

UNITE ENVIRONMENT QUARTERLY ISSUE 2



© Joe Burni

NOVEMBER 2020

Jim Mowatt,
Convenor of the Unite
Environment Taskforce



unite
theUNION

The logo for 'unite the UNION' features a stylized white wave graphic above the word 'unite' in a lowercase sans-serif font, with 'theUNION' in a smaller, all-caps sans-serif font below it.

Foreword November 2020 Jim Mowatt

Dear Colleague

Since the construction of our first quarterly Environment Report the whole world has been transformed by lockdowns implemented to stop the spread of COVID-19. As national economies begin to emerge from their lockdown status at various paces, the economic fallout from lockdown is starting to take centre stage at government and policy level. As trade unionists, we have a pivotal role to play in protecting our members as best we can in a post pandemic period.

In any economic recovery discussion, green policies (the climate crisis, Just Transition and food-to-fork) are central. On the Global and European scale, our voice in IndustriALL and the Global Union Federation (GUF), is crucial. IndustriALL's focus on a green manufacturing future has 'Just Transition' at its heart. With the United Nations COP26 conference rescheduled to November 2021 in Glasgow – see our previous report – our involvement in Trade Unions for Energy Democracy (TUED) dovetails our union into the Scottish Trade Union Congress Global Trade Union Assembly. With a series of virtual meetings concentrating on the 'Pandemic and Beyond: workers organising for a New Future', we will have to meet – albeit virtually.

And as I have said previously "things are going to get worse before they get worse!" Pat Rafferty's expose' of the Scottish and UK Governments' commitment to a 'Just Transition' is not just hollow – it's a lie. "Promises of a 'Saudi Arabia of Renewables' supporting 28,000 jobs finishes with mothballed Scottish fabrication yards".

In the meantime within our Sectors, Regions and Nations, we continue to combat the climate crisis and through 'Just Transition' our fight for Social Justice.

Your comments, observations, news and actions are really welcome. So please let me know what's happening in your workplace, company and sector.

In solidarity

Jim Mowatt

Convenor of the Unite Environment Taskforce

Contents

Foreword - Jim Mowatt - Convenor of the Unite Environment Taskforce	2
Introduction	4
Transport	4
What is the Green New Deal (GND)?	5
The Case for a Green New Deal - Ann Pettifor	5
Lucas Plan Workers' Initiative	6
Lucas Aerospace - The Lessons for Today	7
Two People – Two Ideologies – Destroyed Lucas	7
Unite Shop Stewards are helping to organise Socially Useful Production to tackle the COVID-19 pandemic	8
Unite's message to Rolls Royce and links to the Lucas Plan	9
Green Fiscal Recovery packages for economies hit by the COVID-19 pandemic	9
The Green Fiscal Recovery packages chosen from the survey	10
Labour's plans for a green economic recovery	10
TUC blueprint for a greener and fairer post COVID-19 economy	11
COP 26 – Glasgow 2021	11
A snapshot of environment issues in Unite's industrial sectors	12
A public thanks and Conclusion	13
Appendix 1	14
The Green New Deal Bill - (The Decarbonisation and Economic Strategy Bill)	14
The Green Transformation - The Labour Party's Environment Policy	17
Appendix 2	18
The Alternative Corporate Strategy of the Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee - (The Lucas Plan)	18
Lessons from The Lucas Plan that can be used today to address the climate crisis:	19
Appendix 3	26
The New Lucas Plan (2016)	26
YouTube films on themes covered in this issue of the Unite Environment Quarterly	27
Sources of Information for Reports, Articles and Images	28
Regional Offices	32

Introduction:

Unite, which reaches into the nooks and crannies of the whole of the UK economy, has to confront the various challenges that our members face and inevitably these will not be aligned. We shall have to maturely deal with internal and external conflicts. Debates in Parliament are often synthetic exercises, where we witness that the object is to defeat and often humiliate the opponent.

In contrast, a trade union democratic debate is an exercise in listening and absorbing the experiences, ideas, suggestions and desires of those who disagree with you. And for them to afford you the same courtesy. By these processes everyone involved in the debate benefits. Everyone is better informed to make a pragmatic intelligent judgement. UNITE needs to provide the space for our members' representatives to genuinely debate the impacts of climate change on their sector and others' sectors.

As was emphasised in the previous 'Environment Quarterly', Climate Crisis campaigning will unavoidably put the union, and assuredly certain sectors of UNITE, into unholy and uncomfortable alliances.

In the Global dimension these seemingly intractable difficulties will be made worse by the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Here is the fear which many, including the celebrated green economist Yanis Varoufakis harbour; that COVID-19 has deepened and accelerated the economic crisis caused by the 2007/09 financial crisis into a bigger bubble of debt.

Labelling the responses as the 'suspension of capitalism'. Yanis predicts severe austerity measures on top of the catastrophic health situation. In



Yanis Varoufakis is a supporter of a Green New Deal, believing it could unite Europe's progressives

2019, Yanis stated that a Green New Deal can unite Europe's [progressives](#). This is the content of our proposals for the green industrial revolution. We need a Just Transition, which includes: skills development, retraining opportunities and carbon reduction strategies.

Transport:

Road Transport is currently one of the biggest contributors to greenhouse gas emissions in developed economies like the UK, EU and US. The effective decarbonisation of road transport is critical to achieving the UK's modest ambition of net-zero carbon emissions by [2050](#). Every other source of emissions will have to be sharply reduced as well.

An alternative to fossil fuels has proven elusive. The contest between Hydrogen and batteries continues with the former being more sustainable – batteries being toxic and difficult to dispose of safely. Plus China has 73% of the global market of lithium required for batteries. This could present a problem in the supply chain of electric vehicles (EVs), as UK automotive manufacturers would be heavily reliant on China for an important resource component for [electric batteries](#).

Public transport has a critical role to play in decarbonising our transport system. COVID-19 presents an existential crisis to the transport sector. The lockdown has witnessed passenger trips fall off a cliff. With home working and on-line shopping these will inevitably weaken structural changes in our economy as people's behaviours change. Rising car and van usage is predicted. As is increased emissions. Decarbonising our public transport system is critical to achieving net zero carbon [emissions](#).



Many cities across the world are in danger of being flooded if rising sea levels from climate change continues

What is the Green New Deal (GND)?

Over the last 12 months, many of you would have become familiar with the term 'The Green New Deal'. In the UK and the US, the term has been increasingly used by progressive trade unions, politicians, economists, policy makers and environmentalists. In this section of the report, we take a look at the origins of the Green New Deal and its adoption by politicians and policy makers.

The Green New Deal is increasingly referred to as a strategy that needs to be introduced to tackle the grave implications associated with the climate emergency. The economic uncertainty caused by the COVID-19 pandemic suggests that there is no better time to introduce Green New Deals around the world to stimulate the global economy and, at the same time, address the climate emergency. And a Green New Deal could create hundreds of thousands of job opportunities for our members.

The Case for a Green New Deal - Ann Pettifor

In the UK, the origins of the Green New Deal date back to 2008 when the Green New Deal Group (an advocacy organisation) was formed in London by a group of economists and environmentalists. This group published a proposal backing a Green New Deal in 2008. The proposal provided a green economic stimulus package following the global economic downturn caused by the financial crisis of 2007/09. The proposal received a lacklustre response at the time as world leaders and policy makers' focussed on formulating proposals to save the global banking system and the global economy.

The route that the political leaders and central banks chose was large levels of quantitative easing (QE) programmes designed to encourage lending and investment. The problem with this approach was that, in many cases, the banks did not distribute the money throughout the economy by providing loans to small to medium sized enterprises (SMEs) and individuals. This was because the banks tightened their lending criteria to these customers. A lot of the QE funds were used to finance banker's bonuses, went to shareholders in dividend payments and were used to refinance the bank's balance sheets. The problem with this approach was that the very people who had largely caused the global financial crisis, i.e. risk-taking bankers, were invariably the ones that were benefiting from the large scale QE programmes from the central banks.

Fossil fuel companies (oil, gas, coal) also received significant funding from the banks as part of the QE programme.

Excessive bankers' bonuses had been a key reason for the financial collapse of 2007-09, as bankers pursuit of excessive bonuses led them to create increasingly riskier financial products. These products included subprime mortgages and unregulated use of derivatives products. During the economic downturn of 2007/09, greenhouse gas emissions declined by 1.4%. However, as the global economy emerged from the global recession in 2009/10, greenhouse gas emissions increased by 5%.

The turbo charged economy recovery in 2009/10 was driven by the use of fossil fuel energy. This was detrimental to addressing climate change, as greenhouse gas emissions rose in the process.

In 2019, the Labour Party and the Green Party in the UK became vocal supporters of a Green New Deal. Clive Lewis (Labour Party) and Caroline Lucas (Green Party) put forward the 'Decarbonisation and Economic Strategy Bill - (The Green New Deal Bill) in the Houses of Parliament in September 2019.

In the United States, progressive politicians in the Democratic Party like Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, were strong advocates for a Green New Deal. Professor Ann Pettifor, a member of the Green New Deal Group, published her book 'The Case for a Green New Deal' in 2019.

In Ann Pettifor's book 'The Case for a Green New Deal' it identifies that financial systems, economies and ecosystems are all interconnected. Pettifor argues that climate change can only be truly addressed through a transformation of financial systems and economies. Their interests must become subordinate to the interests of societies and ecosystems.



Professor Ann Pettifor - The Case for a Green New Deal

According to Ann Pettifor, major system changes are needed to tackle climate change and these include structural changes to government and inter-governments, alongside behavioural and technological changes. These system changes need to be applied at a global level to benefit the world's ecological systems.

Ann Pettifor cites the radical transformation that took place in the global financial system and global economies following the introduction of the 'New Deal' programme introduced by US President, F.D. Roosevelt. She notes that this was done to tackle the great depression and mass unemployment in the 1930s, and believes a similar example is needed today to address the issues of the climate emergency.

Huge government investment will be needed to finance Green New Deal programmes around the world. Ann Pettifor believes that nations with robust tax collection systems will be able to pay for the investment through increased tax revenues from the growing number of workers that are employed in an emerging and burgeoning green industrial sector. Significant investment will be required to train people in the green skills required to carry out the green jobs in the green economy.

Ann Pettifor highlights how a Keynesian multiplier effect from government investment in the Green New Deal programme will have positive benefits for the UK economy.

The government investment in a Green New Deal programme will increase aggregate demand in the economy as more people become employed in the green economy. The money that they earn will be spent in the economy and this increases aggregate demand in the economy which creates more new jobs.

As the economy grows, the government will receive increased tax revenues from previously unemployed workers who are now working, and from better paid green jobs. These increased tax revenues will help the government pay for further investments in the Green New Deal programme. This will be required to meet the governments net zero carbon emissions commitments. This government investment in Green New Deal programmes will have a multiplier effect, as increased tax revenues will help governments to finance green initiatives in the next economic cycle. And this process will continue. This process could lead to a situation where inflationary pressures

arise in the economy if aggregate demand in the economy becomes higher than aggregate supply in the economy. If this situation arises, then from a Keynesian perspective, the inflationary pressures could be controlled by a combination of reducing the level of government investment in the economy and increasing interest rates to encourage saving over consumption (spending).

For an in-depth analysis on the Green New Deal. Please read Appendix 1 at the end of the report.

Lucas Plan Workers' Initiative:

What lessons can we learn from the Lucas Aerospace Combines Alternative Corporate Strategy in our quest to tackle the climate emergency?

Back in 1976 a Combine of shop stewards from a number of trade unions representing workers at Lucas Aerospace produced an Alternative Corporate Strategy.

The strategy gained worldwide interest for its ideas on producing socially useful products, through human centred methods of production. It included product designs and prototypes of environmentally friendly products that were ground breaking in 1976, many of which are now mainstream products helping to tackle the climate emergency. The ideas behind the Combine's Alternative Corporate Strategy still resonate today in the battle to address the climate [emergency](#).



Margaret Thatcher (UK Prime Minister, 1979-1990) and Keith Joseph (Secretary of State for Industry, 1979-1981) were supporters of monetarism and free market economics.

Lucas Aerospace – The Lessons for Today:

At its zenith Lucas Industries employed 92,000 people in the UK. Tens of thousands of these workers were women who worked on the production line producing automotive wiring systems. The Lucas Aerospace combine of workplace representatives epitomised the very best of British trade unionism – and so, too, the Lucas Industries Combine. When I was the national negotiating officer we had 42,000 members in Lucas in the early 1990's.

Two People – Two Ideologies – Destroyed Lucas:

The formal neo-liberal economics of Mrs Thatcher led to manufacturing in the UK being deliberately decimated. Lucas Industries was a major victim. Paradoxically, such was the calibre of the shop stewards in Lucas, that many, having lost their jobs, became full-time trade union officers and tutors. Bob Fazakerley was a steward in the Lucas factory. Regrettably, not in the Fazakerley factory, but in Broadgreen!

The economic ideology of neo-liberalism proved to be disastrous for many UK industries when introduced by the Conservative Governments of Margaret Thatcher between 1979 and 1990. In the late 1980s through to the noughties, another tactic used by the neo-liberals to detrimentally affect UK companies was the strategy of mergers and acquisitions. Lord Weinstock's General Electric Company was destroyed by mergers and acquisitions and was finally killed off by the dot-com bubble in 2001. From 250,000 GEC employees in 1980 to none in 2000.

So enters the second villain onto the British scene, Victor A Rice.

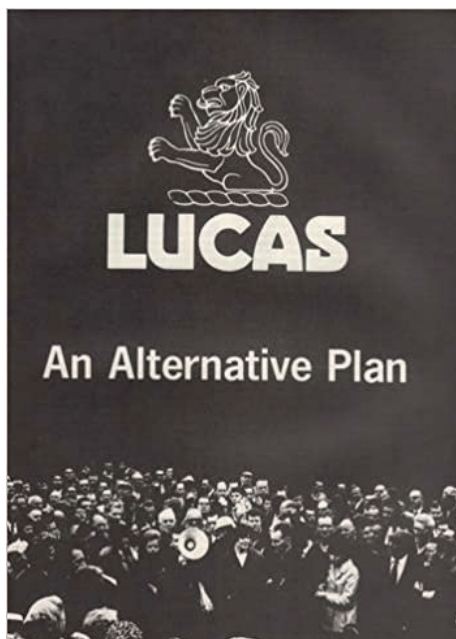
After pillaging the pension benefits of Massey Ferguson workers in North America (and being exposed for doing so by the United Auto Workers) the English-born Victor A Rice merged his own company 'Varity' in 1996 with 9,000 employees with Lucas's 44,000 employees and destroyed Lucas Varity within three years!

Even the employers labelled him the 'J.R. Ewing' of the Automotive Industry.

Lucas no longer exists. Pincered by two deeply political powerful individuals (Margaret Thatcher and Victor A. Rice), the employees were simply ignored. The workers' plans were ignored. These plans would have saved Lucas and served our economy and our communities superbly.

This is why in this second edition of the Unite Environment Quarterly, we have focused in detail on the Lucas Aerospace Combine's 'Alternative Corporate Strategy'. It is a template today for our reps to study and digest if we are to fashion a trade union response to the climate emergency.

An expanded explanation is laid out for you in Appendix 2. We strongly recommend that you discuss the 'Lucas' Plan in your branches and reps' committees. And perhaps following up on some of the topics in our list of references in Appendix 3.



The cover of the Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee's Alternative Corporate Strategy

Unite Shop Stewards are helping to organise Socially Useful Production to tackle the COVID-19 pandemic:

In March 2020, the UK Government set up the Ventilator Challenge to address the shortage of ventilators in the NHS. These ventilators were required to help patients with extreme cases of the COVID-19 virus. The challenge included a consortium of leading engineering companies collaborating to increase production of an existing, but slightly altered, ventilator produced in smaller quantities by an Oxfordshire based [company](#).

One of these companies was Airbus. The Airbus plant in North Wales converted production from producing wings for commercial aircraft to producing ventilators for the COVID-19 pandemic.

The majority of the 4,600 workforce are Unite members. Around 80 Unite shop stewards at the Airbus plant in North Wales met on a weekly basis. These meetings were held to address issues relating to the conversion of production to produce ventilators as part of the UK Government’s Ventilator Challenge programme. Unite shop stewards were involved at every stage of the production conversion. This allowed production to continue to operate on a 24/7 basis throughout the pandemic. Unite’s health and safety representatives have been pivotal in ensuring that the workforce are protected from the COVID-19 [coronavirus](#).

The conversion in production has enabled Airbus to continue production at a time when the future of the commercial aircraft industry is uncertain. This uncertainty in the commercial airline industry could last for several years. The conversion of production has provided an opportunity for the company and industry to look at diversifying its production into areas where demand is higher. This could include socially useful products like ventilators and environmentally friendly products to help fight the climate emergency.

Citing the example of the Lucas Aerospace Combine’s Alternative Corporate Strategy back in 1976, Unite identified how Airbus was able to use the skill set and experience of the aerospace workforce to produce ventilators.

The successful conversion into producing ventilators for the Ventilator Challenge, shows that the Airbus workforce have the skill sets, experience and company technology to successfully diversify production at relatively short notice.

Future diversification of production could be targeted at product areas that have a greater demand than the wings of commercial aircraft. The demand for airtravel dramatically reduced as a result of COVID-19. This resulted in reduced orders for the production of wings for commercial aircraft.

Those governments that have committed to the Paris Agreement, and the commitment to reach net zero GHG emissions by 2050, will have to work with the aviation industry to reduce emissions in the industry. The Aviation industry is looking for viable low or zero carbon air travel alternatives. An article in Forbes magazine dated 25th September 2019, ‘How Far Are We From Flying Zero-Emission Airplanes’, suggests that electric planes could be commonplace within 20 years.

However, these electric planes are likely to be smaller planes holding around 100 passengers which fly between regional airports. Research and development investment in new airline technologies has become more risky given the uncertainty over air travel and passenger numbers following the COVID-19 [outbreak](#).

The option to diversify production into socially useful and environmentally friendly products, in the short to medium term, could be a way of keeping production going. This could save jobs, and maybe even increase employment in certain industrial sectors.



Unite reps and members in Airbus helped to produce ventilators as part of the UK Government’s Ventilator Challenge to tackle COVID-19



Can we fly and have net-zero emissions?

Unite’s message to Rolls Royce and links to the Lucas Plan:

In an article on Unite’s website dated 4 May 2020, **‘Rolls Royce, play your part in rebuilding our economy. Don’t slash jobs’**, Unite urged Rolls Royce to play its full part in developing an industrial strategy that helps develop and deliver the jobs of tomorrow. Unite recognised that the demands of the climate emergency and major public infrastructure projects will require engineering solutions. UK manufacturers like Rolls Royce should be prepared to diversify their production to meet the national [demands](#).

The article goes onto say that COVID-19 has exposed dangerous weaknesses in the resilience of UK manufacturing in terms of producing personal protective equipment (PPE), ventilators, automotive components and the goods that are required to tackle the climate emergency. Unite has urged UK manufacturers, like Rolls Royce, to support an industrial strategy that puts Britain back to work. Engineering excellence and manufacturing capabilities are at the heart of this industrial strategy, and should be expanded throughout the UK.

The themes in this article are similar to those faced by the Lucas Aerospace Combine shop stewards back in the mid-1970s. Faced with the threat of job losses due to a reduction in demand for their military aerospace products, they produced a plan that diversified production into products that were needed by society, including products that were beneficial for the environment. Could Rolls Royce look at similar production options to keep the workforce employed?



Unite urged Rolls Royce to play its full part in developing an industrial strategy that helps to develop and deliver the jobs of tomorrow

Green Fiscal Recovery packages for economies hit by the COVID-19 pandemic:

In May 2020, researchers from the University of Oxford, the London School of Economics and Columbia Business School undertook research on climate friendly fiscal programmes. These were designed to give an economic boost to economies around the world that had been hit by the COVID-19 pandemic. The researchers included Professor Cameron Hepburn (Director of the Smith School of Enterprise and Environment at the University of Oxford), Professor Lord Nicholas Stern (London School of Economics) and Joseph Stiglitz (Columbia Business [School](#)).

The research recognised that COVID-19 is a dramatic shock to the global economy, which could impact progress on tackling climate change. The research identified that green fiscal recovery programmes could achieve economic growth without increasing greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. They could also help to reduce welfare inequalities in the short term and climate change inequalities in the long term.

The research noted that short term reductions in GHG emissions as a result of the economic downturn caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, will have a minor effect on tackling climate change. This would require deeper and longer behavioural changes in humans, businesses and institutions. The research suggests that economic rescue packages like the UK Government’s Job Retention Scheme (Furlough Scheme) are unlikely to have a positive effect on addressing climate change in the long run.

Over 200 officials in central banks, ministries of finance and economic departments of G20 nations were surveyed on the relative importance of major fiscal recovery actions based on: speed of implementation, economic multiplier effect, climate impact potential and overall desirability. The survey responses led to the authors selecting five green fiscal recovery packages that were identified as being best placed to achieve the economic goal of economic expansion, and the climate goal of tackling climate change.

The Green Fiscal Recovery packages chosen from the survey were:

1. Investment in green physical infrastructure programmes
2. Retrofit programmes to make buildings energy efficient.
3. Investment in education and training programmes to address immediate unemployment from COVID-19 and structural unemployment from decarbonisation policies.
4. Capital investment in programmes to improve nature, such as ecosystem resilience and regeneration.
5. Investment in research and development for green technologies.

For low to middle income countries (LMICs), spending on rural support had a higher policy value than investment in research and development for green technologies. The authors noted that appropriate green fiscal recovery packages will differ depending on the economic circumstances of individual nations. Green fiscal recovery packages will be linked to individual nation’s existing Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs). The NDCs are commitments by individual nations to reduce GHG emissions through investment programmes that aim to address climate change as quickly as possible. National governments commitments to NDCs were agreed as part of the Paris Agreement on Climate Change in 2015/16. The authors highlight that green fiscal recovery packages that achieve climate and economic goals, are also more likely to increase the wealth of nations and raise human capital, social capital, physical capital, natural capital and intangible capital.

Labour’s plans for a green economic recovery:

The Labour Party has ambitious proposals to rescue the UK economy in a post-coronavirus period. They plan to do this through a green recovery strategy. The strategy focuses on retraining young workers who have lost their jobs to the COVID-19 pandemic. According to the Resolution Foundation, up to 600,000 young people lost their jobs in the first phase of the COVID-19 lockdown in 2020.

Young workers will be retrained in the green skills required for the green industries that will emerge as the economy transitions towards a green economy. Ed Miliband, shadow business secretary, plans for a ‘zero carbon army of young people’ to be employed planting trees, insulating buildings, and working on green technologies. He argues for transformative investment levels to show similar ambitions as the post war Labour Government of Clement Atlee (1945 – 1951). Ed Miliband suggests the green economic rescue package could include retraining older workers in green skills to ensure no worker is left behind in the transition towards a [greener economy](#).

Miliband and shadow chancellor, Anneliese Dodds, will undertake consultations with businesses, workers, unions and others on how a green recovery for the UK economy could happen, before putting forward proposals to the UK Government.

Labour’s plans for a green economic recovery builds on the green industrial revolution strategy that led to the publication of The Green Transformation’ policy document. This called for a net-zero carbon economy by 2030. The COVID-19 pandemic and subsequent global economic downturn, has led the shadow cabinet to promote the green economic rescue plan as a boost for the UK economy. Ed Miliband identified that the first step in Labour’s plan to tackle the climate emergency would be to engage with young people to tell them that a green economic rescue package would provide young workers with decent, well paid work that makes a significant contribution to addressing the climate emergency.

The green economic recovery plans could be adapted on a regional basis to prioritise regional economic issues. Green skills training could be applied initially in those areas where many jobs have been lost in tourism and hospitality due to the pandemic. The Labour for a Green New Deal group welcomed the announcement by the shadow cabinet, stating that a green transition should be at the heart of Labour’s economic policy.

The Labour for a Green New Deal group called on Labour to push for the public ownership of failing carbon-intensive industries to help address fossil fuel extraction and their associated carbon emissions.

TUC blueprint for a greener and fairer post COVID-19 economy:

In 2020, the TUC published a 'Blueprint for a greener and fairer post-COVID-19 economy'. The blueprint included calls for: fairer wages; investment in sustainable industries; social security reforms; rebuilding public services; greater equality in the workplace and an international set of rules that prioritise decent well paid jobs and decent public services. The blueprint stated that austerity measures imposed by successive Conservative chancellors since 2010 are the opposite of what is required for the UK economy. The TUC recommended large scale investment to grow the UK economy, similar to the investment levels undertaken by the Labour Governments of Clement Atlee and Harold Wilson to rebuild Britain after the Second World [War](#).

TUC General Secretary, Frances O'Grady, refers to 'channelling the 1945 spirit' in reference to the Labour Government of Clement Atlee (1945-1951), and the policies that they introduced to create the welfare state (including the National Health Service) and nationalising major industries and public utilities. Frances O'Grady recommends that the UK Government should focus on growing the UK economy out of the economic downturn caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. This is what the post war 'Atlee' generation did. The UK Government should focus its attention on applying economic and social policies that achieve a greener and fairer economy and society, to build a better future for all UK citizens.

COP 26 – Glasgow 2021:

Reading as if a crime T.V. sequel for Taggart, COP26 is actually the United Nations (U.N.) Climate Change Conference of the Parties 26th annual event. It is to be hosted in Glasgow between the 1st and 12th of November, 2021.

COP25 took place in Madrid in December 2019, under the presidency of the Chilean Government. Chile withdrew from hosting COP25 in late October 2019 as a result of massive protests against social inequalities in Chile by its citizens in the lead up to COP25. A mutual agreement was struck between the UN, Chile and Spain for Madrid to become the new host of COP25 .

COP24 took place in Katowice, Poland in December 2018. There was a major breakthrough for the international trade union movement at COP24 with

the signing of the Just Transition Silesia Declaration. This declaration committed to a Just Transition for workers in the process of tackling climate change. This included the creation of decent work, decent pay and quality jobs. Disappointingly, this commitment to a Just Transition was only on a voluntary basis.

“The COP26 climate talks in Glasgow in November 2021 will be the biggest international summit the UK has ever hosted. COP26 will bring together over 30,000 delegates. These delegates will include heads of state, climate experts and campaigners to agree coordinated actions to tackle climate change”. That’s how the U.N. and the UK Government described this mammoth conference.

And we want our voice heard at this event. By good happenstance Jackson Cullinane, a veteran Scottish politico and a pivotal part of UNITE’s leadership team in Scotland, is President this year of the Scottish Trade Union Congress (STUC).

The General Secretary of the STUC, coincidentally, is Roz Foyer. Roz is another senior Unite official. So Unite is particularly well placed to influence debates and policies at COP26. To make this happen, a working group convened by the Director of Education and comprising of senior lay and full time officials from all those UNITE Sectors is being established. This working group will maximise UNITE’s coherent, concerted and critical voice on a range of environmental issues.

Within Unite, we need to continue to lead policy and practise on addressing climate change. This will include implementing energy efficiencies, sourcing sustainable materials, and applying best practise in our union facilities and buildings.



Roz Foyer: STUC General Secretary

A snapshot of environment issues in Unite's industry sectors:

Having written to all Unite national officials requesting an update on the effects and repercussions of ongoing environmental impacts on their members, the limited space in this issue of the Unite Environment Quarterly means that we can only highlight a few examples. In our next issue we plan to focus on the implications and repercussions that addressing climate change will have on the industry sectors and companies where Unite represents members.

Very recently, it was reported that Airbus are no longer looking at 'Blue' hydrogen (extracted from National gas) but 'Green' hydrogen created from renewable electricity (electrolysis).

"The scale of energy required is genuinely mind boggling." To quote Colin Potter our researcher in Energy (and much much more), " The Sizewell C Nuclear Power Station is designed to produce 11.7 terra-watt hour (TWh) a year. To meet the daily demand for green hydrogen in the aviation industry, it will require a total energy output equivalent to 591 Sizewell C sized nuclear reactors.

This amount of power will be needed just to extract the hydrogen, with more power required to compress the gas so that it becomes a liquid, and even more power needed to purify the water to a level that is pure enough for [electrolysis](#).

To produce this amount of energy from renewable energy sources, would require an area twice the size of Poland covered with 8 mega-watts (MW) wind turbines. These are the size of the wind turbines that will be used in the Walney Extension Offshore Wind Farm Project, west of Barrow-In-Furness off the northwest coast of the Irish Sea. This project will create clean electricity to power around 600,000 [homes](#).

The Walney Extension Project is the largest offshore windfarm in the UK, producing 1.3TWh in 2019 from wind turbines covering 145km².

This just relates to the demand for green hydrogen from the civil aviation industry as a way to reduce emissions from flying. Putting hydrogen through a fuel cell is a more efficient use of hydrogen. This will reduce the demand for hydrogen and the demand for electricity".

Staying with Energy, Peter McIntosh our national officer for Energy was urging the UK Government to unveil their Energy White Paper to allay fears about job losses in the UK nuclear industry. Nuclear Power is a crucial part of the energy 'mix' for decades to come.

Nuclear energy provides a source of clean and reliable electricity as well as creating skilled 'Green' employment. Peter stated:

"A strong commitment to 'new' nuclear will give a confidence boost to the future development of such sites as Bradwell (Essex), Moorside (Cumbria) and Sizewell (Suffolk), following the devastating announcement that Hitachi won't be proceeding with the Wyifa project.

Bringing forward the closure of Huntersson does raise worries for our members at Springfields in Preston – and we will need their highly prized skills in the post-pandemic, post-Brexit economy."

Even 'The Times' agreed with Peter in its leading article of 17th September, viz: "Push for Power: Despite Hitachi's withdrawal from nuclear plants, this form of energy remains vital".

On the same theme was an Education discussion on 'COVID-19: the worldwide threat to jobs'. Cliff Bowen and Jane Stewart joined 17 other leading stewards from the Chemical, Pharmaceuticals, Process and Textiles (CPPT) sector with Ben Richards of our International Department and tutor Dave Spooner and facilitator and rapporteur, Georgia Montague-Nelson of GLI.

The bespoke UNITE Education sessions examined the issues facing the CPPT sector from a global perspective. The group were able, via the virtual classroom, to have a panel discussion with leading trade unionists from Asia, North America and Europe to explore and compare trade union strategy in response to potential job losses. Proof that there can be opportunities in adversity. Under normal circumstance UNITE would have been fortunate to get one of these leading trade unionists to participate in an education course.

A public thanks to the following international trade unionists that participated in the bespoke Unite education course for the CPPT sector:

- John Shinn, USA; secretary – treasurer; United Steelworkers Union.
- Geir Vollaeter, Norway; special advisor; Industri Energi
- Ashutosh Bhattacharya, South Asia; regional officer; IndustriALL
- Michael Wolters, Germany; Industriegewerkschaft Bergbau Chemie Energie
- Tom Grinster, Switzerland; Director; IndustriALL

A report of the session is available from Dave Spooner at G.L.I. Manchester.

Unite’s Working Group on the Environment will focus on our industrial sectors to share information, to increase knowledge, to build cooperation and develop strategies for the future benefit of our members and their families.

Conclusion:

Working in harness with the Greener Jobs Alliance (GJA), the COP26 Coalition and the TUC via TUSDAC, our Environment platform has been built by Carl Jerromes and others so that we are now able to mount sessions at our National Industrial Sector Committees (NISCs) and Regional Committees. We can also provide education courses on the Environment, from 1 day tasters to 5 day courses for Unite reps.



Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Democrat Representative in the US, has been an influential speaker on implementing a Green New Deal in the US to tackle the climate crisis and create decent jobs with decent pay

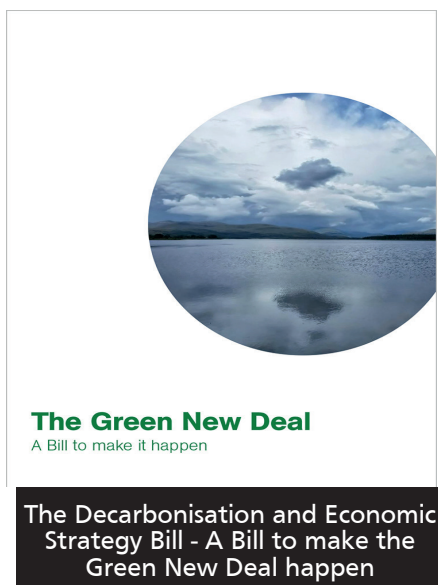
Appendix 1

The Green New Deal Bill – (The Decarbonisation and Economic Strategy Bill):

The Green New Deal Bill: What it is, and What it will do:

The Decarbonisation and Economic Strategy Bill (or Green New Deal Bill) was launched on 20 September, 2019 by Caroline Lucas MP (Green Party) and Clive Lewis MP (Labour Party). Both are members of the Green New Deal Group. It is the first attempt at introducing legislation in the Westminster Parliament for a Green New Deal to become a reality in the UK. Although the Bill failed to complete its passage through Parliament before the end of the 2017-19 session, it is likely that a similar Bill will be put to Parliament when full Parliament resumes in the post lockdown [period](#).

The Bill proposes for the introduction of a Green New Deal Commission. The Green New Deal Commission will have overall governance responsibility for ensuring that a green new deal takes place. The Bill provides a broad framework for the transformation of the UK economy to become a green economy. The Green New Deal Bill will be led by the UK Government, with a recognition that its success will require the cooperation of Parliament and civil society.



The Green New Deal Bill has annual targets for the reduction in greenhouse gas emissions, restoring nature, reducing inequality and increasing wellbeing. The Bill proposes that the UK Government works

with the private sector to secure the large sums of investment funds that will be needed to transform the UK into a green economy and a green society to address the climate emergency.

The Green New Deal Bill recognises that the current financial system places restrictions on the UK Government's ability to raise the finances necessary to put a Green New Deal into action. The passing of the Green New Deal Bill would allow the UK Government to address this issue. It would put people and democracy back in charge of the UK economy by allowing the UK Government greater leverage to access investment funds to finance a green new deal.

Putting people and democracy back in control of the UK economy:

The Green New Deal Bill is designed to take back control of the UK economy from the international free market system. It would create the following opportunities for economic change in the UK economy:

- The UK Government would be responsible for driving investment so that the UK can transition to a green economy and green society. This would require investment in renewable energy, clean transport (low / zero emissions), climate friendly farming and energy efficiency / energy conservation programmes.
- The UK Government investment will be paid for from increased tax revenues from the well-paid green jobs that will be created in a green economy. The increase in well-paid green jobs will also help to tackle the social and economic inequalities that have arisen as a result of the austerity economics applied by successive Conservative Chancellors since 2010. These inequalities date back to the economic and social policies applied by Conservative Governments since Margaret Thatcher's election as UK Prime Minister in 1979.
- The Green New Deal Bill will allow the UK Government to undertake emergency war time measures. This will include the ability to bring offshore capital from tax havens back into the UK, so that it can be taxed by the UK Treasury. This process will help to fund the UK Government's investment in the Green New Deal programme.

Investing in what the UK needs to create a green economy and green society:

- The Green New Deal Bill would ensure that the financial and taxation system would work for the benefit of all citizens in the UK. There would be more collaboration between the Bank of England, the UK Treasury department, and the Debt Management Office (which issues UK Government bonds to raise finance for the UK Government).
- The UK Government’s monetary and fiscal policy would work for all in society and help deal with the problems of the climate emergency.

Delivering the confidence investors are calling for:

Clear government plans and investment from the UK Government in a Green New Deal programme, would provide a structural investment framework for other investors to invest in green initiatives linked to the Green New Deal programme.

Creating a safe future for pensions and savings:

New vehicles for investment would be created. This would provide opportunities for returns on investment for pension funds and savers in current and future time periods. National and local government green bonds could be issued to fund green infrastructure programmes.

New objectives for business, and new kinds of businesses:

- Existing businesses would be advised to adopt stakeholder business models. Business models driven by maximizing profits for shareholders and maximizing remuneration packages for senior executives would be addressed. This is because these neoliberal economic business models have been a main cause behind the acceleration of climate change and inequality since the 1980s.
- Business models that provide workers with a greater stake in their organisations would be promoted, including worker-led cooperatives and community wealth enterprises.

Replacing our measures of progress:

The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) measurement of economic performance would be replaced. This is because the GDP measurement is a cause of inequality in our economy and society, and is a key driver of the economic activity that has led to the climate emergency. The GDP measurement would be replaced by a measurement of the economy that prioritises improvements in health and wellbeing, reductions in inequality, tackling the climate emergency, and restoring and protecting the natural environment.



Labour MPs Clive Lewis (far left), Nadia Whittome (second left) and Zarah Sultana (second right) supporting the Green New Deal Bill outside the Houses of Parliament

An Action Plan to transform the UK:

The Green New Deal Bill has an action plan that is designed to transform the UK economy. This transformation includes ending the UK economy’s reliance on fossil fuel energy, tackling the climate emergency and tackling inequality. The action plan proposes that 5% of the UK’s GDP should be invested every year for ten years in the Green New Deal programme.

The action plan for the Green New Deal Bill has a flexible investment framework. This flexibility would allow for greater levels of investment to take place in years when the effects of climate change increase, (e.g. severe flooding, wildfires, heatwaves and droughts) and when projects to address climate change are ready to be put into practice (i.e. shovel-ready).

The action plan would be the key driver behind the Green New Deal programme helping to produce a dynamic economy that creates well-paid, decent work. Failing to do this will cause environmental, economic and social self-harm to the UK.

Ensuring a Just Transition:

- Decent, secure work for all areas of the UK.
- Targeted investment in areas left behind due to deindustrialisation and globalisation, and groups excluded from full participation in the UK economy (e.g. women, BAEM, underemployed / unemployed) and high carbon emitting industries.
- Worker-led Just Transition to address the historical mismanagement of industrial change and structural inequalities in the UK economy.
- Promotion of company enterprises that give workers a greater stake in the company, i.e. worker-led / municipal cooperatives.

Transforming housing and energy:

- The UK energy infrastructure transformed to a low / net-zero carbon future.
- A commitment to energy efficient housing, with new homes built to zero carbon specification.
- Every building in the UK being energy efficient by 2030, ensuring warmth in the winter and helping to eliminate fuel poverty.
- A 30 by 30 commitment, which commits nations to set aside 30% of the Earth's land and sea for nature by 2030.

A better way to eat: farming for the future:

The Green New Deal Bill will improve both ecological health and public health by investing in agro ecological farming methods that enhance biodiversity and transforms food production. The benefits of agro ecological farming include: more employment opportunities, increased productivity and restoring the health of ecosystems.



A safe space for nature - rewilding our urban areas

- A network of national parks and market garden cities are planned to transform the UK landscape in terms of use and beauty.
- Further education colleges and universities will provide the green skills training needed for the green agricultural sector.

Creating space for nature: revitalising our Ecosystems:

- Safe spaces for nature will be created with policies that restore habitats in urban, suburban and countryside settings. This will improve plant and animal life and the health and wellbeing of humans by providing more opportunities to interact with nature.

Getting around - walking, cycling and public transport:

- Investment in travel will be focused on public transport and cycle lanes. New rail stations will be built with enhancements made to existing rail stations and park and ride facilities. Priority will be given to bus lanes and cycle lanes.
- Car clubs and bike hire schemes will be expanded. There will be an increase in free bus services, and a targeted reduction of bus fares. There will be a greater investment in cycle proficiency training, and low carbon travel advice for school, workplace and recreational journeys.
- Car clubs can provide socially inclusive, low emission mobility which helps to break dependency on private car ownership. Pay as you go cars offer affordable, occasional access to cars to benefit individuals. At the same time, they help policy makers to meet targets at local, regional and national levels, including emissions reduction, improvements to air quality and encouraging individuals to increase their use of sustainable modes of transport. <https://como.org.uk/shared-mobility/shared-cars/why/>

New ways to work and play:

- A standard four day working week will be one of the targets of the Green New Deal Bill. This will provide more time for people, families and communities to share caring duties and become more involved in local politics to assist local democracy. More time can be spent in community life (villages, towns and cities) and this will encourage a fairer distribution of paid and unpaid work.

Redistributing power and resources:

- The UK Government will be the driving force behind the Green New Deal Bill. However, devolved, regional and local governments will have a crucial role to play in ensuring good governance of the Green New Deal Bill. It will be implemented at devolved, regional and local level, and involve engaging with people in the construction and development of the Green New Deal Bill in workplaces and communities.

Guaranteeing global justice:

- The Green New Deal Bill includes international commitments. These commitments include: financing carbon-neutral developments, sharing new clean energy technology, and replacing the export financing of overseas fossil fuel projects with the export financing of clean energy projects.
- Stopping the extraction of natural fossil fuel resources (oil, gas, coal) to sell on world markets. This would ensure that the UK Government's commitment to decarbonising the UK economy will not lead to extracting natural fossil fuel resources from other parts of the world.

The barriers that need to be removed to address the Climate Emergency:

- The Green New Deal Bill recognises that barriers need to be removed immediately to address the Climate Emergency. These barriers include: preventing airport expansion; a ban on fracking; ending the restriction of onshore wind turbines; limiting the building of new roads; stopping the building of high speed rail if money can be better spent on upgrading existing rail networks; and ending government subsidies to fossil fuel industries that cause harmful CO2 emissions.
- The removal of any government legislation that prevents the Green New Deal framework being introduced into the UK. This will ensure the UK Government is committed to decarbonising the UK economy and tackling inequality.

The Green New Deal Bill states that a Green New Deal can become a reality in the UK through engagement between civil society and national and local politicians.

The Green Transformation – The Labour Party's Environment Policy:

The Labour Party published 'The Green Transformation' in [September 2018](#). It became part of the Labour Party's pledge to address climate change in their 2019 General Election manifesto. The Green Transformation took its influence from the work of the Green New Deal Group, the Green New Deal Bill, Labour for a Green New Deal and motions passed at the Labour Party's annual conferences. Labour's Green Transformation document focused on three main areas: principles, priorities and policies.

The principles were:

- Green ambitions based on environmental science.
- Green transformational interventions that lead to structural changes in the economy and society to help tackle climate change.
- To undertake green interventions in the economy and society to advance the Labour Party values of justice, equality, solidarity and democracy at home and abroad.

The priorities were:

- Preventing dangerous climate change and adapting to existing climate change.
- Achieving high air and water quality.
- Reversing the decline of biodiversity and protecting natural habitats.

The seven policy areas were:

1. Energy
2. Housing
3. Transport
4. Fresh water
5. Farming, Habitats and Wildlife Management
6. International focus on addressing the climate emergency
7. Across government

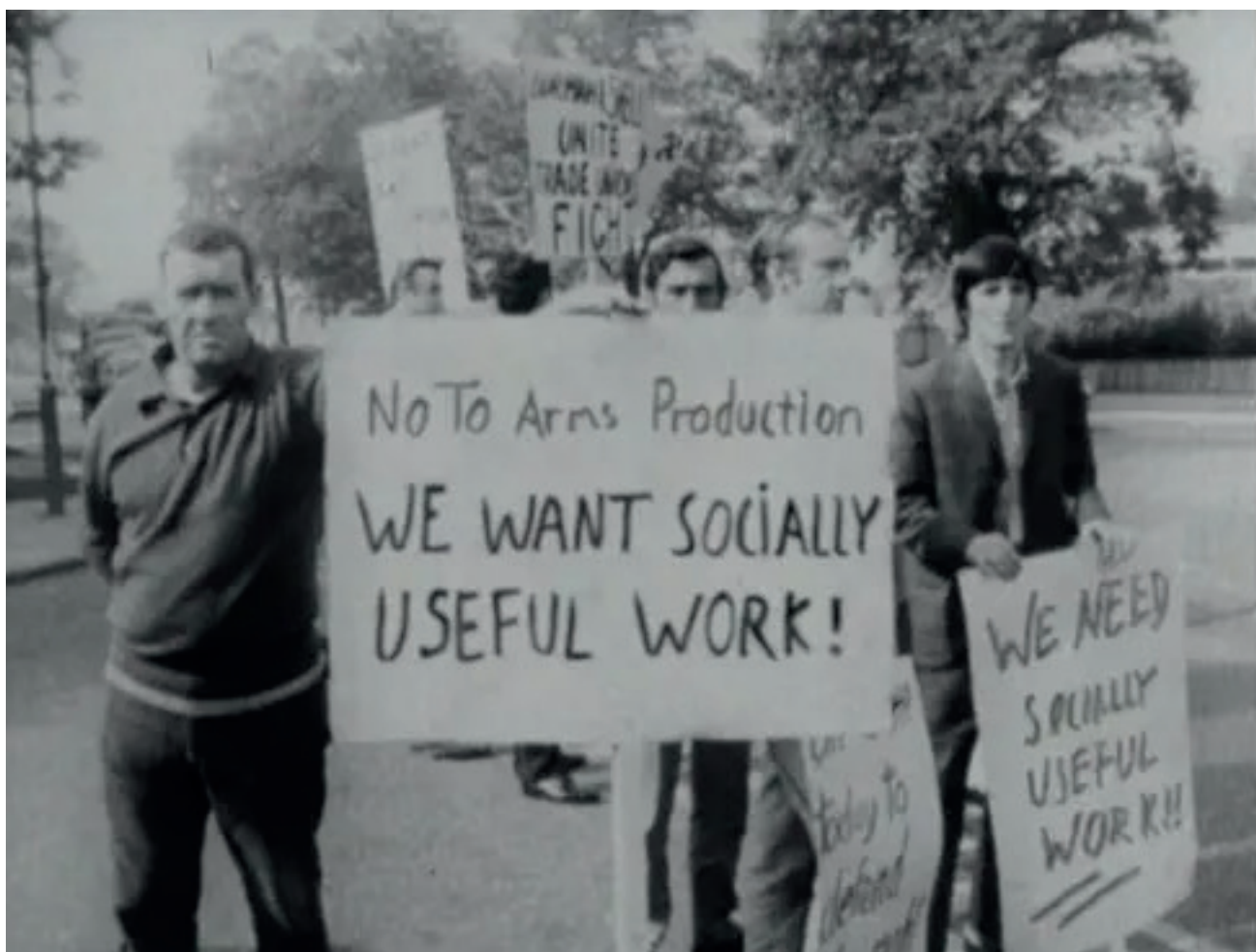
Tackling climate change is recognised as one of the most important tasks of a future Labour Government. Implementing policies to tackle climate change will be a priority brief for every government department in a future Labour Government.

Appendix 2

The Alternative Corporate Strategy of the Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee - (The Lucas Plan):



An electric car made by the Unit for the Development of Alternative Products (UDAP) at Coventry (Lanchester) Polytechnic. The UDAP was set up with help from the Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee



Skilled engineers from Lucas Aerospace negotiating for socially useful work in the mid-1970s

Lessons from The Lucas Plan that can be used today to address the climate crisis:

Introduction:

Back in 1976 a Combine of shop stewards from a number of trade unions representing union members at Lucas Aerospace produced an Alternative Corporate Strategy. The strategy gained worldwide interest for its ideas on producing socially useful products, through human centred methods of production. It included product designs and prototypes of environmentally friendly (sustainable) products that were ground breaking in 1976. Many of these are now mainstream products that are being used to tackle the climate emergency. The ideas behind the Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee's Alternative Corporate Strategy are still relevant today in the battle to address the climate [emergency](#).

The Lucas Plan - An Alternative Corporate Strategy:

The impetus for the Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee's Alternative Corporate Strategy began in 1974 after the Combine of shop stewards became aware of potential job losses at Lucas Aerospace. The company had announced a restructuring process in response to increased competition, the introduction of new technology and the Labour Government's 1974 Manifesto commitment to reduce military spending. Over 50% of Lucas Aerospace's production was military aerospace products supplied to the UK Government. The company relied on the UK Government for investment in order to fulfil the military and civilian contracts that it undertook for the UK Government.

From 1970 to 1974, the workforce at Lucas Aerospace had been cut from 18,000 to 12,000 through a process of natural wastage and redundancies. The job losses were attributed to:

- Reduced investment from the UK Government.
- A reduction in the demand for military products by the UK Government.
- An increase in new technology being introduced into the production process at the expense of labour (workers).

The Combine of shop stewards at Lucas Aerospace was established to improve the trade union negotiations with management. Several unions operated at Lucas Aerospace's 15 production sites in the UK. The Combine enabled a more coherent and unified negotiations approach from the trade unions in discussions with management. Prior to the formation of the Combine, the management at Lucas Aerospace had been known to adopt divide and rule tactics when negotiating with different production sites and between different industrial and craft [unions](#).

The initial response by the Combine to the restructuring process announced by management, was to ask the management to seek support from the UK Government to develop products that were needed by society (socially useful products). The Combine was aware that the Labour Government, elected twice in 1974, had committed to reducing government spending on defence. The Combine believed it made sense for the company and the UK Government to invest in new production lines for products that were needed by society. The alternative to this was to reduce the workforce and make skilled workers unemployed in the process. This would be a financial cost to the tax payer as it would result in redundancy payments and unemployment payments.



A picture from the documentary, *The Plan*, about the Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee's Alternative Corporate Strategy Plan

The Secretary of State for Industry – Tony Benn, 1974:

In 1974, Tony Benn was the Secretary of State for Industry in the Labour Government. Benn had emerged as a radical thinker within the Labour Party and one of the leading lights of the 'new left' within the party. As Minister of Technology in the Labour Government from 1966 to 1970, Benn had increasingly supported workers in their demands for greater industrial democracy and greater worker participation in the decision making within organisations.

In the late 1960s, Benn met with the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders and their shop stewards and was able to secure UK Government funding to keep production going at the Upper Clyde Shipyards.

In 1971, Benn demonstrated alongside the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders in Scotland and in London against the Conservative Government's decision to stop government funding to the Upper Clyde Shipyards. The Conservative Party had been elected as the UK Government in 1970, with Edward Heath as Prime Minister.

As part of the two elected Labour Governments in 1974, Benn had consulted with the workers at the Triumph Motorcycle works in Meriden, near Coventry. Benn supported the Triumph motorcycle workers attempts at keeping their factory in Meriden, near Coventry, open by forming their own workers cooperative. Benn also advised workers in Liverpool and Scotland to help them set up their own workers cooperatives.

Benn had been drafting working papers with his advisors since becoming Secretary of State for Industry in 1974. This culminated in his Alternative Economic Strategy which was produced in February 1975. They became known as the Strategy B policies. The Strategy B policies provided socialist solutions to the economic problems faced by the UK Labour Government at that time. The socialist solutions included: the nationalisation of all key industries, the introduction of planning committees for all major private and public organisations and the promotion of worker cooperatives. Worker cooperatives involved the running of the company by elected members of the workforce. They were introduced by Benn as an alternative to the traditional capitalist company model where managers managed the company, including the workforce (labour), on behalf of the company owners (the shareholders). In Benn's Strategy B policies, the UK Government would become the main employer (directly and indirectly) in the UK economy.



Tony Benn meeting with the workers co-operative at the Triumph Motorcycle works in Meriden, Coventry in 1974. Bill Lapworth, (right) was the Coventry & District secretary of the TGWU

The meeting between the Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee and Tony Benn in November 1974:

The Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee met with Tony Benn in November 1974 to express their concerns over potential job losses at Lucas Aerospace. Earlier in 1974, the management at Lucas Aerospace confirmed that the business was to undergo a restructuring process due to changes in their business circumstances. These changes included a commitment by the UK Government to reduce spending on military products and to reduce investment in Lucas Aerospace. The implementation of new technology at Lucas Aerospace since 1970 had also resulted in job losses.



Tony Benn and Jimmy Reid (centre) with workers & representatives of the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders at Euston Station in 1971, before the march to 10 Downing Street

The Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee were aware of the work that Benn had undertaken with the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders and the Triumph Motorcycle Company. They were also encouraged by Benn's proposals for greater industrial democracy and worker participation, including socialist solutions to the problems within the UK economy. Prior to the meeting with the Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee, Benn had looked at the possibility of nationalising the UK aerospace [industry](#).

During the meeting with Tony Benn in November 1974, the Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee asked Benn if Lucas Aerospace could be included in the nationalisation process. Over half of Lucas Aerospace's production was on military contracts for the UK Government, most of which related to military aerospace. Benn advised the Combine that he could not guarantee that a Labour Government would nationalise the aerospace industry or include Lucas Aerospace in any nationalisation programme. Instead, he suggested that the Combine should construct an 'Alternative Corporate Strategy' that could be shown to the Lucas management and the UK Government, and if viable could be implemented to help stop potential job losses.

Constructing the Alternative Corporate Strategy – Socially Useful Products through Human-Centred Systems of Production:

The construction of the Lucas Aerospace Combine’s Alternative Corporate Strategy took place in 1975 and 1976, and evolved from returned questionnaires from the Lucas Aerospace workforce. The questionnaire asked for suggestions from the workforce on products that they could produce, given their skill-sets, experiences, and the technology that the company had to work with.

In the questionnaire, the Combine stated that the products should be socially useful products and their production should not lead to the deskilling of the workforce.

Mike Cooley, a senior member of the Combine and chair of his union branch in TASS (Technical, Administrative and Supervisory Section), became a significant figure in the theory and practise of human-centred systems of production. Human-centred systems of production in economics, computing and design aimed to preserve and ideally enhance the human skills that were used in the production process. Human-centred systems of production attempted to ensure that new technology did not reduce the skills that people used in their job roles. Mike Cooley had witnessed the gradual deskilling of many engineering tasks at Lucas Aerospace and across UK industry over several years. He was aware of the rise in the use of scientific management methods associated with the work of Frederick Winslow Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management* (1911), throughout UK industry.

The principles of Taylorism and scientific management was to apply scientific methods to the management of work organisations in order to improve economic efficiency and the productivity of labour. Critics of Taylorism argue that it led to the deskilling of work and the alienation of the workforce from their work, as work no longer satisfied the worker. In the scientific management approach, the role of labour in the production process becomes subservient to the role of technology and in many cases results in a dehumanising effect on the workforce.

In the 2018 documentary about the Lucas Aerospace Combine, [‘The Plan that came from the bottom up,’](#) a link is made to Harold Wilson’s 1963 ‘white heat of technology speech’ and the increased

use of scientific management techniques in UK industry. Wilson’s ‘white heat of technology’ speech referred to there being no place for restrictive practises or outdated methods in the UK industry of the future.



Choosing the Socially Useful Products to be used in the Alternative Corporate Strategy:

From the completed questionnaires that the Combine received back from the Lucas Aerospace workforce, 150 product designs were chosen to be taken forward as prototype products. These were divided into six areas of socially useful products:

1. Medical Equipment
2. Transport Vehicles
3. Improved Braking Systems
4. Energy Conservation
5. Oceanic’s
6. Telechiric Machines (electronic machinery resembling the human hand)

The Combine planned a 40% increase in the production of kidney machines because they were aware that around 3,000 people a year were dying from a lack of kidney machines in the UK in 1975/76. The management of Lucas Aerospace had recently stated that they were considering reducing their production of kidney machines because of the lack of profit gained from their production.

The Combine noted that the mind-set of the Lucas Aerospace management team was for a preference to produce military products rather than socially useful products like kidney machines.

Products in the Combine’s Alternative Corporate Strategy designed to have a positive impact on the environment included: energy conservation, environmentally friendly transportation and replacing single-use products built to become obsolete after a single use, with products that could

be used multiple times or repaired in order to be used again to save the earth's natural resources.

The environmentally friendly (sustainable) products included in the Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee's Alternative Corporate Strategy included:

- Heat pumps for energy efficient heating
- Solar cell technology
- Wind turbines
- Fuel cell technology
- Hybrid power pack to be used on internal combustion engines to produce a hybrid engine
- Electric vehicles
- Replacing products made to become obsolete after single use, for products that could be repaired or used multiple times to save the earth's natural resources.

The response of the Lucas Aerospace Management to the Alternative Corporate Strategy:

The Lucas Aerospace management team rejected the Combine's Alternative Corporate Strategy when it was submitted in 1976. The reasons given for the rejection were:

- They wanted to concentrate production on their military defence contracts relating to air systems and aerospace, and were reluctant to diversify their production into other areas.
- There were already parts of Lucas Aerospace that were making civilian products and medical equipment.

These decisions were taken by the management in the knowledge that demand for their military production was declining, as the Labour Government had pledged to cut spending on defence.

However, the company's production levels of civilian and medical products were also relatively small, and were unlikely to make-up the reduction in demand for their military products. Commentating on the management's decisions, Mike Cooley had calculated that the demand for energy conservation products alone in the UK would be worth £255 million by 1985. According to Cooley, this was proof that products in the Alternative Corporate Strategy were commercially viable.

The Combine recognised that the Alternative Corporate Strategy turned the fundamentals of capitalism on their head. This was because ideas for future products and production came from the workforce not the management. The Combine believed that this change in the power relations within capitalism was a perceived threat to the hierarchical structures of capitalism.

The Transport and General Workers Union (T&GWU), a predecessor union of Unite, were a notable strong supporter of the Lucas Aerospace Combine's Alternative Corporate Strategy and Tony Benn's Alternative Economic and Industrial Strategies back in the mid-1970s.

Praise for the Alternative Corporate Strategy & the campaign to develop the ideas behind the strategy:

The Alternative Corporate Strategy did receive praise from many quarters, including the Financial Times, Tony Benn, other members of the Labour Government and organisations from around the world that were not normally supportive of trade unions. In their 1 July 1977 edition, The New Statesman magazine referred to the high levels of international media interest in the technological and philosophical aspects of the Alternative Corporate Strategy. The strategy was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1979.



The Combine embarked on a campaign to promote the underlying principles behind the Alternative Corporate Strategy. This was the idea of socially useful and environmentally friendly (sustainable) products produced through human-centred systems of production. These principles were combined with the wider aim of greater industrial democracy and worker participation in the industrial process. These could be achieved through the increased control of the industrial production process by stakeholders (workers, government, communities and consumers) not just shareholders.

The Combine undertook meetings, road shows and teach-ins in the UK, Sweden, West Germany, Australia and the United States to promote the philosophy behind the Alternative Corporate Strategy (socially useful and sustainable production through human-centred systems of production).

Mike Cooley received the 'Right Livelihood' award on behalf of the Combine in 1981. This award is described as the alternative Nobel Prize. The Combine used the money from the award along with other charitable donations to set up the 'Centre for Alternative Industrial Technological Systems (CAITS) at North East London Polytechnic and the 'Unit for the Development of Alternative Products (UDAP) at Coventry (Lanchester) Polytechnic. The Combine was also involved in a project with the Open University to build prototype gas powered heat pumps to provide energy efficient heating for houses and buildings. These institutes of higher learning worked alongside the Combine to put the product designs in the Alternative Corporate Strategy into product prototypes.

Mike Cooley and Eric Scarboro, both senior members of the Combine, were sacked by Lucas Aerospace in 1981 for allegedly spending too much time on union business. Both Mike Cooley and Eric Scarboro had leadership roles within the Combine. They promoted the Alternative Corporate Strategy and the idea of socially useful and sustainable products through human-centred systems of production. These ideas were ultimately rejected by the Lucas Aerospace management team.

The efforts of Mile Cooley, Eric Scarboro and the rest of the Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee were not in vain because there were no compulsory redundancies at Lucas Aerospace during the period that the Alternative Corporate Strategy was constructed and submitted.

The energy conservation system that involved heat pumps to produce energy efficient heating, was designed by the Combine in partnership with the Open University. This received a lot of interest from progressive Labour councils around the UK. These Labour councils were interested in making their housing stock more energy efficient.

Mike Cooley becomes Technical Director of the Greater London Enterprise Board:

Ken Livingstone was elected as the Labour leader of the Greater London Council (GLC) in 1981. He led a

progressive Labour council that wanted to introduce an industrial strategy committed to socially useful and environmentally friendly (sustainable) products.

Mike Cooley was appointed as the Technology Director of the GLC's new Greater London Enterprise Board (GLEB) in 1981. The GLEB developed Technology Networks which promoted the production of socially useful and environmentally friendly (sustainable) products. The Technology Networks were community based workshops. They provided access to machinery, tools, and technical advice to members of the local community to help them design and produce socially useful and environmentally friendly (sustainable) products and prototypes. In Greater London, the skills, creativity and enthusiasm within local communities were encouraged, and were combined with the scientific innovation and knowledge in the London Polytechnics. It resulted in hundreds of designs and prototypes being developed, and many of these benefited the environment. These included electric bicycles, small-scale wind turbines, and energy conservation products. The designs and prototypes were put into an open access product bank set up by the GLEB to help cooperatives and social enterprises to develop them into commercially viable products.

The Technology Networks promoted practical ways of developing technology. This was achieved through the sharing of tacit (understood) knowledge, craft skills and an emphasis on learning by doing through face to face communication. This approach connected with the politics of the progressive left, which promoted social and communal relationships as a way to develop technology. By building a network of alliances the Technology Networks encouraged debate and wider participation in the development of technology. This included people from the local community who would not normally get involved in technology development. Social enterprises were encouraged through practical and democratic methods which embraced a wider participation from local communities.



Pictured: Mike Cooley of the Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee

The work of the GLEB and the Technology Networks was adopted by other progressive Labour councils in the UK, who set up similar Technology Network programmes. The principles of the Technology Networks and the GLEB were the exact opposite to the mind-set of the then UK Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher.

Thatcherism, which evolved into one of the theories of neoliberalism, made its mark on the UK economy and UK society when Margaret Thatcher was Prime Minister of the UK from 1979 to 1990. Thatcherism has had a negative impact on the UK economy and society ever since, from the perspective of working class people and trade unions. The share of national income that goes to working people in the form of wages has been consistently declining since Margaret Thatcher's first term in office as UK Prime Minister (1979-1983). Thatcherism embraced free market economics and private enterprise, with the freedom of the individual taking priority over social justice for the collective. Thatcher abolished the Greater London Council (GLC) in 1986, and with it the GLEB's Technology Networks. The GLEB became the Greater London Enterprise (GLE), which had to fund its activities from its own income streams and competed in a free market business environment. The previous ideas of the GLEB, which were to democratise the development of technology, were now replaced by decisions on technology development determined by the free market.

Lessons to be learnt from the Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee's Alternative Corporate Strategy:

The Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee's Alternative Corporate Strategy had several environmentally friendly (sustainable) products that were ground breaking in 1976. Today, some of

these products have become mainstream products in the fight against the climate emergency. These include: electric vehicles, hybrid engines, onshore and offshore wind turbines, solar power technology and energy conservation.

An engineer at Lucas Aerospace who completed the questionnaire sent out by the Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee in 1975/76, wrote about the concept of carbon capture and storage. However, the Combine felt that the concept of carbon capture and storage in 1975/76 was so far advanced that they decided not to include it in the 150 selected product designs for their Alternative Corporate Strategy.

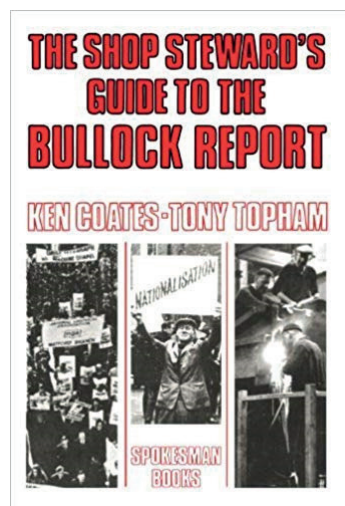
In the 2018 documentary of The Lucas Plan, 'The Plan that came from the bottom up', former Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee members spoke about the lack of forward thinking by the Lucas Aerospace management and the Labour Government in 1976. The failure to invest in the innovative products contained in the Lucas Plan prevented the company and UK industry from being at the forefront of the low carbon industry sector from the mid-1970s [onwards](#).

Let down by the failure to accept the recommendations of the Bullock Report (1977):

Speaking in the 2018 documentary of The Lucas Plan, the Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee members believed that the recommendations of the Bullock Report (1977) would have provided them with an industrial relations framework through which they could have challenged the Lucas Aerospace management's decision to reject The Lucas Plan (The Alternative Corporate Strategy).



Ken Livingstone (far left) and John McDonnell (second right) of the Greater London Council (GLC) in January 1982



The Bullock Report (1977)

The Majority Report within the report of the Committee of Inquiry on Industrial Democracy (commonly known as The Bullock Report, 1977) recommended that trade unions should have representation on the boards of [organisations](#).

This would be established if 50% or more of the workforce voted for this in organisations with 2000 or more employees. This would enable the trade unions and the workforce to have a decision making role in organisations.

However, institutions representing the interests of capital and the interests of labour could not reach an agreement on the recommendations of the Bullock Report. So, the recommendations of the report were never implemented.

Losing out to the power of capital:

The Alternative Corporate Strategy challenged the power relations within capitalism. It did this by creating a framework where the workforce controlled much of the decision making process regarding product development and production. The workforce decided what would be designed, what designs would be put into production, and what production methods would be used. This effectively reduced management decision making in the process of product development, and fundamentally changed the established structures within the capitalist organisation model as a result.

Former Combine members speaking in 2018, believed that the vested interests of capital perceived the Alternative Corporate Strategy to be a threat to the existing order within capitalism. In this existing order the directors and senior management

manage organisations in the interests of owners / shareholders, where profit maximisation is the primary goal. To achieve this, the workforce is managed in a way that produces the maximum amount of work at minimal cost (wage). This helps to create the surplus value from production (market price of a product minus the cost of production) which is the key driver behind capitalism.

The aim of the Combine was to produce products that were of value to society (socially useful products), and environmentally friendly (sustainable) products. The Combine believed that they were fighting back against a system that exploited workers (labour) in the production process, and kept workers out of the industrial and economic decision making process. The Combine recognised the support they received from Tony Benn, and were aware that Benn had been a catalyst behind the Alternative Corporate Strategy. Benn, as a government minister, had written papers advocating for greater industrial democracy and worker participation in his Alternative Economic and Industrial Strategy policy [documents](#).

The Lucas Aerospace Combine and Tony Benn both constructed socialist solutions to address the lack of industrial and economic democracy and worker participation in the UK at that time. In 2020, the power of capital over labour is far stronger now than it was in the mid-1970s. With the increased economic uncertainty caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, there has never been a more important time to be a member of a trade union as our movement tackles the dual threats of an economic downturn caused by the COVID-19 pandemic and the climate emergency.



The Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee Members on the steps of Wortley Hall in 1977



Tony Benn meeting with the Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee Members in November 1974

Appendix 3

The New Lucas Plan – 2016:

A 'New Lucas Plan' was launched in 2016, forty years after the original Lucas Plan. The New Lucas Plan aims for a Just Transition to a zero carbon, peaceful and socially useful economy. The New Lucas Plan recognises the growing threats of climate change, automation and militarisation. This has been referred to as a 'convergence of crises'. The New Lucas Plan states that the 'convergence of crises', could result in structural changes in the UK economy. This could put jobs and livelihoods at risk. The New Lucas Plan working group is a network of individuals and organisations that were involved in the conference celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Alternative Corporate Strategy (The Original Lucas Plan). It includes some of the Combine members that helped to construct the original Lucas Plan back in [1976](#).

The New Lucas Plan calls for a Just Transition and greater industrial democracy. It recommends:

- Developing a Just Transition that is based on a fresh look at what is produced in a modern industrial society. This includes who the production is for, and who has the ownership and control of the production process.
- A Just Transition must recognise the extraordinary people that make up society, e.g. workers, carers and pensioners. This knowledge and experience should be utilised to help build a just and transformative transition based on the interests of workers.

The New Lucas Plan and industrial democracy:

- The workforce in the UK suffers from the most anti-trade union legislation in Europe. It is essential that a future Labour Government commits to introducing legislation that repeals this anti-trade union legislation. UK workers should have at least the same protection rights as workers in the EU.
- The recommendations of the Bullock Report (1977) should be revisited and revised to take account of present day employment practises. For example, addressing the introduction of new technology (automation and artificial intelligence) to ensure large scale job losses do not take place as a result.
- Accepting recommendations similar to those in the Bullock Report (1977), would allow for greater industrial democracy in the decision making processes of companies. This would allow the workforce, through their trade union representatives on the company boards, to negotiate to ensure that new technologies are not introduced at the cost of significant job losses.
- The workforce, through their elected union representatives, should have the same voting rights in relation to taking decisions on how the company is run as senior executives and shareholders. These changes would enable the long overdue democratisation of the industrial process.

This document was put together largely by Carl Jerromes, a researcher for the Unite Environment Taskforce. (Carl.Jerromes@unitetheunion.org).



The New Lucas Plan was set up in 2016 as part of the 40th anniversary of the Original Lucas Plan (1976-2016)

YouTube films on themes covered in this issue of the Unite Environment Quarterly

- The Plan 2018 Trailer (3:06)
- The Lucas Plan documentary, 1978 (24:32)
- Lucas Aerospace Workers' Plan to diversify into socially useful products 1970s: A documentary (29:06)
- The Lucas Plan – introduction and discussion (19:03)
- Hilary Wainwright on the Lucas Plan (3:23)
- 1976 Lucas Electric Taxi – Lucas Industries, London Taxi (1:21)
- Electric Taxi – Electric Car – Lucas Cars – Drive in – 1977 (1:50)
- Structural Change and the Green New Deal with Ann Pettifor (6:57)
- Why the Green New Deal Matters – The Guardian (6:06)
- Caroline Lucas, MP – Speaks to Environment and Climate Change Debate (3:08)
- Clive Lewis' speech at the Net-Zero Carbon Emissions Debate, 28th February 2019 (4:54)
- Labour: Dramatic action needed on climate change (0:00 – 6:54)
- Clive Lewis MP tells us why climate breakdown is important to him personally (1:21)
- UK's Labour leader launches Green Manifesto (4:53)
- Rebecca Long Bailey on Climate Change (3:33)
- Clive Lewis: Public Ownership will help people and the planet (0:49)
- Community Wealth Building – Ask the Leader Live (9:09)
- Pollution has plummeted during the coronavirus pandemic – but will it last? – Channel 4 News (11:24)
- UK Airbus Plant Converted Into Coronavirus Ventilator Factory – NBC (1:50)
- Rolls Royce job losses – 'knee jerk reaction' – Unite Union (0:52)
- UK Aviation is vital – Unite Union (1:48)
- It's a stab in the back – Unite Union (0:27)
- COVID-19 economic recovery and climate change: Prof. Sam Fankhauser and Dr Charles Donovan (4:07)
- Stiglitz says virus exposes inequalities in economic system (9:40)
- The Spirit of '45' – Official trailer (1:52) Ken Loach on his new documentary 'The Spirit of 45' (7:18)

Sources of Information for Reports, Articles and Images

- Page 4: Yanis Varoufakis is a supporter of a Green New Deal, believing it could unite Europe's progressives: - <https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/ews-photo/yanis-varoufakis-leader-of-the-anti-establishment-european-news-photo/1146811199?adppopup=true> - (Image)
- Page 4: Many cities across the world are in danger of being flooded if rising sea levels from climate change continues: - <https://pixabay.com/illustrations/climate-climate-change-4342959/> - (Image)
- Page 4: Yanis Varoufakis - European Green New Deal: - <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/22/yanis-varoufakis-green-new-deal-can-unite-europes-progressives> - (Article)
- Page 4: Tracking Transport - 2020 - IEA: - <https://www.iea.org/reports/tracking-transport-2020> - (Report)
- Page 4: China Dominates the Global Lithium Battery Market: - <https://www.instituteforenergyresearch.org/renewable/china-dominates-the-global-lithium-battery-market/> (Report)
- Page 4: Decarbonising Transport: Setting the Challenge - Department for Transport (2020): https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/932122/decarbonising-transport-setting-the-challenge.pdf - (Report)
- Page 5: Professor Ann Pettifor - The Case for a Green New Deal: - <https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/news-photo/south-african-author-ann-pettifor-attends-a-photocall-news-photo/835878574?adppopup=true> - (Image)
- Page 5: The Case for a Green New Deal – Ann Pettifor: - <https://www.annpettifor.com/topics/green-new-deal/> - (Article)
- Page 6: Margaret Thatcher and Keith Joseph were both influential supporters of monetarism and free market economics: - <https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/news-photo/british-politicians-margaret-thatcher-and-sir-keith-joseph-news-photo/1299355539?adppopup=true>. - (Image)
- Page 6: The Lucas Plan: What can it tell us about democratising technology today? - <https://www.theguardian.com/science/political-science/2014/jan/22/remembering-the-lucas-plan-what-can-it-tell-us-about-democratising-technology-today> - (Article)
- Page 7: The cover of the Lucas Aerospace Combine's Alternative Corporate Strategy: - https://www.spokesmanbooks.com/acatalog/The_Lucas_Plan.html - (Image)
- Page 8: Ventilator Challenge UK to start production in COVID-19 fight: - <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/29/ventilator-challenge-uk-to-start-production-in-covid-19-fight> - (Article)
- Page 8: Unite welcomes incredible work of ventilator challenge consortium in saving lives: <https://www.unitetheunion.org/news-events/news/2020/march/coronavirus-unite-welcomes-incredible-work-of-ventilator-challenge-consortium-in-saving-lives/> - (Article)
- Page 8: How far are we from zero emission planes: - <https://www.forbes.com/sites/blakemorgan/2019/09/25/how-far-are-we-from-flying-zero-emission-airplanes/> - (Article)
- Page 8: Can we fly and have net-zero emissions? - <https://www.theguardian.com/science/2019/nov/24/can-we-fly-and-have-net-zero-emissions-air-industry-e-fan-x-rolls-royce-engines-kerosine-carbon-2050> - (Image)

- Page 8: Unite reps and members in Airbus helped to produce ventilators as part of the UK Government's Ventilator Challenge to tackle COVID-19: - <https://www.unitetheunion.org/news-events/news/2020/march/coronavirus-unite-welcomes-incredible-work-of-ventilator-challenge-consortium-in-saving-lives/> - (Image)
- Page 9: Building back better: Green COVID-19 recovery packages will boost economic growth and stop climate change: <https://www.ox.ac.uk/news/2020-05-05-building-back-better-green-covid-19-recovery-packages-will-boost-economic-growth-and-stop-climate-change> - (Report)
- Page 9: Unite urged Rolls Royce to play its full part in developing an industrial strategy that helps develop and deliver the jobs of tomorrow: - <https://www.unitetheunion.org/news-events/news/2020/may/unite-hits-out-at-rolls-royces-shameful-opportunism-over-plans-to-slash-jobs/#> - (Image)
- Page 10: Labour to plan green economic rescue from coronavirus crisis: - <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/may/17/labour-to-plan-green-economic-rescue-from-coronavirus-crisis> - (Article)
- Page 11: TUC unveils blueprint for post COVID greener and fairer economic recovery: - <https://morningstaronline.co.uk/article/b/tuc-unveils-blueprint-for-post-covid-greener-and-fairer-economic-recovery> - (Article)
- Page 11: Roz Foyer: STUC General Secretary: - <https://portside.org/2021-06-03/women-are-key-worker-power-roz-foyer-rebuilding-union-movement> - (Image)
- Page 12: Airbus – the green hydrogen ecosystem for aviation explained: <https://www.airbus.com/en/newsroom/news/2021-06-the-green-hydrogen-ecosystem-for-aviation-explained> - (Article)
- Page 12: Walney-extension offshore windfarm project: - <https://orsted.co.uk/energy-solutions/offshore-wind/our-wind-farms/walney-extension> - (Article)
- Page 13: Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Democrat Representative in the US, has been an influential speaker on implementing a Green New Deal in the US to tackle the climate crisis and create decent jobs with decent pay: - <https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/news-photo/rep-alexandria-ocasio-cortez-speaks-during-a-rally-at-news-photo/1148960203?adppopup=true> - (Image)
- Page 14: The Decarbonisation and Economic Strategy Bill - A Bill to make the Green New Deal happen: - <https://greennewdealgroup.org/the-green-new-deal-a-bill-to-make-it-happen-2/> - (Image)
- Page 14: The Green New Deal: A bill to make it happen: - https://greennewdealgroup.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/GND_A_Bill_To_Make_It_Happen.pdf - (Article)
- Page 15: Labour MPs Clive Lewis (far left), Nadia Whittome (second left) and Zarah Sultana (second right) supporting the Green New Deal Bill outside the Houses of Parliament: - <https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/news-photo/clive-lewis-mp-nadia-whittome-mp-caroline-lucas-mp-zarah-news-photo/1347648991?adppopup=true> - (Image)
- Page 16: A safe space for nature - rewilding our urban areas: - <https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/search/2/image?family=creative&phrase=safe%20space%20for%20nature> - (Image)
- Page 17: The Labour Party: The Green Transformation: - <https://www.labour.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/The-Green-Transformation-.pdf> - (Report)

- Page 18: An electric car made by the Unit for the Development of Alternative Products (UDAP) at Coventry (Lanchester) Polytechnic. The UDAP was set up with help from the Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee: - <https://www.lucasaerospacecombine.co.uk/p/lucas-plan.html>. - (Image)
- Page 18: Skilled engineers from Lucas Aerospace negotiating for socially useful work in the mid-1970s: - <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2018/oct/14/lucas-aerospace-1970s-plan-documentary-eco-pioneers> - (Image)
- Page 19: A picture from the documentary, The Plan, about the Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee's Alternative Corporate Strategy Plan: - <https://theplandocumentary.com/gallery/> (Image)
- Page 19: The Lucas Plan: The Inside Story – Then & Now: - <https://thelucasaerocombineshopstewardscommittee.org/inside-story/> - (Article)
- Page 19: Lucas Plan documentary: The story of the Lucas Aerospace Shop Stewards Alternative Corporate Plan: - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0pgQqfpub-c> – (Film Documentary)
- Page 20: Tony Benn meeting with the workers co-operative at the Triumph Motorcycle works in Meriden, Coventry in 1974. Bill Lapworth, (right) the Coventry & District secretary of the TGWU: - <https://www.coventrytelegraph.net/lifestyle/nostalgia/week-was-archive-pictures-through-13502761>. - (Image)
- Page 20: Tony Benn and Jimmy Reid (centre) with workers & representatives of the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders at Euston Station in 1971, before the march to 10 Downing Street. <https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/news-photo/upper-clyde-shipbuildingwatscan-news-photo/592338188> - (Image)
- Page 20: Lucas Aerospace Workers' Plan to diversify into socially useful products 1970s: A documentary: - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3ltWliyEMM0> – (Film Documentary)
- Page 21: THE PLAN - that came from the bottom up: - <https://www.lucasaerospacecombine.co.uk/p/the-plan.html> - (Image)
- Page 21: The Plan that came from the bottom up: - <https://vimeo.com/274898766> - (Film Trailer)
- Page 22: Converting military production into socially useful production: - <https://www.workerscontrol.net/authors/lucas-plan> - (Image)
- Page 23: Mike Cooley of the Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee: - <https://www.spokesmanbooks.com/acatalog/CooleyPic.jpg> - (Image)
- Page 24: Ken Livingstone (far left) and John McDonnell (second right) of the Greater London Council (GLC) in January 1982: - <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/gallery/2018/may/21/ken-livingstones-career-in-pictures> - (Image)
- Page 24: The Bullock Report (1977): - <https://kmflett.wordpress.com/2018/09/24/the-1977-bullock-report-industrial-democracy-john-mcdonnell/> - (Image)
- Page 24: The Plan film: - <https://www.lucasaerospacecombine.co.uk/p/the-plan.html> - (Article)
- Page 25: The Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee Members on the steps of Wortley Hall in 1977: - <https://www.lucasaerospacecombine.co.uk/p/the-combine.htm> - (Image)
- Page 25: Tony Benn meeting with the Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee Members in November 1974: - <https://www.lucasaerospacecombine.co.uk/p/the-combine.htm> - (Image)

- Page 25: The Bullock Report (1977) – Industrial Democracy: - <https://kmflett.wordpress.com/2018/09/24/the-1977-bullock-report-industrial-democracy-john-mcdonnell/> - (Article)
- Page 25: The Alternative Economic Strategy: - <https://www.liverpooluniversitypress.co.uk/journals/id/69/volume/120/issue/1/article/53351> - (Report)
- Page 26: New Lucas Plan was set up in 2016 as part of the 40th anniversary of the Original Lucas Plan (1976-2016: - <https://www.thelucasaerocombineshopsstewardscommittee.org/> (Image)
- Page 26: The New Lucas Plan: - <https://lucasplan.org.uk/> - (Article)

REGIONAL OFFICES

EAST MIDLANDS

Riverside Building,
Friars Mill,
102 Bath Lane,
Leicester LE3 5BJ
Tel: 0116 253 2020

LONDON AND EASTERN

Ron Todd House,
33 - 37 Moreland Street,
London EC1V 8BB
Tel: 020 8800 4281

NORTH EAST, YORKSHIRE & HUMBERSIDE

55 Call Lane,
Leeds LS1 7BW
Tel: 0113 2364830

NORTH WEST

Jack Jones House,
2 Churchill Way,
Liverpool L3 8EF
Tel: 0151 559 2004

SCOTLAND

John Smith House,
145-165 West Regent
Street, Glasgow G2 4RZ
Tel: 0141 404 5424

SOUTH EAST

Unite House,
Chalvey Road East,
Slough,
Berks SL1 2LS
Tel: 01753 313 820

SOUTH WEST

Tony Benn House,
Victoria Street,
Bristol BS1 6AY
Tel: 0117 923 0555

WALES

1 Cathedral Road,
Cardiff CF11 9SD
Tel: 02920 394521

WEST MIDLANDS

30 Jennens Road,
Birmingham B7 4EH
Tel: 0121 643 6221

IRELAND

BELFAST
26-34 Antrim Road,
Belfast BT15 2AA
Tel: 028 90 232381

REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

Unite House,
55/56 Middle Abbey
Street, Dublin 1
D01 X002,
Republic of Ireland
Tel: +353 (0)1 873 4577

GIBRALTAR

Unite the Union
Transport House
43-45 Town Range
Gibraltar
Tel: 00350 20074185