

THE TUC'S CAMPAIGN PLAN

**JOB, GROWTH
AND A NEW ECONOMY**

**FAIR PAY AND
A LIVING WAGE**

**GOOD SERVICES
AND DECENT WELFARE**

**RESPECT AND
A VOICE AT WORK**

STRONG UNIONS



A FUTURE THAT WORKS

An introduction by Frances O'Grady

Never has a strong voice for Britain's unions been more necessary. Never have the TUC's campaigns been so urgent.

Not just Britain, but most major economies, suffered a catastrophic slump in 2008. The victims continue to be those who did least to cause it.

Before the crash, unions had few allies when we spoke out against deregulated capitalism, raging inequality and the cult of finance.

Now the need for a new economy that creates decent jobs and sustainable growth, and shares the proceeds fairly, grows more obvious each day. But we have a government that is making it worse.

The economy is stuck in the doldrums, threatening a lost decade. Spending cuts are destroying vital services. Ordinary families are seeing vital benefits held back or frozen, while the tax rate for the biggest earners is cut. Living standards are falling as wages stagnate but prices of family essentials keep on rising. Austerity is rolling back gains in equality.

Yet the government's response is to intensify the policies that are failing. Rather than change course, cuts are getting deeper with whole services eliminated. Benefits are being held back for millions, with some of the most vulnerable seeing their incomes slashed – a recipe for social disruption.

The TUC and Britain's unions are the country's strongest social movement, organising in workplaces and communities. We have been in the forefront of fighting austerity, with the two biggest demonstrations since the election – including the largest in our history. We co-ordinated industrial action to defend public sector pensions that secured real concessions. Grassroots mobilisation and smart political campaigning has defeated reactionary proposals for regional pay and the bulk of the Beecroft attacks on workers' rights.

But while we can be proud of our work and point to real victories, the government's central strategy has not changed. And that remains our biggest – and most political – challenge.

With an election only two years away, we are now in a critical phase. The TUC's General Council is determined to harness the huge potential of a united movement – and all those who support us – to win support for a future that works.

This campaign plan sets out what the TUC's General Council will do in the struggle to make Britain a better and fairer place to live and work.

We invite everyone who agrees to join with us.

Frances O'Grady

TUC General Secretary

MEMBERS OF THE TUC GENERAL COUNCIL 2012-2013

Lesley Mercer (chair)

Chartered Society
of Physiotherapy

Bob Abberley

UNISON

Sheila Bearcroft MBE

GMB

Christine Blower

National Union
of Teachers

Mary Bousted

Association of
Teachers and Lecturers

Joanna Brown

Society of Chiropractors
and Podiatrists

Tony Burke

Unite

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Mike Clancy

Prospect

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NASUWT

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Transport Salaried
Staffs' Association

Bob Crow

National Union of
Rail, Maritime and
Transport Workers

Tony Dale

Union of Shop,
Distributive and
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Dave Harvey

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Sally Hunt

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College Union

Tony Kearns

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Union of Construction,
Allied Trades and
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Andrew Murray

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Equity

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Nationwide Group
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Musicians' Union

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Jane Stewart

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Simon Weller

Associated Society of
Locomotive Engineers
and Firemen

Fiona Wilson

Union of Shop,
Distributive and
Allied Workers

Tony Woodhouse

Unite

Matt Wrack

Fire Brigades' Union

Frances O'Grady

TUC General Secretary

JOBS, GROWTH AND A NEW ECONOMY

Fighting back against austerity

WE WILL

- ▶ **travel across the country in June uncovering the effects of austerity**
- ▶ **use every opportunity to expose how austerity fails as economics and rips society apart**
- ▶ **demand a job guarantee for every unemployed young person**
- ▶ **press for an alternative economic model that delivers good sustainable jobs for all.**

The 2008 crash was the deepest in living memory.

It revealed the deep flaws of the economic model we've followed since the 1980s. Deregulation, letting markets rip and unchallenged finance failed to deliver prosperity.

Some effective first aid was applied in the wake of the crash. It helped stop economic meltdown. Such policies still help the USA make progress, but have been abandoned in the UK and much of the rest of Europe.

The coalition government has sent the economy into reverse. Our economy is stagnant, stuck in a lost decade.

The crash did great damage to public finances. But holding back the economy through spending cuts, tax rises for ordinary families and austerity economics makes it worse. Debt levels have been far higher in the past, and the failure of government policy to increase growth is what downgraded the nation's credit rating.

The fight against austerity is our central campaign priority. We will resist cuts and wage freezes. We will fight for decent jobs, particularly for young people, and investment in skills. We will press for fair tax, that stops avoidance and evasion and makes those who profited the most from the bubble pay the costs of clearing up the damage. We will defend gains made that advance equality, as women, BME, disabled and LGBT citizens suffer as services are cut and the economy slows.

Britain's unions are the backbone of Britain's anti-austerity movement; the only group that can build a mass political movement for change.

But the answer is not slower cuts and a little more investment. The economy failed to work for ordinary people well before the crash. And it was the TUC that first revealed the prolonged living standards crisis for those on both low and middling incomes.

AUSTERITY IS FAILING

Cuts choke growth making the debt and deficit worse:

- ▶ Ministers have had to postpone the deadline for eliminating the structural deficit from 2014 to 2017.
- ▶ Ministers admit they will miss their debt reduction target of 2015.
- ▶ The government will borrow £200 billion more than they intended.
- ▶ The UK lost its AAA credit rating because of poor growth.

We need a new model for economic growth that is both sustainable and fair – not a return to business as usual. That is why our resistance to government policies goes together with the research and thinking that can help build a new economy, a resurgence in manufacturing and the creation of good, fairly paid jobs.

We will be both campaign champions and thought leaders, and work with grassroots campaigners, experts and progressive employers who share our vision of a new economy.

Our country faces long-term economic problems and political leaders have failed to face up to them. The economy is not growing, incomes are not rising, and there are few new good jobs. We are living in a lost decade and that's unacceptable. We need policies that promote new and old industries, not just financial services. These policies would encourage companies to raise average pay, penalise big bonuses and invest in training and new industries. Rather than cutting spending, we need to make sure we reverse this decline and have an economy that works for ordinary British families.

OUR CAMPAIGN

The TUC and Britain's unions will mobilise resistance against austerity, We will challenge the need for savage cuts and show the damage government policies are doing to living standards, decent services and the vulnerable.

We will provide popular campaign material ranging from leaflets and pamphlets to websites and online videos that will fire up activists to take on the arguments of the coalition.

And we stand ready to organise campaign events and initiatives whether grassroots campaigns, co-ordinated industrial action where unions request a TUC role, or major mobilisations are agreed by the TUC's General Council.

We will contribute to Europe-wide campaigning against austerity as we did with a Westminster rally in the run-up to the budget.

We will provide a TUC platform for advocates of growth and a new economy, from Britain and internationally. Former US Labor Secretary, and fierce critic of UK austerity, Robert Reich will speak at a TUC event. We will press for action on the global economy through the G8 and G20.

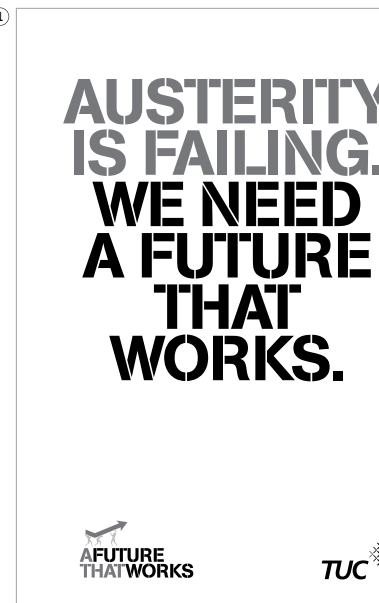
We will step up, and promote, the policy and research work that can lay the basis for a new fair and prosperous economy.

① TUC campaign pamphlet *Austerity Is Failing – We Need A Future That Works*, is available from the TUC and should be distributed in every workplace

② Ministers say their policies will help us win The Global Race, but a series of TUC reports, Touchstone blog posts and infographics show we are failing

③④ The TUC's After Austerity programme of events and publications help set the alternative; former US Labor Secretary, Robert Reich speaks in May 2013 © Perian Flaherty

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We demand:

- ▶ an effective industrial policy, not just for manufacturing but all sectors that can contribute to growth
- ▶ banks that work for Britain, such as a state investment bank and proper green bank
- ▶ guaranteed full employment, and in particular, guaranteed jobs for young people
- ▶ a green economy that uses the transition to a low-carbon economy to create jobs and growth
- ▶ an effective and fair tax system that tackles tax dodgers and makes those who created the crash pay their fair share, including a Robin Hood Tax on financial transactions, with an investigation of taxes on wealth and closing down tax havens
- ▶ a transformed skills system that works for all
- ▶ the UK learns from successful economies that have rejected the neo-liberal way
- ▶ stronger collective and individual rights to protect people at work
- ▶ a massive programme to build social and affordable housing.

Unions are strong advocates of skills and learning. Shockingly, 40 per cent of employers provide no training whatsoever. We campaign for all employers to invest more in skills, to give every employee a fair chance to train, for more and better apprenticeships and open and equal access to training, particularly for vulnerable and disadvantaged workers.

AUSTERITY UNCOVERED

🕒 June will see union action across the country to expose the effects of austerity on communities, services and jobs.

It is time the full effects of austerity were drawn together. The cuts in vital services job losses, closed facilities and the hit to living standards from benefit and tax credit cuts are having a devastating effect on millions. But too often the voices of the hardest hit go unheard.

That is why unions will be working with community groups across the country to gather evidence. We will encourage media coverage and produce our own video and blogs that show that we are not all in this together.

There will be a range of different initiatives from unions and the TUC and plans are still under development. Watch this space for updates.

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FAIR PAY AND THE LIVING WAGE

Defending living standards

WE WILL

- ▶ **build a nationwide campaign to spread the living wage to private and public sector workplaces**
- ▶ **attack excess city bonuses and tax dodging by the super-rich and big firms**
- ▶ **back co-ordinated union campaigns to win better pay**
- ▶ **press for better state and workplace pensions.**

Living standards are under attack. Wages are stagnant, yet prices, particularly of family essentials such as food, fuel and energy, keep on rising.

Across the public sector and much of the private sector pay is frozen or capped.

Almost five million are paid less than the living wage, the minimum families need to live on.

But at the top, boardroom pay continues to rise far above inflation.

Pay inequality helped cause the crash. For almost all of the 1960s and 1970s the share of the UK economy going to wages was between 58 per cent and 61 per cent. But from the early 1980s it has only gone above 56 per cent in one year. To keep up people started to borrow far more – the root of the credit crunch.

Pensions are deferred pay, and unions will defend, and work to extend, decent workplace pensions in private and public sectors. We back a decent state pension for current and future pensioners, and oppose unjustified increases in the state pension age.

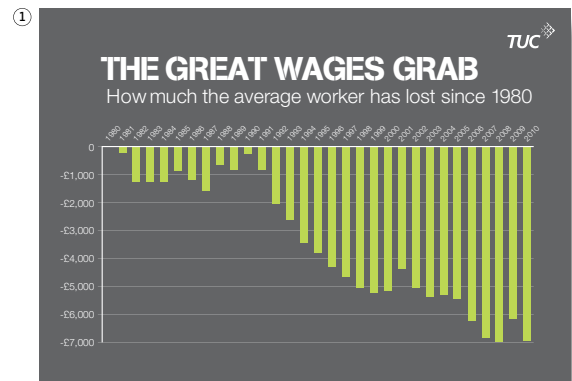
OUR CAMPAIGN

We will launch a major campaign on pay and living standards.

We will bring unions together to support pay bargaining. The TUC will help unions to pool information about pay strategy and policy including progress with pay claims and negotiations and efforts to undermine existing terms and conditions. We will support joint union pay campaigns and strategies.

Britain needs a pay rise and every employer should pay decent, fair wages. Greater transparency about pay help reduce inequality and discrimination.

We will work with unions, community campaigners and progressive employers to spread the Living Wage. Regional TUCs and local union branches will be at the forefront of these campaigns. We will champion and promote public and private sector employers who reach Living Wage agreements with unions.



① Ordinary workers lose out twice: wages as a whole have not kept up with economic growth and those at the top keep grabbing a bigger share of this smaller pot

② Public sector unions protest in Liverpool against pension cuts on a national one-day strike
© Simon Kirwan/Press Association

③ Infographic from the Pay Fair campaign that helped defeat (for now) government plans for regional pay

The biggest problem we face in Britain is an unequal society where the rich get richer and everyone else is left behind. Our current economic policies penalise ordinary British families while giving tax breaks and other financial benefits to those whose actions caused the crisis in the first place. We don't need spending cuts to get Britain back on track. What we need is a better-balanced and fairer economy that will work for everyone – not just banks and the super-rich.

We will continue to press for uplifts in the minimum wage and better enforcement. We will promote collective bargaining and investigate how modernised wages councils could secure higher pay and higher skilled jobs by sector.

We will continue to campaign against boardroom excess in pay, bonuses and gold-plated pensions.

A fair tax system should fund the tax credits and benefits that both families in and out of work need to make ends meet.

Building an economy that creates properly paid skilled jobs is a key part of building an economy that works for ordinary people, and is the central aim of our economic policy work.

Casualisation and outsourcing are often covers for cutting services for users and reducing pay and conditions for staff. We will highlight their impact in the public sector and expose the companies profiting from service cuts and privatisation.

High quality public services, such as childcare and social care, make a vital contribution to family living standards.

With the government reforming both state and workplace pensions we will be vigilant in defending quality pensions for those who have them – and for extending good provision for those who don't. We will continue the strong TUC intervention in the pensions debate, including new research on reshaping pensions tax relief that currently goes overwhelmingly to the better off.

TAKE ACTION

Join the TUC's digital army. Sign up at www.goingtowork.org and play your part in campaigns such as those that have seen-off regional pay and mobilised thousands to defend the NHS.

WHY POSTCODE PAY DOESN'T ADD UP

George Osborne wants to break up fair, transparent national pay structures for public services. Here's why it doesn't make sense.

Bad for the economy

£9.7 billion
The potential cost of local pay to the economy each year



110,576
The number of jobs that could be lost as a result of lower regional spending by public sector workers



Unpopular

Two thirds of voters want local pay plans dropped. This includes ▶



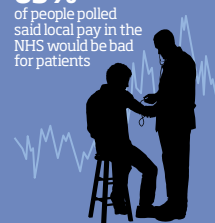
217 MPs from 8 different political parties have spoken out against local pay

Bad for services

25,000 schools would each have to research, negotiate and set pay – this would waste scarce resources



65% of people polled said local pay in the NHS would be bad for patients



GOOD SERVICES AND DECENT WELFARE

Standing up for society

WE WILL

- ▶ **oppose outsourcing and privatisation**
- ▶ **fight NHS fragmentation and privatisation**
- ▶ **expose the effects of austerity on services, benefits and working people**
- ▶ **campaign to defend welfare and oppose the stigmatisation of claimants.**

Whenever asked, voters reject policies to shrink the state and break up services.

Yet this is the core agenda of many UK ministers, from fragmenting and privatising the NHS to destroying the Beveridge model of a welfare state. Ministers want English state schools to be run for profit.

Local councils in Britain's most deprived areas are being hammered. Vulnerable citizens face deep cuts in already meagre benefits.

Fighting service cuts, defending welfare and opposing privatisation will be key campaigns for unions, activists and communities.

Government policies are doing great damage. We need to develop the policies that can heal what will be a fractured society. We need a map for a renewed welfare state and modernised public services that work for citizens, not make profits for corporations.

OUR CAMPAIGN

Unions will champion decent public services. We work at grass roots level with service users and communities to oppose cuts. We will ask TUC Regional Councils, Wales TUC and local trades union councils to build and extend alliances with service users and the wider community. We will continue to work with every possible ally to defend the public realm against privatisation.

The TUC supports joint union campaigns. We work with rail unions on Action for Rail, defend public education with teacher unions and stand up for arts spending with the entertainment unions. We champion the NHS with health unions, and will monitor the damage done to the nation's health by government changes.

Because we defend and value public services, we want to see them provide the best possible service for users. We will work with unions and user groups on how best to reform public services not through privatisation but in ways that make them better for citizens.

The Welsh government, working with unions, has resisted privatisation. Wales TUC will continue to work with them to resist the worst effects of UK government policy.

① Save our NHS campaign flyer 2012. The TUC works with health unions and through its Going to Work website to defend the NHS

② Unions, health workers and local residents protest at proposed closures of A&E departments at key London hospitals
© Philip Wolmuth/Reportdigital.co.uk

③ Action for Rail campaigns to defend and extend decent rail services
© Glenn Copus



Governments can only spend what they can afford in the long term but during deep recessions, running high deficits is the norm because income tax receipts are low and spending on unemployment increases. This government is using draconian deficit reduction as a smokescreen behind which it can make savage cuts to the state and privatise public services. Behind a cover of cracking down on the few who abuse the system, it is also cutting benefits and tax credits that help millions keep their heads above water.

The government attacks welfare by crying 'scrounger'. They can rely on much of the media to spread this myth. People who have fallen on hard times through no fault of their own are made scapegoats for a banking crisis and government failure.

But as benefit and tax credit cuts hit millions, ministers are being found out. You cannot hide the truth that millions of ordinary families – both in and out of work – will be hit hard by the freeze in child benefit and the cap on other benefits and tax credits. The TUC's poll in early 2013 helped shift the agenda showing how people change their minds when they learn the truth.

There is strong support for a decent and universal welfare state, yet ministers want to chip away at universal benefits replacing rights with charity hand-outs, even through growing numbers rely on state help to make up for low wages.

Exploding myths and defending universal pensions, benefits and tax credits continue to be a big priority. Using polling, research and testimony, we will work to get our message across and defeat government attempts to divide the deserving from the undeserving.

We will work with the False Economy campaign to help expose the real effects of cuts, promote alternatives and bring campaigners together.

We will highlight the effects of spending cuts on women and black and minority ethnic workers, defend the importance of public transport for the disabled and build a campaign around the needs of older women at work.

GET INVOLVED

🔗 www.falseeconomy.org.uk – a must for every union activist. False Economy is a campaign website backed by the TUC for those concerned about the impact of the government's spending cuts on their community, family or job.



RESPECT AND A VOICE AT WORK

Defending and extending workers' rights

WE WILL

- ▶ defend social Europe, workers and union rights
- ▶ press for an employee voice on remuneration committees
- ▶ expose discrimination against older working women and pregnant workers.

Rights at work are under attack.

While we have defeated the wildest proposals in the right-wing Beecroft Report, and even helped achieve some advances on family friendly rights, rights at work are going backwards. Fees for employment tribunals threaten the practical enforcement of basic rights and protection against unfair dismissal and redundancy has been reduced.

The Prime Minister's attacks on social Europe and the Working Time Directive show he wants to undermine important rights at work. We reject his false choice between leaving the EU or giving up basic rights.

But inequality lays behind the crash, and strengthening workers' voices is key in securing a productive fair economy. Every successful skills system is built on a foundation of positive engagement between employers and unions. We will not just defend rights at work, but press for greater economic democracy in line with EU and ILO standards. Citizens should not give up their rights at the workplace door.

Employee representatives on remuneration committees is one way a strong worker voice can make Britain fairer. And we can learn from many other countries where involving workers in decision-making and giving them a strong voice has helped economies through the crash.

Responsible investment where shareholders take seriously the responsibilities of ownership needs to replace short-termist profit-seeking. High standards of corporate governance, responsible investment and worker voice must work together to build an economy that invests for the long-term.

This is all part of a pattern: wealth and power are flowing to those at the top, while ordinary people take wage cuts, enjoy fewer rights at work and live in fear of the growth in vulnerable jobs.


① Press ad from the Employment Rights Stop Employee Wrongs campaign highlighting the impact of the government's assault on workplace rights

② IWGB cleaners protest against alleged racism and redundancies and calling for a living wage at Capgemini in Vauxhall

© Peter Marshall/Press Association

③④ Working Time Directive Vine (mobile app by Twitter) video clips and infographic reveals the threat from the Prime Minister's attempts to scrap European working time rules

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YOU HAVE A CASE, BUT DO YOU HAVE THE CASH?

WHAT PRICE JUSTICE? The government thinks it knows. £1,200 if you claim for wrongful dismissal. It's the same for race discrimination.

Even what the government calls a "simple claim", such as not being paid what you'd earned, could set you back £400.

Experts object, but ministers are still planning fees for most employment tribunal cases.

They see nothing unfair in this. Nothing wrong that someone who has

not been paid the minimum wage could have to fork out more than a week's pay to claim it back.

And nothing wrong in making the cash system ever more complex.

Not only is the government chipping away at everyone's rights at work, ministers are making it impossibly expensive for many to enforce rights that they would not dare to attack unilaterally, such as the minimum wage.

If it's one employment law for the rich, another for the rest of us.

TUC

VISIT OUR WEBSITE AND DELIVER YOUR VERDICT WWW.STOPEMPLOYMENTWRONGS.ORG

STOP



Spending cuts create a vicious circle and worsen the deficit. They put people out of work and on benefits rather than in work and paying taxes, which keeps the economy weak so that wages stagnate and consumer confidence falls. This means that people spend less money and the private sector struggles. These types of cuts make the deficit worse, not better. That is why the government says it can't get rid of the deficit by 2015. The way to get the deficit down is to get people working in good, well-paid jobs.

OUR CAMPAIGN

We will defend workers' and trade union rights and stand ready to move against fresh attacks. In particular we will defend and extend agency worker rights.

Constant attacks on rights at work and equality encourage bad bosses to treat staff badly and discriminate.

This means more workers will face exploitation and vulnerable working will grow. Two major projects – looking at discrimination against pregnant women – and the difficulties facing older women workers will be key TUC priorities. We will campaign for the UK to implement the ILO convention extending workplace rights to domestic workers.

We will step up our campaigning for workers to be represented on remuneration committees. We will make the case for a wider worker voice, stimulating debate within the movement on how best to take this forward and researching how other countries give staff power.

We will encourage investors such as pension funds to take their ownership responsibilities seriously and we will continue to publish our Fund Manager Survey, support pension fund trustees and implement the union pension fund voting collaboration project.



TAKE ACTION

It's up to unions to expose the Government's plans to slice away rights by stealth. www.stopemploymentwrongs.org lifts the lid on their plans and helps spread the word in the workplace.

WHY DOES DAVID CAMERON HATE THE WORKING TIME DIRECTIVE?

The PM wants to renegotiate the EU's working time directive and reduce regulation on the UK. But few of us know what this actually means. **Here are five of the key minimum rights at work we'd stand to lose:**

- 20 minutes break if you work more than 6 hours
- 11 hours rest from work each day
- At least 1 day off a week
- 4 weeks paid holiday a year
- Not working more than 48 hours a week if you don't want to

WOULD YOU MISS ANY OF THESE IF YOU LOST THEM?

Please share this image and help let others know what might be at stake.

g+ w t f TUC

stopemploymentwrongs.org

STRONG UNIONS

Organising at work and in the community

WE WILL

- ▶ **bring unions together to strengthen bargaining and campaigning power**
- ▶ **train young activists in organising and campaigning**
- ▶ **work with the Young Members' Forum to attract and involve young workers.**

Strong trade unions are a vital part of any fair and prosperous society. Societies with weak unions are less fair and more unequal – and that holds back economic growth.

Unions and the TUC face a range of challenges, many outlined in this document. We need to organise in the community as well as the workplace and strengthen our campaign ability. Defending living standards and pressing for fair pay will be top of the union negotiating agenda, and will enjoy full TUC support.

We have lost members as the cuts and recession bite and collective bargaining coverage has declined. Trade unionism is under attack, through restrictions on facility time and continued campaigning against union representation from fringe right-wing groups.

Around the world, trade unions are the organisations that stand up for workers' rights, and we will campaign in solidarity for their rights as well as our own.

A core role of the TUC has always been the support of unions in their day-to-day work through training and help for officers and lay reps. This will continue as strongly as ever. Learning is becoming a mainstream element of union work, helping recruit and retain thousands of new members and activists.

Unionlearn exists to support that union learning; it is a vital part of the modern face of the TUC and trade unionism.

The deficit didn't cause the problems Britain faces. Instead, it is a symptom of a long-term issue we have to address. Our economy doesn't have the right balance between financial services and traditional industries, spending cuts and the investment needed to get growth back in our economy, and the privileges of the super-rich and the rest of us. Instead of spending cuts that will widen the economic gaps and make our system even more unfair, the focus should be on restoring balance so the economy will work for ordinary British families again. **We need a future that works.**

Education

Makes

All!

OUR CAMPAIGN

We will develop and support TUC Unemployed Workers Centres and the work of local Trades Union Councils.

We will explore the value of a new 'gateway' to union membership for younger workers in non-union workplaces.

We will build on the work of TUC education, the TUC Organising Academy and Leading Change programmes to deliver organising and campaigning training for unions and their activists

In each TUC region there will be briefings for union officers, organisers and activists regional briefings on union membership, facility time and reaching out to new sectors.

We will support new priority campaigns identified by the Young Workers' Conference – promoting trade unionism to those who need it most.

We will promote effective health and safety at work, and support health and safety reps.

GET INVOLVED

🌐 www.unionreps.org.uk and www.unionprofessionals.org.uk – the TUC's online resources for lay reps and full-time officers.

