

# PART 7

## TRADES UNIONISM UNDER ATTACK

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SINCE the early sixties industrial relations, under-investment and low productivity have been high in the list of Britain's domestic problems. This chapter is concerned mainly with the first. Disagreement between employer and employed over the division of the national product, whether the employer is the State, the municipality, a public corporation or a private firm, is to be expected. But other free countries seem better able than Britain to stop short of open conflict, which frequently is damaging to both sides and increasingly imposes hardship on the community as a whole.

In such a situation there has, of course, to be a scapegoat and Trades Unionism has been an obvious nominee for the role. Yet with all their power it is not the Unions which make the decisions on national policy that fan the embers of discontent in industry; decisions on investment, wages freeze or restraint, taxation, price controls, subsidies, factory closures, the introduction of new technologies, consultative or dictatorial management. Trades Unionists are often as much sinned against as sinning. And to misquote John Donne, each one of them is part of the mainland of mankind and for him, too, the bell tolls when wrong industrial decisions are made or, what is sometimes worse, no decisions are made at all.

However, it is not the purpose of this book to attempt an analysis of our poor industrial relations. There is an extensive and growing literature on the subject and the only conclusion so far reached is that we have not yet found a workable answer to the problem. To return to USDAW, its own involvement, and its attitude to the policies of the Labour Governments of 1964-1970, Heath's Tory Government of 1970 and the two Labour Governments of 1974. Chapter 27 brought us to the Statement of Intent in 1964 by the Wilson Government, the TUC and representative organisations of employers. It was hoped that this would be the beginning of a new era, in which

greater energy would be infused into Britain's industrial performance, *there would be fewer strikes* and a buoyant economy would enable Unions to carry out their role of improving the living standards of their members.

It was, however, to be a false dawn. The Government soon decided that the economic indicators gave evidence that the economy was "over heated". To bring down the temperature it was considered necessary in the Spring of 1965 that there should be economies in national expenditure, while increases in wages, other incomes, and prices must be restrained. As strikes still continued to be a problem, a Royal Commission on Trades Unions and Employers' Associations was appointed under the chairmanship of Lord Donovan, to examine the whole territory of industrial relations. In the summer of 1966 a standstill on prices and incomes was imposed for six months, to be followed by a period of six months "severe restraint". In one form or another supervision of, and checks on, increases in wages and other incomes continued for most of the period up to the General Election of June, 1970, when Labour was defeated and Edward Heath became Prime Minister.

Like other Unions, USDAW was prepared to accept that wages could not be left out of the policies through which a Labour Government was seeking to revitalise the economy, although, as we shall see, there was increasing disillusionment as time went on. What neither USDAW nor other Unions would accept was an attempt by the Government to bring Trades Unions within a new framework of law, affecting the right to strike and subjecting Unions and their members to new legal penalties.

The Donovan Commission had reported in 1969. It largely rejected demands for legal curbs on unofficial strikes; and for improvement in industrial relations it looked to more realistic systems of wage bargaining that would take into account the increasing tendency for negotiated settlements to be based on plant or company. It made a great many other recommendations, some of them favourable to Unions, but including provision for legal supervision and intervention in some aspects of Trades Union activity. In general, however, it was a cautious report, which recognised that legal intervention could play only a marginal part in improving industrial relations.

The Wilson Government, however, had decided on legislation, and its intentions were foreshadowed in a White Paper *In Place of Strife*, published on 17th January, 1969. The intended legislation would have established a statutory right to be a member of a Trade Union, powers to compel employers to recognise Unions, and in the case of unofficial strikes, powers to order a return to work for 28 days (the "conciliation" or "cooling-off" period) and to instruct employers to restore the status quo during this period. A proposed ballot before an official strike took place was dropped in the Bill which followed the White Paper.

Much of the White Paper was acceptable in itself. What angered the Trades Union Movement was the dilution of free negotiations by new legal processes. The Government's proposals brought lawyers and the law into a wide field of industrial relations where, the TUC contended, unfettered negotiation and conciliation were more likely to produce mutually satisfactory agreements than the hair-splitting of legal argument. Particularly offensive was the proposed creation of new institutions which would have power to order strike ballots, impose financial penalties in some cases, and in certain circumstances to attach the earnings of workpeople who offended.

USDAW's attitude was expressed by a resolution of the Executive Council in March, before the actual Bill was published. It declared: "That whilst recognising the value of proposed Government legislation to strengthen Trades Union organisation . . . [the Executive] expresses its strong opposition to those sections of the White Paper which seek to impose restraints upon Trade Unionists and their Officials. It further pledges full support to the TUC General Council in any action it deems necessary to secure the withdrawal of the Government's proposals in relation to strike ballots, cooling-off periods and financial penalties . . ." The April meeting of the Executive also urged the General Council of the TUC to convene a special Congress, at which the Council should submit alternative proposals to obviate the need for Government action. There was strong criticism of the Government at the ADM of 1969. R. B. Seabrook, from the chair, summing it up in the advice to Harold Wilson and his colleagues: ". . . be guided by those you have known to be your friends for so many years. If you refuse to do so, then you must accept full responsibility for the

consequences”.

The special Congress was held at Croydon on 5th June, 1969, and rejected legal intervention and penalties by an overwhelming majority — 8,252,000 to 359,000. For the greater part of the next two weeks members of the General Council were almost camping out at 10 Downing Street as they sought a basis of agreement with the Prime Minister and Mrs. Barbara Castle, the Secretary of State for Employment and Productivity.

Eventually, a “solemn and binding undertaking” was drawn up in which the Council undertook to intervene where a dispute had led or was likely to lead to unconstitutional action. Where they considered it unreasonable to order a return to work, the Council would seek to promote a settlement. But if they considered there should not be a stoppage “before procedure is exhausted” they would “place an obligation” on the Unions concerned to obtain immediate resumption of work so that negotiations could proceed. Expulsion from Congress would be a last resort should an affiliated Union or Unions reject the advice of the Council. This was accepted by the Government. The first attempt at tighter statutory supervision of Unions was stillborn. But another was almost in sight.

Before coming to the Heath Government, however, we must review USDAW's policies during the years when Labour was seeking to control the level of wage increases. There is not enough space to go through in detail the Government's variations on the basic theme, but the resolutions of successive annual meetings and one or two quotations reflect the changing mood of the Union.

Nineteen-sixty-five, as we saw in Chapter 27, was the year of qualified acceptance of wages policy. In 1966 the ADM again accepted the need for a Socialist incomes policy with price stability, rapid economic growth and the reduction of inequalities of wealth and income. Nineteen-sixty-seven reaffirmed support of a prices and incomes policy as opposed to the alternative of a free-for-all, but regretted the decision to operate a freeze and near freeze on all wages, which, it said, was bound to fall most heavily on lower paid workers. By 1968 the ADM was both supporting and attacking wages policy. Two resolutions called for opposition. Two reaffirmed support (one with various qualifications) and in both cases endorsed the procedure

through which the TUC itself was then vetting wage claims.

By 1969 *In Place of Strife* was on the agenda and there was growing disillusionment with the economic and industrial relations policies of the Labour Government. One resolution expressed firm opposition to repressive legislation against the right of Trades Unions to press claims for a living wage and declared that collective bargaining was essential to an economic system where there was no overall planned growth in incomes. A second spoke of an increasing gap between the aims and policies of the Labour Party and those of the Labour Government, which, it said, could only be repaired by the adoption of Socialist policies. But USDAW, as ever, was loyal to the Party and having expressed its dissent the ADM also called on Executive, officials and members to do all in their power to secure the return of a Labour Government at the then impending election. This resolution recognised areas of disagreement but believed that regard must be paid to the progress that had been made in difficult circumstances. By the ADM of 1970 the General Election was only a few weeks off and the meeting pledged unconditional support to the Party in a resolution declaring that with an election in sight it was not the time to debate "... left-wing ideals" but to "... show the country that the Labour Movement is united". A second resolution pledged "total support" for Labour. On the wages issue, however, the meeting carried a resolution declaring "strong opposition" to the Government's policy on prices and incomes.

One or two quotations will illustrate the feeling behind these various declarations. At the TUC of 1966 Alfred Allen left the platform to support a resolution moved by T&GWU against the pay freeze. USDAW, he said, remained a firm supporter of the Labour Party but "The Union could not support the idea of a wage freeze when it knew from past experience that Trade Unionists never caught up with lost wages; that prices still continued to rise and profits and rents could catch up subsequently".

In its document on *Wages and Economic Policy* for 1967 the Executive Council reiterated the Union's support for a prices and incomes policy based on an expanding economy but totally rejected a policy based on the assumption "... that the share of the national income going to working people will remain the

same." In particular, as a Union with many low paid members, they were concerned to ensure that the "... standards of some workpeople should move forward faster than those of others and that those who should receive special consideration above others are those who are known to be in the ranks of the low paid. To date the Executive Council are far from satisfied that the small percentage of the population who are at present in receipt of a disproportionate share of the nation's income, including non-wage income, have been notably affected by incomes policy as it has operated so far".

In his Presidential New Year message of 1969 R. B. Seabrook said that "The Government's own policies have alienated many of those on whom a Labour Government ought naturally to be able to rely. We can only hope it will speedily find alternative policies which will enable it to recover in good time the support of those essential to its survival at the next election". Exactly a year later Alfred Allen wrote in *New Dawn* "... the Government has been wrong in placing so much emphasis in the past upon restraint of incomes. It should be giving its undivided attention to encouraging growth and productivity so that enough wealth is created to allow our people to earn the wage increases they so rightfully deserve."

The widening gap between USDAW, other Unions and the Government must, of course, be seen against the overall national background. Britain's industrial performance continued to be poor, in spite of efforts to improve efficiency and stimulate greater enterprise. There was no take-off in productivity and while productivity agreements were encouraged too many of them were cosmetic exercises rather than genuine projects to reduce unit costs. The old, and to be frank, frequently illusory, belief that "British is Best" seemed to have surrendered to a conviction that what is foreign is better, expressed in floods of imports, particularly of consumer goods. The balance of payments wobbled on an unstable tightrope.

The Labour Government could be criticised for lack of consistent and firmly pursued action for radical change, too many calls for sacrifice which were not backed up by policies which convinced workpeople that restraint now was a worthwhile price to pay for better times tomorrow. But the Government was struggling against very heavy odds. It did tighten up

the economy and it did improve the "social wage", that part of income which is represented by health and welfare services, education and housing, pensions and other cash benefits. But the social wage, though real in its effect on our lives, is not yet accepted on the shop floor as part of income, and it is doubtful whether it has ever yet influenced a wage claim or other decisions of a Union.

Now the Heath Government of 1970-74 comes on the scene. Through various "Phases" of pay policy control of wages continued. The new Prime Minister was also determined not only to grasp the nettle of industrial relations but to give it a much firmer tug than had been planned by the Labour Government. In 1970 the Government published an Industrial Relations Bill which again set the Trades Union Movement ablaze. Like *In Place of Strife*, this Bill offered some of the concessions to Unions which had been recommended by Donovan. But it linked them to a degree of legal supervision and penalties that the Unions found more offensive even than those proposed by the Labour Government.

The concessions included legal enforcement of an "agency shop", a form of compulsory recognition which could be secured by Unions that conformed to certain conditions. In general terms, the agency shop could be established against hostile employers through a complex legal procedure, plus a majority vote of the workers concerned. It could also be ended by a further ballot if not less than twenty per cent of the firm's employees petitioned for this to be held. A worker who objected could avoid membership of a Union which secured an agency shop agreement by paying the equivalent of contributions to a charity or by paying Union contributions but refusing to become a member. The interpretation of these sections alone — and the clauses which qualified them — could have provided a rich harvest for lawyers.

The agency shop was the carrot. Behind it was the stick. A new register of Trades Unions was to be established, and to qualify for benefits under the Act, such as the agency shop, Unions must be entered on this register and become subject to the wide powers over their rules which were vested in a new Chief Registrar of Trade Unions and Employers' Associations. A new Industrial Relations Court was to be set up, of equivalent



status to the High Courts, with powers to act on many industrial issues, such as legally enforceable collective agreements (for which provision was made in the Act) and on a variety of what were called "unfair industrial practices" that were scattered throughout the Act.

As Victor Feather, by then Secretary of the TUC in succession to George Woodcock, put it the Bill "... intends to take responsibility away from working people and give it to lawyers and officials. A central feature ... is the proposal to register Trades Unions. In other words, a Union must have a State licence to operate and it can only have the licence if it conforms to the Government's idea of good behaviour". The TUC also pointed out that the Registrar "... while he will not formally be a servant of the administration he will undoubtedly be susceptible to influence from that quarter. It is a small step from the enforcement of Trade Union rules to the determination of their content ...".

The opposition of the TUC, in which USDAW played a leading part, was long and vigorous, in the Country and in Parliament. Another special congress was held at Croydon on 18th March, 1971, by which date it was virtually certain that the Bill would become law. Proposals of the General Council were adopted: (1) "Strongly" advising that affiliated Unions should not register under the impending Act. (2) that the Parliamentary Labour Party should be asked for assurances that the Act would be repealed by the next Labour Government, (3) that affiliated Unions should not enter into legally binding agreements, (4) that Trades Unionists be advised not to serve on the Industrial Relations Commission (which had been set up by the Labour Party to assist in improving the general quality of worker-employer relations) and to withdraw from local Industrial Tribunals.

By the date of the TUC in September the Industrial Relations Act was already on the Statute Book. The Croydon decision was endorsed. But so, too, was a composite resolution sponsored by the AUEW (Engineers Section), the T&GWU and the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers. This referred to the fact that since Croydon certain Unions had indicated that they would not implement the decision on deregistration, and called on the General Council to "instruct" (against the

“strongly advise” of Croydon) affiliated Unions not to register. This was carried 5,625,000 to 4,500,000, a majority of 1,125,000, while the vote for Croydon was 4,915,000 to 4,634,000, a majority of 281,000. USDAW voted against the composite, Alfred Allen saying that it went much further than Croydon and at that specially called meeting Congress had made its decision.

The battle was on. And for USDAW a year of controversy was imminent. It will be the subject of the next chapter.

# 31 IN OR OUT OF THE TUC?

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NINETEEN seventy two was the most critical year since the General Strike of 1926 for the British Trades Union Movement. For USDAW in particular it was a year when it could have found itself outside the TUC for the second time in the Union's history.

The Industrial Relations Act became law in 1972. All Unions registered under the Act of 1871 (as USDAW was) would be transferred to a provisional register, and, unless they gave notice to the contrary, would later go on the new register provided for in the Act. If a Union gave notice to deregister it would, in the eyes of the law, become "an organisation of workers" subject to the risks and penalties of the new legislation but denied the rights conferred on registered Unions. For every affiliated Union that had not already made its decision the question of the hour became: do we follow the decision of the TUC and deregister or do we register, risk being expelled from the TUC and count on the Act being repealed by the next Labour Government?

USDAW had presented a *united front* in fighting as vigorously as any other Union to prevent the Act reaching the Statute Book. But when that campaign failed to move the Heath Government, the Union became a house divided. A strong section contended that they should register to protect the funds and operations of the Union, take such benefits as the Act provided, seek out and widen the loopholes that can be found in most legislation, and continue to agitate for repeal. The agency shop provision figured particularly in this thinking. Some Co-operative branches, and some in private trade, that had established Union membership as a condition of employment feared that their negotiated but voluntary closed shop could be "captured" by registered Unions seeking to establish legally authorised agency shops at the expense of USDAW. Conversely, it was argued that the right to establish an agency

shop would make it easier to enrol those workers who took all the benefits won by Union action but refused to pay for the service by joining USDAW — the “free riders” as they were called.

A decision had to be made by the end of the year and the Executive Council decided to support deregistration. At the annual meeting of 1972, held at Eastbourne, the afternoon session on April 30th was declared a special meeting to consider a proposition by the Executive for an alteration of rules that would have made USDAW “. . . a Trade Union *not* registered under the Industrial Relations Act, 1971”. To this the Nottingham Castle branch submitted an amendment which deleted the vital word “not”.

The Executive proposition was moved by the General Secretary. He restated the historic case against subjecting Trades Union processes to legal decisions, but accepted that “opinion in the Union and probably in many Unions, was . . . genuinely and sincerely divided about the wisdom of deregistering”. He examined the fear that the agency shop might attract members away from USDAW to registered Unions but suggested, on the evidence, that it was possible to exaggerate this danger. “Even if [other Unions] register, it would certainly not follow automatically that employers would recognise them and concede agency shop arrangements, nor that they would be able to establish these rights through the National Industrial Relations Court”. It could, he contended, equally be argued that fear of losing members could become a reality if they did register, were then expelled from the TUC and lost the protection of the Bridlington Agreement (the procedure through which the TUC mediated on disputes over recruitment between affiliated Unions).

Some branches, he said, might argue that the Union should defer a final decision until they saw what was done by other TUC affiliated Unions. The best answer to that was that up to a few days previously 91 Unions with close on eight million members had already taken action on non-registration, while 32 with a membership of over 600,000 had opted for registration. (The total membership of the TUC was then 9,894,881).

The Nottingham Castle amendment was moved by J. O'Hagan. “Whether we like it or not”, he said, “the *Industrial*

Relations Bill is now an Act and is part and parcel of the laws that govern us". They should not let their heads be governed by their hearts but by "... the practical realities that face our Union". Had those who supported deregistration considered "... what the courts can do when it comes to awarding damages against an unregistered organisation?" The options were to deregister and put funds and membership at risk, "... to gamble with the very existence of our Union. Or you can vote for this amendment and use those parts of the Act that will be advantageous to our members".

The debate that followed was one of the longest in the history of an annual meeting which had seen some marathon speech-making in its time. Twenty-two speakers from the floor came to the rostrum, to whom could be added the General Secretary and R. B. Seabrook, who, in his presidential address, had made clear his own support for deregistration. Even through the medium of cold print, read several years after the event, the quality of the debate comes through as an exercise by men and women who spoke only after they had thought deeply on a serious problem. There was some repetition in the arguments for and against registration, but that was inevitable when the issue was so clear-cut. From the hundreds who did not speak there was an attentive hearing, occasional interruptions but little of the witless heckling that in some organisations attempts to deny free speech. Only a few speeches can briefly be mentioned here, but in the extracts which follow an attempt has been made to balance them pro and con.

W. J. Jones (Joint Divisional Officer, South Wales and Western Division) demanded "Are we, as a Union, to provide the Tory Government with the breakthrough which they have for so long sought?"

Mrs. A. Wise (Birmingham Dry Goods) declared "This battle is not of our making and it is quite impossible to find a way of evading it".

F. Yaffe (Manchester Dry Goods No. 1) gave the advice "Register... if all Unions register we can fight the Act within the law".

G. Anderson (Dyce Bacon) "... the very basis of democracy is acceptance of the rule of law. If we are to maintain... the basic freedom of the individual... then it follows, of necessity,

that we observe explicitly the laws of the land”.

D. G. Davies (Area Organiser, Eastern Division) argued that the fundamental issue was not registration, it was “. . . whether we play our part and assist in maintaining the unity . . . of the Trades Union Movement by adhering to the policy of the TUC . . . or alternatively by going it alone and threatening that unity”.

A. Black (Edinburgh and Leith SCWS) said one of the basic purposes of the Act was to split the Trades Union Movement. If USDAW registered it would be the first step to causing a split inside the Movement.

B. Connelly (Edinburgh St. Cuthberts) said the Union had to recruit over 100,000 new members each year to keep going. “Under the penalties of deregistration it would be almost impossible to recruit over 100,000 per annum”.

J. V. Bailey (National Officer) reminded the Conference that one of the former Unions of USDAW [the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees] was expelled\* from the TUC and “came back with honour and dignity”. He referred to the eight million members of Unions supporting the TUC and asked how many of them were consulted “. . . in the same way as we are consulting the membership here”.

So the debate continued, much on the lines indicated by the brief extracts that have been given. When it came to the vote, the amendment from Nottingham Castle was carried, 118,000 For, 111,005 Against. As a two-thirds majority was required for a change of rule, the amendment was lost. The Executive proposition was then put to the Conference and was defeated, 93,812 For, 151,299 Against. USDAW was in limbo, still in the TUC, but with a large immediate question mark over its continuing membership.

Following the annual meeting the Executive Council and officials set themselves to make the best of the ADM vote. The Executive made an early decision, which was announced to the ADM, that it would not use the machinery of the Industrial Relations Court for what might be regarded as improper membership gains at the expense of other Unions that were

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\* As we saw in an earlier chapter, AUCE was not expelled from the TUC, but left of its own accord.

deregistered, and that the Union would not profit from any tax concessions that might arise from continued registration. They would be passed over to the TUC. The Union remained on the register of Trade Unions under the 1971 Act; to which, failing notice to the contrary, it had automatically been transferred in view of its previous registration under the 1871 Act. Branches were advised of the conditions applicable to a registered Union. The General Council had been advised of the decision at the special delegate meeting. Subsequently, under the rules of Congress, USDAW and other Unions that had made similar decisions was summoned to meet the General Council and in the case of USDAW the meeting took place on 17th July.

By this date opinion in the Trades Union Movement generally had become firmly committed to deregistration. Some Unions had already experienced the penalties provided for in the Act. At the time of USDAW's ADM it could be argued that there was still uncertainty on whether there would be a general move off the register. There had been hints at the ADM that Unions which has declared their intention to deregister might change their mind. If that argument had ever been tenable it was no longer so by mid-July.

USDAW's representatives argued their case before the General Council. But the verdict was peremptory. Two days after the meeting the General Secretary was notified that the Council had decided "... that continuing registration of your Union under the 1971 Industrial Relations Act was contrary to the declared principles of Congress and therefore your Union should be suspended forthwith from membership of Congress". It had, however, also been decided to recommend to the 1972 Congress that the General Council should be authorised to remove the suspension if the Union complied with the Congress policy of non-registration before 31st December, 1972. At Eastbourne on 30th April expulsion had been a possibility. By 19th July it was well on the way to becoming a fact.

A special meeting of the Executive Council was held on 30th July. It decided (although not with complete unanimity, as we shall see) that the imminent *fact*, as compared with the speculative possibility of expulsion from the TUC constituted a change

of circumstances that justified the calling of a special delegate meeting on 20th August. The assembly hall of the recently opened new headquarters of the CWS in Manchester was booked and the summons went out to the Union's 1,134 branches. For USDAW, it was the first ever special delegate meeting, although, as we have seen in earlier chapters, such meetings had been quite frequent in the days of AUCE.

It was a tense and sober gathering that assembled in the ornate hall of New Century House on 20th August. Only a mile *or so* away was the hall where the TUC had been formed in 1868; today, the oldest, and probably the best known Trades Union federation in the world. Great and powerful as many individual Unions now are, the TUC, as well as its practical purpose, has an almost mystical significance as the symbol of the hopes and fears, the victories and the defeats, of many generations of working people. No delegate that morning wished to see USDAW outside a body that had meant so much to his class, and in which his Union had played a distinguished part. Each could only act according to his convictions but it is probable that even those who continued to stand by registration did so in the belief that any break would be only temporary.

In opening the meeting, the President, R. B. Seabrook, declared that their experience had confirmed what they said at the time, that the Industrial Relations Act would not improve industrial relations but would make them worse. "The Government itself admits this, because it is actively considering and preparing changes in the Act . . . Our own failure to carry out the policy decided by the TUC, to which we were a party, has been seen by other Trades Unionists as helping the enemy . . .". He described Trades Unionism as ". . . a Movement for the transformation of our society into a juster, happier, far more prosperous and more progressive society" in which men and women were no longer prepared to be ". . . employed or unemployed at the whims of employers or investors or at the dictates of an out-of-date economic system". He went on: "Where is USDAW to be in all this? Are we to be on the sidelines . . . complaining because our members are not benefiting as we would like them to do from the results of the changes? Or are we to be part of that Movement, as we always have been up to now?"



The issue was put squarely in the only proposition before the meeting — "That the Executive Council be authorised to take any steps necessary to maintain the Union's affiliation to the Trades Union Congress." This was moved by the General Secretary. He described the progression of events which, since the ADM, had culminated in the notice of suspension. The Executive, he said, understood the fears of some members that deregistration would expose them to poaching by other Unions and would threaten the Union's closed shop agreements in the Co-ops and elsewhere. But they disagreed with the reality of these fears, and with the concurrent hope that the agency shop would enable the Union to catch up with the free riders. The TUC itself was equally confirmed in the view that it was faithfully carrying out the instruction of the special Congress in September "... a decision, whether you like it or not, taken democratically in the same way as many others over the hundred years of its history".

The TUC and the Labour Party, he said, had broadly agreed the outline of legislation that would replace the Act and strengthen the position of the individual worker and of Unions in a variety of ways. Inside the TUC USDAW would have an opportunity to play its full part in the process. "Outside, we would be ignored".

An early speaker in opposition was J. E. Priest (Walsall), who had seconded the resolution to register at the Eastbourne ADM. He contended that nothing had changed since then. "We knew that we would be suspended because of the precedent that had been established" (in the case of the Seamen's Union).

G. Anderson (Dyce Bacon) asked "... are we seriously suggesting that the decisions of the ADM are conditional upon acceptance by the TUC General Council?"

G. H. Cree (CIS Agents), after describing the problems in seeking an agency shop agreement with the CIS, reminded the meeting that an agency shop was not immutable — one fifth of the employees in a firm could challenge its continued existence at any time.

T. R. Hayes (Area Organiser, Midlands Division) reminded the meeting that they had been able to establish the closed shop in many cases without resort to legal powers. "So we are coming out from under the umbrella of the TUC in order to

get the agency shops which there is no guarantee of getting anyway, and when we have had 100 per cent membership branches for many years . . . without any Act at all”.

Two former Presidents spoke, one for deregistration, one *against*, and one member of the Executive Council expressed his dissent from the Council's proposal. Walter Padley, MP, pointed out that if USDAW was expelled the TUC would be bound to ensure that some organisation within the Congress was set up to organise shop and distributive workers. R. Hanes (Royal Arsenal Co-operative) urged the meeting to continue with the policy that was set out at the ADM. Executive Councillor J. C. Callahan declared that the full consequences of deregistration were foreseen at Eastbourne and accepted by the membership. Nothing had changed since “except this move today to try to get us to stand on our heads”.

Altogether, there were 34 speakers, including the President and General Secretary. The speeches generally followed much the lines of those at Eastbourne, with rather more emphasis on the agency shop. At the end of the day the voting was 132,248 for the Executive proposal, 105,793 against.

A year later the issue was revived at the annual meeting. West Yorkshire Co-operative branch submitted a proposition calling for reinstatement on the register “. . . within 14 days of the conclusion of this ADM”. The report of the meeting states that “The proposition was defeated overwhelmingly”.

USDAW was still in the TUC. Rightly so, for “splendid isolation” would have been a sorry role for a Union dedicated to the principle that only in unity do working people find their true strength.

## 32 WOMEN IN THE UNION

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IT is probable that there were women among the 800 members who joined the Manchester District Co-operative Employees' Association in its foundation year of 1891. The Lancashire base of the infant Union contained many Co-operative Societies operating in trades such as millinery, dressmaking, drapery, which were exclusively or partly staffed by women. Lancashire women had a long tradition of independence of mind and action, stemming from generations of skilled employment in the manufacture of cotton textiles, and those in Co-operative service were unlikely to have ignored this new movement for reform of wages and hours among their male colleagues.

Whether they were in at the beginning or not, the Committee of the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees — as the MDCEA had become — began in 1898 to list women separately in the statistics of membership. In that year, as we saw in Chapter six, they numbered 127, with 96 in the Northern District, 29 in the Manchester District and 2 lonely pioneers in Airedale (later to become the Yorkshire District).

For the record, the Societies in which they worked were: *Northern*: Annfield Plain 23; Birtley 11; Bishop Auckland 7; Blaydon 2; Blyth 2; Easington Lane 1; Carlisle 1; Haswell 5; Jarrow 1; Murton 2; New Brancepeth 2; New Washington 10; Seaton Delaval 1; Sherburn Hill 2; Stanhope and Weardale 3; Station Town 3; Tantobie 1; Tow Law 2; Wallsend 4; West Stanley 12; Willington 1. Most of these Societies were in County Durham. *Manchester*: Burnley 1; Droylsden 8; Middleton and Tonge 3; Bulwell 2; Oldham Industrial 1; Pendleton 1; Stockport 1; Toxteth 1; Ulverston 3; Westhoughton 3; Wigan 1; Winnington 2; Worcester 1; Workington 1. Most of these were in Lancashire. *Airedale*: Halifax 1; Hebden Bridge 1.

Two years later, when the new century began, the number had increased to 171, with Northern still in the lead (120),

Manchester 42, Airedale (by now renamed Yorkshire) 3 and a new Midlands District 6. It was not until 1980 that the figure passed the thousand mark to reach 1,020 (the Union's total membership was then 23,122).

The first reference to women members in the text of the annual report was in 1909 when the Executive Council proudly announced an increase for the year of more than fifty per cent — from 1,020 to 1,594. This, said the report, was partly due to the "... efforts of the Women's Co-operative Guild to enrol as Trades Unionists the women employed by Co-operative Societies, and to secure for them better wages and conditions of labour". Special joint committees of the Guild and the Union had been formed in the Districts. The thanks to the Guild were well deserved. But nearly three quarters of a century later we can add a tribute to the women already in the Union. Many of them must have worked hard among their colleagues in persuading them to follow up the Guild's advocacy in the only way that mattered — by signing up with AUCE.

By the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 the total was well over 5,479. A precise figure could not be given, said the report for that year, because fewer than half the Union's branches had completed the necessary forms. When the war ended in 1918 the Union was getting complete figures, and they showed 36,422 female members out of a total membership of 87,134, equal to 41.8 per cent. Of these women, 32,539 were employed in the Co-operative Movement and 3,883 in private trade (AUCE was by then carrying out the "open door" policy of recruiting outside the Co-operatives).

This vast increase was, of course, due to the recruitment of men for the Forces or war industry. We saw in Chapter Eight that equal pay for "substituted females", as the new members were somewhat ambiguously called, first became an issue during the war of 1914-18. We shall return to the subject of equal pay later in this Chapter.

As men came back from the Forces after 1918, inevitably there was a reduction in the number of women members. To some extent, however, this was counter-balanced through the amalgamation of AUCE and the Warehouse Workers' Union in 1921, as the latter Union had a considerable female membership. Moreover, the war had broken the traditional pattern

which more or less limited the employment of women to textile manufacture, the garment trades and a few other industries, some sections of retailing and domestic service. In addition, new technologies were being introduced in industry, and distribution itself was on the eve of big changes. Unfortunately, most of these developments were to be based on the premise that women would continue to be a source of cheap labour.

By 1921, the female membership of NUDAW was 36,902 (35 per cent of the total): a figure it was not to reach again for thirteen years. The run-down began when the great slump exploded in the economy during the early twenties. The total membership of the new Union fell by 20,273 between 1921 and 1922 and of this loss 10,666 were women members whose proportion of the membership fell to 31 per cent. As the Union fought its way out of the trough of industrial collapse, the number of members gradually recovered and topped 100,000 in 1928. Women then represented 28 per cent of the total, and although their number continued to increase the proportion remained at this percentage until 1938, when it increased to 29.63 per cent.

The twenties and thirties were bad years for millions of male workers. They were desperate years for women who had to seek employment to live. In the savage wage cuts of the twenties the reductions in women's rates were generally greater than those for men. Women were hounded out of unemployment benefit on any pretext that could be deduced from increasingly discriminatory regulations. Many were threatened with loss of benefit if they would not go into domestic service. Strong protests by NUDAW to the Ministry of Labour in 1923 led to an understanding that no woman who could claim to be a skilled or trained worker should thus be penalised by local adjudicating committees.

Throughout the mid-twenties in particular, cheaper juvenile labour was used to replace adult women. Trade Boards and Joint Industrial Councils, particularly in trades largely dependent on women workers, were one line of defence against deteriorating conditions and generally NUDAW was able to beat off attacks on minimum rates in trades where this machinery existed. Thus, an attempt in 1927 by employers on some of

these bodies to increase the age/wage base from 18 to 21, which would have meant large reductions for many women members, was defeated. But taken together, those two decades were a bleak time for working women. Only those who were wise enough to seek the shelter of a Union such as NUDAW could count on some measure of protection.

We are now at the eve of the Second World War. Once again women poured into the shops and, once again, the Union worked strenuously to organise them. By 1945 they were 39.51 per cent of the Union's membership, a proportion very similar to that of 1918. But there was a dramatic difference in the experience which followed the two wars. After 1918 women membership had sharply declined. After 1945 it continued to grow, both in absolute terms and as a percentage. Ten years after the end of the war the 1955 percentage was 45.54 (total Union membership, 346,135). Ten years later it was 49 per cent (total membership 349,230). In 1970 it passed the halfway mark at 51.8 per cent. By 1975 it was 59.3 per cent and by 1978 60.8 per cent (281,180 out of a total membership of 462,178).

#### REPRESENTATION ON EXECUTIVE AND DIVISIONAL COUNCILS

So much for the arithmetic of women in the Union. The figures inevitably raise two questions. What part did women members play in the democracy of NUDAW and, today, of USDAW? How far are they represented in attendance at branch meetings, on Divisional and Executive Councils, Federations, at the annual delegate meeting? There is a single answer to both questions. Women do not as yet play a part in the Union that remotely measures their number. This is not a problem confined to USDAW; it is common to other Unions that organise women workers. Nevertheless it is a problem that has concerned USDAW for many years past, and still awaits a solution.

On a national scale the Union has comprehensive relations with those organisations that concentrate on the problems and aspirations of women in industry. Since 1920 it has been associated with the National Joint Committee of Working Women's Organisations, and it plays an active part in the annual TUC Conference of Unions Catering for Women Workers, the similar conference of the Scottish TUC, the

National Conference of Labour Women and other bodies concerned with the status and interests of women. A Women's Department was established in 1917 under Ellen Wilkinson (who had been appointed as the first woman Organiser two years earlier), with the twin tasks of increasing membership and encouraging the recruits to take an active part in Union affairs. She was also the Union's representative on the National Joint Committee.

We have seen in previous chapters that women members could be as militant and determined as their male colleagues when strike action was necessary. In both World Wars they kept going some branches that had been denuded of men. But, particularly after the first war, this involvement did not carry over to any large extent in the post-war years. The 1922 annual report deplored that "Many women who were enthusiastic on committees during the war seem now to regard their job as done and they leave the Union administration to the men". Statistically there are no comprehensive figures covering the level of activity by women members. But one measurement can be made from the lists of Executive and Divisional members published in the annual reports.

In the thirty years existence of the Manchester District Co-operative Employees' Association and the AUCE only three women appear as District Councillors. The best known, was Miss H. Kidd, who served on the Southern Council from 1913 to her death in 1917. An employee of the Women's Co-operative Guild, she had been an active member of the Union since joining in 1912. Although District Councils were so reduced in membership during the first war that elections had to be suspended for a time, only two other women served, both in 1918, when Miss Clark succeeded Miss Kidd on Southern and Mrs. Flynn is listed on the Northern Council.

Altogether 53 women had served on District/Divisional Councils between 1891 and 1977. But only six of them are listed in the period between 1918 and 1942: and of these three resigned without attending any meetings. Women members did not begin to make an impact until during and after the Second World War. There were, however, two long service records in the earlier period. Miss A. Brown was elected to the Southern and Eastern Divisional Council in 1922 and continued until

1957. Between 1922 and 1926 she was the only woman on a Divisional Council. Miss E. M. North joined the Cheshire and North Wales Council in 1936 and continued to 1946.

In the Second World War it was 1942 before women began to reach the Divisional Councils in any number. In that year four were elected to the London Divisional Council and one each to Manchester and Yorkshire. By 1945 they were serving on the Midland, London (two), Yorkshire, Cheshire and North Wales Councils. The numbers fluctuated during the post-war years, with a slight overall tendency to increase. Throughout the fifties there were only four years when as many as four women served on Divisional Councils. There was a slight advance in the sixties, when for three years the total was six women Councillors. In the seventies, however, double figures of representation began, with nine women in 1972, fourteen in 1973, sixteen two years later and in 1978, when 90 Divisional Councillors served for all or part of the year, fifteen of them were women. And as this book was nearing completion in the early part of 1979, 22 women were elected to Divisional Councils in the elections of that year.

So much for Divisional representation. We have now reached the more rarified level of the National Executive Council, and very few female names are recorded on the roll of membership. The first two came onto the Council indirectly in 1947. They were Miss M. Scott and Miss C. Smith who were on the Executive of the Shop Assistants' Union at the time of the amalgamation and, as we saw earlier, the Executives of both Unions formed a joint body for a period of two years after the merger, ending in April, 1949.

In 1949 the first two were joined by Miss Edna Falkingham, who had been on NUDAW's Yorkshire Divisional Council since 1942. From 1950 to 1961 she was the only woman on the Executive (for the last seven months under her married name of Edna Hanes). Irene A. Shears joined her in April, 1961 and by 1962 was herself the only woman still serving. She continued on the Executive until 1969. In 1965, however, Mrs. Christina E. Page was also elected. She had been on the Eastern Divisional Council from 1959 and after 1973 she, too, became the sole woman in what has been called the "cabinet of the Union". In 1979 she was joined by two others — Louisa Woolston, of



Stockport Co-operative Branch, and Elizabeth Wardle, of Manchester General Branch.

Mrs. Page also holds one record that is so far unique in the history of the Union. She is the first woman to have presided over the Annual Delegate Meeting. The 1979 ADM was held during the General Election, and "Syd" Tierney, the President, after presiding on the opening day, vacated the chair to continue the Election battle in his constituency of Yardley, Birmingham. Mrs. Page took over for the remainder of the meeting. She filled the role with a distinction equal to any of her male predecessors. In the same year she was awarded the women's Gold Badge of the TUC.

#### EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

Equal pay for equal work is a subject of vital interest to all working women. It is a subject that has figured more often than any other on the agenda of the annual delegate meetings of USDAW and its predecessor, NUWDAW. J. Hallsworth, in 1917, was advocating that equal pay for equal work was essential. In both World Wars it was the Union's objective but we have seen that even in a "sellers' market" for labour it was never fully attained. The issue first began to appear at the ADM in the twenties and thirties. Between 1930 and 1976 more than forty resolutions demanded this act of justice for working women. Most of the earlier resolutions were a straightforward demand for the rate for the job. Later, however, they began to specify a percentage of male rates that should be sought in future negotiations. As time went on the annual meeting became restive at the pace of progress. A 1960 resolution called for 90 per cent of the male rate for dry goods manageresses and female supervisory grades and asked for a progress report on equal pay to be made to the 1961 ADM.

This report took the form of a survey of 81 trades (or special areas of trades), covering Retail Co-operative, Multiple, Wages Councils, JICs, individual employers, and, inside the Co-operative sector, the CWS and the Scottish CWS. One hundred and sixty jobs were specified, such as shop assistants, manageresses, clerks, roundsmen and women, transport workers. For each job the women's rate as a proportion of the male rate was given for 1938 and 1960 or, with the Co-operatives, typical provincial rates were chosen, since in the earlier year there

were no national agreements. Only a selection of the figures can be given here but in general they showed that while there had certainly been progress there was still a long way to travel before equality was reached, and the pace of progress varied considerably from trade to trade:—

PROPORTION OF FEMALE TO MALE RATES IN:  
*RETAIL CO-OPERATIVES*

	1938	1960
Grocery Shop Manageresses . . . . .	57-68%	90%
Grocery Shop Assistants . . . . .	56.7%	72.3%
Dairy Roundswokers . . . . .	73.1%	100%
Bakery Roundswokers . . . . .	58.5%	100%

*MULTIPLE GROCERY*

Manageresses . . . . .	83-84%	85-92%
Shop Assistants . . . . .	61.8%	70.7%

*DEPARTMENT STORES*

Lewis's, Shop Assistants . . . . .	71.4%	72.1%
Owen Owen, Shop Assistants . . . . .	71.4%	72.1%

*RETAIL WAGES COUNCILS AND JICs*

*Drapery, Outfitting, Footwear:*

Manageresses . . . . .	83-84%	85-87%
Shop Assistants . . . . .	64.5%	73-99%

*Food (England and Wales):*

Manageresses . . . . .	82-88%	86-91%
Shop Assistants . . . . .	64.5%	73.4%

*NAAFI*

Warehouse Workers . . . . .	53%	76.9%
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While there had been considerable improvement, the report acknowledged that they had still a long way to go. It was pointed out that "... the definition of functions and the fixing of the rate for the particular job regardless of whether it is performed by a woman or a man are involved". This entailed structural revisions of agreements "... in which the Union's women membership, together with the men, must be prepared to play their full parts in evolving the kind of structure in which the principle of equal pay for equal work can be applied".

The report, which was adopted, was moved for the Executive Council by Mrs. Edna Hanes. One of her points was that while women in national and local government service had won equality, they had to fight for it with demonstrations and

marches "if our women are really in earnest they, too, should demonstrate actively and as a first step take a more active interest in our own Trade Union". Mrs. C. E. Page, not then on the Executive Council, opposed the document and demonstrated disapproval by tearing it up. "It might be better if we went on strike and then perhaps we could get some action" she said.

The ADM continued to show a lively discontent at the pace towards equality. A resolution of 1963 congratulated the Executive on an increase negotiated for male members but deplored the acceptance of increases for females as tending to "... extend rather than shorten the gap". It called on the Executive not to accept any future increases which did not assist in achieving the rate for the job.

C. B. B. Norwood, who moved, said "We pay service to the notion [of equal pay] with our lips, but the women members of the Union are entitled to ask whether, in fact, we have achieved very much more than that". Mrs. Page said she was staggered by the argument that equal pay was something women had to win for themselves. "It is a vital Trade Union matter, and it is important to all our membership". One-tenth of all women workers now had equal pay but it took them fifty years to get it. Women in USDAW were not prepared to wait that long.

Alfred Allen, who replied to the debate, said that Executive opposition to the resolution had nothing to do with equal pay, which they supported 100 per cent. What concerned the Executive was the practical difficulty in carrying out the last part of the resolution. They were often put in the dilemma where an employer was prepared to stop at an increase of 8/- or 9/- for women and if they wished they could stop at that point for men, too. But the employer could say "I am prepared to go a couple more shillings for men". Members would not thank them if they turned down the offer of another two or three shillings for men because they could not push up the female increase as well.

The men, however, seemed in a mood to make a sacrifice for unity, as the resolution was carried, 121,691 to 108,286.

So the debate continued, with the Union frequently reporting advance or, in some cases, complete success in the campaign

for equality. In 1969 92 settlements provided for equal cash increases for men and women and 17 for greater increases to women. Out of the 51 national settlements in 1970, in all but one case the increases for women were larger than for men. This annual report pointed out, however, that as yet there was not equality of opportunity; too few women were appointed to supervisory or management positions. In 1972, when a Government-imposed pay freeze, followed by severe restraint, came into operation the Office of Manpower Economics made special reference to the very rapid progress towards equal pay in the distributive sector compared with industry generally. By the middle seventies the campaign was broadening to include demands for equality of opportunity as well as of pay.

The drive for equality by USDAW was not restricted to those trades and employers with which the Union had direct relations. USDAW played a leading part in keeping the issue before the TUC. It sponsored or supported resolutions at the women's annual conferences organised by the TUC and the Labour Party. It secured a pledge from the Labour Party Conference of 1963 that the next Labour Government would ratify Convention 100 of the International Labour Organisation, which called for equal pay for men and women. As it turned out it was a Tory Government that ratified the Convention in 1971. Very quietly, however, — only one newspaper reported the event — as though the Government feared that too much publicity would bring hordes of women workers pouring into Downing Street to demand equal pay now.

When Labour returned to office in 1974 equal pay legislation was carried a stage further in the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975. In that Statute women workers won a battle. But not the war. Many employers are ingenious in finding means to observe the letter of the Act while repudiating the spirit. Through grading, job designation and other devices women can still find themselves doing what is in essence the same job as men without receiving the same rate of pay. The great increase of women part-timers in distribution provides an opportunity to evade the intention of the Act. Moreover, in industries where almost all the workers are women and there can be no comparability with men's rates, equal pay can mean no more than equality in underpayment. It is still true that there is little

equality in opportunities for promotion.

Acts of Parliament can lay the groundwork for improved conditions. It still needs Trades Union organisation, vigilance and action to ensure that the ground is fully cultivated. There is still a long way to go before USDAW and other Unions enrolling women workers convince the greater number of working women that in unity is their only strength. But despite all the problems, the potential today for a larger membership and a greater personal involvement of women in Trades Unionism is probably greater than at any time this century. USDAW can be counted upon to continue in the forefront of the march towards full equality.

CHANGE is a constant process for organisations as well as individuals. In this history we have followed USDAW through many changes in the past; in structure, in the composition of its membership, in relations with employers. There will be more in the future as the Union adapts itself to new conditions in industry and commerce and in the trades which it organises. We can guess at but cannot know what the future will bring. What can be done in a history is to give a bald and partly statistical account of the Union's corporate structure and leading personnel at a fixed point in time. To do so is the purpose of the present chapter, the "frozen" dates being in some cases December, 1978, in others June or July, 1979.

#### BRANCHES

The bed-rock of the Union is in the branches, and at the end of 1978 USDAW's 462,178 members were mustered in 1,212 branches, scattered throughout every part of the United Kingdom. From Lerwick in the Shetlands to the Western extremity of England in Cornwall, on the Isle of Man and the Isle of Wight, an USDAW member is never far from a Union branch. Some have only a handful of members, others count their numbers in thousands.

They cover a bewildering variety of trades and services. Retail food distribution in supermarkets, hypermarkets and smaller stores, food manufacturing and processing, clerical, creamery and dairy, confectionery, bakeries, chemicals and *drugs, transport, tailoring, menswear, furniture, footwear, provident agents, mineral waters, department stores, discount houses, mail order, variety chains, booksellers and stationers, cash and carry, the wine trades, catering, soap manufacture, tea blending and packing, abattoir and butchery, warehouses and distribution centres, laundries, breweries*: these represent only a section of the list of branches, covering the more obvious fields for a general and distributive workers' union.

Less obvious but also represented are insurance agents, dental technicians, optical workers, hairdressers and stylists, club stewards, workers in football pools, in specialist bulk distribution, Milk Marketing Board technicians, household delivery services, metal box making, glass making, NAAFI, industrial sand, rubber. With one possible exception, USDAW is the most diversified of the general Unions.

The greater number of branches had up to 100 members at the end of 1978. But 130 had a membership of between 500 and 1,000 and 81 were between 1,000 and 2,000. The "giants" of the Union, with 2,000 members or more were:

London Co-op	(11,371)	Sheffield	(2,351)
Royal Arsenal Co-op	(7,457)	Hull	(2,320)
British Mail Order	(6,872)	Portsea Island Co-op	(2,300)
Birmingham Co-op	(6,768)	Manchester Equitable	
Insurance Section	(6,628)	(Co-op)	(2,235)
Greater Nottingham		North Midlands Co-op.	(2,215)
Regional Co-op.	(5,038)	South Suburban Co-op.	(2,213)
Nottingham Castle (Boots)	(4,370)	North Eastern Co-op.,	
Leicester Area Co-op	(3,901)	Tyneside	(2,288)
Sheffield and District PT	(3,639)	Southampton & Wessex	(2,180)
Manchester General	(3,596)	Littlewoods (Oldham)	(2,173)
Littlewoods Pools	(3,434)	Belfast Co-op.	(2,089)
South West Area	(2,746)	Belfast No. 3 (Retail Multiple)	
Manchester Retail Food	(2,721)		(2,003)
Scottish Bakers, Glasgow	(2,714)	Birmingham Woolworth	(2,051)
Retail Co-op, Glasgow	(2,673)	St. Cuthbert's Edinburgh	
Tesco Retail (Eastern		(Co-op).	2,049)
Division)	(2,463)	Halifax Biscuits (United	
Strathclyde Allied S	(2,382)	Biscuits)	(2,048)
Manchester Central	(2,391)	Bristol Co-op. Retail	(2,022)

This list is indicative of the major national employers, such as the Co-ops and the multiples, in which the Union organises, sometimes exclusively so. But the figures do not give the whole picture nor, indeed, in most cases, do they measure the larger part of the membership in the firms concerned. In the case of Tesco, Woolworth and other companies employees in smaller branches took in many more, while others could be in mixed branches where their numbers were not sufficient to form branches of their own. The total Littlewoods membership is very much greater than the figure for the branch mentioned.

In the Co-operative Movement there were still 204 independent retail societies at the end of 1978 (counting Co-operative Retail Services as one; although its branches have a considerable degree of operational independence). Co-operative employees constituted the largest single group of branches, some going

back to the earliest days of the AUCE. Here again, however, a single figure can be misleading. In the North Eastern Co-operative Society, for instance, the branch given qualifies on the 2,000 or more figure as one of the Union's giants, but three other regional NECS branches (for Mid-Durham, Northumberland and Teesside) bring the total number of Union members in the Society to 6,936.

By the end of 1978, 80 per cent of the Union's membership was wholly or mainly integrated with contribution-deduction arrangements (the check-off) through which employers deducted Union contributions at source.

Apart from the general run of branches there are a number of special Sections in the Union, each subject to the ADM and the Executive Council but with considerable authority and influence in its own field. They include:—

### SPECIAL SECTIONS

#### 1. THE INSURANCE SECTION

##### (FORMERLY CIS NATIONAL BRANCH)

The Co-operative Insurance Society (CIS) was founded in 1867. It began as a company (the law did not then allow Co-operative Societies to undertake insurance) but was converted into a society when a new Industrial and Provident Society Act in 1893 made the change possible. The Society had both Co-operative Society (including the CWS) and individual shareholders. Following agitation in the Co-operative Movement that insurance, like banking and other services, should be part of an all-embracing CWS, it was taken over in 1913 by the CWS and the then Scottish CWS. In 1918 the CIS itself took over the Planet Friendly Assurance Collecting Society, founded in 1905 by a group of Birmingham Socialists and largely based on penny a week collections through agents. This merger marked the beginning of the Society's march to its present position as one of the largest insurance organisations in Britain.

We saw in Chapter 11 that the Union's Executive Council (possibly influenced by the takeover of Planet) began in 1918 to consider the organisation of insurance agents. Planet agents joined the Union, although for a time some remained in a small existing Union. Progress at first was slow, but by 1920 the annual report stated that "... managers and agents employed by the



CIS . . . have formed sections inside our organisation". Insurance branches were listed in three Union districts, Northern, North Western and South Wales and Monmouthshire, with a total of 190 members, 12 of them women. By 1921 (when the Divisional structure was in operation) the number was 391 in six Divisions — Northern, Manchester, Liverpool, South Wales and Monmouthshire, Midlands and South Western.

A year later a new basis for CIS members had been introduced. They were all included in a National CIS Branch, based at the Union's Central Office. But to provide for local participation and involvement in national policy a new structure was developed, which still operates. The Branch is headed by a National Committee and holds an annual national conference with wide powers of decision on matters affecting agents in their role as semi-independent "contractors", with a capital interest in their books (which amounts to many million pounds in total). Leading up to the National Committee is a nation-wide array of 220 local groups, or branches, each based on a District Office of the CIS. These groups, in turn, are grouped under Area Councils, and for each Area the local groups elect a representative to the National Branch Committee.

Propositions are initiated in the Groups and via the Area Councils can go to the Annual Conference. The National Committee, as a constituent of USDAW, itself can initiate propositions at the Union's ADM.

There is in existence a National Union of Insurance Workers which embraces the "house" or company Unions. All the Unions with an insurance membership, and which are affiliated to the TUC, are members of the Confederation of Insurance Unions. In 1971 the title "National CIS Branch" was altered to "Insurance Section", one objective being the hope that various sections of the existing National Union of Insurance Workers would consider joining USDAW. Some, however, have gone to another Union.

The USDAW Section is one of the few organisations of insurance agents which has the back-up services and overall strength of a large Union behind it. This factor has added considerably to the collective strength of the CIS agents. So, too, has the group structure. It is not easy to maintain contact in an occupation where each worker operates on his own,

usually from his home, and the groups have been invaluable as a meeting place and source of unity. Since 1970 they have been strengthened by the publication of the *CIS Agents' Journal (USDAW)*.

One of the Union's *National Officers*, W. (Bill) Cowan, acts as *Secretary* of the Section. He is himself a former agent, one-time Scottish representative on the National Committee and a veteran of some of the battles with CIS management that have been described in earlier pages. The Chairman is Joe Peacock. The present membership of the Section is 6,628.

## 2. SATA

Chapter 29 recorded the formation of SATA — the Supervisory, Administrative and Technical Section of the Union. By the end of 1978 there were 102 branches. Of these 16 were in the Milk Marketing Board (in which the Union had operated for many years before the establishment of SATA), six were in football pools firms and four in Woolworth.

The branches are grouped in their respective Divisions and at the time of writing are engaged in establishing a national committee and structure which, under the Executive Council, will be responsible for developing this field of the Union's activity. S. Tierney, who is also President of the Union, and is one of the team of *National Officers*, is National Secretary of the SATA Section and in each Division an Area Officer has been assigned special responsibilities for recruitment and development in this new field of membership.

## 3. SCOTTISH BAKERS' SECTION

The long established Scottish Union of Bakers and Allied Workers became part of USDAW by transfer of engagements in 1977, and now forms a separate section within the Scottish Division. At the end of 1978 it had 62 branches, located throughout Scotland from the Highlands and Islands, the industrial areas and the Borders. While there are many small branches, the total enrolment includes large memberships in Glasgow (2,714), Edinburgh (1,343), Aberdeen (832).

Alex Mackie, who was General Secretary of the SUBAW, became a *National Officer* of USDAW until his retirement in September, 1978. Other SUBAW staff are now part of the Union's total staff. The Executive Council of SUBAW became the National Committee of the Scottish Bakers' Section of

USDAW, under the chairmanship of A. Douglas at the time of the merger and subsequently of Alec Smith when the former completed his two year term of office.

### OTHER SECTIONS

Apart from the Sections already mentioned, there is one for dental technicians, one has recently been formed for transport workers and in South Wales there is a "Welsh Union of Club Stewards" that is part of USDAW. It comprises eight branches Neath and District, Merthyr, Newport and District, Rhondda and District, Swansea, Blackwood, Mon., Bridgend, Cardiff District.

In some areas the Union also has other club employees in membership, principally bar staff and cleaners.

### BRANCH FINANCE AND POWERS

The Rules on these two subjects are detailed and no attempt will be made to give them fully. But a few salient points can be given. The Rules provide that 17½ per cent of contributions shall be deducted to finance branch activities, the remaining 82½ per cent going to the central funds of the Union. The first call on the local funds must be to defray expenses incurred in the work of the branch, such as conferences, delegations, payment of officers, etc. Any surplus after providing for these and other necessary expenses may be used, together with any extra funds raised by local efforts or voluntary levies, for the promotion of educational and social activities likely to further the interests of the Union. Officers and committee are elected for two years.

Subject to the overall authority of the Executive Council, branches have the right to admit or expel members, in the latter case with a right of appeal to the Executive. There are detailed rules for the election of shop stewards by the members directly concerned, with appointments to be ratified by branch committees.

Statistics are a cold if necessary measure of Union life and activity but sometimes they reflect appreciation of voluntary service and loyalty to a cause. In 1933 the Executive Council established a system of awards for 21 or more years of continuous service as branch secretary and also for 30 years' membership of the Union. By 1978 36,960 members had received the latter award, and a smaller though still considerable number

had qualified under the branch secretary scheme.

### FEDERATIONS

Branches can form local Federations to develop and maintain contact between members and for other common purposes of the Union. As we saw in Chapter 15, these bodies were recognised as part of the Union in 1912, although not formally embodied in Union machinery until 1934. The Executive is empowered by the Rules to make grants to approved Federations.

The number has fluctuated in recent years, partly because of the reduction in the number of Co-operative branches which followed the merging of so many retail societies. But the need for contact that first led branches to seek a regular meeting ground remains, and there are signs of a revival. Apart from general topics of Union or public policy, Federations are playing a useful part in USDAW's growing educational programme, particularly in introducing young or other new members to wider aspects of Trades Unionism. At the end of 1978 there were 34 Federations.

*Branches and Federations are basically local. We now move up the scale to the region or, in USDAW's case, the Division, the intermediate body between the Executive Council and the membership. The restructuring of 1969 (see Chapter 29) reduced the number of Divisions from eleven to eight. In the details of each Division which follow, the number of members at June, 1979, is also given.*

### THE DIVISIONS

In each Division there is a full-time Divisional Officer appointed by the Executive Council, and an elected committee of ten, plus the Divisional Officer, or Officers, one of whom acts as secretary. Members of each Council are elected for two years and are eligible for re-election.

On the key issues of wages and conditions the Councils have wide responsibilities. Their duties under the Rules include "... to arrange programmes in connection with wages and conditions, and to negotiate such programmes with the employers in the area covered...". This duty is qualified, however, by the Rule that the Executive Council, subject to any special directions of an annual or special delegate meeting, has the sole

power to formulate minimum wage rates and conditions for all grades and no other body can do so without the endorsement of the Council. In practice, the feed-back between Divisions, Executive and central and national officials is so close that this provision does not appear to restrict Divisional initiative when that is the appropriate means of dealing with wages and conditions.

To secure and maintain effective contact with the branches, all Divisional Councils are required to convene not more than four conferences a year of representatives of branches in their respective territories.

Attached to each Division are Area Organisers, 120 of them; the professional field force of the Union. They are mobile within the Union, and for special campaigns or other common purposes can be directed for temporary service outside their "home" Division. At June, 1979, the Divisions, membership and officers were:

*SOUTH WALES AND WESTERN* 46,164. Divisional Office and Officer, Cardiff, W. John Jones. Deputy Divisional Officer, B. T. Ropke.

Area Organisers at Divisional Office, A. E. Davies, H. J. Dawkins, G. I. Gardner, Mrs. P. Phillips.

Area Offices and Organisers at—

*Bristol* C. E. Merrett, R. S. Purnell, R. Redden, T. E. Turvey, K. G. Walden.

*Plymouth* D. A. Penfold, R. G. Stock, A. G. Taylor.

*Swansea* Mrs. M. Rogers, A. Williams.

*NORTH WESTERN* 58,312. Divisional Office and Officer, Liverpool, J. W. Gardner. Deputy Divisional Officer, W. R. Snell.

Area Organisers at Divisional Office, T. A. Bennett, E. A. Booth, Mrs. M. Carey, A. K. Das, A. Duff, P. A. Gaffney, H. Pleavin, R. Snell, H. Taylor, A. Thompson.

Area Offices and Organisers at—

*Belfast* W. J. Hamilton, A. White, D. Wylie.

*Preston* Mrs. P. A. Smith, R. Williams.

*EASTERN* 55,513. Divisional Office and Officer, London, T. P. Callinan. Deputy Divisional Officer, T. C. Osborn.

Area Organisers at Divisional Office, D. H. Brooks, R. C. Elliott, J. Fahy, B. F. Field, E. C. Suckling, J. S. Whale,

R. White.

Area Offices and Organisers at—

*Cambridge* R. Kelly, B. Rowlands.

*Ipswich* F. Coates, R. J. Cockle.

*Luton* Mrs. E. Simms, J. Wright.

*Norwich* B. R. G. Scott, Mrs. B. E. E. Stevenson.

*MANCHESTER* 60,558. Divisional Office and Officer, Old Trafford, Manchester, J. C. Callahan. Deputy Divisional Officer, T. B. Feerick.

Area Organisers at Divisional Office, M. D. Johnstone, Ms. M. Leahy, D. McBride, M. G. Murray, Miss J. C. Riddiough, J. Riley, G. Roden, A. Slater, A. Storey, W. Wansell.

Area Office and Organisers at—

*Hanley* A. J. Dorricott, T. W. Price.

Also, Central Office, Manchester, is the headquarters of the Insurance Section.

*MIDLANDS* 76,415. Divisional Office and Officer, Birmingham, J. Toogood.

Area Organisers at Divisional Office, F. S. Beney, J. G. Blair, E. M. Foulkes, T. R. Hayes, G. F. Holz, W. Minns, A. E. C. Tudball.

Area Offices and Organisers at—

*Leicester* P. Davis, K. E. Dunn, K. B. Hazeldine, T. Savage.

*Nottingham* B. Porter, Deputy Divisional Officer, E. W. Bullimore, A. Collington, T. Hickingbottom, J. R. Scherer.

*NORTH EASTERN* 63,971. Divisional Office and Officer, Leeds, N. B. Capindale.

Area Organisers at Divisional Office, G. Brown, C. Fieldhouse, T. Jacques, G. Martin, E. Swann, S. D. Webber.

Area Offices and Organisers at—

*Carlisle* R. Barrett.

*Hull* A. Grey.

*Middlesbrough* W. Allison

*Newcastle upon Tyne* P. Morrison, Deputy Divisional Officer, J. G. Allison, A. Hamilton, R. O'Neill, W. H. Sawyer, B. Webber.

*Sheffield* R. Ellis, T. S. M. Paisley.

*SCOTTISH* 59,283. Divisional Office and Officer, Glasgow, A. Forman, Deputy Divisional Officer, A. D. Scott.

Area Organisers at Divisional Office, S. Crawford, C. P. Devlin, J. Glass, J. Macdermid, J. Mackie, S. Mauchline, P. McCormich, T. McLoone, P. McLoughlin, F. Murphy, J. Radigan.

Area Offices and Organisers at—

*Aberdeen* F. Carroll, S. Fyfe.

*Dundee* F. Feechan, A. D. Kelly.

*Edinburgh* J. W. Biggar, G. Currie, R. K. Forbes, R. A. Fox.

*Glasgow* W. Buller.

Area Organisers at various centres included former Scottish Bakers' Staff.

*SOUTHERN* 41,410. Divisional Office and Officer, London, R. A. Hammond.

Area Offices and Organisers at—

*Basingstoke* M. Lunn, C. Mitchell, G. T. Morton, R. H. Woodroffe.

*Faversham* B. Wakefield.

*Portsmouth* A. J. Malden, B. F. New.

*South East London* (Woolwich) M. B. Moore, J. F. Whitaker.

*South West London* (Croydon) W. J. Clarke, Deputy Divisional Officer, J. Crawley, C. R. Farris, R. S. Shaw.

*We now reach the peak of the Union's electoral and power structure—the Executive Council and the ADM.*

#### EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The Council consists of a President, a non-voting General Secretary and sixteen representatives, two from each Division. Voting for the Council must be at special branch meetings in the Divisions and those present are entitled by majority decision to cast a vote representing the total membership of the branch. Council members are elected for two years and are eligible for re-election.

The Council has full control of the business of the Union and its decisions are binding on members and branches, subject to appeal to the next succeeding delegate meeting, or by referendum to the membership on request of ten per cent of the branches. A member aggrieved at a decision of the Executive has the right to be heard by them at their next meeting.

The President and General Secretary are elected in a similar manner to Executive Councillors. The President must thus face

re-election every two years. In the case of the General Secretary, however, he holds office "during the will and pleasure of the membership" and without subsequent re-election. The Rules prohibit him from standing as a Parliamentary candidate or for the European Assembly. Both President and General Secretary have the right to attend any meetings of Divisional Councils, Federations and branches, the TUC and the Labour Party Conference.

The elected members of the Executive Council at July, 1979, with the names of their branches, were:

President — S. Tierney (Leicester Area Co-operative),  
General Secretary — W. H. P. Whatley (Fallowfield).

*South Wales and Western Division:* D. E. Andrews (Pontypool Chemical), A. C. Waterfield (Plymouth and South Devon Co-operative).

*North Western Division:* R. Caton (Kraft Food, Kirkby), T. A. McLean (Port Sunlight No. 1).

*Eastern Division:* Christina E. Page (Cromer and District), P. Howitt (London Cooperative.)

*Manchester Division:* Elizabeth Wardle (Manchester General), Louisa Woolston (Stockport Co-operative).

*Midlands Division:* J. R. Scherer (Nottingham Area Holding), R. J. Stonehouse (Leicester Area Co-operative).

*North Eastern Division:* J. J. Coleby (NECS Tyneside), F. Kaye (Barnsley Co-operative).

*Scottish Division:* P. Hunter (Kilmarnock), J. McEwan (Edinburgh Food Trades).

*Southern Division:* J. L. Foweather (Oxford and Swindon Co-operative), E. T. White (Winchester).

#### ANNUAL DELEGATE MEETING

The Annual Delegate Meeting or Special Delegate Meeting called for a specific purpose are the supreme governing bodies of the Union. A Special Delegate Meeting may be held at the same time as the ADM whenever a three-fourths majority of the Executive Council consider it desirable; or on a requisition from not less than forty branches. A Special Meeting at some other time than the ADM may be summoned by the Executive by decision of a three-fourths majority; or on a requisition from not less than one hundred branches. But not less than three years must elapse between any two SDMs called for Rule



alteration. Here again, however, the Executive can waive the provision by a three-fourths majority.

The list which follows gives the location of all Annual General Meetings since 1912. Prior to that date the annual meetings of the then AUCE were held on a Divisional basis, with votes on propositions being aggregated. The increasing membership of the Union is reflected in the concentration of the ADM on the limited number of towns with the facilities to accommodate so large a conference:

1912	Manchester	1943	London
*1913	London	1944	Blackpool
1914	London	1945	Blackpool
1915	Leicester	‡1946	Blackpool
1916	Edinburgh	1947	Blackpool
1917	Liverpool	1948	Blackpool
1918	Birmingham	1949	Blackpool
1919	Leeds	1950	Bridlington
1920	Manchester	1951	Margate
1921	Liverpool	1952	Margate
1922	London	1953	Scarborough
1923	Southport	1954	Brighton
1924	Edinburgh	1955	Blackpool
1925	Bristol	1956	Margate
1926	Scarborough	1957	Blackpool
1927	Southport	1958	Margate
1928	London	1959	Scarborough
1929	Leamington Spa	1960	Blackpool
1930	York	1961	Bournemouth
1931	Southport	1962	Blackpool
1932	Cheltenham	1963	Bournemouth
1933	London	1964	Blackpool
1934	Edinburgh	1965	Margate
1935	London	1966	Eastbourne
1936	Cheltenham	1967	Blackpool
1937	Blackpool	1968	Margate
1938	Morecambe	1969	Blackpool
1939	Southport	1970	Blackpool
1940	Blackpool	1971	Eastbourne
1941	Edinburgh	1972	Eastbourne
1942	Edinburgh	1973	Blackpool

1974	Margate	1977	Scarborough
1975	Eastbourne	1978	Blackpool
1976	Blackpool	1979	Eastbourne

\* Eighteen months period, covering alteration of Union year end from June to December.

‡ 1946 Blackpool Joint Delegate Meeting with Shop Assistants' Union on merger.

Since the formation of NUDAW in 1921 and USDAW in 1947 Special Delegate Meetings not held at the time of the ADM have been: 1926, London; 1948, Blackpool; 1952, Blackpool; 1972, Manchester.

Attendance at the ADM has been fairly stable over recent year, as the following table shows.

Year	No. of Delegates	Executive & Divisional Officials	Total	Number of Visitors at approx. 10.30 a.m. on Sunday	Number of Branches represented	Percentage of industrial members represented	Percentage of political members represented
1979	781	280	1,061	548	525	79%	79%
1978	825	272	1,097	650	547	81%	81%
1977	738	245	983	648	493	79%	80%
1976	720	248	968	590	499	79%	79%
1975	660	251	911	550	462	78%	78%
1974	661	244	905	660	466	78%	77%
1973	691	260	951	610	485	81%	81%
1972	690	261	951	470	484	80%	80%
1971	652	263	915	550	471	75%	75%
1970	704	270	974	525	527	78%	78%
1969	755	267	1,022	647	565	80%	80%
1968	747	279	1,026	550	573	77.17%	77.16%
1967	830	282	1,112	930	660	80.12%	80.06%

#### CENTRAL OFFICIALS, NATIONAL OFFICERS AND HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS

USDAW has four Central Officials — the General Secretary, Deputy General Secretary, Administration Officer, and Central Treasurer and Executive Officer.

Under the Rules the General Secretary, now **W. H. P. Whatley**, must devote his whole time to the work of the Union and is not eligible to stand for Parliament. He must attend all delegate meetings and meetings of the Executive Council, keep the minutes, ensure that all documents, accounts and papers of the Union are kept in conformity with the Rules or Executive direction, and personally or through a representative he has power to inspect the documents and accounts of any branch.

He must ensure that the reports of branch secretaries are examined and that new members are recorded and the names of those who have left are erased. He must arrange for the preparation of the annual report, accounts and balance sheet, supervise notices from branch secretaries of all claims and allowances made on Union funds, and act as returning officer in Union elections. He can advise on any resolution or business brought before the Executive Council and Annual Delegate Meeting, but is not allowed to vote, can attend any meeting of Divisional Councils or Federations or any other bodies connected with the Union, and be a delegate to the Trade Union Congress, the Labour Party Conferences and such other national or international bodies as the Executive Council determines.

In his overall activities the General Secretary personalises the public face of the Union to the members and, on wider national issues, to the world outside. He leads in major recruitment campaigns against recalcitrant employers, is at the head of protest marches as well as in the negotiating room in major strikes such as the great battle against the CIS. Traditionally, he handles negotiations with the retail Co-operatives, and when necessary is involved in other trade negotiations. He is the principal speaker for the Executive at the ADM, speaks frequently for the Union at the Labour Party Conference and occasionally at the TUC, where, however, his main involvement is as a member of the General Council.

The role of the latter body in recent years has come to include a close and continuous relationship with Governments on problems of the national economy, wages policy and industrial relations generally. The relationship is usually friendly with a Labour Government, critical to hostile with a Tory Government. In either case the relationship is inevitable if the interests of USDAW and the members of other Unions are to be protected in national economic and social strategies. With equal inevitability it increases the work load of senior members of the General Council far beyond what was normal in former times.

The Deputy General Secretary, **J. Flood**, co-ordinates the nine National Officers and also the Educational, Publicity and Public Relations and Research and Economics Departments. He leads in the multiple grocery negotiations and the new

Wages Councils that were set up as this book was written. A major responsibility is the development of membership potential in multiple companies. He is also responsible for relations with other Trades Unions.

The Administration Officer, **H. L. Booth** deals with office management, personnel recruitment, relations with clerical and administrative staff and property development. He co-ordinates the Legal and Superannuation Departments and has responsibility for Divisional and Branch Office staffs and central administration relating to such matters as Rules, branch by-laws, Federations, the Parliamentary Representation Scheme, the Labour Party and its Regional Councils, Union elections, the ADM and other national conferences.

The Central Treasurer and Executive Officer, **A. W. Hilton**, is responsible for financial and investment policies, and, in direct liaison with the General Secretary, has duties and responsibilities for Executive Council meetings and business. Under him are the O and M Department (in liaison with the Administration Officer), Finance (covering accounts, benefits, records) and Audit.

The nine National Officers (referred to in connection with the Deputy General Secretary) are:

**W. Connor**, who services and co-ordinates the multiple food sector, including the retail side of the principal private multiples in which the Union organises. He also looks after retail furnishing, the wine trade and mail order.

**T. Sullivan** deals with retail multiples mainly concerned with non-food, such as menswear, footwear, department and chain stores.

**G. Davies** is responsible for distribution depots and warehousing operations, including the Co-operative Wholesale Society's manufacturing interests. He also covers Unigate's food division and the catering industry.

**M. Gordon** deals with the wholesale and retail meat trades and also services the optical, hairdressing and credit trades, together with NAAFI membership.

**G. Kiely's** responsibilities are the Scottish Bakers' Section, the baking/biscuit industry, soap and fats industry, food manufacturing and the Transport Section.

**W. Cowan** covers the Insurance Section (described earlier

in this Chapter).

**L. Watson** is responsible for retail Co-operative Trades, Co-operative Retail Services (in which many former separate retail Co-ops are now organised nationally), the milk industry, including the Milk Marketing Board but excluding CWS milk operations, and laundry trades.

**S. Williams** deals with chemical industry, retail and wholesale pharmacy, surgical dressings industry and dental technicians.

**S. Tierney** is responsible for SATA which, as we have seen, is one of the newest of the Union's Sections, catering for white collar workers.

Only the principal responsibilities of National Officers have been specified in this list. Collectively they cover just under one hundred trades, individual firms, Joint Industrial Councils, Wages Councils and other negotiating machinery in which the Union is involved on behalf of its members.

A group of departments which come under the overall control of one or other Central Officials provide collective and individual services to members that are a back-up for recruitment and negotiation and also serve the industrial, political and other objectives of the Union. They are:

"Technical" education for shop stewards and branch officials, and also on wider political/social issues, for the membership as a whole, is carried out by the Education Department under **P. L. Rosenfeld**. Six training officers, regionally based, under Chief Training Officer, G. Walker, form part of the Department.

The Organisation and Method Department under **V. Lowe**, with one assistant, trains members in these techniques and also actively participates on their behalf when schemes are being introduced by employers.

The Legal Department under **A. C. Heywood**, with T. Isherwood as deputy, provides free legal advice and assistance on all matters arising in the course of employment — accidents, social insurance benefits, redundancy and unfair dismissal, sex discrimination, representation at Tribunals, superannuation (a special section). In 1978 £1,008,214 was recovered for members, not much short of a quarter of the sum paid in Union contributions.

The Research Department under **Diana Jeuda** maintains records and data relevant to the great number of trades covered

by the Union and provides "ammunition" for negotiations over wages and conditions, or for the evidence which the Union from time to time presents to public enquiries or other bodies.

The Press and Public Relations Department under **P. H. Jones** produces *Dawn*, and special campaign supplements, a wide range of recruiting leaflets, handles advertising campaigns and maintains PR contact with the media.

Other service departments are Finance (**J. H. Wilson**) and Audit (**S. H. Harcastle**). This Department has an important role in relation to financial and accountancy matters in the Union's many branches, and also in arrangements with employers for the check-off.

The position of Chief Organising Officer, responsible for organisation in the retail multiples and formerly included among Central Officials, was dropped early in 1979. The duties were included in the new position of Deputy General Secretary, with two of the National Officers allocated special responsibility for the retail multiple trades.

#### PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION SCHEME

##### (a) The United Kingdom Parliament

This is based on two Panels — a Main and a Substitute Panel, both twelve in number. The Main Panel consists of twelve Union Parliamentary candidates who have been elected as MPs or adopted as prospective candidates. Whilst so qualified, they remain on the Panel at the "will and pleasure" of the members, who, through an annual or special meeting, have power to remove or call for resignation. The second Panel consists of twelve Substitute candidates, not more than six of whom may be MPs.

In the event of a vacancy arising in a constituency represented by a member of the Main Panel, the Executive can select a member of the Substitute Panel as a prospective successor. If at any time there are less than twelve sitting MPs or prospective candidates on the Main Panel the Executive may fill the vacancy or vacancies by appointing any member of the Substitute Panel who is a sitting MP or has been adopted as a prospective candidate. The Executive also has power to nominate a Substitute member for any constituency. Substitute members retire every two years, but are eligible for re-election to the Panel. A candidate must be, and remain, a full member of the Union,

have been a political member for not less than five years and if elected to Parliament must accept the Labour Whip.

Chapter 29 gave the names of Union nominees elected at the November General Election of 1974. By the end of 1978 three other sitting MPs had been added to the Main Panel — J. C. Cartwright (Woolwich, East), H. Lamborn (Southwark, Peckham), and F. McElhone (Queens Park, Glasgow): making a total of eight Members. The 1979 Election result is given on page 363.

(b) European, Scottish and Welsh Assemblies

Following the adoption of an Executive Council resolution by the 1979 Annual Delegate Meeting, the Parliamentary Representation Scheme was extended to enable the Union to sponsor candidates for the European Assembly and, when established, the Scottish and Welsh Assemblies.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER BODIES — 1. NATIONAL

At the end of 1978 USDAW was connected with the following national bodies in the United Kingdom:

British TUC	ment and Industry
Scottish TUC	British Institute of
Irish Congress of Trade	Management
Unions	Industrial Society
Wales Trades Union	Industrial Law Society
Council	Fabian Society
Labour Party	Industrial Participation
Scottish Council of the	Association
Labour Party	National Federation of
Northern Ireland Labour	Professional Workers
Party	Amnesty International
National Joint Committee	National Council for
of Working Women's	Civil Liberties
Organisations	Society for Co-operative
Workers' Educational	Studies
Association	Anti-Apartheid
United Nations	Movement
Association	Trade Union, Labour,
Royal Institute of	Co-operative Demo-
International Affairs	cratic History Society
Scottish & other Regional	Women's National Cancer
Councils of Develop-	Control Campaign

Pre-Retirement Association	Trade Union and Co-operative Esperanto Group
Haldane Society	Eastern Europe Solidarity Campaign
Keynote Opera Society	
Liberation	
Chile Solidarity Campaign	

## RELATIONS WITH OTHER BODIES —

## 2. INTERNATIONAL

The Union's overseas affiliations at the end of 1978 were with the International Transport Workers' Federation, the International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Associations, the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees (FIET), the International Federation of Chemical, Energy and General Workers' Unions, the Committee of Chemical and General Workers' Unions in the European Community and the similar Committees of Transport Workers Unions and Food and Allied Workers.

In addition USDAW has maintained direct relations for many years with overseas Unions organising similar groups of workers to those in USDAW and fraternal delegations are exchanged. Since the end of the war and up to 1979 delegations to the ADM have been from:

*Austria*

Non-manual Workers' Union, 1950.

Union of Commercial and Clerical Employees, 1956, 1963.

Food and Drink Workers' Union, 1957, 1963, 1971, 1978.

Hotel and Catering Workers' Union, 1963, 1977.

Chemical Workers' Union, 1963, 1971.

Union of Workers for Personal Services, 1964, 1977.

Union of Workers in Private Trades and Industry, 1964, 1978.

*Belgium*

Union of Commercial, Clerical, Bank and Insurance Employees, 1953, 1960, 1966, 1973.

Food and Hotel Workers' Union, 1960, 1969, 1978.

*Denmark*

Commercial and Clerical Employees' Union, 1958, 1964, 1970, 1977.

Chefs' and Kitchen Workers' Union, 1961, 1970.

Waiters' Union, 1961, 1970, 1979.

Butchery Workers' Union, 1965, 1974.



*France*

Commercial, Clerical and Bank Employees' Union, 1952, 1959, 1965, 1972, 1979.

Union of Workers in Agriculture, Food and Allied Trades, 1976.

Food and Restaurant Workers' Union, 1964.

*Finland*

Distributive and Commercial Workers' Union, 1954, 1961, 1967, 1974.

*Germany*

Union for Commerce, Banks and Insurance, 1955, 1962, 1968, 1975.

Food, Drink and Catering Workers, 1959, 1968, 1977.

Salaried Employees' Union, 1962, 1975.

Federation of Commercial and Technical Employees 1955, 1962, 1968.

*Holland*

Commercial, Banking and Clerical Employees' Union, 1953, 1960, 1966, 1973.

Hotel, Cafe and Restaurant Workers, 1957, 1965, 1972.

Factory Workers' Union, 1962, 1969.

*Hungary*

Commercial, Financial and Catering Workers' Union, 1972, 1979.

*Ireland*

Distributive Workers and Clerks, 1964, 1969, 1976.

*Norway*

Food and Drink Workers' Union, 1949, 1957, 1975.

Commercial and Clerical Employees' Union, 1954, 1961, 1967, 1974.

Distributive and Commercial Workers' Union, 1961.

*Sweden*

Commercial and Clerical Employees' Union, 1958, 1964, 1970, 1977.

Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union, 1962, 1970.

Union of Food Workers, 1966, 1967, 1973.

Factory Workers' Union, 1957, 1974.

*Switzerland*

Commercial, Transport, Food Workers', 1952, 1959, 1976.

Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union, 1967, 1976.

Commercial Workers' Union, 1976.

*Trade Internationals of* —

Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees (FIET), 1950, 1956, 1968, 1974, 1979.

Food and Allied Workers, 1954, 1961, 1966, 1972.

Industrial Organisations and General Workers' Unions, 1956, 1963.

Transport Workers, 1958, 1965.

Hotel, Restaurant and Bar Workers, 1959.

*Students, Guests and Overseas Visitors from* —

Nigerian TUC, 1948.

Northern Rhodesian African Mineworkers' Union, 1954.

Nyasaland Shop Workers' Union, 1955.

Czechoslovakian Union of State Commercial Workers and also of the Union of Trade Union and Co-operative Workers, 1969.

Polish Union of Workers in Commerce and Co-operatives, 1970.

*USSR*

USDAW and the comparable Russian Union have exchanged delegations.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS AND BENEFITS

Throughout this history no attempt had been made to follow in detail the alterations in rates of contributions and benefits. Inevitably they have varied from time to time, according to changes in the value of money and price levels, particularly in the last few years of inflation. Also, the two amalgamations of 1947 provided that members of the Shop Assistants' Union and the Journeymen Butchers Federation could opt either for USDAW rates or those prevailing in their respective Unions before amalgamation. These, however, now represent only a minute proportion of the membership.

The pattern of benefit provision, as distinct from the contributions and benefit payments, has remained substantially the same since the adoption of the AUCE scheme in 1894. That scheme provided three scales of unemployment benefit according to contributions, three scales of sick or temporary disablement benefit, three of permanent disablement benefit and three of funeral allowance. The present USDAW scales are similar, with the addition of a distress grant in the permanent disable-

ment section and a much higher death benefit in industrial cases than applies in non-industrial. The only new section is for dispute and victimisation benefit and this was added by AUCE when it established a strike fund in 1911.

The 1978 scales are given in the table on page 352, the weekly contribution figures in brackets being new rates to operate in 1979. The original AUCE scales are in Chapter 3. AUCE scales at 1918, 1921 (formation of NUDAW) and 1947 (formation of USDAW) are in Appendix II.

Political contributions are included in the present scales. Inflation will probably bring about subsequent increases. But for a level of contributions well below that of comparable Unions in other countries USDAW members get a first class comprehensive service.

#### FINANCES OF THE UNION

USDAW is financially a very strong Trade Union. At the end of 1978 the Union had total central and branch funds of:

	£	Surplus for year £
General Funds (Industrial) . . . . .	3,691,859	260,971
Political Fund (No. 1 Account) ..	77,492	14,767
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	3,769,351	275,738
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£	£
Branch Funds (Industrial) . . . . .	874,831	145,776
Political Fund (No. 2 Account) ..	129,059	17,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,003,890	162,776
	<hr/>	<hr/>

Fixed assets and Investments amounted to £3,071,715. Of the branch Industrial funds of £874,831, £559,534 had been remitted to Central Office for investment. The rates of depreciation on fixed assets were: buildings 5 per cent, fixtures and fittings 20 per cent, motor vehicles 20 per cent, land nil. The Union has properties in fifteen cities and towns, where land values have greatly appreciated since the time of purchase.

Over recent years the Union has been developing new offices in different parts of the country, amongst which was the joint

development with the General & Municipal Workers' Union of a large property in Leeds, comprising an office block occupied by the two Unions, and another substantial block occupied by tenants.

Contribution and Benefit Scales operative in 1978 (1979 figures in brackets)

Scale	Weekly Contribution	Unemployment Benefit	Sickness or Temporary Disability Benefit	Death Benefit		Permanent Disablement and Distress Benefits		Dispute and Victimization Benefit	Trade Protection and Legal Aid
				Non-Industrial	Industrial	Disablement through Accident or Infirmity	Total Disablement through Illness		
A	29p (32p)	£1.20 per week, maximum 13 weeks	£1.20 per week, maximum 13 weeks	£100	£500	Total £300	£30	During Unemployment through a Strike sanctioned by the Executive Council or, through Lockout, or Victimization due to action by or on behalf of the Union	Members in all Scales are advised legally on matters relating to employment and Industrial Law and are protected regarding Wages, Hours, Overtime, Holidays, Unfair Dismissal, Redundancy, etc.
	23p (26p)	£2 grant after continuous period of six weeks, £2 grant after further continuous period of six weeks.	£2 grant after continuous period of six weeks, £2 grant after further continuous period of six weeks.	£25	£125	Partial £75	£15		
17p	Applicable only to Associates under 16 years of age, part-time workers and specially admitted persons.								

Scales are subject to certain age limitations

## 34 ACROSS THE BORDERS— SCOTLAND, WALES, IRELAND

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THE main purpose of this history has been to portray TUSDAW as a national Union which, under various titles, has operated throughout the United Kingdom without regard to historic national or regional boundaries.

In all Divisions and many branches there are stories of struggle and achievement that deserve a book in themselves. It is to be hoped that some will be written by local members — possibly retired — who can draw on personal experience and research. Here, however, we are concerned with the national story, and can include only a brief record of events “across the borders”, beginning with Scotland.

In that country there was a period when the prevailing conditions could have led to the formation of a separate Scottish Union of Co-operative Employees. The discontents that led to the pioneering “Associations” in London and Manchester were all stirring among Scottish “Co-operative servants”. Possibly influenced by developments further south, an Employees’ Association was established at a Glasgow meeting in 1889, but it faded out after a brief existence. The formation of other Associations was reported from time to time in the *Co-operative News* during the nineties and early years of the present century.

There was no lack of activity. But leadership towards a national body seems to have been lacking. Moreover, the Shop Assistants’ Union was already on the ground in Scotland with established branches, and this may have weakened the impulse to form an independent Union.

Meanwhile, AUCE was growing in strength across the border and, as recorded in Executive minutes, it watched with interest and sympathy the various attempts to establish Trades Unionism among Scottish Co-operative employees. From 1906 onwards the Executive moved into action. Another Scottish Employees’ Association which had maintained a tenuous existence was invited to discuss amalgamation, but declined to

do so. Three Scottish branches of AUCE were, however, already in existence — at Paisley, Broxburn and Johnstone. A year later L. Lumley, the Union's first full-time Organiser, was despatched North of the Border on a recruiting mission. In 1907 the statistics for the year included "Scottish Branches" with 561 members. No names were given, but these branches were attached to the Union's Northern District (mainly Northumberland and Durham) and in the election of District Councillors Barrhead, Kilbirnie, Kinning Park, Paisley, Pollokshaws and Glasgow D & F (Drapery and Furnishing) branches all took part.

The next step was the formation of a Scottish District Council on 2nd January 1908, with 54 branches and 2,000 members. District Council reports in those and later years were published with the annual reports of AUCE. The Scottish District Secretary, W. Semple, wrote of their first year "It has not all been smooth sailing here, as some folk look upon the AUCE in Scotland as a 'poacher' and as 'reaping where it has not sowed' and consequently a bitter feeling occasionally has been shown". Much of the Council's time had been taken up in preparing a wage scale, which was adopted in 1909.

The "poacher" charge would probably come from two quarters — the Shop Assistants' Union which was already in the field and some of the surviving local Associations. The Federation of Shop and Clerical Workers (see Chapter 6) attempted to mediate on the friction between AUCE and the Shop Assistants. At a special meeting in 1910 to discuss "unfriendly relations at Greenock, Aberdeen, Falkirk, etc." resolutions were adopted that AUCE should "... henceforth be fully recognised as a Trade Union in Scotland" that the two Unions should not oppose representation of each other's branches on Trades Councils, that joint action should be taken on wages questions in Co-operative Societies where both had branches and that "... nothing less than the AUCE minimum should be asked for".

Unfortunately, by then the Federation itself was hastening towards extinction (in 1913), a fate that must partly have been brought about by the continued friction between two of its principal members. That situation continued for many years, and was exacerbated before and during the first World War,

when, in 1915, AUCE withdrew from the TUC and the Scottish TUC. However, there is no point in continuing the story of ancient feuds. AUCE continued to grow. Both Unions were established in Scotland and the roots of feud were plucked when the Unions amalgamated in 1947.

In the country that produced that giant of the British Labour Movement, Keir Hardie, it was inevitable that Scottish representatives of both AUCE and the Shop Assistants' Union should become actively involved in Labour politics. When the Scottish Labour Party became the Scottish Council of the (British) Labour Party in 1915 a member of the Shop Assistants' staff, Neil S. Beaton, was a Trades Union representative on the Council's first Executive. He was also Treasurer of the Scottish TUC in 1917 and Chairman of Congress in 1918. Later he became internationally known in the Co-operative Movement as Chairman of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society. H. Pilkington, of NUDAW, also served on the Executive of the Scottish Council for several years up to 1931, when he moved to a position with the Union in England. He was followed by T. Scollan, who was later to become an USDAW MP.

The Scottish TUC was formed in 1897, although 25 years earlier Glasgow Trades Council had sought the establishment of a federation of Scottish Unions. Scottish Trades Unionists and Socialists accepted that they shared common problems and ideals with the rest of the British working class but many of them also sought power to deal with specifically Scottish problems within the overall ambit of the United Kingdom. The STUC was one answer to this demand. The Scottish Council of the Labour Party was formed in 1915 as the political answer.

AUCE affiliated to the former in 1910, withdrew when it left the TUC, and returned to the fold as NUDAW in 1923. It affiliated to the Scottish Council of the Labour Party in 1910.

In 1932 Agnes Gilroy, of NUDAW, was the first woman in Unions catering for shop workers to be elected to the Executive Council of the STUC. In 1940 J. Watson was the first NUDAW representative to become Chairman of Congress. The names of other members of both Unions figure prominently in the records of both the STUC and the Scottish Council. Apart from issues common to the Labour Movement as a whole, the two Unions in their day, and USDAW in more recent times, kept to the fore



in Scotland problems that particularly affected distributive and allied workers.

In recent years resolutions of this order sponsored by NUDAW or, later, by USDAW, have included demands for improved hours and conditions of distributive workers, Saturday half day closing of shops, rationalisation of distribution, training of shop workers, equal pay for equal work, support for free collective bargaining and opposition to Sunday trading (which isn't illegal in Scotland).

USDAW's Scottish Division ranks third in the Union in number of members, the total at the end of December, 1978, being 60,202. It operates over the whole of Scotland, including island branches in Kirkwall (Orkney), Lerwick (Shetland). The membership is widely spread and is representative of the many trades in which the Union organises. The former Scottish Bakers' Union, which merged with USDAW in 1977, forms an important section of the Division and, under the terms of the merger, is specifically represented in the Union's delegations to the Congress of the Scottish TUC.

The Division continues to be actively involved in the STUC, which today is increasingly influential in Scottish economic affairs. In 1969 Andrew Forman, the present Scottish Divisional Officer, was elected to the General Council in succession to E. W. Craig, his predecessor as Divisional Officer. A. Forman was Chairman of the Council in 1975. Representation has also continued on the Scottish Council of the Labour Party and at the Annual STUC Summer School.

#### WALES — NORTH AND SOUTH

The Union story was rather different in Wales. In the Principality there does not appear to have been any widespread development of local Associations, and AUCE developed as a natural extension of its activities in England. But it was not until around the period of the First World War that it was firmly established in Wales.

Membership statistics for the Union as a whole first appeared in the annual report for 1894-5 (the Union's year then ran from June to June, but from 1913 was altered to the straight calendar year). The early statistics could be deceptive at a glance, since wherever the Union had a single member in a Co-op he was listed as a "branch". There were 18 such "branches" in the

1894-5 list, including a solitary member at Pembroke Dock. A year later three Welsh branches were named, with a total of five members — one each in Pembroke Dock and Mold and Oswestry Co-ops, three in Cross Keys.

By 1896-7 the first two had disappeared from the list, Cross Keys still had its three pioneers and a Brynmawr Branch appeared with eleven members. Brynmawr dropped to one member in 1898, and in 1899 it was marked as a "Defunct Branch". Cross Keys also disappeared without trace.

Eighteen ninety nine, however, saw the emergence of the first branch with a sizeable and continuing membership — Newport (Mon), with 25 recruits. Newport continued as a separate branch until comparatively recent times and has the distinction of being the first branch to establish a firm and continuing foothold in Wales.

At first, all Welsh branches, North and South, were included in the Union's Manchester District. But in 1904 a Western Sub-district was created, which included branches in the west of England and seven in South Wales, four other Welsh branches remaining in the Manchester District. Western became a fully fledged District in 1907, with representation on the Executive Council, and thirteen branches in South Wales. These branches had a total of 286 members out of the 1,121 in the District. Four other branches attached to the Manchester District counted 24 members.

It was slow growth. But it must be remembered that the Union was then based entirely on Co-operative employment and most Societies in the Western District were very small. Bristol and Plymouth together represented almost exactly half the Union membership in the District.

If progress was slow, it was steady. Jumping ahead more than three quarters of a century, the present South Wales and Western Division had 45,866 members at the end of December, 1978, and half of those were in branches in South Wales. In addition, a number of North Wales branches are still in the North Western Division.

South Wales branches have reflected the militancy of the coal and iron valleys in which many of them began. As we have seen in previous chapters, in at least two cases Union campaigns for negotiating rights and improved earnings reached the turning

point towards eventual national success through strike action by Welsh members — in the first case, against the International Stores Group, in the second against Woolworth. The Shop Assistants' Union, too, fought some great strike battles against the living-in system in the Principality.

The present Welsh membership has spread far beyond the Co-ops. It includes workers and branches in food and chemical processing, football pools, creameries (Co-op and Unigate), meat workers both for the home market and export slaughtering, and club stewards, who have their own Welsh Union of Club Stewards as a section of USDAW.

The Union is affiliated to the Welsh Regional Council of the Labour Party and to the Wales TUC. When the latter was formed in 1974 the Divisional Officer, W. John Jones, was a founder member of its General Council and in 1976 had the unique experience of holding office as Chairman of the Wales TUC and of the Labour Party in Wales. North Wales branches in the North Western Division join with their colleagues in Western for representation at the conferences of the two bodies.

#### IRELAND

When AUCE was formed Ireland was still part of the United Kingdom. Consumer Co-operative societies, which were then the Union's sole source of recruitment, were, however, very thin on the ground. In Ireland, agricultural Co-operation has been more successful than consumer societies. Only in Belfast has retail Co-operation been firmly established and the first Irish branch of AUCE was in that society, listed in the annual report for 1903-4, with 44 members. A Dublin branch was listed in 1906-7, with two members. Its peak was 40 members in 1913-14. Thereafter it steadily declined until, in 1921, it is marked as "Defunct" in the annual statistics.

Other branches were formed at Armagh, Enniskillen, Lisburn, Ballymena, Sligo, Drogheda. By 1937, when Southern Ireland became a sovereign and independent nation, all had disappeared. Belfast remained the Union's one stronghold, with five branches and 2,695 members in 1937, mainly in the Co-op.

From this base in Belfast the Union continued to grow, both in size and the variety of trades which it organised. The present membership is 7,500; mainly concentrated among distributive workers in and around Belfast. Apart from the large member-

ship in the Co-op, the Union has achieved a high degree of organisation in department stores, chain stores, multiple grocery and multiple tailoring, and now has general distributive branches in Armagh, Ballymena and Londonderry. A new field of recruiting has been in food manufacture and processing, particularly in bacon factories. Creamery workers are also organised.

The present tragedy of Northern Ireland is common knowledge, and it was inevitable that it should affect Union members. Those employed by Belfast Co-op have been particularly involved. The Society's York Street department store, one of the major sights of the city, was totally destroyed by bomb and fire in 1972, not so very long after its opening. It has been replaced by a bigger and even more modern building. Many grocery units have been destroyed, others damaged by bomb explosions in nearby buildings. The Union's own premises have been damaged.

After each outrage Union members have rallied to ensure that supplies still reached the people, Catholics and Protestants alike. As *Dawn* described it in 1974 "If these USDAW members didn't get to work and keep things moving, despite 'the troubles', then the city and much of Antrim and Co. Down would face serious food shortages".

The human condition is rarely totally dark. Behind the mindless destruction in Ulster there are influences that forbid one to despair. Prominent among them has been the success of the Trades Union Movement in keeping widespread sectarian bitterness away from the workplace.

The Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trades Unions, of which USDAW is an active member, acts as a co-ordinating body and, effectively, as a Northern Ireland TUC for Unions that operate both in Britain and all-Ireland, in Britain and the North only, in all-Ireland only, and in the North only. The first full-time secretary of the Northern Ireland Committee was W. Blease (now Lord Blease), an USDAW member and one-time member of the Union's North Western Divisional Council, of which, constitutionally, Northern Ireland branches are part. The Union is also linked to the Northern Ireland Labour Party.

David Wylie, an USDAW Area Organiser, Belfast, is now

senior serving member of the Northern Ireland Committee and was Chairman in 1964-65. It was in that period that the then Northern Ireland Government agreed to officially recognise the N.I. Committee as the Trades Union Centre for the movement in Northern Ireland. He also serves on the Executive Council of the Irish Congress of Trades Unions.

Branches in the Province hold their own annual meeting, are represented at the ADM, and take a full part in the educational activities of the Union.

One hopes that many years from the date of publication active members of USDAW will be reading this book. Even more fervently, one hopes that there will then be a happier story to tell of the sorely tried people and Trades Unionists of Northern Ireland and that they will then be free to concentrate their qualities of skill and industry on building up the prosperity of their homeland.

Details of Divisional Officers and Area Organisers of the three Divisions briefly covered in this chapter are included in Chapter 33.

## 35 UP TO 1978 — WITH A FEW EXCURSIONS INTO 1979

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THIS final chapter is less a record of history than a report of contemporary events. We begin with a theme that has continuously been present in these pages and must continuously be the central purpose of a free Trade Union — the advancement and defence of its members' wages and conditions through collective bargaining, the maintenance of industrial relations with employers, and contact with Government.

In the latter case, a former Minister of Labour, Ray Gunter, once described his job as the "bed of nails". His description was accurate but not sufficiently comprehensive. The determination of wages and the conduct of industrial relations has always been a complicated and contentious issue but since the second World War it has become a Procrustean bed not only for Ministers of Labour but for Prime Ministers and Chancellors of the Exchequer of both Parties, for Trades Union leaders and their members and for the public at large.

The Labour Government returned in the two elections of 1974 introduced a new concept — the "Social Contract". As John Phillips, USDAW's Assistant General Secretary, pointed out at one of the summer schools of 1978, this was fundamentally a new approach. Previous attempts to establish a national policy had sought to control wage increases either by exhortation to observe Government guidelines or by the arbitrary imposition of permissible rates of increase. The Social Contract in its first two stages was jointly agreed between the Labour Government and the TUC, and was based on the principle that Unions should seek to maintain real living standards but not, for the time being, increase them, with the proviso that special attention should be paid to the needs of the lower paid.

The Contract had considerable success in the first stages, and, along with other Government measures, contributed substantially to bringing down the rate of inflation. Working people also benefitted from a wide range of Labour legislation on

collective bargaining rights and job security that was part of the agreement with the Government — the Contracts of Employment Act, Redundancy Payments Act, Trades Union and Labour Relations Act, Equal Pay Act, Health and Safety at Work Act, Employment Protection Act, Sex Discrimination Act.

This was the first genuine attempt to include an *agreed* policy on wages within a planned economy, which was the overall object of the Wilson and Callaghan Labour Governments. But it led to many anomalies, increasing restiveness in all Unions and demands for a return to unfettered collective bargaining. The TUC was not officially a party to the third stage which should have begun from August of 1978. The Government's new guideline figure of around 5 per cent proved to be unacceptable to most Unions, including USDAW, and the sequel was the great wages battles of early 1979.

If ever there is to be an economy planned for growth and social equity, wages and other incomes must necessarily be included. With hindsight, however, it can be seen that the Social Contract in its first form was too blunt an instrument. One lesson to be learnt from the experience of 1974-1979 is that any future Contract, pact, agreement or whatever it may be called, must be much more sophisticated and flexible in dealing with the infinitely varying range of custom, tradition, differentials, low pay and established negotiating practices that make up the wages pattern.

USDAW supported the introduction of the Contract in a lengthy resolution adopted by the ADM of 1974, which, however, reaffirmed the Union's insistent demand for "... a fairer share of the national wealth for the lower paid". And in a phrase calling upon the Trades Union Movement to "... use every endeavour to stop the Social Contract from becoming meaningless" it hinted at suspicions that some Unions might not be wholehearted in their support.

The General Secretary, in moving the Executive report on wages, economic policy and the Social Contract, also took up this theme. "Half-hearted lip service is not enough; he said "Nor can one or two Unions be left to carry the Social Contract on their own. If those with power to do so ignore the guidelines . . . then we in this Union have an obligation . . . to ensure

that our people are not left behind".

On the wider front of the TUC the Union supported the Contract at the Congress of 1974. John Phillips, in seconding an NUM resolution in support of the contract, said "We can no longer think of wage bargaining in purely sectional monetary terms; there is a social wage also whose level is determined by the quality of life which society provides".

In the period before and during the Social Contract the Union was successful in securing, as the Executive Council reported of 1973, "... the best settlements possible" In that year there were three successive versions of the Heath Government's incomes policy. In the same year the Pay Code allowed increases for unsocial hours and by taking advantage of this clause extra payments for working on Saturdays were secured. Midway through the Social Contract the annual report for 1976 stated "... the Union has been successful in negotiating improved wage rates and conditions of labour [and] ... progress towards the creation of a more socially just Society has continued and the mutual commitment of Trade Unionists and Government to the Social Contract has been a central feature in the struggle to sustain our social, industrial and economic advance".

It all ended unhappily in the strike-torn and weather-tormented winter of 1979, followed by the rout of the Labour Government in the Spring. As this is written, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher has become the first woman Prime Minister, not only in Britain but in Europe, leading a Government that is dedicated to bringing back the free-for-all Society that so often has been tried and so often has failed. The Social Contract was far from perfect. It was abandoned by one of its parents and perhaps the other parent expected too much of it, too soon. But its demise may yet be regretted by a great many working people.

At the General Election of April/May, 1979, the Union sponsored six candidates of whom five were returned. This was a similar number to October, 1974, but only one, T. W. Torney (Bradford, South), belonged to the group elected in that year. Others elected in 1979 who had been adopted via the Parliamentary Panel since 1974 were J. C. Cartwright (Woolwich, East), H. Lamborn (Southwark, Peckham), Frank McElhone (Glasgow, Queens Park), R. Powell (Ogmore). S. Tierney, the



Union's President, who won Yardley in 1974, lost the seat in 1979. Three Union-sponsored MPs who did not stand in 1979 were H. Boardman (Leigh), E. Fernyhough (Jarrow) and W. E. Padley (Ogmore). USDAW nominees were not selected for the first two of these seats, but, as indicated above, the third was retained by the Union, and all three were held by Labour.

#### £55 MINIMUM, 35 HOUR WEEK

The Union's target minimum wage had been increasing almost annually as inflation ate into earnings. A shorter working week was also a regular demand at the ADM. The two came together at the 1978 annual meeting.

An Executive Council statement on wages and economic policy called for "an orderly return to free collective bargaining", "freeing the families of low wage earners from the poverty trap", and the reduction of the working week to 35 hours, plus other improvements. This was adopted. So, too, was a proposition from Derby and Burton Co-operative, moved by W. Hall, which put a sharper edge on the wages reference in calling for "an immediate campaign for a 35 hour week, for a basic minimum wage of £55, and that differentials above this figure for additional skills and responsibility should be maintained". A proposition by NECS Teesside, moved by R. J. Smith, demanded "wage claims in line with the Retail Price Index". This, too, was adopted, on the understanding that other factors would be taken into account by those negotiating on wages.

The dual hours/wages demand was vigorously followed up in the latter months of 1978. There were advertisements in the Press, posters on buses and outdoor sites, in London's Underground. This publicity was linked with recruitment campaigns in specific firms. The Midlands Deputy Divisional Officer, Brian Porter, went "on the air" on Radio Trent daily in September in what was claimed to be the first-ever use of commercial radio for Trade Union recruitment.

This book has ended after the "winter war" over wages at the beginning of 1979, with a renewal of conflict discernible by the end of the year, and a Tory Government busily introducing policies which must lead to a dark future for industrial relations. For USDAW there is at least one encouraging fact — the continued increase in membership, reflected in a net gain

of 26,639 up to December, 1978.

### THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

Under the Heath Government Britain joined the European Economic Community (the Common Market) in 1972. In one of its longest debates the Commons had discussed the issue from 21 to 28 October, 1971; and had voted for membership by 356 votes to 244. The Labour Government elected in October, 1974, was pledged to renegotiate the terms, and to submit them to a referendum. The Government decided that the new terms were satisfactory, and it recommended a "Yes" vote, which was obtained, the public voting 17,378,000 for continued membership, 8,470,000 against.

From the sixties, USDAW had been involved in the national debate over membership and, as in most other Trades Union and political organisations, the debates on the issue at the ADM and elsewhere were protracted and frequently passionate in the strength of feeling for or against.

In 1967, D. Huxstep (Booksellers and Stationers) moved a proposition which opposed and denounced the Market as being dominated by a small group of monopolists. An amendment by the Executive, moved by the General Secretary, welcomed membership provided essential British and Commonwealth interests were safeguarded, and this view was adopted by an overwhelming majority. There was another hostile proposition in 1968, this time from Leeds Co-operative, moved by J. Davies. Again it was successfully countered by an amendment, moved for East London by Mrs. E. Hanes, reaffirming the decision of the previous ADM.

Two years later the 1970 ADM voted for an Executive proposition, moved by the General Secretary, which welcomed a Government White Paper on the economic consequences of British entry and accepted that a decision could only be made when the conditions of entry were known. The meeting also rejected a hostile proposition from Birmingham Dry Goods (moved by N. Rowland), declaring that it was against the best interest of Britain to pursue application for membership.

A year later the 1971 ADM supported the principle of a national referendum before a decision to join the Market was taken, the mover being W. Hall on behalf of Derby Co-operative. The National Executive also backed the proposition. In

1972 (by which time Britain was committed to joining the EEC) a former President, Rodney Hanes, on behalf of Royal Arsenal Co-operative, moved that entry called for association with Continental Unions to combat the danger which multinational companies could present to Trades Union rights. Again, there was a totally hostile resolution declaring that membership would mean higher prices and increased unemployment, moved by Mrs. D. R. Gibson for South West London. RACS won the day. There was a lull for a year, and then in 1974 RACS and South West London both returned to the issue. Rodney Hanes moved reaffirmation of the 1972 decision in a resolution which called specifically for participation by the Union in the Industrial Committee of the International Trade Union Secretariat within the EEC. South West London denounced the EEC and called on the Executive to campaign for withdrawal, Mrs. C. Cowen being the mover. Once again, however, RACS carried the day.

Up to this point the ADM had consistently supported or kept an open mind on British membership of the Market, against an equally consistent element of opposition. By 1975, however, there was a turnaround. The Labour Government had renegotiated terms of membership, which were to be submitted to the referendum on June 5th, shortly after the Union's ADM, and the Executive Council tabled a proposition, moved by Lord Allen, in support of continued membership. Derby and Burton Co-operative, in a resolution, moved by J. Dilks, proposed that the Executive be instructed to advise the Union's membership to vote "No". After a closely argued debate, the Executive proposition was defeated on a card vote, the figures being 93,504 votes in favour, 103,084 against. As we have seen, however, the nation voted in favour of continued membership.

The referendum has not, of course, permanently settled the question of Britain's continued membership of the EEC. It is a subject that has continued to agitate public opinion and it has continued to feature in USDAW's affairs. A hostile resolution was debated at the 1978 ADM. Moved by E. W. Lamburn on behalf of Birmingham Co-operative it affirmed that membership had failed to improve Britain's economic performance, declared that direct elections to the EEC would erode the sovereignty of Parliament, and called for a campaign to withdraw. An amend-

ment by Greater Nottingham Regional Co-operative, moved by J. Peck, substituted for withdrawal a demand that the British Government should refuse to implement Common Market decisions damaging to our standard of life, and in this form the proposition was carried. In 1979 a call to seriously consider continued membership unless there were improvements in the Common Agricultural Policy was referred to the Executive. It seems probable that many future annual meetings will have this issue before them.

### EXPANSION AND SERVICE

The seventies were a period of rapid advance, both in recruitment and the establishment of stronger negotiating and bargaining relationships with the great distributive and service employers. Some extracts, mainly from the columns of *Dawn*, show the impetus that was driving the Union forward.

There was a major breakthrough with Woolworth in 1977. Since the strike in South Wales (see chapter 27) the firm had recognised the Union on a store by store basis wherever it secured a substantial level of membership. The Union could make national representations on wages, but they were determined unilaterally without negotiation. Progress with recruitment was slow until 1973 when, under the direction of Chief Organising Officer Jim Hughes, a national recruitment campaign was launched. The results at first were patchy. But the momentum continued. By the end of 1976 the Midlands Division, for instance, had secured recognition in 22 Woolworth stores and had applied for it in 15 others, where at least half the staff had joined the Union.

In June of 1977, when USDAW had about 10,000 Woolworth members, the Union applied to top management for national bargaining rights. John Phillips, after a preliminary meeting, was told that the question would be considered as a matter of major Board policy. The decision was to accept the Union as the wages bargaining representative of the staff from January, 1978. The staff had been balloted on whether they wished to be represented by a Union, and 56 per cent had voted "Yes". The first national agreement was negotiated by John Phillips and National Officer John Flood, at the beginning of 1978.

From the 10,000 Woolworth members of the Union we come down to one individual. A woman member who worked as a

cleaner for the firm in Cardiff was made redundant when industrial cleaners were brought in. She has a blind husband and was anxious to retain the job. Management at first refused. The case was due to go to the Industrial Tribunal. But after discussions between the Union and the firm it was agreed to re-engage her as a sales assistant, with compensation to cover dismissal. A good example of a Golden Rule — that a Trade Union is as good as the benefits it can bring to an otherwise helpless individual member.

In 1975 the Littlewoods Organisation reached an agreement with USDAW and the General and Municipal Workers' Union which *Dawn* claimed was probably the first of its kind with a major company in the United Kingdom. It provided for the indexing of wages, by replacing the annual review with a quarterly increase related to the Retail Price Index; to be maintained within the terms of the then existing Social Contract. Jack Gardner, USDAW's North Western Divisional Officer, led the Union side in the negotiations. About 13,000 workers in the firm's Liverpool headquarters and all but one of its mail order establishments were represented by USDAW; the exception being at Sunderland, where the workers were organised by the GMWU. A somewhat similar agreement for a much smaller number of abattoir workers at Fareham was negotiated by Area Organiser Derek Knapp. Later the Littlewoods agreement was extended to the firm's stores, plus an unsocial hours agreement for working on Saturdays.

Not all negotiations were concerned with improvements in wages and conditions. During the period of this chapter the great tailoring firm of Burton fell on difficult times, which drastically affected its directly owned stores and subsidiaries. Most of the staff were USDAW members. During 1977 and 1978 heavy redundancies and shop closures were planned by the company. Protracted negotiations led by John Flood resulted in agreements that considerably reduced the originally intended number of redundancies, and secured improvements in severance payments.

Lord Allen was also involved and assurances were given by the head of Burton that the company was undertaking a multi-million pounds development programme that, once reorganisation had been carried out, would improve job prospects in the

firm's hundreds of shops.

It was during this period that John Flood was appointed Assistant General Secretary Designate to succeed John Phillips on the latter's retirement in October, 1978. John Flood had been a Union member since 1942, when he joined as a grocery apprentice at Greenock Co-op, became an Area Organiser for USDAW in 1959 and National Officer for the retail private trade since 1970. Before the end of this chapter we shall see that his duties have since been still further extended.

In a tribute to John Phillips *Dawn* said "His departure marks the end of the line of Central Office officials who began their full-time service in the 1930s and helped lead the Union into the 1970s". His 46 years' service had begun with the Shop Assistants' Union and his outstanding achievement had been to lead the break-through of Union membership and agreements into the great private multiples. He would probably regard as his crowning achievement the negotiation in the last few months of service of the first pay and recognition agreement with Woolworth.

On 1st August, 1977, the Union was the subject of a BBC documentary film "Divided we Stand", featuring meetings of three typical branches, the ADM in session, interviews with the General Secretary and rank and file members. The branches were Dalry Chemical (Ayrshire), Birmingham Co-operative and Manchester General. *Dawn* commented "If there was one weakness of branch democracy shown up in the film it was the relatively poor attendance at branch meetings".

The same year saw the Union's first major venture into the arts. On 22nd October, 1,800 members, their families and friends, packed the Philharmonic Hall, Liverpool, for an USDAW-sponsored concert of Viennese music by the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by John Georgiadis. It was doubly an USDAW event, for the Lord Mayor of Liverpool, Councillor Paul Orr, was not only the guest of honour, but as a long-standing member of the Union he was presented by Lord Allen with his 30 years' membership award. Councillor Orr had played a notable part in building up the bottling section of the Liverpool Food Manufacturing Branch.

A new problem for the Union emerged in the seventies — that of language among members of Asian origin. There was

a striking case at Shire Textiles in 1978. Out of 54 Punjabi-speaking employees, all members of the Central Midlands branch, only one, Mrs. Ghataore, spoke English. Not surprisingly, she was shop steward, and played an active part with Area Organiser, P. Davis, in negotiating a recognition and procedural agreement. Translated into Punjabi, it was the first to be produced in a minority language. In the same year a "join up" appeal was printed in Punjabi for recruiting in a new food factory at Park Royal, North West London.

The issue of *Dawn* for January, 1976, reported a record of voluntary service that is unlikely to be excelled. At the end of the previous year 82 years-old Harry Wimpenny cashed up for the last time after 50 years as financial secretary of the St. Helens 'S' Branch. He had been a Trade Union member for 63 years, having joined the Shop Assistants' Union at the age of 19. He was awarded the TUC Gold Badge in 1960 and earlier had received the Tolpuddle Martyrs' Medal of Congress for recruiting and organising. And at 82 Harry was still working for the Union — he had taken on the job of corresponding secretary of the branch.

Another Union member was awarded the coveted Gold Badge in 1976. David McGibbon, a well-known Glasgow Trade Unionist and Labour man, had been a member for nearly 43 years, originally in the Shop Assistants' Union, where he served on the National Executive. From 1947 to 1975 he was on USDAW's Executive Council, and acted as chairman of the Standing Orders Committee at the annual delegate meetings.

Chapter 25 recorded the introduction in 1958 of a new educational scheme and the appointment of Peter Rosenfeld as Education Officer. In 1963 the scheme was refined into three equally important basic "needs" which the educational work of the Union should seek to meet in the closing years of this century.

The first was to provide new, and in particular, young, members with a working knowledge of USDAW's purpose and functions. The second was to provide opportunities for all members to "consider and discuss industrial, political, economic and other important Union policy issues". The third need went right down to bedrock — the provision of training opportunities for key members such as branch officers, shop stewards

and collectors.

The Union's needs can be briefly described but it would take a lengthy chapter to cover the great variety of ways in which they are being met by the Department. A few examples will be given from the annual report of 1978. In that year 1,003 young members — a record total — enrolled for a six-months home study course based on six booklets *Introducing USDAW*. Special schools for young members of 25 years or less were organised by Federations. Since 1966 groups of members under 25 years of age have been invited annually to attend the ADM as visitors. A variety of scholarships to TUC and Scottish TUC summer schools had been provided. For active and committed members, Federations had organised 38 one-day or weekend schools, with an attendance of 1,100.

A priority objective of the education scheme is the training of voluntary officers. Courses of three to five days duration are held throughout the year. In 1978, for example, 85 such courses were attended by over 900 shop stewards and Union representatives from a large number of companies and Co-operative Societies. Additionally, one-week courses for recently elected branch secretaries and CIS group secretaries are held regularly at Central Office.

Much of the work of the Department is serviced by six full-time training officers based on the Union's territorial Divisions, with W. G. Walker acting as Senior Training Officer.

Apart from the educational work which it directly controls, the Union also makes grants to residential adult education colleges, to members who obtain scholarships to these colleges and to those taking degree courses through the Open University. It is also represented on the governing bodies of several educational establishments and five industrial training boards — for catering; chemical and allied trades; food, drink and tobacco; rubber and plastics; and distributive trades.

#### CHANGES AT THE TOP

A major change in the Union came so close to 1978, the terminal date for most of this book, that it must be included. In April, 1979, W. H. P. Whatley was elected as General Secretary to succeed Lord Allen on his retirement at the age of 65 in July. A third major change at the top was in 1977, when J. D. Hughes did not seek re-election to the Presidency and was



succeeded at the ensuing election by S. Tierney, MP.

Lord Allen, who will better be remembered in the Union as "Alf" or "Alfred" Allen, held the General Secretaryship for 17 years and it can be said of him that for that period and his earlier days the Union had been his life as well as his profession.

He led USDAW during the most rapid expansion of membership in its history. He was elected 15 years after the amalgamation with the Shop Assistants' Union. At that stage the recently born USDAW had made only a modest gain of 12,901 towards the membership potential that had dazzled and to some extent deluded its founders. During his General Secretaryship there had been a further increase of 106,140 up to the end of 1978. While he is the first to allot the credit to the Union's lay activists, full-time staff and a forward-looking Executive Council, his own energy and vision have played a powerful part in that story of growth.

Lord Allen had been on the General Council of the TUC since 1962 and had held two senior positions — the Presidency of Congress in 1974, and Chairman of the Economic Committee since 1975. He undertook a full share of the heat and burden that recent years of wages controversy have imposed on the General Council and had participated in negotiations with six Prime Ministers on this contentious issue — Macmillan, Hume, Heath, Wilson, Callaghan and Mrs. Thatcher.

Throughout his term of office he held firmly to four principles, and their theme can be traced through innumerable speeches, articles, interviews and broadcasts. Firstly, that free collective bargaining is a basic element of free Trades Unionism, and, as a corollary, that any attempt to control the process by law is wrong in principle and invariably a failure in practice. Secondly, that planning the economy for growth and social benefit rather than for private profit is not irreconcilable with free collective bargaining, and in both social and economic terms is a better way of running the nation's affairs. Thirdly, that the continued existence of large groups of underpaid workers is a social sore as evil as the sweating scandal of Victorian days. Fourthly, that Trades Unionism must have an ethical as well as an economic base. Stronger Unions should not live only by their own strength. There are times when they should forebear so that the standards of weaker brothers could

be raised.

And if all that sounds like old-fashioned Socialism, Alfred Allen would probably reply "What would be wrong with giving old-fashioned Socialist principles a real try?"

W. H. P. Whatley is another General Secretary who will be known by his first name. "Bill" he is to those who have known him in the many positions he has held in USDAW and Bill he will continue to be in the highest position of all.

He brings to the role of General Secretary 31 years' experience acquired at all four levels of the Union's recruiting and negotiating activities — branch activist, Area Organiser, National Officer and Chief Organising Officer.

He joined the Union in 1938, and after war experience in the Royal Air Force, he was a lay officer for some years at the Newcastle upon Tyne CWS branch. In 1948 he was appointed as an Area Organiser and spent the next 14 years in that role, serving in two of the Union's Divisions. During those years he acquired experience of almost every trade within the scope of USDAW, both among the Co-operative membership and in the then growing private trade sector.

As a National Officer from 1966 he was responsible for the wholesale and retail meat trades, to which later were added the retail Co-operative membership, the milk industry and other trade groups. He became Chief Organising Secretary in 1976, the position he held on his election as General Secretary.

Bill Whatley's knowledge of the Union and its problems is wide and deep. As General Secretary he will move in the wider world where Trades Unionism and politics interlock. In both fields his experience and qualities fit him for the role of fifth General Secretary in the history of USDAW. Following his election, John Flood was redesignated as Deputy General Secretary, a role which included his assumption also of the responsibilities formerly discharged by the Chief Organising Officer.

With the new President the role of first names still applies. He is "Syd" Tierney to the Union and in the Yardley constituency of Birmingham, which he held from the two elections of 1974 to Labour's defeat in 1979. He was the third MP to serve as President, the others being John Jagger and Walter Padley.

Most of his adult life has been absorbed in his 36 years' membership of the Union and in the Labour Party. In the

tradition of both, he sought to qualify for service by study; in his case a scholarship to Plater College, Oxford, where he gained the University Diploma in Economics and Politics. From Oxford he returned to his milk round as a Co-operative employee and to further involvement in local Union and political activity, including service as a municipal councillor. Later he became an Area Organiser for the Union, and as this is written he has been appointed as a National Officer.

Syd Tierney is a quiet man whose unobtrusive demeanour conceals a deep knowledge of industry, Trades Unionism and politics acquired in the hard school of experience and sharpened by study. He has much to give the Union, and Parliament, too, should he seek re-election.

To successfully fill the role of Chief Officer or President at the head of a large and complex organisation is as much an art as it is an executive operation. Each develops his own approach and style. The common factors required are dedication, experience, judgment and vision. USDAW has been fortunate in these times of change and turmoil to have been served by a new and a retiring General Secretary who fully satisfy these requirements and by a President who is in the best tradition of a long line of predecessors.

#### GOODBYE!

This story of USDAW began on 18th March, 1891, when 30 representatives of Co-operative "servants" and committee members of retail Co-operatives met on CWS premises and decided to form the Manchester District Co-operative Employees' Association. We end this history of the Union 88 years later, after two world wars and a triple revolution in the social, economic and political state of Britain. Not a long time, no greater than the life span of many men and women. In that span the Union has grown from numerical insignificance to become the sixth largest affiliate of the TUC, with a rate of increase in recruitment which, if continued, foreshadows a much larger membership in the future.

Whatever changes the future may bring it is certain that working people will continue to need the protection of strong Trades Unions. It may be that by the end of the century British Trades Unionism, too, will have changed in many ways. One cannot foresee the future but whatever form it takes it can

confidently be predicted that USDAW will continue to be in the forefront.

It is time now to say goodbye to the days of yesteryear — and may many tomorrows bring continued good fortune to a free Trade Union that for so long has done so much for so many.





## Appendix II — contd.

## NUDAW SCALES ON AMALGAMATION OF 1921

SCALE	Weekly Contribution at 16 years of age and upwards	Weekly Benefit Out of Employment Ten Weeks	Weekly Benefit During Sickness or Temporary Disability Ten Weeks	Funeral Benefit on Death of Member	Permanent Disablement and Distress Benefits			Dispute and Victimization Benefit During Unemployment Through a Strike Sanctioned by the Executive Council, or Through Lockout or Victimization Due to Action by or on Behalf of the Union.
					Disablement Through Accident or Infirmary	Total Disablement Through Illness	Distress Grants	
					Total	Partial	Per Week	
I	1s 4d	24s	18s	£12	£100	£50	30s	
II	1s	16s	12s	£8	£100	£50	30s	
III	8d	8s	6s	£4	£100	£50	30s	
IV	6d	6s	—	—	—	—	30s.	
V	Associates under 16 under 16 3d.	—	—	—	—	—	15s	





## Appendix II — contd.

### NOTES

In 1918 AUCE had five tables of contributions and benefits, viz:

1. All ordinary Union benefits (the table on page 377).
2. All ordinary benefits except sick pay and disablement.
3. TU benefits for seasonal workers.
4. TU benefits only without sick, funeral or disablement benefits.
5. As (4) for low-paid female workers only.

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## ERRATA

- Page 98, line 22—For Charles II read Charles I.  
 ,, 202, ,, 40— ,, 1961 read 1951.  
 ,, 268, ,, 19— ,, experts read exports.  
 ,, 319, ,, 2— ,, 1980 read 1908.