

W O R K H O U S E

SERVANTS  
NO MORE

THE RANK & FILE ANSWER TO CIVIL SERVICE CUTS

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# THE CHELTENHAM EFFECT

**O**n 23 JANUARY 1988, a dismal march wound its way around the streets of Cheltenham. The occasion was the fourth anniversary of the ban on unions at the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ). As usual, the demonstration ended with a series of speeches from labour movement leaders, denouncing the Tories.

The fate of trade unionism at GCHQ sums up many of the problems facing civil service workers today. In 1984, when 7000 employees at the Cheltenham spycentre were stripped of the right to belong to a union, our leaders ran for cover. Instead of leading a fightback, they offered the Tories a no-strike agreement in return for trade union recognition. Thatcher said thanks, but no thanks, and still banned unions at GCHQ.

Since then, the consequences of capitulation have become clear. By ruling out industrial action against the ban on 'security' grounds, the civil service unions gave the go-ahead for wholesale attacks on their members' rights. Having crushed trade unionism at GCHQ, the government is now demanding across-the-board spending cuts. And throughout industry, the Cheltenham experience has encouraged at least thirty five major employers to withdraw union recognition or impose no-strike deals over the past four years.

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## WALKOVER

The scale of defeat at GCHQ is plain for all to see. But the story is no different for civil service workers in other sectors. Despite endless speeches, countless conference motions and an infinite number of protest letters, civil service unions have let the government walk all over their members. Since the Tories took office in 1979:

- \* **over 150,000 civil service jobs have disappeared**
- \* **civil servants' pay has fallen by at least 30 per cent in real terms**
- \* **staffing levels have dropped by over 20 per cent in many offices**
- \* **the work-load has doubled in most departments over the same period of time**

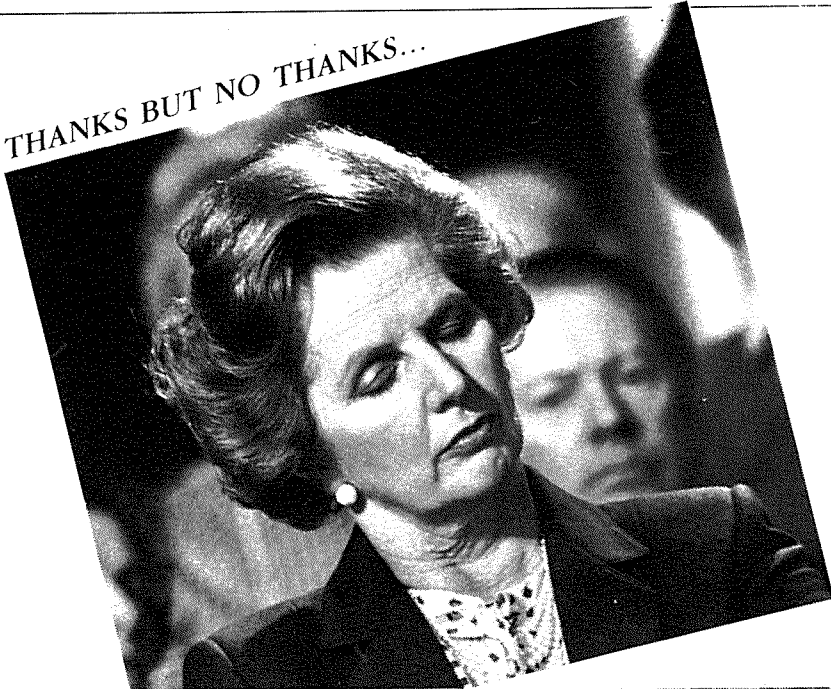
Alongside this onslaught on our jobs, wages and conditions, more and more 'front-line' civil servants have been forced into a policing role; helping the Tories impose benefit cuts and compulsory training schemes on the millions of unemployed. Union officials have done nothing to oppose this trend, actively collaborating with bodies like the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) in paving the way for these vicious attacks.

The lack of resistance to the government's offensive cannot be blamed on the ordinary union member. Rank and file civil servants have shown their willingness to fight time after time. We have come out on strike - often for lengthy periods, involving great personal hardship - over pay, staff cuts, ethnic monitoring, compulsory transfers, YTS and many other issues. The problem has not been any shortage of militancy on the part of our members, but leaders that constantly let us down.

The defeats at GCHQ, and over pay, jobs and conditions, were not inevitable. Civil servants have enormous potential power to take on the employers, and win. This pamphlet is about how to harness that power, and prevent any more demoralising set-backs.

Written and produced by WORKHOUSE - a rank and file civil servants group based mainly in the Civil and Public Servants Association (CPSA) - *Servants No More* is addressed to every low-grade, low-paid civil servant who wants to see the unions fight.

THANKS BUT NO THANKS...



Union leaders on way to No 10 to protest at ban



THATCHER'S LOST NO SLEEP OVER GCHQ

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# THE OFFICIAL SIDE

**M**argaret Thatcher is fond of boasting that the civil service is now smaller in size than at any time since the Second World War. And it is certainly true that successive Tory governments have been doing their best to slim down Britain's state bureaucracy in recent years.

A series of reports have been commissioned since 1979 - Megaw, Rayner, Mueller and Ibbs amongst others - aimed at making the civil service more cost-effective. And barely a day passes without some minister or other pronouncing on the need for greater efficiency in central government departments.

But significant though they are, the cuts achieved so far are not enough to satisfy the public spending critics. The employers' magazine, *The Economist*, has called Thatcher's claims about job cuts 'wide of the mark', pointing out that most of the financial savings have been made by cutting industrial civil servants jobs (by 54%) mainly in dockyards and royal ordnance factories. Meanwhile the number of non-industrial civil servants has declined at a slower rate (around 11 per cent between 1979-87).

## PROFITS

Why is big business so intent on cutting back the non-industrial civil service? In the 'fifties and 'sixties there was little talk of cuts. Official reports like Priestley, Plowden and Fulton emphasised instead the need for public services to expand. But those were the 'never

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had it so good years', before the onset of the 'seventies' recession. The large-scale public spending, that once helped fuel the post-war boom, is now viewed as an unbearable burden by employers concerned to compete on the world market.

Despite the Tories' claims, the British economy is in a far from healthy state. The October 1987 stock market crash highlighted the shaky basis of the yuppie boom, and the need for much more drastic measures to restore profit levels.

Expenditure on public administration and social services do not create any profits for British bosses - which is why they are demanding much bigger cuts in civil service spending than the Tories have delivered so far. Civil service management - the 'Official Side' - has been doing its best to oblige. Cost-cutting and increased productivity are the buzzwords on every manager's lips.

#### **\* *PAY: 'MERIT, SKILL AND GEOGRAPHY'***

Civil servants earn less than £90 average weekly take-home pay. The Treasury has successfully resisted attempts to improve our abysmal pay levels in recent years by imposing tight cash limits. Now it is preparing to go a step further. 'Local Pay Additions', 'Regional' and 'Merit Pay' are being introduced, to favour a minority of specialist grades and attract workers to areas with recruitment problems. Overall pay levels will remain as low as ever, while worker will be divided from worker. This is what the government means by introducing 'market forces' into civil service pay.

#### **\* *'ALTERNATIVE WORKING PATTERNS'***

This is a polite name for shoving us around from office to office, and job to job, to help make staff cuts. Management has been trying to introduce 'flexible working' into the civil service for years. Alternative Working Patterns take things a step further, by creating a pool of casual and part-time workers to fill short-term needs. Many will be on 'nil-hours' or temporary contracts; others will be homeworkers. The effect will be to undermine our job security and collective bargaining strength. Management has been testing out the new flexible arrangements with threats of compulsory transfers in the Employment Service, and the Department of Transport is already bringing driving instructors out of retirement as temps, to make savings on permanent staff. But the replacement of civil service workers with YTS trainees (at the bargain rate of £28.50 a week basic) is the alternative



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working pattern management favours the most.

**\* PRIVATISATION: WHO'S NEXT?**

Privatisation is already well underway in the industrial civil service. A third of the jobs there have been lost through contracting out services like cleaning and maintenance to the private sector. Now there are plans for the rest of the civil service, including the hiving off of Professional and Executive Recruitment (Lloyds Bank has been brought in to advise Norman Fowler on the choice of bidders), and around a dozen other services recommended for sale by the MSC. The new civil service agencies proposed under the Ibbs Report will have a brief to look at contracting out options. There is a logic to all the bluster about private enterprise; privatisation inevitably means job cuts.

## ARE CUTS CRAZY?

For civil service union leaders - including left-wing ones - the Tories commitment to public spending cuts is seen as the product of a warped Tory mind:

'It's a crazy way to run a country, but Mrs Thatcher is our employer and she doesn't seem to care' Leslie Christie, NUCPS General Secretary

'Thatcher...so obviously dislikes public servants, especially those who help the poor, sick, elderly or unemployed.' CPSA Broad Left DHSS

But is Thatcher really so mad? The Tories pledge to Britain's bosses, back in 1979 was to bring public sector spending under control. Carrying on where the last Labour government left off (the Public Spending Borrowing Requirement was slashed from 9 to 6 per cent of the GDP between 1976-79), it has been their constant theme ever since.

'Rolling back the state' makes good sense for British capitalism. Public spending is financed out of taxation, which is mainly a deduction from the profits produced by industry and commerce. When profits are relatively healthy, bosses are prepared to finance public services. And pumping money into the economy helps boost profit levels for a while.

But since the 'seventies, British capitalism has been in serious decline. Manufacturing output is low, profits tight and investment in industry almost non-existent. With no end to the recession in sight, the last thing employers need is to fork out billions to the state to pay the wages of workers who don't produce profit.

The Welfare State - social security, health and education - takes up nearly half of state expenditure. With the employers clamouring for much bigger savings than the government has so far delivered, no wonder it has become a priority for cuts. The Tories are calling into question all the received 'from the cradle to the grave' wisdom. Not because of Thatcher's 'ideological hatred of the public sector' (Alistair Graham), but because the survival of British capitalism leaves no other choice.

It's us, not the Tories, who are crazy - for putting up with union leaders who prefer amateur psychology to leading a fight against the cuts.

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## \* **CUTTING THE DOLE BILL**

Mass unemployment has presented supporters of public spending cuts with a problem; how to curb the burgeoning cost of keeping over three million on the dole? The DE and DHSS are two of the largest civil service departments, and the only ones - outside of those connected with law and order - to have actually expanded in recent years. The government is trying to offset these costs through using Availability Testing, Restart, Job Clubs and US 'Workfare' style training schemes to drive hundreds of thousands off the dole. Meanwhile Income Support is being used to cut the benefits of those who still qualify. The MSC no longer makes any pretence that Job Centres are about finding people work; 'we are no longer seeking to increase our job broking activity'. Instead the emphasis in government White Papers is on stopping benefit fraud, and using civil service workers to police the long-term unemployed.

## THE 'NEW' CIVIL SERVICE

The official side's aim is to create a 'New Civil Service', staffed by a smaller, more obedient workforce - with few, if any, trade union rights. The Orwellian-style DHSS outstations - or clerical factories - planned for some areas are symbolic of the new look.

In fact there is nothing so new about the new civil service; the government simply wants to go back to the good old days of 'loyal administrators', when state employees were humble servants. That is why we are being increasingly stripped of our few political and civil rights; the Tories have decided it's time civil service workers were taught to know their place.

Security scares over leaks by civil servants (like Clive Ponting, Sarah Tisdall, and 'Spycatcher' Peter Wright) have been used as the pretext for recent crack-downs on union activists. A climate conducive to transfers and sackings is being created, particularly in the Ministry of Defence and other sensitive areas. A civil service employment contract with a possible no-strike clause has even been mooted. Disciplinary and legal action - or financial blackmail via the withdrawal of the 'check-off' - are being threatened or used, to curb industrial action.

## GETTING TOUGH

Until recently the government's approach to making civil service job



cuts was a fairly selective one, and the pace comparatively slow. The official side's major success in the non-industrial sector has been not so much in achieving across-the-board staff reductions, *but in softening up the unions for the cuts to come.*

Groups of workers have been picked off one by one, and divisions in our ranks exploited to devastating effect. Back in 1982, for example, 65,000 Clerical Officers got little out of the Treasury's pay award - while computer and nuclear installations staff walked away with 10-11 per cent.

In 1986, nuclear inspectors and atomic weapons research workers got 20 per cent increases, way above the 6 per cent norm for the rest of the civil service. Divisive deals - like the ones signed in 1987/8 with the IPCS and IRSF accepting merit pay - are being used to push through unpopular measures with other civil service unions.

Management has skilfully played on sectionalism in the civil service to undermine the chances of a concerted fightback. The result has been to depress overall pay levels so much in recent years that there is now little 'fat' left to trim. Today, as the pressure for more drastic savings builds up, it is our jobs that are next on the line. As the going gets tougher, civil service workers are asking - who is going to lead the fight?

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# THE UNION WE'VE GOT

‘CRAZY’, ‘LUNACY’, a ‘PANIC ATTACK’. According to civil service union leaders, the cuts being imposed by the government on our jobs and conditions are the result of a collective psychological sickness afflicting Whitehall.

The cuts are mad, argue the unions, because they undermine the state’s ability to do its job. Whether complaining about the shortage of VAT inspectors leading to a declining ‘tax morality’, the impact of privatisation on security standards in the Ministry of Defence, cuts in Customs and Excise staff aiding heroin smugglers, or the lack of home visits encouraging benefit fraud, our officials are always bending over backwards to prove what loyal public servants they are.

These pleadings reached new heights during the South Atlantic war. Civil service unions tried (unsuccessfully) to protest against cuts in the Royal Dockyards on the grounds that they were a danger to national security; redundant dockyard workers might well be needed next time a ‘task force’ had to be sent somewhere.

And in 1987, under headlines like ‘Loyalty Betrayed’, union papers accused the government of playing into the hands of Colonel Gaddafi. The American-owned consortium earmarked for taking over the Rosyth and Devonport dockyards was said have done deals with Libya’s leader.

Basically union officialdom seems to believe that civil service cuts are all down to stupidity and mismanagement, and that the answer is to appoint saner and more patriotic individuals (ideally themselves) to run the state’s affairs.

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## THE QUIET LIFE

This approach to presenting the union's case goes back a very long way. From its earliest origins, civil service trade unionism depended heavily on close collaboration with government bodies. The CPSA, which developed out of the 400-strong Assistant Clerks Association, founded at the turn of the century, exemplifies the trend. By the time it was established in 1969, the CPSA had a long pre-history of making sacrifices in the national interest - and looking to politicians and senior civil servants for suitable rewards.

- \* the *Whitley System* for civil service consultation emerged after World War One, based on the experience of trade union collaboration in war-time production. The unions are still Whitleyism's most eager supporters today

- \* enthusiastic union backing for civil service productivity drives in World War Two was followed by calls for even bigger sacrifices (including massive job cuts) to help 'build the peace'

- \* civil service union leaders spearheaded witch-hunts against union militants in the 'forties and 'fifties and backed the government's Radcliffe inquiry, and other spy scares, to get rid of trouble-makers in the 'sixties

- \* throughout the post-war decades civil service union leaders have been preoccupied with finding a 'long-term settled pay system', based on comparability with the private sector. When pay comparability came to an end, with the abolition of Pay Research in 1981, the official response was one of outraged dismay

Down the years, our union leaders have been willing to do anything for a quiet life. Even when, under pressure from the members, a more radical stance has been adopted, it has usually turned out to be so much hot air. The officials' preferred way of doing things is by persuasion rather than confrontation. For decades they were very content with the cosy bargaining arrangements established under the Whitley system, because they avoided the need for a fight.

When under the impact of the recession, the Tories began to adopt a tougher bargaining line, civil service union leaders were distraught. By the early 'eighties, gentlemanly consultation exercises had been largely dispensed with. New recruitment was suspended, and a five year target of 100,000 job losses announced.

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## WHITLEY - ROAD TO NOWHERE

'The Staff Side say what they like, but the Official Side do what they like.'  
Old management proverb

The network of Whitley committees extends from national to area level. They are made up of management representatives (Official Side) and representatives of the civil service unions (Staff Side). The system was brought in after World War One when state intervention in industrial relations greatly increased. The aim, in the face of rising militancy, was (and still is), to foster 'relations between employers and the employed' to reduce industrial conflict. The way it was seen by civil service unions at the time was summed up in 1919 by Red Tape:

The establishment of Whitley was 'an event of first importance...Civil servants have acquired a new status...The organisation and control of the civil service will henceforward be the joint task of representatives of the staff and representatives of the state'.

In 1988 our leaders are still as enthusiastic about their 'joint task'. While they still hold onto the illusion that Whitleys are negotiating forums, what concerns management most is getting union approval for their plans.

Time and again this bosses' talking shop - where union reps convince themselves that what they say or threaten is of decisive importance - has been shown up for the sham it really is. It is common knowledge that when the National Whitley last met, over GCHQ in 1984, the majority of the Permanent Secretaries were asleep! On every issue of significance - like GCHQ - the unions can talk until they're blue in the face. Management just politely ignores them and does what it likes.

## EFFICIENCY

The unions' response was to beg for mercy. Instead of challenging management's demands for greater efficiency, officials went out of their way to voice their support for this goal. They emphasised the unions' commitment to 'a more efficient and effective civil service' in every public statement, merely complaining about the *manner* in which cuts were being imposed.

What they objected to was the 'arbitrary', 'crude', 'across-the-board' character of the cuts, and in particular the lack of consultation with the union side. 'We recommend the fullest possible use of joint consultation as a means of improving the services' and bringing about 'a reconciliation between the Government and its employees', said the Council of Civil Service Unions (CCSU) in a 1982-3 memorandum to the Treasury on efficiency. The government however remained unmoved.

The official side's commitment to its goal of job cuts and increased productivity has dictated a shift away from the negotiating style of yesteryear. In 1982 the Megaw Report, and the Financial Management Initiative (FMI), heralded the new hard-line approach. As the 'eighties have advanced, and with each new victory, management has grown bolder by the minute.

Red Tape's patriotic pleading: no way to save jobs

**BROKEN PROMISES**

3,400 jobs to go at Devonport

IMPOSED that this

THE DECISION

British workers' jobs face Yankee axe

## LOYALTY BETRAYED

The 18 unions representing the 19,000 workers at Plymouth and Devonport Royal Naval Dockyards are to take legal action in the High Court unless the government's proposed April 6 privatisation of the yards.

The TGWU and the IPCS gave the warning following a 13 February meeting of 13 leaders, including General Secretary Eleri, John Ellinger, CPSA with Defence Secretary George Younger, at which angry unions produced detailed allegations of the nature of one of the private...

At the meeting, the unions' arguments produced an undertaking from the Defence Secretary that he...

vote on date of 6 April

Today it is becoming commonplace for wage settlements that have been rejected by civil service unions to be imposed on us from above. Going over the heads of union leaders - by appealing directly to the 'silent majority' of members - is a tactic that British employers have used a lot in recent years.

Legal attacks have intensified too, undermining our right to organise and to strike. As far back as 1976, a Labour government demonstrated how effective simply serving an injunction could be in halting industrial action in the CPSA. A stats ban in the Department of Employment was abruptly lifted. Even left NEC members voted to call the action off, spelling the beginning of the end for the union's cuts campaign.

The same tactic has been used many times since, invoking ever-more repressive trade union and employment legislation to block effective action. Writs have been threatened at the drop of a hat - against DHSS workers for taking action against the Fowler Social Security proposals, DE members for walking out over ethnic monitoring, and even against union publications for criticising the cuts!

The bolder the government becomes, the more pathetic is the union response. The consequence for rank and file members is that we have been left to fight alone, our unions acting as more of a hindrance than a help in meeting the Tory offensive.

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## ◆ *THE JOBS AUCTION*

The tone was set for the civil service unions' staffing campaign when former General Secretary, Alistair Graham, pronounced a mere 40,000 job cuts a 'success' back in 1980. Since 1979, management have got rid of 20 per cent of all civil service jobs, a fall from 732,000 to 580,180 - and that was without really trying. In lower clerical grades this has meant:

- 8% of Administrative Officers
- 18% of Administrative Assistants
- 29% of basic grade typists
- 17% of data processors

disappearing over the past six or seven years. Many of these cuts were justified by management as inevitable, due to the introduction of new technology. The union side has put up little resistance, at the expense of our members jobs, health and safety. Over 20 per cent of lower clerical grades now work - with far from adequate protection - on VDUs or computer terminals, whilst tens of thousands of jobs have been sold off. Now that computerisation has made it easier for management to come up with a new 'running costs' basis for allocating staff, the unions have the cheek to moan that this makes it 'difficult to combat further reductions' (CPSA Annual Report, 1987). The truth is that, since the onset of the cuts, they have proved more than willing to bargain away our jobs for scale shortening, a few extra quid - or often nothing at all.

## ◆ *PAY FIASCO*

When the Tories went on the offensive in 1981, suspending Pay Research and tightening up cash limits, union officials were more concerned about maintaining a 'settled' pay system than offering a lead to members who wanted to fight. The twenty two week 1981 pay dispute ended in disaster; endless rounds of selective action wore down our side, not management's. The official side drove home its victory by enforcing long-term pay deterioration under the Megaw Inquiry. In the 1987 pay dispute, union leaders refused to go for an all-out national strike until far too late in the day, allowing management to impose a 4.25 per cent pay offer after fourteen pointless weeks of 'rolling' action. After that, the officials seemed to give up the ghost. Nearly a year later, there was still a resounding silence from



union headquarters about the 1988 pay campaign. The figures speak for themselves:

PAY: WHAT WE ASKED FOR - AND WHAT WE GOT		
	Claim	Settlement
1981	15%	7.5%
1982	13%	5.9%
1983	10%	4.86%
1984	7%	4.55%
1985	15%	4.9%
1986	10%	6.0%
1987	15%	4.25%

The often quoted figure of £20 (the amount weekly civil service pay has fallen behind the private sector in recent years) only tells part of the story. The union leaders' obsession with comparability obscures the fact that pay levels for workers as a whole - public or private sector - are far from adequate. To get a decent deal for civil servants we do not need spurious 'scientific' pay research bodies, or endless comparisons with so-called 'good employers' outside the civil service. We need fighting unions that will lead a struggle for a decent living wage.

## LONG TERM PAY - NO WAY

'Clearly everybody would prefer a settled long term pay system as opposed to an annual struggle on pay' *Broadside* (CPSA Broad Left Journal, 1987)

Until the Tories ended it in 1981, civil service pay was negotiated under a system of national pay agreements established in 1974 by the Labour government. This was based on the concept of 'Fair Comparisons', defined as 'the principle that our pay should reflect the rates paid for comparable work by good employers outside the civil service.' The comparisons were done by an 'independent' body - the Pay Research Unit (PRU), and had been used on and off since 1956, following the Priestley Commission's recommendations.

So when pay research was unceremoniously booted out by the Tories, union leaders were very upset. The pay campaign of 1981 reflected their concern, its main theme being 'defend PRU'. As soon as they received an undertaking that Sir John Megaw's inquiry would produce an acceptable pay negotiating structure, the unions called the whole thing off.

The fact that under comparability our wages were still pitiful, and that successive governments ignored our claims, seems to have escaped the union bosses' attention. This method of arbitration is still seen by them as part of a golden age. Both PRU and Whitley were indispensable for maintaining control over the rank and file; the rigid institutionalisation of industrial relations ensured that members were kept well out of the way.

Today every civil service union leader is arguing for PRU by another name. Even the Broad Left who once upon a time opposed pay research have rediscovered the virtues of a settled pay system. Such are the responsibilities of power.

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## ◆ THE UNEMPLOYED: WHOSE SIDE ARE WE ON?

Labour movement spokesmen have expressed deep official concern at the latest round of attacks on claimants, especially the April 1988 changes in Social Security rules. They have accused the Tories of being heartless and caring nothing for the worst off members of society. But ever since ministers began blaming workers for 'pricing themselves out of a job', civil service unions have thrown their weight behind the MSC's phoney job creation schemes. Voicing only the mildest criticisms of YTS, YOPS, CP and the rest, the official union message to the jobless was 'on yer bike'. CPSA leaders believed there was nothing sinister about the government's schemes:

\* in October 1986, former DE Section Secretary, Peter Thomason, told *Red Tape* that fears that claimant advisers would be used to drive claimants off the register were misplaced: 'the CPSA has received categorical assurances from DE management that the advisers will not be used to 'police' claimants. Their function will be to provide specialised advice for the unemployed'

\* the same month, *Red Tape* welcomed a statement from the MSC on Restart, echoing its reassurance that the new scheme was all about 'providing positive help for long-term unemployed' rather than having anything to do with benefit policing

Now that even the MSC has been forced to admit that out of 1.2 million people given Restart interviews by early 1988, only 0.5 per cent had found a job, union officials have suddenly lost their tongues. Nor have they had much to say about the hard evidence that claimant advisers are being given fixed quotas of claimants to kick off the unemployment register. With an over 50 per cent drop-out rate on Job Training Schemes (JTS), and the introduction of more and more compulsory schemes backed up by stringent availability tests, all the unions can do is moan. Years of cooperation with government attacks on claimants means their complaints about 'injustice' carry no credibility.

Unlike their leaders, many civil service union members resent carrying out the government's attacks on fellow-workers - and have no illusions about Tory job creation schemes. While our leaders confine themselves to asking for more staff to do the employers' dirty work, and complaining about increased 'front-line tension', many rank and file members want nothing to do with policing the unemployed.

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## 'FINEST IN THE WORLD'

The official union response to management's offensive has been to cry foul, but stress the loyalty of civil servants all the same. Back in 1982, just as the official side was really sticking the boot in, *Red Tape* reassured Thatcher that 'in spite of this treatment' it still thought the British civil service was 'the finest in the world'.

In the 1987 pay campaign, they were still singing the same old tune. Members who thought they were on strike for a halfway decent wage were asked to sport badges and stickers bearing the slogan 'FOR A BETTER CIVIL SERVICE'. Whether it's pay, jobs or conditions we are meant to be fighting for, the official position is that civil service unions have the interests of the country at heart.

With this line, we are onto a loser from the start. Politicians and senior civil servants have a very clear, and accurate, estimation of what kind of civil service is good for British bosses; one that is cheap, efficient and entirely compliant to the establishment's needs. Union leaders who spend their whole time trying to convince the official side to kill us more kindly will always stand in the way of members who want to fight.

At best, civil service union leaders use strikes to step up the pressure during negotiations, rapidly dampening things down when the action threatens to get out of hand. The 'ballotitis' that many members complain about is a symptom of this malaise; we are constantly being asked to vote for strike calls that our leaders have no intention of carrying out.

The problems facing civil service workers are far from unique. British trade union bosses have been proving themselves unfit to lead ever since the employers started their latest round of attacks. Miners, printworkers, carworkers, teachers, and seamen — the list of struggles sold out in the 'eighties seems to grow longer by the day. But it does not have to be that way. The unions are meant to exist to defend their members; it's up to us to start making them do the job.



*'Finest Service': try telling that to the unemployed*

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# THE UNION WE NEED

*'We care very deeply about the efficiency and effectiveness of the Civil Service and the increase in productivity and workload is there for all to see'* CPSA National Executive Committee, January 1988

**T**he typical civil service clerical worker is young, female and on chronically low pay. In 1988, the *top* rate for an Administrative Assistant was £5799, and £7247 for an Administrative Officer. A turnover rate of over 50 per cent in most offices graphically illustrates what civil servants think of their jobs.

Appalling wages, unbearable conditions and minimal promotion prospects prompted a majority of members to walk out and stay out in the lengthy 1987 pay campaign. In the middle of the dispute - and to the horror of the Treasury and union right-wingers - CPSA members voted in a new, Broad Left controlled NEC.

The election result was a clear vote of no-confidence in the old leadership, and the ineffective way they had been running the dispute. Expectations were high about stepping up the action, along the lines proposed by the left.

But members were in for a let-down. The new NEC proved in no hurry to call a ballot for all-out national strike action, using the forthcoming General Election as an excuse to bide their time. When the ballot was eventually held, members rejected the strike call. Deep demoralisation had set in; the call to action came much too late.

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## LEFT-RIGHT-LEFT ...

Media hacks and industrial relations 'experts' often pontificate over the apparently bizarre speed with which the political complexion of the CPSA's leadership alters, blaming the union's volatility on upward mobility within the civil service, or (more cynically) the members' search for light relief from boring work.

It is true that the largest civil service union experiences more political 'in-fighting' than is usual in British trade unions and - in recent years - has elected a fair share of left-wing dominated NECs. But the reason has nothing to do with these unlikely explanations.

Post-war expansion of the civil service changed the character of the typical civil service recruit, and down-graded the nature of the work. When the current efficiency and cost-cutting drives began in the 'seventies, there was a much more militant rank and file response than the union had seen before. As a result, a new generation of CPSA leaders rose to power, more radical than the yes-men whose places they took. But the left in the union has proved no match for the right-wing, or the so-called moderates, who still control the union machine.



*Macreadie & Ellis: the right have the last laugh?*

## 'JEWEL IN THE CROWN'?

According to their right-wing critics, the left in the union is not only a menace to moderate trade unionism; it is intent on overthrowing the state. Alistair Graham, one of the Broad Left's most vociferous opponents (before his departure to the Industrial Society) was forever sounding the alarm about the CPSA becoming 'the jewel in Militant's crown', and the Broad Left 'milking us dry'. Meanwhile, Broad Left leader John Macreadie has often boasted of his personal ambition to make the union the 'Liverpool' of the trade union movement.

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But behind all the right's red-baiting and the left's blustering, the track-record of the Broad Left in the CPSA has turned out to be remarkably tame. Ritual denunciations of John Ellis's American Express Card are no substitute for challenging the way the union is run on the ground.

Whenever the left has been given the opportunity by the membership to lead the union along a different course, that chance has been thrown away:

- \* before it fell victim to the right's cold war purges, the left spent its short-lived period of influence in the Civil Service Clerical Association (the CPSA's forerunner) in the 'forties and 'fifties, calling for speed-ups and scabbing on strikes

- \* in the 'seventies, left-wing NEC members squandered the anger and militancy of the rank and file, by calling off effective action against the cuts

- \* the Broad Left helped stitch up a behind-the-scenes deal in the 1980 Glasgow Department of National Savings dispute, leading to the eventual loss of over a thousand jobs throughout the DNS

- \* in the early 'eighties, DHSS disputes in Birmingham and Oxford got little more than rhetorical backing from the left, despite having a Militant member - Kevin Roddy - as union President

- \* the Broad Left continuously pulled its punches in the 1984 Newcastle shiftworkers dispute (despite its position of local control) - opening the door for moderates on the NEC and DE Section Executive Committee (SEC) to ensure the strike went down to defeat

After 1984, the Broad Left in the CPSA broke up in mutual acrimony. The 'soft' left (Broad Left '84) broke away - largely in protest at Militant's growing influence. On paper the two Broad Lefts maintain they have many points of difference. In practice, there often seems little to choose between them as far as the ordinary member is concerned.



*Alistair Graham: milked us dry*

Losinska: retired red-baiter



## MACHINE POLITICS

The story of the left in the CPSA - and other civil service unions - has largely been one of bureaucratic manoeuvring for control. The typical response to attacks from the right has been to look to the courts - not the members - for support. This was the response in July 1986, when the right contested (and later overturned) John Macreadie's narrow election as General Secretary. Inviting the bosses' courts to interfere in the union's affairs is not only stupid, but dangerous - and brings the left in the union into disrepute.

Increasingly the Broad Left's 'principles' have been shown up as hollow rhetoric, and their promises as empty boasts. Back in October 1987, soon after gaining NEC control, the Broad Left was promising an all-out national strike over pay in Spring 1988, 'the only action which is likely to move the employer'. But by the time the first crocuses were pushing through, the Broad Left had decided to 'favour a long term pay system' (1988 Election Manifesto), and the pay campaign - all-out or otherwise - was nowhere to be seen.

When London DE members walked out over the sacking of casuals and compulsory transfers in December 1987, the Broad Left NEC took two months to even contemplate stepping up the action, or to call a national strike levy. The excuse used was that it was still preparing the ground. Eventually over seven hundred DE and DHSS members lost weeks of pay - and in some cases received disciplinary warnings - after 15 weeks of strike action that won nothing at all.

The Broad Left's explanation? On this occasion, as so often, it turned round and blamed the union's right-wing. Portraying themselves (despite their overwhelming NEC majority) as helpless victims of John Ellis, Kate Losinska and Marion Chambers, the left has failed time and again to stand up and fight. This approach not only plays into the hands of the right, paving the way each time for the left's defeat; it divides and demoralises the members, sapping rank and file enthusiasm for the struggles to come.



BETTER

THAN

BINGO

C . S . C . A .

PRIZES FOR ALL..

CIVIL SERVICE UNIONS TALK DOWN TO 'THE GIRLS'

## BETTER THAN BINGO?

Our first priority is to challenge the bureaucratic and contemptuous way the left in the union relates to the ordinary member. Instead of playing the right's game of behind-closed-doors intrigue, we have every interest in opening up the union to involve every member in its affairs.

Traditionally civil service trade unionism has confined politics to the pub, appealing to members on a lowest common denominator - 'it's better than bingo' - basis. This approach might have got the union by when our jobs, pay and conditions were not on the line. But now that even the very right to belong to a union is up for grabs, we need to fight the government on its own terms.

Rank and file activists in the civil service need to get together, around a fighting programme that makes no concessions to the official side. Unlike the Broad Left, who have taken to boasting about their commitment to civil service efficiency and productivity, we begin from what our members need as workers. We take no responsibility for running the bosses' state.





## WHAT WE FIGHT FOR

### DEFEND EVERY JOB

- \* our jobs are not for sale. Fight both compulsory and voluntary redundancies. Every place lost through 'natural wastage' must be filled
- \* reject management's phoney staffing figures, and refuse to compete with other civil service workers for a diminishing number of jobs. *All* our jobs are non-negotiable
- \* compulsory transfers, redeployment, and other ways of using labour 'flexibly' are all attempts to cut jobs. Refuse to cooperate with these schemes. Every job lost through voluntary transfer must be replaced
- \* throw out the Alternative Working Patterns. The creation of an ever smaller group of core civil service workers, and a pool of temporary and part-time labour on 'nil-hours' or short-term contracts, threatens every worker's job and our collective strength
- \* fight casualisation - but defend the right of every casual in post to a permanent job
- \* fight for the benefits of new technology, but resist the job cuts, downgrading and health risks that deals like TRES in the DE have brought in their wake

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## THE PAY WE NEED

- \* pay claims must be based on members' assessment of what we need for a decent standard of living - not on meaningless comparability exercises with the private sector

- \* vote no to 'long-term settled pay systems' that negotiate away our right to take industrial action for the pay we need

- \* abolish incremental scales. Fight for the same pay for the same job. Incremental scales are used to justify low pay. Demand across-the-board increases based on the maximum rate for the job

- \* throw out Local Pay Additions, Regional and Merit Pay. These divisive deals sap our collective strength by treating each claim on its individual merit. Insist on *national* pay claims that meet all member's needs - instead of a scab's charter that pitches worker against worker

## UNITY WITH CLAIMANTS

- \* refuse to cooperate with availability testing and Restart, make deductions to claimants' benefits under Income Support or force the unemployed onto slave labour schemes

- \* boycott ethnic monitoring of claimants. Expose this racist attempt to deny black people their benefit rights

- \* oppose YTS. Not just because of the threat to our job security, but also because it is no answer to unemployed youth. Fight for *Jobs Not Schemes*

- \* fight for forms of industrial action that hit the unemployed the least. But insist on rank and file control over emergency payments when DE and DHSS workers have to come out on strike. This is the only way to stop management undermining our action, or driving a wedge between us and the unemployed

- \* build an unemployed workers' section in the union. Show claimants we are prepared to fight on their side

---

## WOMEN: REAL EQUALITY

\* the majority of low-grade clerical civil servants are women - over 70 per cent in the CPSA. Yet the union only pays lip-service to fighting for their rights

\* real, not token, equality involves more than appointing a few women's committees to distribute leaflets about the menopause and cervical smears. Women workers in the civil service need

- \* a living wage - women do not work for 'pin money'
- \* full employment rights for part-timers
- \* properly supervised creche facilities at work
- \* adequate maternity and parental leave on full pay
- \* training and promotion prospects to get out of the ghetto known as 'women's work'

\* the union must take a public stand against the morality brigade. Restrictions on abortion rights, and attacks on gays, reinforce conservative values about women and the family. We support free and safe contraception and abortion on demand. And we defend any member victimised for his or her sexual orientation

## POLITICS: STOP THE RETREAT

we reject the view - cultivated by employers and unions for decades - that civil service workers should be politically neutral. We defend the right to take a political stand on every issue affecting our class

\* this includes international questions, and the defence of the rights of the oppressed. The bosses have politicised trade unionism; we must answer them blow for blow

\* every attempt to deny civil servants their political rights - as at GCHQ and in the MOD - must be met with industrial action. We bear no responsibility for running Britain's war machine

\* the political levy should be used to further our struggles, and support other workers, not to finance the Labour Party. Why should we support the party that initiated the attack on our pay, jobs and conditions in the 'seventies - and is now trying to out-Tory the Tories on every front?

# PATRIOTISM IS BAD FOR YOUR HEALTH

On 25 January 1984 when the Tories announced the ban on unions at GCHQ, 20,000 civil servants walked out in angry protests, and strikes were threatened across the whole trade union movement. But the real issue - the attack on workers' rights and jobs - was swept under the carpet from the start. Instead, labour movement leaders fell over each other in the rush to prove they were as patriotic as Colonel Blimp:

'What they are doing is insulting every one of us by suggesting that membership of a trade union is incompatible with patriotism. That is an ugly smear' Gerry Gillman, SCPS General Secretary

'Whatever the true reason for the government's decision...the slur that trade unions are a threat to national security has been shown up for the slander it is' CCSU, *The Story of the Ban*

Top marks for jingoism went to former CPSA General Secretary, Alistair Graham; 'The First and Second World Wars and the Falklands conflict would not have been won without the cooperation of the trade union movement.'

Union leaders ruled out disruption at GCHQ because 'Geoffrey Howe will only jump up and say we're threatening national security'. Instead they handed the Tories our right to strike on a plate, promising GCHQ staff 'will take no action which would or might interfere with the operation of essential intelligence services.' The Tories ignored their pleas, and stuck to bribes, threats and intimidation to get their way.

Once the unions had accepted that national security and not workers' rights was the issue, Thatcher was onto a winner. Being a loyal civil servant means only one thing - doing as you're told. Out of 7000 staff, only 150 union members were left at GCHQ after the ban. Today there are only twenty six - just one of them in the CPSA. The political attack on our rights has continued apace:

\* in the aftermath of the 'Spycatcher' affair, after a court ruling exposed that civil servants have no formal contract of employment, the government slipped a new clause into its employment bill. Its aim is to impose more controls over union officials and every state employee, allowing the state to interfere more directly in our unions' affairs. The government has not been slow off the mark in anticipating its new powers:

\* in March 1988, Mike Grindley, a NUCPS official at GCHQ, lost his security clearance for talking to a left wing journalist and a national newspaper about non-classified information. Because of his specialised job as a language expert, this is as good as being sacked

\* in early 1988, Ian Williams, another NUCPS member, in the MOD, had his positive clearance vetting revoked - and was dismissed as a recently promoted EO on probation - for allegedly declaring his support for Militant

\* in the light of civil servants overwhelming backing for setting up political funds, the government is considering action to prevent the unions affiliating directly to any political party

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## ORGANISING TO WIN

Rebuilding the union is not just about deciding what to campaign for, but also how we organise the day to day fight. The CPSA, like most other unions, faces a declining and largely passive membership (down by over a third in recent years, to around 145,000) and poorly attended meetings. But it does not have to stay that way.

Members' lack of interest in the union reflects their justified scepticism about its ability to defend them. The problem is compounded by the cliquish, bureaucratic way union affairs are run. Rank and file activists have every interest in challenging the present set-up, by fighting for the fullest possible democracy at all levels in the union - and effective methods of organising that stand a real chance of success.

## OUR MONEY IN OUR HANDS

- \* control over the union's finances is one of the first questions to come up every time industrial action is proposed. Our leaders keep a tight grip on the purse strings when it comes to paying out strike pay, but have no hesitation about awarding themselves fat hand-outs (like the £90,000 golden handshake to former Treasurer John Raywood)

- \* the lack of rank and file control over union funds has left us wide open to financial blackmail from the employers. After the collapse of the 1987 pay campaign, the government threatened to withdraw the 'check-off' arrangement for collecting union dues at source, to curb future strike action

- \* the best answer to such threats is to call management's bluff. We have no interest in maintaining a system that encourages a passive relationship between members and the union, and allows the official side to interfere in union affairs. Instead, we need a system for collecting union dues that involves active face-to-face contact between members and reps, and adequate facility time to carry this out

- \* strike funds, levies and hardship funds must be placed under rank and file control. The National Disputes Committee has demonstrated time and again that it is not fit to run the union's finances; it wastes members' dues on pointless campaigns and gimmicky PR exercises, instead of getting the funds to members in struggle. We need the cash to finance industrial action - official or otherwise - and that means building up fighting funds independent of bureaucratic control

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## A UNION FIT TO JOIN

- \* instead of manoeuvring for official positions, the left in the union should be going all-out to involve every member in union affairs. Rank and file activists must be prepared to fight openly for their views, even at the risk of losing votes. Imitating the dishonest methods of the right-wing always backfires, helping the left cut its own throat

- \* we should target traditionally moderate offices and departments, instead of leaving them in the hands of the right. Many more key sections of the civil service could be brought out on strike if rank and file activists spread their influence

- \* we must fight for facilities that allow all members to get involved in the union, including civil service workers with young children. The union not only neglects the fight for child-care facilities at work it does not even provide them at its own events

- \* we oppose all government measures designed to interfere in internal union affairs. State imposed pre-strike ballots have become the norm - but only because union leaders refused to put up a fight. Now management think they can get away with anything. Going to the toilet without a ballot will soon be a disciplinary offence

- \* we must put up maximum resistance to anti-union legislation, demanding official backing for members victimised under its terms. Every opportunity to circumvent the balloting rules should be seized, from the taking of 'straw votes' at union meetings, to public filling in of ballot papers. The bosses' version of 'union democracy' can only be countered by open, collective debate

- \* we demand the election of all full-time officials, and union withdrawal from Whitley. Instead of cosy chats with management on how to avoid strikes, our representatives should be leading members in struggle - and be fully accountable to us

## EFFECTIVE ACTION

- \* we have had an overdose of 'rolling', 'selective' and 'lightning' strikes that have no impact at all on management (not least because the union usually gives weeks of notice)

- \* to hit the official side where it hurts, industrial action needs to be short, sharp and effective; lengthy disputes in recent years - inside and outside the civil service - have invariably ended in demoralisation and defeat

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\* civil service workers have the potential to paralyse the workings of central government - via the computer centres, the Home Office, the MOD, Customs and Excise and other critical departments. We should make a priority of pulling out these sections in disputes, and accept no excuses from the officials for their failure to do so

\* national claims need national action to win. An all-out national strike is the only way to break the current cycle of defeats in the pay round, or resist the employers' nation-wide offensive against our job security and conditions

\* every effort must be made to break down the sectionalism that paralyses so many disputes, by extending industrial action across departments - and setting up rank and file committees to represent workers from every office and section involved

\* the only way to sustain industrial action is by getting every member involved. All decisions in disputes should be made at regular mass meetings, to which strikers' representatives are fully accountable

## ONE UNION FOR LOW-GRADE CIVIL SERVANTS

\* the number of, and rivalry between, unions in the civil service reflects its hierarchical structure and sectionalism

\* low-grade civil service workers - industrial and non-industrial - have every interest in fighting for one big union to increase our strength

\* we do not support 'vertical' union mergers (like the recent SCPS / CSU merger into NUCPS) that bring together low-grade civil servants with their supervisors and managers all under one roof

\* our attitude to trade union unity has nothing in common with the official union position on mergers, which is mainly dictated by competition for falling membership rolls - and manoeuvring between political factions to determine who will stay in control

\* we are not only in favour of one low-grade union for civil servants; we fight for the maximum solidarity with other workers throughout the public sector, and for unity with the unemployed. This is the best way to make our struggles more effective, and stop the employers' game of divide and rule

# RACE CHECKS: THE STORY SO FAR

There have been five ethnic monitoring pilot schemes since the introduction of the 1981 Nationality Act; all have met with rank and file strikes, protests and walk-outs:

February 1982 - 14 UBOs

January 1986 - 3 UBOs

March 1986 - 150 JCs

January 1987 - 3 UBOs

October 1987 - 111 JCs

The government wants all the information it can get on black people, to crack down on 'illegals' and those 'more likely to commit fraud' (Rayner Report). Ethnic monitoring is about denying black people their entitlement to benefit, under Britain's racist immigration and nationality laws.

But civil service union leaders go along with the management line that race checks help combat discrimination. They have never been opposed to ethnic monitoring in principle, just certain methods of carrying it out. So far members in UBOs and Job Centres have stopped the wholesale introduction of race checks, while the union has sided with management all the way:

\* when a Job Centre ethnic monitoring 'traffic survey' was announced in March 1986, CPSA members voted two to one to oppose it. But the SEC refused to call strike action, or back the five Hackney members suspended for boycotting the scheme. Only when over 700 DE workers walked out in support, did SEC members officially protest

\* at CPSA conference that May, members condemned their leaders, and voted for total opposition to ethnic monitoring throughout the DE. The SEC tried to make this policy unworkable by suddenly calling for 'indefinite strike action on no strike pay' across the whole MSC. Coming out of thin air, with no schemes being introduced at the time, it was no surprise when the ballot was lost

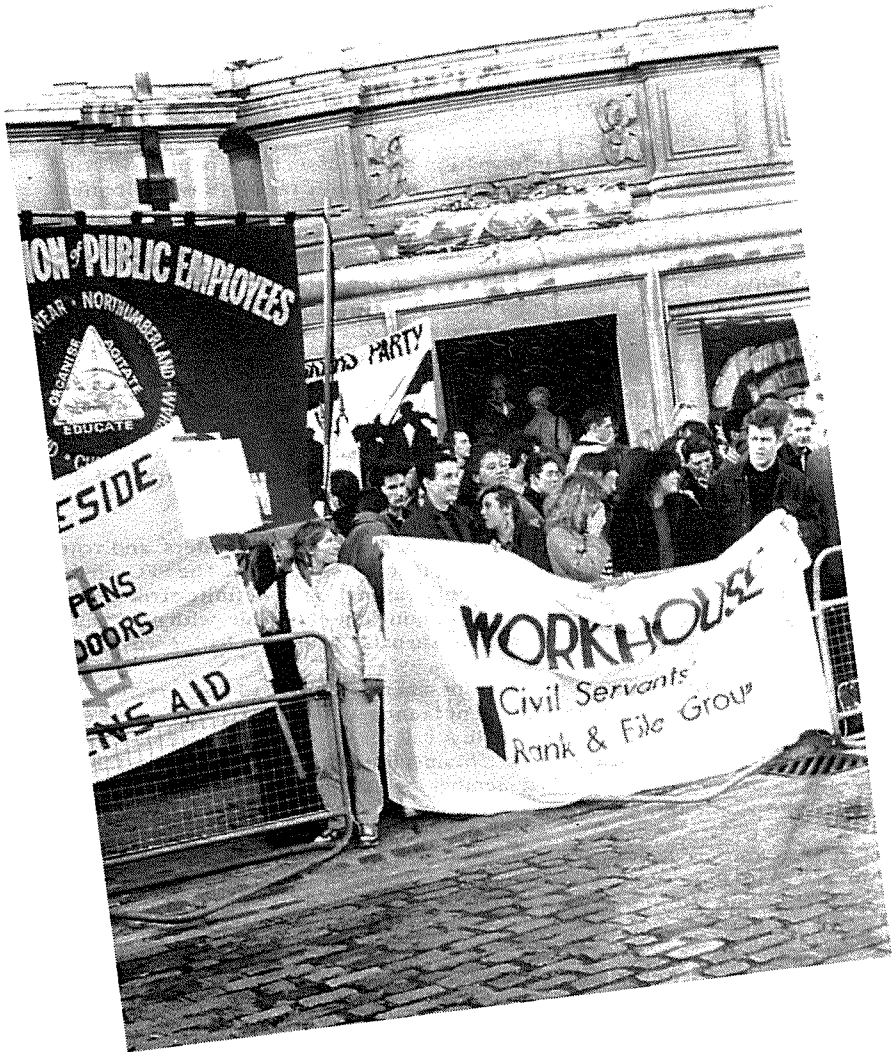
\* after this, the DE seized its chance. Pilot schemes at three UBOs were announced in October 1986. While management launched a massive propaganda campaign, union leaders did nothing at all. A call for strike action was only issued at the last moment; naturally the SEC blamed members when it was lost. Finally, after a writ was served against members who walked out anyway, the union called the whole thing off

\* at 1987 conference the SEC claimed that what members really wanted was an 'alternative form' of collecting statistics, linked to positive action against discrimination (Motion 122). Delegates voted overwhelmingly to throw this nonsense out

The union's position on this issue has encouraged management to try it on again. In October 1987 yet another pilot scheme was announced for Job Centres; this time, the vote for opposition was far less. The lesson for rank and file activists is clear; take control out of the hands of we're-not racist-but bureaucrats, and lead the fight against ethnic monitoring ourselves.



Winning rank and file control of the union means making a clean break with the past. Conciliation and compromise are a way of life for civil service unions: to fight and win we need a new approach.



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# UNCIVIL SERVANTS

*'Day after day, civil servants at all levels, in a wide variety of activities up and down the country, loyally discharge their duty of serving the public ... Each deserves our gratitude and respect'*

Margaret Thatcher

**I**n Autumn 1986, a group of civil service workers got together in South London. The subject under discussion was the fight against ethnic monitoring, and the way the CPSA's DE Section Executive had derailed the campaign.

South London DE members had been in the forefront of opposition to the race checks, leading much of the debate at Section Conference, and coordinating unofficial action in support of members suspended for boycotting the scheme.

But despite all the hectic activity, management still seemed to have got the upper hand. It was clear to everyone present at the meeting who was responsible; the union's leadership had undermined members' efforts at every turn.

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## UP TO US

Fed up with being stabbed in the back by union officials, and disillusioned with the posturing of the Broad Left, a group of rank and file members decided it was time to build something new. That was how WORKHOUSE began. Since then it has come a fair way.

◆ WORKHOUSE bulletins and leaflets have kept up a stream of analysis and comment on major issues facing members, putting a rank and file alternative to the official view

◆ Our influence is spreading throughout the DE, and to the DHSS, MSC, Department of Transport and DTI. We have supporters in Merseyside, Manchester, West and South Yorkshire, Greater London and the South East

◆ WORKHOUSE has played an important role in a series of local and national disputes

**AGAINST YTS** - our supporters were prominent in the 1988 strike at MSC headquarters in Sheffield, fighting to extend the action along the lines of 'Jobs Not Schemes'

**PAY** - we fought for an all-out national strike in 1987, linking up with workers in the MOD, Whitehall and other sections to escalate the selective action - and build strike committees across union departments

**DE/MSC MERGER** - our supporters called protest action, including a 100-strong picket at the MSC in Sheffield, to highlight the implications of the merger for benefit policing

**ETHNIC MONITORING** - we have continued to lead union opposition on this issue, coordinating mass pickets with unemployed workers and other trade unionists outside Job Centres when pilot schemes have been introduced

**LINKS WITH UNEMPLOYED** - in the fight against Restart, availability testing and JTS, we have built close links with claimants organisations and unemployed centres, organising joint protests and meetings

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**STAFFING** - our supporters in Eastern Region were heavily involved in the dispute against compulsory transfers, fighting at mass meetings to extend the action. We pulled out other offices in support of the North London strikers, organised transport for 'flying pickets' to go to the Reading computer centre, addressed dozens of union meetings - and organised fund-raising benefits for the dispute

We have taken solidarity action with many struggles outside the civil service, supporting printworkers, local government workers, nurses, teachers and seamen in their fight. We have demonstrated in favour of abortion rights, for getting British troops out of Ireland, and in support of lesbian and gay rights.

In a short space of time, WORKHOUSE has begun to build a national reputation for hard-hitting arguments and action, and a network of supporters who are helping to spread our influence nationwide. This shows the scope for a serious fight against civil service cutbacks. But there is still a long way to go.

So far, the official side has had an easy ride. There has been no serious opposition to the cuts. Symbolic days of action, and the annual outing to Cheltenham, are not about to give management sleepless nights.

Our union leaders have no stomach for a fight, but plenty of workers have shown they do. What we need is a focus to rally all our forces. This is what WORKHOUSE sets out to provide.

There is an alternative to the official please-walk-over-us line; rank and file members do have a choice. We can hang around hoping that one lot of union leaders will do better than another - or fight to rebuild the union from the bottom up. Let's show Thatcher we mean business. Her civil servants are servants no more.

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SICK OF ANSWERING FOUR PHONES AT ONCE?



JOIN *WORKHOUSE* AND FIGHT THE CUTS!

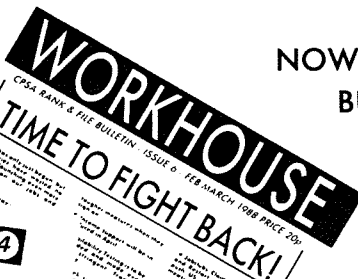
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or phone: 01- 733 5135

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YOU'VE READ THE PAMPHLET

NOW GET THE  
BULLETINS



**PAY**  
With an 85% turn out in the regional pay strikes, CPSA leaders have got no one to blame but themselves if we don't win our 15% claim. Civil servants are angry and willing to fight. Many branches are calling for Conference to turn the rotting strike into an all out national strike.

**NO MORE MR NICE GUY**  
A nation wide dispute is the only way to win. The softly softly approach just demoralises members and plays into the Treasury's hands.

The media is already having a field day blaming heartless civil servants for the plight of the unemployed. The pressure on our members can only get worse if on the longer the strike rolls aimlessly on.

**CONFERENCE** can turn the tables on the Tory hypocrites by supporting the emergency motion for all out action.

\* Voting to boycott Restat, Fowler's Review, JTS and all government slave labour schemes.

Let's show the government we mean business and the unemployed who their real friends are!



**LABOUR & CPSA**

In what is certain to be an election year, CPSA members are being urged to put their money on Labour and vote for affiliation to the Labour Party.

We say: 'What has Labour ever done for us?' as seen as the Tories and the rest were and jobs.

\* Out of office. Labour has spent its time out spending to public morals.

Why affiliate to a party that last month called on teachers to give up their strike to improve Labour's chances and will no doubt do the same to us if our dispute gets out of hand before Knopps's desperation to get into No 10.

**WORKHOUSE** says - our members' interests come before Knopps's desperation to get into No 10. \* Vote NO to Labour Party affiliation.

\* Use the Political Fund to support workers fighting back.

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# WORKHOUSE

**C**an Thatcher get away with her drive to restore Victorian values to the civil service? *Servants No More* spells out how to fight current attacks on pay, jobs, conditions and political rights. It argues the case for grassroots control of the unions, and the policies needed to win.

Written and produced by *WORKHOUSE*—a civil servants' rank and file group — this pamphlet is essential reading for every public sector worker who wants to take on the Tories.

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