | Total 142,487

General secretary Mike Clancy

Delegates

Christine Bond

Mike Clancy

Nicola Duffy

Sue Ferns

Geoff Fletcher

Keith Flett

Cora Green

Liz Hardwick

Richard Hogben

Neil Hope-Collins

Tom James

Ann Jones

Glen Keane

Mark Kent

Craig Marshall

Claire Mullaly

Steve Nicholson

Andrew Pakes

Tom Raiton

Joanne Rowe

Barbara Shepherd

Eleanor Wade

Male: 12 Female: 10 Total: 22

RCM

Royal College of Midwives

15 Mansfield Street

London W1G 9NH

Web: rcm.org.uk

Membership

Male 148 | Female 35,280 | Total 35,428

General secretary Gill Walton

Delegates

Keelie Barrett

Jean Davis

Jon Skewes

Alice Sorby

Pauline Twigg

Gill Walton

Male: 1 Female: 5 Total: 6

RMT

National Union of Rail,

Maritime and Transport Workers

39 Chalton Street

London NW1 1JD

Web: rmt.org.uk

Membership

Male 72,881 | Female 12,593 | Total 85,474

General secretary Mick Cash

Delegates

Mark Armstrong

Wayne Barnett

Andrew Budds

Mick Cash

Glen Hart

Mary Jane Herbison

Sean Hoyle

William Jones

Ryan Kent

Geoff Kite

Peter March

Robert Potts

Michelle Rodgers

Paul Shaw

William Strang

Roderick Traynor

Glenroy Watson

Male: 15 Female: 2 Total: 17

SoR

Society of Radiographers

207 Providence Square, Mill Street

London SE1 2EW

Web: sor.org

Membership

Male 5,152 | Female 18,168 | Total 23,320

Chief executive officer Richard Evans

Delegates

Richard Evans

Chris Kalinka

Paul Moloney

Gareth Thomas

Male: 4 Female: 0 Total: 4

TSSA

Transport Salaried Staffs' Association

17 Devonshire Square

London EC2M 4SQ

Web: tssa.org.uk

Membership

Male 13,107 | Female 5,062 | Total 18,169

General secretary Manuel Cortes

Delegates

Mick Carney

Manuel Cortes

Jill Murdoch

Fliss Premru

Male: 2 Female: 2 Total: 4

UCAC

Undeb Cenedlaethol

Athrawon Cymru

Prif Swyddfa UCAC

Ffordd Penglais

Aberystwyth SY23 2EU

Web: ucac.cymru
 Membership
 Male 845 | Female 3,119 | Total 3,964
 General secretary Elaine Edwards

UCU

University and College Union
 Carlow Street
 London NW1 7LH
 Web: ucu.org.uk
 Membership
 Male 52,630 | Female 55,885 | Total 108,515
 General secretary Sally Hunt
 Delegates

Vicky Blake	Helen Carr
Douglas Chalmers	Robert Clunas
Joanna De Groot	Brian Hamilton
Sally Hunt	Vicky Knight
Rhiannon Lockley	Dave Muritu
Nita Sanghera	Sean Vernell

 Male: 5 Female: 7 Total: 12

UNISON

UNISON Centre
 130 Euston Road
 London NW1 2AY
 Web: unison.org.uk
 Membership
 Male 274,618 | Female 919,373 |
 Total 1,193,991
 General secretary Dave Prentis
 Delegates

James Anthony	Amanda Berger
Josie Bird	Lynn Booth
Kendal Bromley-Bewes	Jean Butcher
Elizabeth Cameron	John Campbell
Mark Chiverton	Elaine Cotterell
Sarah Crowe	Ruth Davies
Ash Dhobi	Tania Earnshaw
Neelo Farr	Helen Firman
Janice Ford	Bernadette Gallagher
Paul Glover	John Gray
Malcolm Gray	Tony Green
Angela Hamilton	Jenny Harvey
Mike Hines	Linda Hobson
Stephen Jones	Abiola Kusoro
Khaled Kiswani	Conroy Lawrence

Jackie Lewis	Lilian Macer
Ann MacMillan Wood	Craig Martin
Gordon McKay	Roger McKenzie
Jennifer Middleton	Gloria Mills
Roz Norman	Debi Potter
Anu Prashar	Dave Prentis
Nicky Ramanandi	Kate Ramsden
Davena Rankin	David Rees
Angela Roberts	Carol Sewell
Pam Sian	Stephen Smellie
Liz Snape	Siân Stockham
Chris Tansley	Melinda Tovey
Mark Trask	Denise Ward
Glen Williams	

Male: 21 Female: 36 Total: 57

Unite

Unite House
 128 Theobald's Road
 London WC1X 8TN
 Web: unitetheunion.org
 Membership
 Male 927,302 | Female 306,344 |
 Total 1,233,646
 General secretary Len McCluskey
 Delegates

Kingsley Abrams	Lindsey Adams
David Agbley	Paul Ainsworth
Dave Allan	Mary Babayemi
Howard Beckett	Tracey Blythe
Cliff Bowen	Mary Branigan
Raj Bungar	Tony Burke
Gail Cartmail	Hamed Chohan
Richard Crease	Tony Davies
Malcolm Davies	Patricia Davis
Donna Donnelly	Christine Edwards
John Gillespie	Brenda Gladwin
Christopher Goodwin	Stuart Grice
Marina Gunn	Joanne Harris
Geoff Hayward	Diana Holland
Torkwase Holmes	Morgan Horn
Rianna Humble	Alex Hutchinson
Rohey Jallow	Michael Jenkins
Mahf Khan	Claire Lees
Jane Leivers	Anthony Lewington
Maxine Loza	Lesley Mansell
Phillipa Marsden	Susan Matthews
Keven Matthews	Paul Maullin

Bridie Mc Creesh	Len McCluskey
Linda McCulloch	Sean McGovern
Derek McKenzie	Martin McMulkin
Asif Mohammed	Paul Mooney
Neil Moore	James Moran
John Murdoch	Tom Murphy
Andrew Murray	Billy Parry
David Pearce	Julie Phipps
Mark Pryor	Nicola Redwood
Keith Reynolds	Anna Rothery
Paul Rounding	Stanley Ruddock
Pete Russell	Maggie Ryan
Kathy Smith	Marilyn Smith
Jane Stewart	Jasmin Suraya
Jayne Taylor	Kevin Terry
Steve Turner	Mark Turner
Christopher Turnham	Syed Uddin
Stephen Wakefield	Alexander Wedlake
Adrian Weir	Tracey Whittle
Dennis Wilson	Tony Woodhouse
Andrew Worth	Andrew Yeardley

Male: 52 Female: 34 Other: 2 Total: 86

URTU

United Road Transport Union
 Almond House, Oak Green
 Stanley Green Business Park
 Cheadle Hulme SK8 6QL
 Membership
 Male 9,000 | Female 400 | Total 9,400
 Acting General secretary Robert F Monks
 Delegates
 Eric Drinkwater Brian Hart
 Male: 2 Female: 0 Total: 2

Usdaw

Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers
 188 Wilmslow Road
 Manchester M14 6LJ
 Web: usdaw.org.uk
 Membership
 Male 193,694 | Female 239,566 |
 Total 433,260
 General secretary Paddy Lillis
 Delegates
 Mike Aylward Joanne Cairns
 Lisa Collins Diane Conlan

Ruth Cross	Tony Dale
Iain Dalton	Brendan Duggan
Joanne Fisk	Jeremy Hearn
Jean Hession	Alan Higgins
Paddy Lillis	Ann Lloyd
Stephen Lyon	Kate MacLeod
Joanne Matthews	Roseann McAllister
Dave McCrossen	James McFadyen
Paul McKenna	Merle Morris
Donna Morris	Foluke Moses
Amy Murphy	Relebohile Phakoe
Debbie Randall	Elin Rossiter
Mervyn Sterry	Janette Thomas
Pam Thompson	Mark Todd
Elijah Williams	Caroline Williamson
Cheryl Wilson	

Male: 14 Female: 22 Total 36

WGGB

Writers' Guild
 of Great Britain
 134 Tooley Street
 London SE1 2TU
 Web: writersguild.org.uk
 Membership
 Male 821 | Female 528 | Total 1,349
 General secretary Ellie Peers
 Delegates
 John Sailing Lesley Gannon
 Male: 1 Female: 1 Total: 2

TRADES COUNCIL DELEGATE
 Gemma Offland

SUMMARY

Number of affiliated unions: 48
 Membership
 Male: 2,653,175
 Female: 2,866,824
 Gender split not available: 2,740
 Total: 5,522,739

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)	ditto	152	112	691,089
11	1878	Bristol	G F Jones (Secretary, Trades Council)	ditto	136	114	623,957
12	1879	Edinburgh	D Gibson (President, Trades Council)	ditto	115	92	541,892
13	1880	Dublin	J Murphy (Ironfounders)	ditto	120	105	494,222
14	1881	London	E Coulson (Bricklayers)	ditto	157	122	463,899
15	1882	Manchester	R Austin (Engineers)	ditto	153	126	509,307
16	1883	Nottingham	T Smith (Boot and Shoe Riveters)	ditto	166	134	520,091
17	1884	Aberdeen	J C Thompson (President, Trades Council)	ditto	142	126	598,033
18	1885	Southport	T R Threlfall (Typographical Association)	George Shipton	161	136	580,976
19	1886	Hull	F Maddison (Typographical Association)	H Broadhurst	143	122	635,580
20	1887	Swansea	W Bevan (Carpenters and Joiners)	ditto	156	131	674,034
21	1888	Bradford	S Shaftoe (Basket Makers)	ditto	165	138	816,944
22	1889	Dundee	R D B Ritchie (Dundee Trades Councils)	ditto	211	171	885,055
23	1890	Liverpool	W Matkin (Carpenters and Joiners)	C Fenwick	457	211	1,470,191
24	1891	Newcastle	T Burt (Miners)	ditto	552	213	1,302,855
25	1892	Glasgow	J Hodge (Steel Smelters)	ditto	495	225	1,219,934
26	1893	Belfast	S Munro (Typographical Association)	ditto	380	226	900,000
27	1894	Norwich	F Delves (Engineers)	S Woods	378	179	1,100,000
28	1895	Cardiff	J Jenkins (Shipwrights)	ditto	330	170	1,000,000
29	1896	Edinburgh	J Mallison (Edinburgh Trades Council)	ditto	343	178	1,076,000
30	1897	Birmingham	J V Stevens (Tin Plate Workers)	ditto	381	180	1,093,191
31	1898	Bristol	J O'Grady (Cabinet Makers)	ditto	406	188	1,184,241
32	1899	Plymouth	W J Vernon (Typographical Association)	ditto	384	181	1,200,000
33	1900	Huddersfield	W Pickles (House and Ship Painters)	ditto	386	184	1,250,000
34	1901	Swansea	C W Bowerman (London Compositors)	ditto	407	191	1,200,000
35	1902	London	W C Steadman (Barge Builders)	ditto	485	198	1,400,000
36	1903	Leicester	W R Hornidge (Boot and Shoe Operatives)	ditto	460	204	1,500,000
37	1904	Leeds	R Bell (Railway Servants)	ditto	453	212	1,422,518
38	1905	Hanley	J Sexton (Dock Labourers)	W C Steadman	457	205	1,541,000
39	1906	Liverpool	D C Cummings (Boilermakers)	ditto	491	226	1,555,000
40	1907	Bath	A H Gill (Cotton Spinners)	ditto	521	236	1,700,000
41	1908	Nottingham	D J Shackleton (Weavers)	ditto	522	214	1,777,000
42	1909	Ipswich	D J Shackleton (Weavers)	ditto	498	219	1,705,000
43	1910	Sheffield	J Haslam (Miners)	ditto	505	212	1,647,715
44	1911	Newcastle	W Mullin (Cotton Spinners)	C W Bowerman	523	202	1,662,133
45	1912	Newport	W Thorne (Gasworkers)	ditto	495	201	2,001,633
46	1913	Manchester	W J Davis (Brassworkers)	ditto	560	207	2,232,446
47	1915	Bristol	J A Seddon (Shop Assistants)	ditto	610	215	2,682,357
48	1916	Birmingham	H Gosling (Waterman)	ditto	673	227	2,850,547
49	1917	Blackpool	J Hill (Boilermakers)	ditto	679	235	3,082,352
50	1918	Derby	J W Ogden (Weavers)	ditto	881	262	4,532,085
51	1919	Glasgow	G H Stuart-Bunning (Postmen's Federation)	ditto	851	266	5,283,676

No.	Date	Venue	President	General Secretary	Delegates	Unions	Members
52	1920	Portsmouth	J H Thomas (Railwaymen)	C W Bowerman	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)	Walter Citrine	696	207	4,365,619
59	1927	Edinburgh	George Hicks (Building Trade Workers)	ditto	646	204	4,163,994
60	1928	Swansea	Ben Turner (Textile Workers' Union)	ditto	621	196	3,874,842
61	1929	Belfast	B Tillet (Transport Workers)	ditto	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)	ditto	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)	ditto	913	186	7,883,355
83	1951	Blackpool	A Roberts (Card, Blowing and Ring Room Ops)	ditto	927	186	7,827,945
84	1952	Margate	Arthur Deakin (Transport and General Workers)	ditto	943	183	8,020,079
85	1953	Douglas	T O'Brien, MP (Theatrical and Kine Employees)	ditto	954	183	8,088,450
86	1954	Brighton	Jack Tanner (Amalgamated Engineering Union)	ditto	974	184	8,093,837
87	1955	Southport	C J Geddes (Union of Post Office Workers)	ditto	984	183	8,106,958
88	1956	Brighton	W B Beard (United Patternmakers Association)	ditto	1,000	186	8,263,741
89	1957	Blackpool	Sir Thomas Williamson (General and Municipal)	ditto	995	185	8,304,709
90	1958	Bournemouth	Tom Yates (National Union of Seamen)	ditto	993	185	8,337,325
91	1959	Blackpool	Robert Willis (London Typographical Society)	ditto	1,017	186	8,176,252
92	1960	Douglas	Claude Bartlett (Health Service Employees)	George Woodcock	996	184	8,128,251
93	1961	Portsmouth	Edward J Hill (United Society of Boilermakers)	ditto	984	183	8,299,393
94	1962	Blackpool	Dame Anne Godwin (Clerical Workers)	ditto	989	182	8,312,875
95	1963	Brighton	Frederick Hayday (General and Municipal Workers)	ditto	975	176	8,315,332
96	1964	Blackpool	George H Lowthian (Building Trade Workers)	ditto	997	175	8,325,790
97	1965	Brighton	Lord Collison (Agricultural Workers)	ditto	1,013	172	8,771,012
98	1966	Blackpool	Joseph O'Hagan (Blastfurnacemen)	ditto	1,048	170	8,867,522
99	1967	Brighton	Sir Harry Douglass (Iron and Steel Trades)	ditto	1,059	169	8,787,282
100	1968	Blackpool	Lord Wright (Amalgamated Weavers' Association)	ditto	1,051	160	8,725,604
101	1969	Portsmouth	John E Newton (Tailors and Garment Workers)	Victor Feather	1,034	155	8,875,381
102	1970	Brighton	Sir Sidney Greene (Railway)	ditto	1,061	150	9,402,170

No.	Date	Venue	President	General Secretary	Delegates	Unions	Members
103	1971	Blackpool	Lord Cooper (General and Municipal Workers)	Victor Feather	1,064	142	10,002,204
104	1972	Brighton	George Smith (Construction Workers)	ditto	1,018	132	9,894,881
105	1973	Blackpool	Joseph Crawford (Colliery Overmen, Deputies)	Lionel Murray	991	126	10,001,419
106	1974	Brighton	Lord Allen (Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers)	ditto	1,032	109	10,002,224
107	1975	Blackpool	Marie Patterson (Transport and General Workers)	ditto	1,030	111	10,363,724
108	1976	Brighton	Cyril Plant (Inland Revenue Staff Federation)	ditto	1,114	113	11,036,326
109	1977	Blackpool	Marie Patterson (Transport and General Workers)	ditto	1,150	115	11,515,920
110	1978	Brighton	David Basnett (General and Municipal Workers)	ditto	1,172	112	11,865,390
111	1979	Blackpool	Tom Jackson (Post Office Workers)	ditto	1,200	112	12,128,078
112	1980	Brighton	Terry Parry (Fire Brigades)	ditto	1,203	109	12,172,508
113	1981	Blackpool	Alan Fisher (Public Employees)	ditto	1,188	108	11,601,413
114	1982	Brighton	Alan Sapper (Cinematograph and TV Technicians)	ditto	1,163	105	11,005,984
115	1983	Blackpool	Frank Chapple (Electrical and Plumbing Workers)	ditto	1,155	102	10,510,157
116	1984	Brighton	Ray Buckton (ASLEF)	Norman Willis	1,121	98	10,082,144
117	1985	Blackpool	Jack Eccles (General, Municipal and Boilermakers)	ditto	1,124	91	9,855,204
118	1986	Brighton	Ken Gill (TASS)	ditto	1,091	88	9,585,729
119	1987	Blackpool	Fred Jarvis (National Union of Teachers)	ditto	1,065	87	9,243,297
120	1988	Bournemouth	Clive Jenkins (Manufacturing Science Finance)	ditto	1,052	83	9,127,278
121	1989	Blackpool	Tony Christopher (Inland Revenue Staff)	ditto	1,006	78	8,652,318
122	1990	Blackpool	Ada Maddocks (NALGO)	ditto	985	78	8,405,246
123	1991	Glasgow	Alec Smith (GMB)	ditto	937	74	8,192,664
124	1992	Blackpool	Rodney Bickerstaffe (NUPE)	ditto	892	72	7,762,469
125	1993	Brighton	Alan Tuffin (UCW)	John Monks	874	69	7,303,419
126	1994	Blackpool	Jimmy Knapp (RMT)	ditto	878	68	7,298,262
127	1995	Brighton	L Mills (BIFU)	ditto	828	67	6,894,604
128	1996	Blackpool	Margaret Prosser (TGWU)	ditto	821	73	6,790,339
129	1997	Brighton	Tony Dubbins (GPMU)	ditto	827	75	6,756,544
130	1998	Blackpool	John Edmonds (GMB)	ditto	811	74	6,638,986
131	1999	Brighton	Lord MacKenzie (UNISON)	ditto	809	77	6,749,481
132	2000	Glasgow	Rita Donaghy OBE (UNISON)	ditto	772	76	6,745,907
133	2001	Brighton	Bill Morris (TGWU)	ditto	766	73	6,722,118
134	2002	Blackpool	Sir Tony Young (CWU)	ditto	765	70	6,685,353
135	2003	Brighton	Nigel de Gruchy (NASUWT)	Brendan Barber	783	69	6,672,815
136	2004	Brighton	Roger Lyons (Amicus)	ditto	723	70	6,423,694
137	2005	Brighton	Jeannie Drake (CWU)	ditto	727	66	6,452,267
138	2006	Brighton	Gloria Mills (UNISON)	ditto	742	63	6,463,159
139	2007	Brighton	Alison Shepherd (UNISON)	ditto	762	59	6,471,030
140	2008	Brighton	Dave Prentis (UNISON)	ditto	723	58	6,537,545
141	2009	Liverpool	Sheila Bearcroft (GMB)	ditto	695	61	6,201,359
142	2010	Manchester	Dougie Rooney (Unite)	ditto	645	57	6,135,126
143	2011	London	Michael Leahy (Community)	ditto	281	55	6,056,861
144	2012	Brighton	Paul Kenny (GMB)	ditto	565	53	5,977,178
145	2013	Bournemouth	Lesley Mercer (CSP)	Frances O'Grady	542	54	5,855,271
146	2014	Liverpool	Mohammad Taj (Unite)	ditto	533	53	5,786,734
147	2015	Brighton	Leslie Manasseh (Prospect)	ditto	539	52	5,787,147
148	2016	Brighton	Liz Snape (UNISON)	ditto	533	51	5,659,996
149	2017	Brighton	Mary Bousted (NEU)	ditto	525	49	5,555,006
150	2018	Manchester	Sally Hunt (UCU)	ditto	517	48	5,522,739

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, 1921–2018

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: 1997–2018
- Beard, J: 1921–34
- Beard, WD: 1947–66
- Bell, J: 1937–45
- Bell, JN: 1921–22
- Benstead, J: 1944–47
- Berry, H: 1935–37
- *Bevin, E: 1925–40
- Bickerstaffe, R: 1982–2000
- Biggs, J: 1991
- Binks, G: 1998–2002
- Birch, JA: 1949–61
- Birch, R: 1975–78
- Bird, J: 2018
- Blower, C: 2008–15
- Boateng, AF: 1994
- Boddy, JR: 1978–82
- *Bondfield, M: 1921–23, 1925–29
- Boothman, H: 1921–35
- Bostock, F: 1947
- Bothwell, JG: 1963–67
- Bottini, RN: 1970–77
- Bousted, M: 2003–18
- Bowen, JW: 1921–27
- Bowman, J: 1946–49
- Boyd, JM: 1967–74, 1978–81
- Brett, WH: 1989–97
- Briginshaw, RW: 1965–74
- Britton, EL: 1970–73
- Brooke, C: 1989–95
- Bromley, J: 1921–35
- Brookman, K: 1992–98
- Brown, J: 1936–45
- Brown, Joanna: 2009–15
- Brumwell, G: 1992–2004
- Buck, LW: 1972–76
- Buckton, RW: 1973–85
- Burke, T: 1993–2002, 2008–18
- Burrows, AW: 1947–48
- Bussey, EW: 1941–46
- Cameron, K: 1981–83, 1991–99
- Camfield, B: 2000: 06
- Campbell, J: 1953–57
- Callighan, A: 1945–47
- Cannon, L: 1965–70
- Carey, M: 1998–2005
- Carolan, J: 2005–17
- Carr, J: 1989–92
- Carrigan, D: 2001
- Carron, WJ: 1954–67
- Carter, J: 1989–92
- Cartmail, G: 2005–18
- Cash, M: 2014–187
- Caton, B: 2001–9
- Chadburn, R: 1981
- Chalmers, J: 1977–79
- Chapple, FJ: 1971–82

Chester, G: 1937–48
 Chowcat J: 1998
 Christie, L: 1988–92
 Christopher, AMG: 1977–88
 Clancy, M 2012–18
 Coldrick, AP: 1968–71
 Collinridge, F: 1961–62
 Collison, H: 1953–69
 Conley, A: 1921–48
 Connolly, C: 1995
 Connor, Sir Bill: 1997–2003
 Cook, AJ: 1927–31
 Cookson, B: 2010–17
 Cooper, J: 1959–72
 Cooper, T: 1996–99
 Cortes, M 2012–18
 Courtney, K: 2016–18
 **Cousins, F: 1956–64, 1966–68
 Covey, D: 1989–98
 Cramp, CT: 1929–32
 Crawford, J: 1949–32
 Crawford, Joseph: 1960–72
 Cross, R: 2018
 Crow, R: 2003–04, 2006, 2010–14
 Curran, K: 2003–04
 Cusack, N: 2016–18
 Dale, A 2012–18
 Daly, L: 1971–80
 Daly, JD: 1983–89
 Dann, AC: 1945–52
 Davenport, J: 1921, 1924–33
 Davies, DG: 1986–96
 Davies, ED: 1984
 Davies, DH: 1967–74
 Davies, O: 1983–86
 Dawson, C: 2016–17
 Deakin, A: 1940–54
 Dean, B: 1985–91
 Dear, J: 2002–10
 De Gruchy, N: 1989–2002
 Derrick, N: 2016–18
 Dhamrait, M: 1995–2000
 Dickinson, M: 2009–18
 Doherty, G: 2004–10
 Donaghy, R: 1987–99
 Donnett, AM: 1973–75
 Doughty, GH: 1968–73
 Douglass, H: 1953–66
 Drake, JLP: 1990–2007
 Drain, GA: 1973–82
 Dubbins, AD: 1984–2007
 Duffy, D: 1988–91
 Duffy, T: 1978–85
 Dukes, C: 1934–46
 Dunn, V: 2001–2002
 Dwyer, P: 1992–94
 Dyson, F: 1975–78
 Eastwood, H: 1948
 Eccles, JF: 1973–85
 Eccles, T: 1949–58
 Edmonds, J: 1986–2002
 Edmondson, LF: 1970–77
 Edward, E: 1931–46
 Ellis, JN: 1988–91
 Elsom, R: 1996–97
 Elvin, HH: 1925–39
 Evans, AM: 1977–84
 Evans, D: 1991–99
 Evans, L: 1945–52
 Evans, RL: 1985–91
 Evans, W: 1996–99
 Evans, WJ: 1960–62
 Exall, M: 2006–18
 Farthing, WJ: 1935–43
 Fawcett, L: 1940–51
 Fenelon, B: 1998
 Ferns, S: 2005–18
 Figgins, JB: 1947–52
 Findlay, AAH: 1921–40
 Fisher, AW: 1968–81
 Flanagan, L 2012–18
 Ford, SWG: 1963–70
 Forden, L: 1958–65
 Forshaw, W: 1933–34
 Foster, J: 1999–2003
 Foulkes, P: 2006
 Fysh, M: 2001–10
 Gallagher, G: 2007–09
 Gallie, CN: 1940–46
 Garland, R: 1983
 Garley, A: 2005–10
 Gates, P: 2001, 2003
 Geddes, CJ: 1946–56
 Geldart, J: 1991–94
 George, E: 1988
 Gibson, A: 1988–99

Gibson, G: 1928–47
 Gilchrist, A: 2000–04
 Gill, K: 1974–91
 Gill, WW: 1983–86
 Gillan, S: 2010–18
 Gladwin, DO: 1986–89
 Godrich, J: 2003–15, 2018
 Godwin, A: 1949–62
 Golding, J: 1986–87
 Gormley, J: 1973–79
 Gosling, H: 1921–23
 Graham, JA: 1982–83, 1985
 Grant, J: 2002
 Grantham, RA: 1971–74, 1983–91
 Gray, C: 2018
 Gray, D: 1982–83
 Green, GF: 1960–62
 Greendale, W: 1978–85
 Greene, SF: 1957–74
 Gretton, S: 1969–72
 Grieve, CD: 1973–82
 Griffiths, AE: 1963–69
 Guy, G: 2011
 Guy, LG: 1977–82
 Hagger, P: 1988–94
 Haigh, E: 1982
 Hall, D: 1996–97
 Hall, E: 1954–59
 Hallsworth, J: 1926–46
 Hallworth, A: 1955–59
 Halpin, A: 1996, 1999, 2001–08
 Hammond, EA: 1983–87
 Hancock, F: 1935–57
 Handley, RC: 1938–39
 Hanley, P: 1968–69
 Hannett, J: 2004–17
 Harrison, HN: 1937–47
 Harvey, D: 2008–15
 Harvey, P: 2016–18
 Hawkes, P: 1992–2004
 Hayday, A: 1922–36
 Hayday, F: 1950–72
 Hayes, W: 2002–15
 Haynes, E: 1964–68
 Henry, J: 1989–90
 Hewitt, H: 1952–63
 Heywood, WL: 1948–56
 Hicks, G: 1921–40
 Hill, AL: 1955–57
 Hill, D: 1992
 Hill, EJ: 1948–64
 Hill, J: 1921–35
 Hill, JC: 1958
 Hill, S: 1963–67
 Hillon, B: 1987–97
 Hindle, J: 1930–36
 Hodgson, M: 1936–47
 Hogarth, W: 1962–72
 Holloway, P: 1997–2000
 Holmes, W: 1928–44
 Houghton, D: 1952–59
 Howell, FL: 1970–73
 Hunt, S: 2002–18
 Isaacs, GA: 1932–45
 Jackson, Sir Ken: 1993–2001
 Jackson, T: 1967–81
 Jarman, C: 1942–46
 Jarvis, FF: 1974–88
 Jenkins, C: 1974–87
 Jennings, K: 2013–15
 Jinkinson, A: 1990–95
 Johnson, A: 1993–94
 Jones, J: 1934–38
 Jones, JL: 1968–77
 Jones, JW: 1967–69
 Jones, RT: 1946–56
 Jones, RT: 1921–32
 Jones, WE: 1950–59
 Jordan, WB: 1986–94
 Jowett, W: 1986–87
 Kaylor, J: 1932–42
 Kean, W: 1921–45
 Kearns, T: 2008–15
 Keates, C: 2004–18
 Kelly, J: 2004–07
 Kelly, L: 2004
 Kenny, P: 2000–15
 Keys, WH: 1975–84
 King, J: 1972–74
 Knapp, J: 1983–2000
 Knight, V: 2017–18
 Laird, G: 1979–81
 Lambert, DAC: 1984–93
 Landles, P: 1995–2003
 Lascelles, D: 2001–05
 Lawrence, I: 2018

Lawther, W: 1935–53
 Leahy, M: 1999–2014
 Lee, P: 1933
 Lenahan, P: 1991–92
 Leslie, J: 1925
 Lillis, P: 2018
 Linn, B: 2018
 Littlewood, TL: 1968–70
 Lloyd, G: 1973–82
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