

SHOPFLOOR

YOUR FUTURE AT TESCO

**...WORTH
FIGHTING
FOR!** OUR CLAIM
FOR 2019...

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**Employment
(Miscellaneous
Provisions) Act 2018**

THIS new law came into effect on 4th March 2019 after a three-month lead-in period following the signing of the legislation by President Higgins on Christmas Day 2018. It is no exaggeration to say that the new law is the most significant piece of legislation on workers' rights passed in the last few decades.

Effectively it has put the brakes on the race to the bottom by selfish and exploitative employers who abused precarious and flexible contracts of employment to control and manipulate workers by controlling the actual numbers of hours offered in any week and by doing so controlling workers' potential to earn a wage.

Ireland is now the only country in the EU where workers have a legal right to demand a new clause in their contract of employment which reflects the actual number of hours worked by that worker in the previous one-year reference period.

Additionally, workers are entitled in writing to the main terms of

Victory for unity, determination and collective action

STRAIGHT TALKING

John Douglas

*General Secretary,
Mandate Trade Union*

their employment contract within five days of commencing employment and there are also very severe anti-penalisation clauses if employers fail to comply or attempt to victimise workers for asserting their rights.

Employers who in the past would have reduced significantly workers' weekly hours for spurious reasons e.g.

sickness, budgets, union activity or simply because they could will now by and large be prevented from this type of unacceptable behaviour.

For years workers on these totally flexible type contracts have lived in fear of losing weekly hours, losing their income and not being able to provide for the basics of life.

So how did this new legislation come to pass? Simply put, by the courageous and determined collective actions of workers – in particular Dunnes Stores workers – who stood up and said, 'Enough is enough – we demand justice and decency at work!'

More than 6,000 Dunnes' workers, members of Mandate, took to the picket lines in 2015 to highlight the totally unacceptable way that they were being treated by Dunnes management. They rallied over 5,000 supporters to march on Dunnes Stores Head Office to demand decent contracts and a decent living wage.

They told the story of the reality of working on these types of exploitative contracts – they won the hearts and minds of the public and they took their fight to the Dail and every politician from every party across the country. They spoke in the Dail, outside the Dail, to local politicians, to local media etc. They mounted a determined campaign, supported by Mandate, to win.

They enlisted the support of progressive political parties and independent politicians in the Dail until the force of their argument was too great to ignore any longer and finally Minister Doherty announced she would be introducing new legislation to deal with exploitative contracts of employment.

It goes to demonstrate the very real potential that exists in the collective strength of workers. We've seen it before with the Right2Water campaign – workers supported by progressive trade unions, political parties and communities can fight back against exploitation and injustice and win.

Ireland is still the most unequal country in the EU and still has the highest proportion of low paid jobs of any EU country.

This new legislation will not change these facts, but it will make a very real difference to the everyday lives of tens of thousands of workers.

Imagine if we together could organise similarly around an all-embracing Decency Charter for Retail, a charter which at its core has a decent living wage, fair work scheduling, childcare, full-time jobs and a workers' collective union voice at work.

In Mandate we do believe that we together can win such a Charter for Decency. We believe that not only do workers deserve it, but that they have a right to it.

We are calling on all workers to organise and mobilise in their union – let's join together to win a brighter future.



● Most significant workers' rights legislation in decades ● Gen Sec: 'Make your claims through the union...'

New law protects low and zero hour workers



By David Gibney
Mandate communications officer

NEW LEGISLATION which came about as a result of Mandate's successful campaign for secure hour contracts came into force on Monday, 4th March – a welcome development that will benefit hundreds of thousands of workers.

The new Employment (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 2018 bans zero hour contracts in most circumstances; gives workers more security over their hours and income; requires employers to furnish workers with their core conditions of employment within five days; and provides for minimum payments in cases where the employer fails to provide an employee with work.

The new Act is one of the most significant pieces of legislation on workers' rights in decades. Much of the credit for its passing should be given to the Dunnes Stores workers and to Mandate members who went on strike for secure hour contracts and who then fought for legislative changes that would protect all workers in Ireland.

Welcoming the new legislation, Mandate's General Secretary John Douglas said: "Our members have fought for this legislation for more than four years now and hopefully the new law will translate into significant improvements in living standards for all workers. Under the Act a worker has the right to be given a contract that accurately reflects the hours they normally work per week."

He explained: "For instance, Dunnes Stores workers have 15 hour contracts, yet many work up to 40 hours per week for a full year. Now they can request a new minimum hours contract where the average of hours they've worked over the previous 12 months places them within a 'band of hours'. In this case, it would be 36 hours and above. This provision will enable a worker to obtain security over their hours and over their income. It will enable them to

seek a mortgage or even a loan from a credit union. And crucially, it will prevent their employer from threatening a reduction in hours if they join their trade union or lodge a grievance with their manager," said Mr Douglas.

In order to invoke the legislation, a worker must make a written request to their employer. That employer is then obliged to provide the worker with a new secure hour contract within four weeks or justify why they cannot offer secure hours.

If an employee is unhappy with that explanation or the new band of hours the employer has placed them on, they can appeal to the Workplace Relations Commission (WRC).

Mr Douglas continued: "It's important that workers make these claims through their trade union. Many employers will drag out this process and make it onerous on their workers to make their claims, so having a strong

trade union behind you is essential."

Mandate is already hearing reports of employers providing draft forms for their employees to apply for a new banded hour contract which disincentivises or intimidates workers into not applying for a contract.

Mr Douglas said: "One employer has told their workers that they need to have the form signed by local management. Another is telling workers that if they receive the new band of hours that they could be sacked if they breach that band in the future.

"These types of threats and intimidatory tactics are exactly why workers needed this legislation in the first place and exactly why workers need to be in their trade union."

Mr Douglas pointed out that there



Picture: Dinesha Gomany (CC BY-SA 2.0)

“ This provision will enable a worker to obtain security over their hours and their income. It will enable them to seek a mortgage or even a loan from a credit union. And crucially, it will prevent their employer from threatening a reduction in hours if they join their union or lodge a grievance ”

are strong anti-penalisation clauses – such as transfer of duties, change of location of place of work, reduction in wages or change in working hours – in the legislation and emphasised that if any worker is concerned about applying for a new banded hours contract or if their employer offers a new contract or demands that applications are made through their own forms, they should contact their trade union.

TESCO NON-ENGAGEMENT

Labour Court referral now seems likely

IN JANUARY, Mandate wrote to Tesco senior management requesting a meeting and asked them to consider the fact that over the last three years the retailer had failed to reasonably engage when requested to do so by the union across a number of important collective national issues.

Assistant General Secretary Gerry Light said: "First among many examples of this management's approach is the constant refusal to engage with us on the last three annual pay and benefit claims.

"We believe that this behaviour constitutes a breach

of their obligations contained in the Working Together collective agreement."

He added: "Not surprisingly management yet again declined to meet directly over the latest request so the general complaint of non-engagement has been referred to the Workplace Relations Commission for consideration."

According to the union, as this issue of *Shopfloor* goes to press, the retailer has shown no desire to attend the WRC. It is likely the issue will, as a result, be referred to the Labour Court.

2019 pay and benefits claim for members at Tesco Ireland revealed

By David Gibney

Mandate communications officer

MANDATE has launched the 2019 pay and benefits claim on behalf of all members in Tesco Ireland.

The claim is broken into four separate sections: pay; scheduling; full-time jobs and a voice at work and has been endorsed the Tesco National Strategy Team which is made up of Tesco members from across the Republic.

In developing the claim, Mandate was guided by a number of recent surveys of Tesco members where many thousands of respondents made their priorities known.

Assistant General Secretary Gerry Light, outlined the background to the claim in a letter to all Mandate members at Tesco, pointing out that it was “an effort to win recognition for the hard work and dedication” shown by them over the last 12 months.

But he cautioned that both it “and our common objectives” could only be achieved if all Tesco workers “remained united in their union”.

Mr Light continued: “Over the past three years Tesco Ireland has refused to engage with your union on your pay and conditions of employment. Instead, management decided, without any reference to you or your colleagues, what pay increase they believed you deserved.

“This year we must bring this dangerous practice to an end for if we don’t, your employer will ultimately determine the full range of terms and conditions that you will work for and how you will be treated in the future.”

He said: “Mandate did not expect Tesco Ireland to concede the claim immediately but did expect them to implement a 2% or 3% pay increase again, without any reference to you.”

And Mr Light warned members not to be fooled by this approach.

“Tesco is one of the most profitable employers in Ireland, with profits in excess of €250 million per year, so they can easily afford to implement pay equality and a Living Wage (€11.90 per hour), along with full-time jobs, fairer rostering and allowing you your right to meaningful trade union representation.

“In one form or another, many aspects of this claim have been negotiated between Mandate and other major retailers in Ireland.”

He said it was clear Tesco workers were tired being treated this way by their employer.

“The withdrawal of canteen facilities; refusal of pay increases for certain workers; refusal to adhere to collective agreements – including the denial of extra hours when available; unfair rostering practices; and the denial of your right to collective representation are all symptoms of Tesco



Gerry Light: Mandate members at Tesco Ireland are tired of the way management treats them...

Ireland’s plan to rid itself of your voice at work. “ Tesco workers had, he added, “expressed their frustration” in a number of strikes before Christmas.

“In Sligo and Carrick-on-Shannon, your fellow members made a stand for decency and respect not only for themselves but for their fellow union members. The same level of fighting spirit is now required to support and deliver the pay and benefits claim which is set out on the back of this document.”

Mr Light reminded Tesco workers that all their current terms and conditions had been fought for and won over many decades through members “acting collectively” and “sticking together” in their union.

“The same is true of the current claim which we all need to define as a turning point in the relationship with your employer.”



CURRENT PAY SCALES	UNION CLAIM FOR 2019
€10.56 (starting)	€11.90 (1st year)
€10.98 (after 18 months)	€13 (2nd year)
€12.95 (after 3 yrs) -TOP	€14 (3rd year)
Pre '96: €14.31	€15 (4th year)
Post '96–pre '06: €15.49	€16 (6th year)

1. PAY

Mandate’s survey of Tesco members indicated that a pay increase and pay equality was the most important issue to them. More than 90% of Tesco workers signified their support for the creation of one pay scale where all workers would have access to the highest point on the pre-2006 scale (€15.49 per hour). Factoring in a cost-of-living pay increase for 2019, this would increase to €16 per hour. Your union also believes the company has the capacity to pay a Living Wage to all workers in the business and is therefore advocating a new starting rate of €11.90 per hour (the current Living Wage).

2. SCHEDULING

The second most important issue cited by Tesco members in Mandate surveys is ‘Work Life Balance Improvements’. Members say they want more set hours with predictable working patterns. This claim demands an improvement from the current one week rostering notice to four weeks rostering notice.

3. FULL-TIME JOBS

As part of our ongoing campaign for full time jobs in Tesco, your claim demands 1,000 extra full time jobs. Our surveys indicate that only 13% of Tesco workers are on full-time contracts with 40% of workers stating they want to move to a higher band of hours. Your National Strategy Team believes the re-establishing of full time jobs would provide a better standard of living for workers in Tesco.

4. YOUR VOICE AT WORK

Tesco Ireland has ceased to negotiate your terms and conditions of employment with your representatives. Of those surveyed, 96% said they believe it is important for their employer to fully engage and meet with their union, on both individual and collective issues when requested to do so. This claim demands that Tesco management fully respect and comply with all existing collective agreements and engage on both individual and collective issues.

SUPPORT TESCO WORKERS & SIGN PETITION AT <http://www.tinyurl.com/tesco19>

UNITY IS STRENGTH!

Unions launch drive for new and united Ireland



General Secretary John Douglas speaks at the TUNUI campaign launch

A NEW movement that calls for a new and united Ireland was launched in the CWU offices in Dublin on March 25th and in historic surroundings of the Linen Hall Library, Belfast, on March 26th.

Trade Unionists for a New and United Ireland (TUNUI) comprises more than 150 trade union officials, including a number of general secretaries, from across the island of Ireland. They have come together to call on the labour movement to forge a new vision and advocate for a New and United Ireland.

Members of the movement will sign a declaration that states: "It is critically important that the interests of workers and working families are put at the heart of a new

Ireland, which should be a United Ireland. This must be a New Ireland that puts workers' rights, economic rights, gender rights, as well as universal human rights front and centre in a new all-Ireland constitution."

Signatories of the declaration include current and former trade union general secretaries, as well as two veterans of the Dunnes Stores anti-Apartheid strike in 1984, Liz Deasy and Karen Gearon.

And TUNUI will host a major national conference on the theme *Uniting Workers - Uniting Ireland* in the early summer, which will hear speakers from across the trade union movement and other progressive organisations on uniting workers north and south within a vision of Irish

“ Our aim is to put forward a new vision of what a fairer and more socially just Ireland would look like in the event of reunification ”

unity, and what this means for workers' rights.

TUNUI spokesperson Ruairí Creaney said: "The debate on the future of Ireland north and south has been escalating significantly against the backdrop of Brexit and the rise of populist right-wing – and borderline fascist – movements in the United States and in a number of EU member states.

"It is now time to get it out in the open, and to ensure that the voice of trade unionism is to the forefront."

Creaney pointed out that the initiative had secured the support of trade unionists with many differing political views but who were all united in recognising that partition had been "disastrous for workers'

rights and progressive politics in this country".

"In the north, average wages are lower than anywhere else in Ireland, or the UK. Furthermore, trade unions are still hamstrung by Tory austerity and draconian anti-union laws, while in the south, more than a century after the 1913 Lockout, workers are still denied the basic right to collective bargaining."

He added: "Our aim is to put forward a new vision of what a fairer and more socially just Ireland would look like in the event of reunification. We want to see a new Ireland – a united Ireland – with a new constitution that promotes workers' rights, economic equality and social justice."

A scab is a shiver looking for a spine to run up and can never be trusted to be on the side of the working class again

Read Brian Forbes' new **LET US ARISE!** column on page 20



HOUSING CRISIS

Members brave atrocious weather to attend Cork rally

HUNDREDS of people, including a hardy contingent from Mandate, braved the atrocious weather to attend the Raise the Roof rally in Cork on March 11th.

The rally was held to coincide with a motion being brought by Lord Mayor Mick Finn before Cork City Council demanding urgent action to address housing problems both nationally and locally.

It called for significant investment in building public housing through local authorities; action on evictions; rent certainty for tenants as well as a legal right to housing.

The motion was overwhelmingly supported by almost all councillors with only one Fine Gael representative voting against the motion and



Thoroughly drenched but definitely unbowed: part of the crowd at the Raise the Roof rally in Cork on March 11

Picture: Mandate

one abstaining. In October last year, an estimated 15,000 people attended a Raise the Roof rally in Dublin in support of an Opposition Dáil motion on housing.

One Mandate member who was at the Cork demo predicted the campaign would "grow and grow" be-

cause the Government had refused to take action on housing. "We need action on housing. We need a change in policy. We need intervention in housing. We need public housing!" she added.

Meanwhile, CWU General Secretary Steve Fitzpatrick, speaking at the

rally to *Red FM*, said: "They've tried everything except the things they know will work – you have to build public housing. It works in other countries, why wouldn't it work here? It's the one thing they won't try but they stay married to the landlords and the private developers."

● Between €70k and €80k expected to be awarded over rest breaks denial following WRC decisions

You Betcha! Union power takes on Paddy Power and **WINS** payouts for members...

By David Gibney
Mandate communications officer

MANDATE expects members working at betting chain Paddy Power to receive compensation totalling between €70,000 and €80,000 over the denial of rest breaks in 92 separate cases.

The union made the claim after a second tranche of decisions by the Workplace Relations Commission (WRC) on February 20 ordered Paddy Power to pay 11 workers a cumulative €10,100 in compensation for the denial of rest breaks.

And this development follows on from 14 cases won by Mandate in July 2018 where workers were awarded between €750 and €1,000 each.

Mandate Divisional Organiser



Robert McNamara told *Shopfloor* the union has lodged 78 separate cases on behalf of members – bringing the total number of claims to 92 – and expects awards of between €750 and €1,000 per person when all the cases are completed, based on the individual amounts awarded to date.

Mr McNamara said the WRC has made rulings concerning 42 cases re-

sulting in €38,000 in awards made against the Paddy Power business.

In the latest rulings, the Commission has ordered Paddy Power to pay over €1,000 in respect of eight claimants; €800 in one other case and €650 in two remaining cases.

The bookmaker initially appealed the first tranche of rulings to the Labour Court but then withdrew the appeals and paid over the monies to Mandate members.

“We do not expect appeals in relation to the latest tranche of decisions,” said Mr McNamara.

Mandate took the cases under the Organisation of Working Time Act and McNamara claimed they were just the tip of the iceberg.

He continued: “There are thou-



Robert McNamara: ‘Good example why it’s important to be a member of a trade union’

sands of workers in the retail, pharmacy, bar and betting industries who are currently being denied their statutory entitlements but do not know their rights or do not have a trade union to back them up.

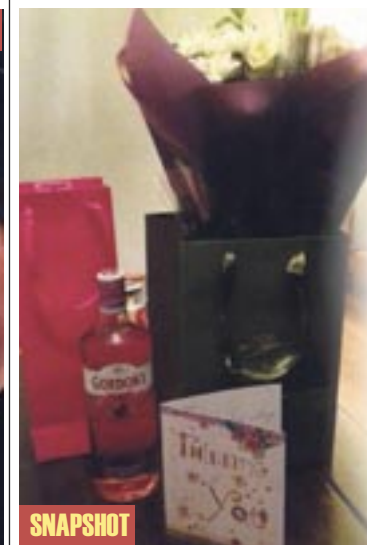
“The Paddy Power workers who joined Mandate and have won these cases are a good example of why it’s important to be a member of a trade union.”

He said that the union is considering taking further denial of rest break cases on behalf of members in Paddy Power. At the WRC, Mandate argued that the workers had not received their statutory break entitlements throughout the course of their employment.



SNAPSHOT

All smiles at the latest meeting of Wicklow Local Council



SNAPSHOT

Solidarity blooms for Martina!

Colleagues of Martina Farrell, a shop worker at Tesco Navan, recently presented her with flowers and a wee bottle of something heart-warming to wish her luck when her case comes up at the Labour Court. Martina is the last remaining pre 96 staff member at Tesco Navan.

WRC ruling finds Dunnes worker unfairly dismissed

A MANDATE member has been awarded compensation at a Workplace Relations Commission hearing in January after it ruled she had been unfairly dismissed from her job as a general sales assistant at Dunnes in Sligo.

Following the ruling, Mandate slammed Dunnes management for its “ludicrous” treatment of the shop worker.

Shirley Bradley, a student at the Sligo Institute of Technology, had worked at the Wine Street store on a 15 hours per week contract since March 2015.

In September 2017, Ms Bradley started a course while working for the retailer. Local management accommodated this study, ensuring her working hours were rostered around her course commitments.

This was on an initial trial basis for the length of first term of the course.

In December 2017, Ms Bradley was approached a number of times by local management and asked to provide them with details of her second semester timetable. Ms Bradley was unable to do this until January 2018. However, the employer dismissed her on December 31, 2017.

Despite asking for the reasons of her dismissal, Dunnes failed to provide her with clarification.

Taking the case under Unfair Dismissals legislation, Mandate North West Divisional Organiser Ciaran Campbell successfully argued that Ms Bradley’s dismissal was automatically unfair given the fact that the employer hadn’t waited for her to provide the second semester course timetable and so denying her the chance to work her rostered hours while studying.

Mr Campbell also argued that Dunnes hadn’t fulfilled its own proce-

dures in the way Ms Bradley was dismissed from her job.

Ciaran Campbell told *Shopfloor*: “While the employer was keen to extol their great virtue and kindness in accommodating our member’s third level course commitments during her first term, their behaviour afterward was ludicrous.

Decency

“Local management, obviously in the full knowledge of their Head Office personnel, hadn’t the decency to let the trial take its course and then review it to determine if it was possible to sustain the arrangements.

“But equally worrying was the way they applied their own procedures to terminate our member’s employment. It just beggars belief.”

He emphasised that Dunnes “sliphod attention to our member and the situation she found herself in” was “inexcusable”.

“They had no concern for her needs, feelings and her exemplary employment record. Thankfully, she was a member of Mandate and could find some comfort in knowing that there was an organisation there to defend her rights.”

The decision of the Adjudication Officer – designated ADJ-00012840 – upheld Mandate’s case.

The Adjudication Officer stated: “Having reviewed the evidence at the hearing and noted the chronology of exchanges outlined in the respondent’s records of the meetings, I am satisfied that the claimant has a legitimate expectation that a meeting would take place to discuss the options for continuing in employment when the claimant’s availability for 2018 became clear. This did not happen.

“While I acknowledge the respondent’s argument that the ending of

the claimant’s employment was processed as a contractual matter as opposed to a disciplinary matter, the outcome of the process was the ending of the claimant’s employment. No formal procedures were observed in this regard.

“The claimant was not given formal notice her employment was in jeopardy and alternatives to dismissal were not explored.

“I accept the union’s contention that the claimant was entitled to her rights under natural justice whether the ending of her employment was processed as a disciplinary or contractual matter. Consequently, I am satisfied that the claimant was dismissed and her dismissal was unfair.”

The Adjudication Officer awarded Ms Bradley compensation covering her financial loss because of the employer’s behaviour from her dismissal to when she found work again a number of months later.



Trade unionists calling for an eight-hour working day march in Melbourne, Australia, circa 1900

Picture: Public Domain

Victory is hours!

● Legislation tackling scourge of zero-hour and low-hours contracts came into effect on March 4 after five-year campaign by trade union movement...

THE regulation of working hours is one of the trade union movement's earliest and far-reaching achievements. Born out of the long hours toiled by workers, including children, in the factories and mills of industrial Britain, our struggle from Robert Owen's 1817 short-time movement slowly became the accepted norm and then the law from 1997, to the benefit of generations of working people.

In recent years, however, the working day has come under threat on two fronts from an always-on work culture. Smartphone technology is blurring the boundaries between work and home life by making workers easily accessible outside of their workday and exposing them to longer working hours.

Without clear guidance from their employer on the right to switch off in their free time, workers feel pressurised to answer work-related calls, emails and other electronic messages. When the occasional intrusion from our digital devices during non-work hours becomes constant it is an issue for concern. An overtired worker is a danger to themselves and others.

In the absence of a legal 'right to disconnect', as in French employment law, it is essential that employers engage with workers through their trade unions in order to secure pragmatic collective agreements at a company level which achieve a balance between the rights of workers to adequate rest time and the need for flexibility to ensure the continued success of the business.

Another phenomenon chipping away at the working day is the creeping precariousness of work. Zero-hour and low-hour contracts give employers complete discretion over working hours. Workers must make themselves available for work at their boss's request. They are effectively on



Patricia King

call constantly.

Unscrupulous employers use the threat of reduced hours to keep their staff servile and to punish them for being unavailable, even at short notice. Unpredictable working hours and insecure income make it next to impossible for workers to organise childcare, to plan ahead and to budget their household expenses.

We know of workers who, despite working a full working week, have been denied bank loans based on the low-hours guaranteed in their contracts. Uncertainty in working hours creates stress and insecurity in the family life of workers and has no place in a modern, wealthy economy.

Legislation signed by President Higgins on Christmas Day is an important milestone on the road to addressing this power-imbalance. This new law bans zero-hour contracts in almost all circumstances and gives workers in casual and precarious jobs greater certainty around the length of their working week.

The Employment (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 2018 is one of the most significant pieces of employment law in 20 years and is the result of a five-year campaign by the trade union movement to get legal protection around working hours for vulnerable workers.

There are four new rights:

1. Workers are entitled to a written statement of their terms of employment within first five days.

The Act legally requires employers to provide workers with a written

statement of their main conditions of employment within the first five days of starting work. The statement must include details of daily and weekly working hours, rate of pay and how pay is calculated.

2. Zero-hour contracts are banned in almost all circumstances

It had become practice for some employers to employ workers without guaranteeing them a set number of working hours. Under the Act, employers will no longer be able to use these zero-hour contracts except in very limited circumstances, such as to provide cover in emergency situations or to cover short-term absences.

3. Workers are entitled to a minimum payment if their employer fails to provide them with work

Workers have the right to compensation from their employer if they turn up for work but are sent home without work. The minimum payment they are entitled to is three hours pay at the minimum wage rate, or three hours at the JLC rate if they work in a sector where an Employment Regulation Order is in force, such as security or contract cleaning.

4. Workers are entitled to be guaranteed hours of work that reflect their normal working week

Under the Act, if a worker habitually works more hours each week than is provided in their contract, they have the right to request to be placed in a band of weekly hours that better reflects their normal working hours over a 12-month period.

Any worker denied their new rights under this legislation or victimised for asking for them, should contact a trade union who will assist them vindicate their rights.

Patricia King is the General Secretary of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions



Picture: Jevgenijs Slihto (CC BY 2.0)

Workplace Union Representative Training

This three-day **Workplace Representative Training** course is for new shop stewards/union representatives. The course aims to provide information, skills and knowledge to our shop stewards/union representatives to assist them in their role in the workplace.

Course Content:

- The role of the Workplace Representative
- Terms and Conditions of Employment
- Employment Law
- Dealing with workplace issues
- Workplace Organisation & Communications
- Recruiting members and building a strong union in the workplace
- Organising and chairing meetings
- Political and Social Studies
- Supporting union campaigns
- Agreeing actions to build a stronger union in the workplace

Certification and Progression:

Members who successfully complete this training course will obtain a Mandate Certificate. Members may then carry on their training and personal development

Places are limited. As there is a high demand for this course please ensure you contact your Mandate Union Official or the Mandate Training Centre on 01-8369699 or email mandateotc@mandate.ie to secure your place.

Bar Workers UNION TRAINING

Mandate Trade Union is designing and developing this **Bar Workers Union Training** due to workers having identified training that they need and the need to raise awareness in their workplaces.

Course Content:

- Health and Safety in the workplace
- Health and Safety for the individual
- Personnel safety as a bar worker
- Legal entitlements for bar workers
- Know your employment rights
- Identification of further training requirements for bar workers

Certification and Progression:

Members who successfully complete this training course will obtain a Mandate Certificate.

Places are limited. As there is a high demand for this course please ensure you contact your Mandate Union Official or the Mandate Training Centre on 01-8369699 or email mandateotc@mandate.ie to secure your place.

BOOTS

Dispensers grade talks

MANDATE has held a number of meetings with management representatives over issues relating to the dispensers grade. Discussions are continuing and Mandate has stated that it will communicate any developments with members in the coming weeks.

BROWN THOMAS

Pay and benefits claim lodged. Talks to follow...

MANDATE has lodged a pay and benefits claim with Brown Thomas, as talks about securing a new agreement are slated to take place on April 16th.

Assistant General Secretary Gerry Light again reminded members that the more unionised workers in an employment, the stronger the bargaining hand of those negotiating on their behalf.

He said: "In order to achieve the optimum outcome, Mandate is urging all members to encourage colleagues not already in the union, to join today."

DUNNES

Contract claims lodged



SNAPSHOT

Members working at Dunnes in Northside Shopping Centre met up at the Artane recreation centre on Wednesday, February 20th. Banded hours and new legislation topped the agenda...

MANDATE has now served numerous individual claims on members' behalf for formal banded contracts with Dunnes management.

The move follows the enacting into law of the Employment (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 2018.

Assistant General Secretary Gerry Light told *Shopfloor*: "We have also attempted to organise non-members into the union on the basis that we would process similar claims on their behalf."

"On March 11th, we served up to 1,000 individual claims on the company with the intention of maintaining a focus on the new legislation after this date in the hope of increasing our organising capacity as well as density levels at the retailer."

He added: "Work will start shortly on constructing a Dunnes-specific pay and benefits claim for 2019 that will in the main reflect the contents of our general charter for decent work."

ARNOTTS

Discussions on pay

MANDATE has sought a meeting with Arnotts management to discuss the 2019 pay and benefits claim. Negotiations will take place in the coming weeks and members will be informed of developments.

BWG

3% pay hike accepted

MANDATE members in BWG have balloted on and accepted a pay and benefits proposal which contained a 3% pay increase over 12 months.

MOPI

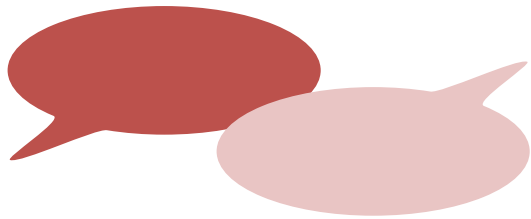
Proposals go for ballot

NEGOTIATIONS between MOPI management and Mandate representatives have concluded with a set of proposals that will now be considered by members of the union in a national ballot.

The proposals contain a pay increase over nine months as well as the retention of the enhanced staff discount.

The ballot result will be known on Thursday, April 18th.

Have you a Mandate-related story or picture you'd like to share with us? Email news@mandate.ie



Learn English with Mandate for free!

Mandate, your trade union, is offering English speaking classes for members. The course is for members who while speaking some English have never had the opportunity for formal training. In the course you will learn the basic grammar and improve your vocabulary. You will have the chance to correct those mistakes that your workmates are too polite to tell you about! Improved language skills can add to your confidence and improve your quality of life.

Training is **FREE** to Mandate members. If there are 10 Mandate members who wish to attend this training, classes will take place in a location near to your workplace.

If you are interested please contact: **Mandate's Training Centre** on **01-8369699**

Places are limited and are allocated on first come, first served basis

NEWS

Usdaw launches 'Time for Better Pay' petition

USDW, Mandate's sister union in the UK, has launched a 'Time for Better Pay' petition on the British Government .gov website and has, at the time of going to press, secured the signatures of more than 26,000 people who share the union's deep concerns about pay and rights of a growing number of workers who find themselves in increasingly insecure employment.

The union is calling for:

- A minimum wage of £10 for all workers.
- A minimum contract of 16 hours per week for everyone who wants it.
- A contract based on an individual's normal hours of work.
- A ban on zero hours contracts.

Usdaw General Secretary Paddy Lillis told *Shopfloor*: "It is clear that we have to push on for the 100,000 signatures that would provide the opportunity for petition to be debated in Parliament."

"Our aim is to persuade MPs to back £10 an hour and more secure contracts, which would boost minimum wage workers' full-time pay by a much needed £2,640 a year."

Check out www.usdaw.org.uk/T4BP for more information.

**JAMES CONNOLLY
COMMEMORATION**

When the worker has so far advanced as to realise that his master's interests are antagonistic to his own, that the master class use every weapon from Parliament to prison to maintain their position against what they consider the encroachment of their serfs, then we have no doubt that the next step in the intellectual development of the worker will be to consider whether it is wise to tolerate longer a class in society which requires to be watched so constantly and guarded against so vigilantly; whether there is indeed any useful function performed by the capitalist and landlord class which the organised workers cannot perform without them.
- James Connolly



Kilmainham Gaol | Sun 12th May 2019, 12pm

Guest Speaker **ROBERT BALLAGH** - Artist & Designer

Refreshments and music featuring Gypsy Lacey in The Patriots Inn (opposite Kilmainham Gaol) following the Commemoration. All welcome.



PENNEYS



SNAPSHOT

WRC referral after progress fails to be made at pay and benefits talks

A FURTHER set of negotiations about a new pay and benefits agreement took place on Wednesday, March 6th.

According to Mandate, despite Penneys remaining a "significantly profitable" employer, its management was insisting on linking any pay rise to the introduction of a new pay scale.

The new scale has a proposed top point that is some 15% lower than that currently in place.

Assistant General Secretary Gerry Light commented: "This approach was rejected by the union negotiating team and since further progress was not possible between the parties the outstanding issues were referred to the conciliation services of the Workplace Relations Commission."

A conciliation conference on the issue is scheduled for Wednesday, May 8th.

Special welcome for champ Deirdre

Staff at Penneys Omni Park Shopping Centre in Santry are in jubilant form as they welcome back their colleague Deirdre O'Callaghan (centre) after she scooped a silver and a bronze at the recent Special Olympics in Abu Dhabi. Staff were overjoyed at the double medallist's marvellous achievement – and congratulations to Deirdre from all in Mandate too.

WEALTH

Ireland's richest 300 worth €87bn

IRELAND'S Rich List has been published in *The Sunday Times*. The report states that the combined wealth of the richest 300 people is €87bn.

The number of Irish euro billionaires has risen to 17 – half of them resident in tax havens such as Malta, Switzerland or Monaco, they are worth €42.031bn.

According to the report Beef Baron Larry Goodman became a billionaire this year. With his wife, Kitty Goodman, they are said to be the country's wealthiest couple, with their family wealth estimated at €2.455bn. (Fourth on the list)

Tipperary brothers, Patrick and John Collison, are number two in the Rich List rankings, sharing a €5 billion fortune with the growth of their online payments company Stripe. Heading up the list is the Weston family, their food and retail interests have put them in first place at €11.932bn.

The Sunday Times reports that there are 225 millionaires from or based in the Republic of Ireland. The fortunes of the 225 wealthiest families and individuals in the Republic total €75.774bn. The combined wealth of the 75 millionaires from Northern Ireland is €11.462bn (£10.856bn).



Rich List heavy hitters

Hilary, Alannah and Galen Jr Weston and family (€11.932bn)

Patrick and John Collison (€5bn)

John Dorrance (€2.6bn)

Larry, Kitty, Laurence and Mark Goodman (€2.455bn)

Dermot Desmond (€2.017bn)

Denis O'Brien (€2bn)



Dermot Desmond

Denis O'Brien



Workplace Representative Advanced

This three day course is designed to provide trade union activists with the knowledge and skills to effectively contribute to and participate in their unions recruitment & organising strategy.

Course Content:

- Building workers power
- Engaging workers
- Talking to the undecided
- Handling objections
- Base building and collective action, identifying and recruiting leaders
- Mapping (workplace and community)
- Understanding power



Certification and Progression:

Members who successfully complete this training course will obtain a Mandate Certificate.

Places are limited. As there is a high demand for this course please ensure you contact your Mandate Union Official or the Mandate Training Centre on **01-8369699** or email **mandateotc@mandate.ie** to secure your place.

Shorter working week may not be all it seems

VIEW *from the* SHOPFLOOR

Gerry Light

Assistant General Secretary
Mandate Trade Union

LET'S start with the dream. As far back as 1930 no less an authority as the eminent so-called pragmatic capitalist economist John Maynard Keynes predicted by now that we would all be working a four-day week. In fact, he was so bold to predict that we would be gainfully employed for no more than a 15 hours a week.

The fact is, the traditional 40-hour, five-day week has been around for a long time so here is the question – because of the technological and societal changes that

have occurred in recent times, is it now time to consider a radical shift in this model?

Of course in contemplation of such a proposition trade unions must ensure that such changes actually represent progress for workers and not the opposite.

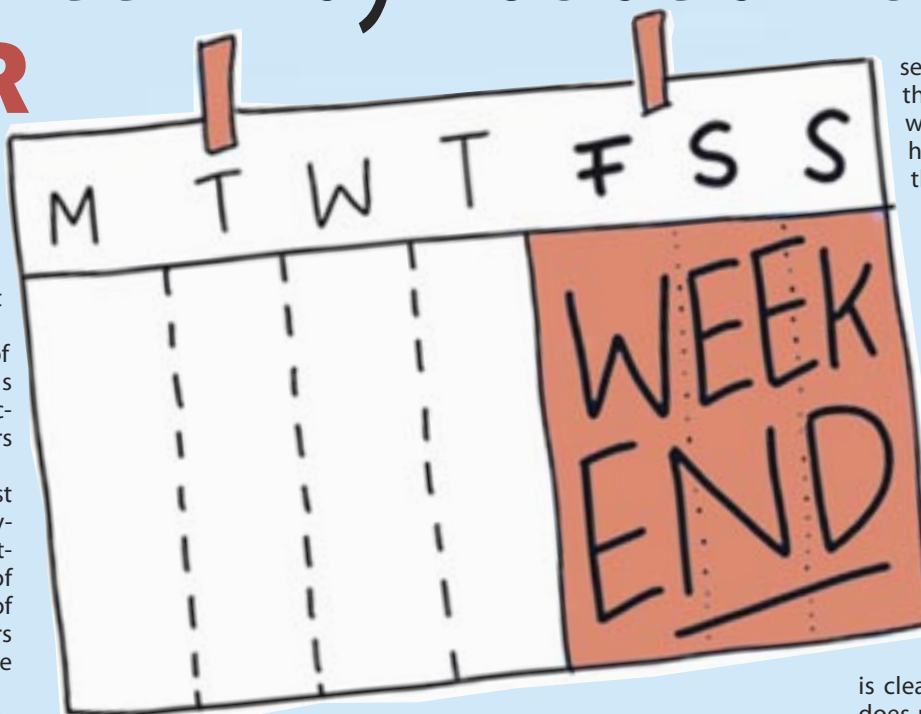
Now for the reality. Since the last economic recession most employees are working longer, not as a matter of choice but rather out of necessity in order to inflation-proof their earnings. In fact many workers are finding it necessary to have more than one job just to survive.

With the radical advances in technology one might have thought that we would have been closer to realising Keynes predictions. Instead such advances have in many instances been utilised to create new concepts of employment models such as the emerging gig economy, where in reality, enforced self-employed people are availing of all the work offered to them in order to keep their heads above water.

The further growth of this world of precarious bogus self-employment does little, many would argue, to afford workers either greater liberty from work or job security. Ironically the proponents of businesses, like Deliveroo and Uber,

suggest the contrary. It is clear that technological advances have allowed certain sectors to develop structures of shorter working weeks for their employees. At the outset it must be pointed out that while these types of advances work well and are adaptable to particular organisations, they do not provide a suitable proposition for others. It must also be understood what is being proposed is not a reduction in weekly hours rather working days.

The advocates of the model point to increased productivity, greater job satisfaction, less staff turnover and better equality of choice be-



see tangible evidence to show that a shift in the number of weekly working days does not have a detrimental effect on the business.

Employer representative bodies, such as the Confederation of British Industry, appear lukewarm towards the idea of a four-day week suggesting that certain proponents of the concept offer it more as a soundbite rather than a solution in addressing the many complex issues facing business in general at this time.

In addressing the pros and cons behind the idea for working hours to be spread over fewer days it is clear that a one-size approach does not fit all sectors within the economy. Equally it is clear that the model is less suited to businesses that require human beings to be available all of the time and this up to recently would have been the case in many bricks-and-mortar retail operations.

Therefore, the significant difference that exists between retail and other sectors is that technological advances will more than likely not offer up the option of reduced working days. Instead it will result in a reduction of working hours and earning capacity, thus leading to the further banishment of retail workers and their dependents into working poverty.



2 SUMMER SCHOLARSHIPS TO BE WON TO ATTEND THE COLAISTE SHEOSAIMH IN 2019

Mandate is pleased to announce that **Colaiste Sheosaimh** will be given the opportunity for two lucky members to win a scholarship each worth €500.

The scholarships can be used to attend one of the courses in 2019 in this famous Irish College.

Closing dates for entries is **Friday 10th May**. Expressions of interest should be addressed to Jonathan Hogan, National Coordinator for Training.

Course acceptance will be based on course availability at the time of applying.

For more info check out the college's website at:
<http://www.colaiesthesheosaimh.com/index.shtml>



INTERNATIONAL NEWS



Pictures: CountMeInNYC

Count me in... NYC style

THOUSANDS of construction workers took to the streets of New York City last month in a rally organised by North America's Building Trades Unions (NABTU) in protest at the use of non-union workers on several major construction projects across the city.

It is part of a new trade union initiative – Count Me In NYC – which is made up of rank and file workers who have banded together to fight back against greedy developers hell

bent on eliminating union presence at building sites by boosting the number of non-union workers on the job.

Pictured left: Workers protest outside the Hudson Yards project, which according to the Count Me In NYC, is the largest ever private real estate project in the city covering a staggering 18-million square feet and including a 51-storey office tower. Twitter @CountMeInNYC

By David Gibney
Mandate communications officer

TWO years ago Mandate had virtually no members working in Lloyds Pharmacy Ireland and the workers' conditions of employment reflected that.

Many Lloyds workers were on zero-hour contracts; had no sick pay scheme (it was stolen from them in 2007); earned the National Minimum Wage (€9.55) after 5-10 years experience; had no incremental pay scales and were only afforded statutory annual leave entitlements (20 days per year).

However, the short but inspiring journey they took changed all that with workers winning four days sick pay per year; up to two days extra annual leave per year; the implementation of secure hour contracts and incomes; and importantly, pay increases of up to 34% with pay scales.

How did they do it? They joined their trade union and took action.

In 2016 a small number of Lloyds Pharmacy workers approached Mandate asking for some advice and representation. They were aggrieved at how they were being treated.

Grainne Cairns, one of the Lloyds Pharmacy workers from Blanchardstown in Dublin, who approached Mandate explained: "I'd been working for the company for more than 16 years and we knew we weren't being treated fairly, but we weren't sure how we could change that. We knew we needed more support, and we needed a union behind us."

She continued: "In 2007 our sick pay scheme had been taken off us, along with the loss of premiums and other benefits. Many workers were on the lowest possible pay rates with no security over their hours and income. We could accept that, or we could try to change it. We chose to change it."

Improvements in T&Cs

A small number of workers then set about organising their colleagues into Mandate, highlighting the potential for improvements in conditions of employment.

For instance, Boots Ireland workers, who have enjoyed trade union representation for decades, enjoy far superior rates of pay and conditions of employment to their own.

After four years, a Boots Customer Assistant earns €13.50, while a Lloyds Pharmacy Customer Assistant could be earning €9.55 – a 41% difference. Lloyds Pharmacy is owned by the world's largest pharmaceutical firm, McKesson Corporation. The company has three times more revenue than the entire Irish State and was easily in a position to pay more, they simply chose not to. And without workers being members of a trade union, there was very little they could do about it.

Their CEO, John Hambergren, earned \$18,143,017 (€16,146,856) in 2018, while his Irish workforce was subjected to zero-hour contracts on the minimum wage. For context, it would take a Lloyds Pharmacy worker receiving 40 hours per week 812 years to earn what their CEO earned in one year.

These levels of inequality are growing all across the world, particularly in the retail and pharmaceutical sectors, and there really is only one way to address it, through active and democratic trade unions.

When the Lloyds Pharmacy workers started to organise, the company, recognised the threat to their substantial profits and exorbitant executive pay. They tried everything they could to prevent unionisation. Mandate wrote to the company in February 2017 seeking a meeting, and immediately management set out to deny their workers an effective voice at work.

They set up an internal 'yellow union' called the CRC. Members of the CRC were not democratically elected, as they would be in a trade union, but were instead hand-picked by management.

The CRC, in tandem with management, made a proposal on May 4th in an attempt to buy the workers off. The proposal contained a pay increase of 2.5% for all on pay rates of €10.60 per

How to win a pay rise and a better life

● Lloyds Pharmacy workers won a sick pay scheme and pay increases of up to **34%** by joining their union and taking action...



Grainne Cairns: 'We did this with only 30% joining us – imagine what we could have done if everyone had joined...'

hour or above, and for those on the minimum wage (€9.55 per hour) an increase to €10.60 per hour – an 11% increase. It also included four sick days per year. The buy-off didn't work.

By May 2018, 200 Lloyds Pharmacy workers had joined Mandate. They wanted their democratic and human right to be represented by a trade union of their choice, but unfortunately, Ireland, as an outlier in the EU, has no legislation to vindicate that right, and so they were forced to take industrial action.

On June 7th, the workers balloted for industrial action by a landslide 92% in favour. There were now almost 280 Lloyds workers who had joined their union in almost 40 stores.

Lloyds management, rather than allowing their workers their right to

Amy Bannon: 'I received a 34% pay rise as a direct result of our campaign'



representation engaged in an expensive union-busting campaign which inconvenienced customers, irritated their workforce and damaged the business brand. All because they believe the breaking of workers in a union is a short-term investment for long-term gain.

The workers engaged in their first ever bout of industrial action on Thursday, 14th June, 2019. In the best interests of their customers, many of whom depend on life-saving medication from the pharmacy, the workers decided a one-hour stoppage would suffice, in the hope that management would put their customers and staff first. They didn't.

The workers had scheduled a two-hour stoppage the following week, and a three-hour stoppage the week after, with the hope they wouldn't have to engage in any of them. Regrettably, they did have to.

After three days, management continued their intransigent attitude, refusing to engage with the workers' union, and instead continuing the pretence of negoti-

ating with the management-influenced CRC (Lloyds Pharmacy admitted to the Labour Court that they funded the CRC). The workers were forced to escalate the dispute to full days of industrial action, with a total of 10 days completed, management had to up their game.

Despite stating, "The above agreed terms on pay will be for 12 months from April 1st 2018 to March 31st 2019" in their proposal only weeks previous, the company offered another pay increase. This time it included pay scales. A clear sign that being in a union and taking action pays.

Amy Bannon, who works as a Dispensary Technician in the Nutgrove store went from €11.57 per hour to €15.50 per hour in a couple of months, but emphasised that this wasn't down to a sudden urge of generosity from her employer.

She told *Shopfloor*: "I received a 34% pay increase as a direct result of our union campaign."

She added: "It wasn't easy, but we stood together in stores all across Dublin and in other parts of the country, and we won. Had we not joined our union and taken action, I would now be earning €8,174 less per year and I wouldn't have a sick pay scheme."

"It's made a massive difference to my living standards."

Grainne Cairns added: "It wasn't easy but a lot of members won dramatic pay increases. We did this with only 30% of Lloyds workers joining our union. Imagine what we could have achieved if everyone had joined. Hopefully when we're seeking improvements in 2019, other Lloyds Pharmacy workers across the country will put their shoulder to the wheel and join Mandate."

Lloyds Pharmacy spent months explaining to staff that they would have done all this without Mandate's intervention, but that argument only appeals to management and to those who are extremely naïve.

Substantial pay rises

They constantly contradicted themselves, telling workers they couldn't afford pay increases, before relenting and paying substantial pay increases – not once, but twice.

They went further in their anti-union campaign by spending a fortune on advertisements in national newspapers, spreading mistruths about the strike, before eventually offering a voluntary severance package with generous terms of redundancy – costing millions of euros.

This, we believe, was really about removing union activists from the business so they wouldn't have to deal with Mandate in 2019. More than 60 members took the package, but the other 200 remain, and we are now preparing to go again.

The Lloyds Pharmacy workers didn't get everything they wanted, but they certainly improved their lot.

On the 25th September, they voted by a margin of 75% in favour of temporarily suspending industrial action and pursuing the company through the Labour Court, with a date for a hearing set for Friday, 26th April 2019.

They still do not have the right to collective representation, and this is an indictment on successive Irish governments. They have facilitated this type of union-busting practice, which means the only way workers can avail of their internationally recognised human right to trade union representation is by striking and losing out on pay for doing so.

But when you're up against the largest pharmaceutical company on the planet with vast resources, the odds are firmly stacked against you.

Mandate, in the coming weeks and months, will be working with other trade unions in Ireland to seek legislative changes that make it easier for workers to join trade unions, make it easier for them to take industrial action and also strengthen workers' rights to representation. Watch this space.

In the meantime, if you want a pay increase or improvements in your conditions of employment, do what the Lloyds Pharmacy workers did. Join your trade union and get active in it.

Mandate launches new Workplace Reps courses



Back from left: Mike Power, Cormac White, Pdraig Hickey, tutor Martin Mahony; Front: Donna Milner, Victoria Piper & Lesley Dinneen

Pictured above (not in order) at the launch of the new course: Michael Monahan (SuperValu Lucan), Danielle Costigan (Boots Portlaoise), Edia Connole (SuperValu Caulfields Malahide), Sarah Jane Hurley (M&S Newbridge), Gillian Geraghty (Penneys Mullingar), Ciara Hosey (Argos Santry), Rita Fanning (Boots Drogheda), Oisín O'Dwyer (Tesco Carrick On Shannon). Assistant General Secretary Gerry Light, Jonathan Hogan (Coordinator for Training & Development), Lead Organiser Bill Abom, Tutor Martin Mahony and NEC members Joan Gaffney and Joe Quinn

By Jonathan Hogan

National Coordinator for Training & Development

FOLLOWING 12 months of a training evaluation, I am delighted to see the launch of both our Workplace Representative courses in February and March. The course content has been redesigned to reflect the changing times and challenges facing Mandate and to ensure that the skills required by our Workplace Representatives are developed. Following completion of our

Workplace Reps courses, learners are presented with our commemorative boxed medal collection that celebrates the lives of three founding members of Mandate's predecessor unions, IDATU (Irish Distributive and Administrative Union) and INVAGATU (Irish National Union of Vintners', Grocers' and Allied Trades Assistants) – Cissie Cahalan, Patrick Moran and Michael O'Lehane.

IDATU merged with the INVAGATU to form Mandate in 1994.

“ This course was very informative and just what I needed. I am a relatively new rep so this course has given me the confidence I need going back into work – **Victoria Piper** ”

Why we're always **app** your service!

Mandate has also launched our **UNIONLINK** courses on <https://unionlink.org> where you can register online for bitesize course programmes, such as Industrial Relations, Recruitment and Organising, Stress Management courses etc.

In addition to the free training and development courses, we are pleased to launch our new online training platform (Academy on the App Store and Google Play Store), in partnership with Olive Media.

This app will allow members the option to purchase online professional and development

courses such as Interview Skills, Basic First Aid and GDPR, at discounted rates of up to 60%.

The Mandate Training Academy will also host links to Mandate's **LOOKUP App** and our Mandate Induction video, all presented now on our new online Training Academy.

In time our course offering will grow, allowing you – the member – improved access to a wider range of professional course modules.

The cost of purchasing Mandate online courses also qualify for grant support through our Education Grant Scheme every November.



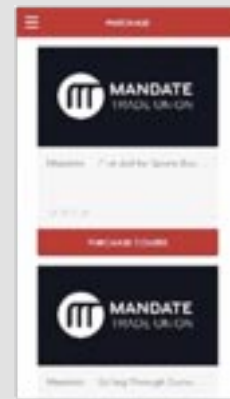
How to register...

- Click on the registration link here – **REGISTRATION LINK**
- Fill out details leaving the 'Member ID' and 'Team' field blank.
- This should be done from PC/laptop using a Google Chrome web browser (where possible)
- If you already have an existing AcademyHQ account please contact our support team at support@olivemedia.com
- Following registration above, members can download the 'Academy HQ' app from the Google Play store or App Store if you wish to login from your smartphone. Alternatively use the following link to login on your PC: <https://mandatemembers.academyhq.com/en/auth/login>



How to purchase training...

- Click on Purchase Course on the bottom left hand of your page
- Here you will see a list of courses and their prices
- Choose your course and click 'Add to Cart'
- Proceed to check-out
- Make payment
- Return to the dashboard tab and you will see your course



Campaigning for women's suffrage

Cissie Cahalan, trade unionist and suffragist, was born in Cork in 1876. Little is known of her early life, other than that she was apprenticed to the drapery trade, and by 1906 was based in Dublin where she worked as a draper's assistant in Arnott's on Henry Street.

Her involvement with the trade-union movement began in 1906, when she first met Michael O'Lehane, general secretary of the Irish Drapers' Assistants' Association, at a meeting in the Rotunda which had been organised after the deaths of two women workers in a drapery shop on Camden Street.

She subsequently joined the union and became an active shop steward in Arnott's. She was a member of the Irish Drapers' Assistants' Association (IDAA, now Mandate) from its earliest years, and a campaigner for women's suffrage in the Irish Women's Franchise League (IWFL) from 1908. The different worlds of her activism came together in 1912. A seasoned speaker on suffrage platforms, she was an IWFL delegate



seeking Dublin Trades Council's support for women's suffrage. She headed the IDAA Dublin branch's new Ladies Committee and wrote for the union journal.

Cahalan supported inclusive trade unions for all shop workers, women and men, and campaigned for equal pay. She attended the Irish Trade Union Congress (ITUC) as an IDAA

delegate from 1917, serving on the executive from 1922 to 1923, when she resigned in protest at inaction about internment.

Cahalan went on to canvass for women candidates in the local government elections of 1920, by which point she was also heavily involved in the management of the suffrage paper, *The Irish Citizen*. She was elected president of the IDAA in 1922, 1923 and 1924, winning a minimum wage and ending the "living-in" system.

Cahalan combined her commitments with a demanding day job until 1932. She was a lifelong friend of Hanna Sheehy Skeffington.

In November 1932, she was sacked from Arnott's for the second time. Her dismissal was considered to be a form of age discrimination, and led to a two-week strike at the shop, after which she was not reinstated but did receive nine months' paid salary.

In 1932, she also married John Burns, and was widowed in 1936. She worked part-time at St Ultan's hospital. She died on August 27th, 1948.



Paying ultimate price for Irish freedom

Patrick Moran was a grocer's assistant, trade unionist and member of the Irish Republican Army, who was executed in Mountjoy Prison along with five other men on March 14th, 1921. He is one of the Forgotten Ten.

Moran was born in Crossna, County Roscommon in 1888, the third of 11 children of Bartholemew and Brigid Moran. He attended primary school in Crossna before going to work as a grocer's assistant in Boyle. He settled in Dublin in 1911.

An active member of the GAA, he was involved in the 1913 Dublin Lockout. He was a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Irish Volunteers. As Adjutant of D



Company, 2nd Battalion of the Dublin section of the Volunteers he fought in the Jacob's Factory Garrison during the Easter Rising of 1916 under Thomas MacDonagh. In the aftermath of the Rising he was imprisoned at Knutsford Prison and later at Frongoch.

He was tried in Wormwood Scrubs and released in July 1916. In 1917, he was a founder of the Irish National Union of Vintners, Grocers and Allied Trades Assistants, was Chairman of the Dún Laoghaire Branch, its delegate to the Bray and District Trades Union Council and its National President at the time of his death. He was arrested in 1920 for attempting to

stop deliveries of beer to Brady's Pub at 17 Upper George's Street, Dún Laoghaire (now Scotts) during a strike. He was executed in 1921 for his alleged involvement in an incident in Mount Street on Bloody Sunday, November 21st 1921.



Founding father of union that later became Mandate

Michael O'Lehane was an Irish trade unionist. Born near Macroom, County Cork, in 1873. Michael studied at the North Monastery before completing an apprenticeship as a draper. He moved to Limerick in 1898 to work for Cannocks, where he contracted typhoid and narrowly escaped death.

Following his recovery, he moved

to Dublin to work at Arnotts. While there, he founded the Irish Drapers' Assistants' Association (IDAA).

In 1902, O'Lehane travelled around Ireland, recruiting members for the IDAA, with a branch being set up in Galway and over the next few years in other towns and cities. The union focused its campaigns on reducing

working hours, creating a half-day holiday per week, and setting up agreements to cover overtime pay. The IDAA attracted particular attention for recruiting women. By 1914, 1,400 of its 4,000 members were women. The IDAA proved successful, and O'Lehane was elected to other positions in the union movement:

President of Dublin Trades Council in 1909, and President of the Irish Trades Union Congress in 1912. He was also elected to the Dublin Corporation in 1907, representing Kilmainham as an independent labour member. Michael died aged 47 in 1920, leaving behind an organisation which then had 7,000 members.



Spend your money where workers count

When you're shopping look for the "Fair Shop" mark.
Support workers in Ireland by choosing shops that treat their employees fairly.





An injury to one... Mandate members (above & right) get ready to join the February 9 rally through Dublin in support of nurses and midwives. INMO President Martina Harkin-Kelly (top right, centre) showing solidarity by standing on the picket line with striking Tesco workers



Backing for nurses and midwives

MANDATE members took a stand with striking nurses and midwives by joining them and other trade unionists on Saturday, February 9 in a massive demo through the centre of Dublin.

One Mandate member who was at the march told *Shopfloor*: "When we go on strike, you can be sure nurses and the INMO are behind us 100%. When Tesco workers went on strike just before Christmas INMO President Martina Harkin-Kelly joined us on the picket line – and when Dunnes workers took their action in 2015, nurses refused to pass the picket lines.

"That's why we were very proud to support the nurses and midwives in their battle for decent wages and safe staffing levels. After all, if they are successful, we all will benefit."

The march featured student nurses and midwives with suitcases, calling on the Government to give them 'a reason to stay and work in Ireland'.

More than 68,000 people signed a 'Stand With Us' online petition supporting nurses and midwives. And a poll of 1,000 adults by *The Claire Byrne Show/Amárach* research found that 74% of the general public backed the action.

Martina Harkin-Kelly commented: "We have been deeply humbled by the public support for us during this strike. None of us want to be on strike, but it's heartening to know that the public have our backs when we do."



Health and Safety Representation for Elected Reps QQI Level 5

This five-day QQI Level 5 Health and Safety Course is for elected Health and Safety Representatives. The following topics will be covered on the course:

- Health & Safety Legislation ● Role of Health & Safety Representative
- Safety statements ● Role of Health & Safety Authority
- Occupational health ● Identification of hazards and risk assessment
- Accident investigation ● Fire safety ● Effective communications
- Health and safety promotion

Members who successfully complete this Training Course will obtain a QQI Level 5 Certificate in Health and Safety.

Please contact your Mandate Union Official or Mandate Training Centre on **01-8369699** if you are interested in taking this course; or alternatively you can email your request to mandateotc@mandate.ie



Presentation & Speech Design and Delivery

This two day course is designed to provide trade union activists with the knowledge and skills to prepare, present and deliver presentations effectively with in their roles.

Day 1 - Course Content:

- Designing a Presentation
- Preparation & Practice
- Methods of Presentation
- Structuring a Speech
- Not Overloading
- Individual Task (Beginning your Speech)

Day 2 - Course Content:

- Engaging the Audience
- Communication Skills Verbal and Non-Verbal
Verbal: *Time, Pitch, Create Effect*
Non-Verbal: *Physical Orientation, Posture, Breathing Exercise*
- Active Listening, Speech Timing
- Speech Delivery
- Overcome Nerves & Anxiety
- Individual Speech Practical Exercise

Certification and Progression:

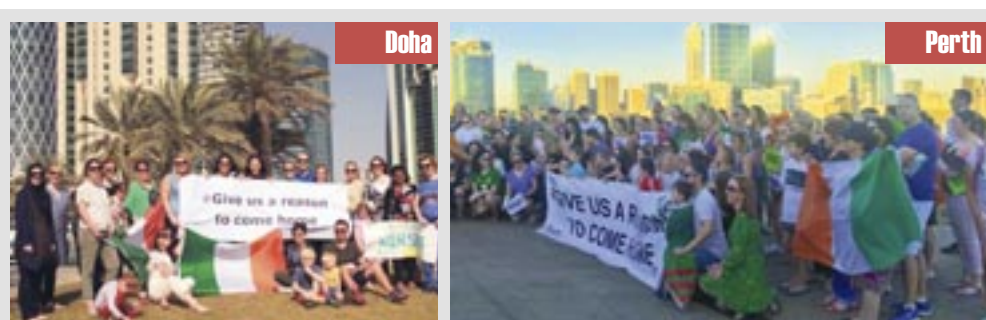
Members who successfully complete this training course will obtain a Mandate Certificate.

Places are limited. As there is a high demand for this course please ensure you contact your Mandate Union Official or the Mandate Training Centre on **01-8369699** or email mandateotc@mandate.ie to secure your place.





Clear signal to the Government: nurses, midwives and their supporters march towards Leinster House on February 9



Pic-kets!

IRISH nurses at work abroad took part in an innovative #GiveUsAReasonToComeHome series of photo-shoots in support of their striking colleagues back in Ireland in January.

The expats turned up in their hundreds in an impressive 'across the miles' show of solidarity.

Some 250 nurses staged a demo at the iconic Sydney Opera House on January 19, while across the continent hundreds more, draped in flags and green T-shirts, lined up in Perth for the strike snap. Not to be outdone, nurses working in London, Doha, Melbourne, and Saudi Arabia also showed their colours!



OFF-BEAT...



Why we deserve a bigger slice!

'PI DAY' is an annual celebration of the mathematical constant π and is observed on March 14 – since 3, 1, and 4 are the first three significant digits of π .

This year, US union UFCW, which organises among grocery and retail workers along with other sectors, wanted to celebrate Pi Day by encouraging members to bake pies using only union-friendly products made by its members "so you can feel good about supporting good jobs while indulging your sweet

tooth". The union suggested Peaches and Cream Pie, using UFCW-made Del Monte canned peaches, Philadelphia cream cheese and Jello pudding mix.

Alternatively, they thought Pear Pie might hit the spot using UFCW-made Breakstone sour cream and a Marie Callender's frozen pie crust.

And you can check out a guilt-free pie recipe at the UFCW YouTube channel at <https://bit.ly/2Ylhzhn>



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Memo to Jeff Bezos: Why we're

By Sandra Stapleton
Mandate Organiser

ONLINE shopping... great isn't it? Handy, no hassle, no queuing, no crowds – you don't even have to pay straight away on some websites.

As you're happily adding items to your virtual shopping basket, do you ever wonder why items are so cheap or how they can ship items the next day, or what conditions the workers who pick, pack and post your bargains are working under?

Instant gratification when you press the 'pay' button, knowing you only have to wait 24 hours for your order to arrive at your house... zero effort required.

So here's the downside, you may not like this part... online shopping is killing retail jobs.

Our members in Mandate are being asked to promote online shopping in their stores on a regular basis thus putting their own jobs in danger. Online shopping is like a runaway train – better, cheaper, faster, better, cheaper, faster...

Amazon in particular has been in the spotlight over claims about poor working conditions. In 2017, there were more than 600 ambulance call-outs to Amazon 'fulfilment centres' (otherwise known as warehouses) in the UK.

The company shot back by stating that the ambulance call-outs are in fact related to workers' "personal health events" and were not work related.

It is also claimed that workers are in some cases forced to urinate in bottles to save time while fulfilling their work tasks.

This is not acceptable and if we cannot stop the runaway train that is online shopping then we in the trade union movement should be assisting these workers in Amazon fulfilment centres to ORGANISE.

Amazon founder Jeff Bezos is the world's richest man with an estimated net worth of around \$170 billion.

Activists claim Bezos made this money off the backs of workers – workers who are afraid to say no, afraid to take a sick day off, afraid to rock the boat in case they get fired.

Picture: UNI Global (CC BY 2.0)



Picture: Robert Slimeit (CC BY 2.0)



He has them exactly where he wants them.

Now though organised workers have had enough.

On November 21, 2018 at the iconic TUC Congress Centre building in London a group of unions came together under the Uni-Commerce Global Union umbrella. Their purpose? To discuss and share information about Amazon workers, actions and future campaign ideas. And to shake things up at Amazon warehouses, rocking Jeff's world a little by highlighting the working conditions borne by his workers.

An Amazon Alliance group was set up and further follow-up meetings arranged.

Amazon workers have no dignity in the workplace, no respect from their bosses and up until unions got in-

Picture: Mike Licht (CC BY 2.0)



involved to assist in organising the workers, they had no voice.

Well now they have, and in December unions across the globe held protests outside several 'fulfilment centres' on Black Friday, the online retailer's busiest day, in order to show the world that Amazon is exploiting its workers for profit.

When you take on the world's richest man you should surround yourself with the world's best workplace organisers in fighting unions not afraid to take on the might of Bezos.

With that in mind Uni Global swung the compass far and wide when it came to those unions invited to attend the initial meeting. There were unions from Australia, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden,

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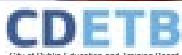
The courses are to encourage members back into learning and training while aiming towards a QQI Level 3 Award.

If you are interested in doing a Communications through Computers course, contact:

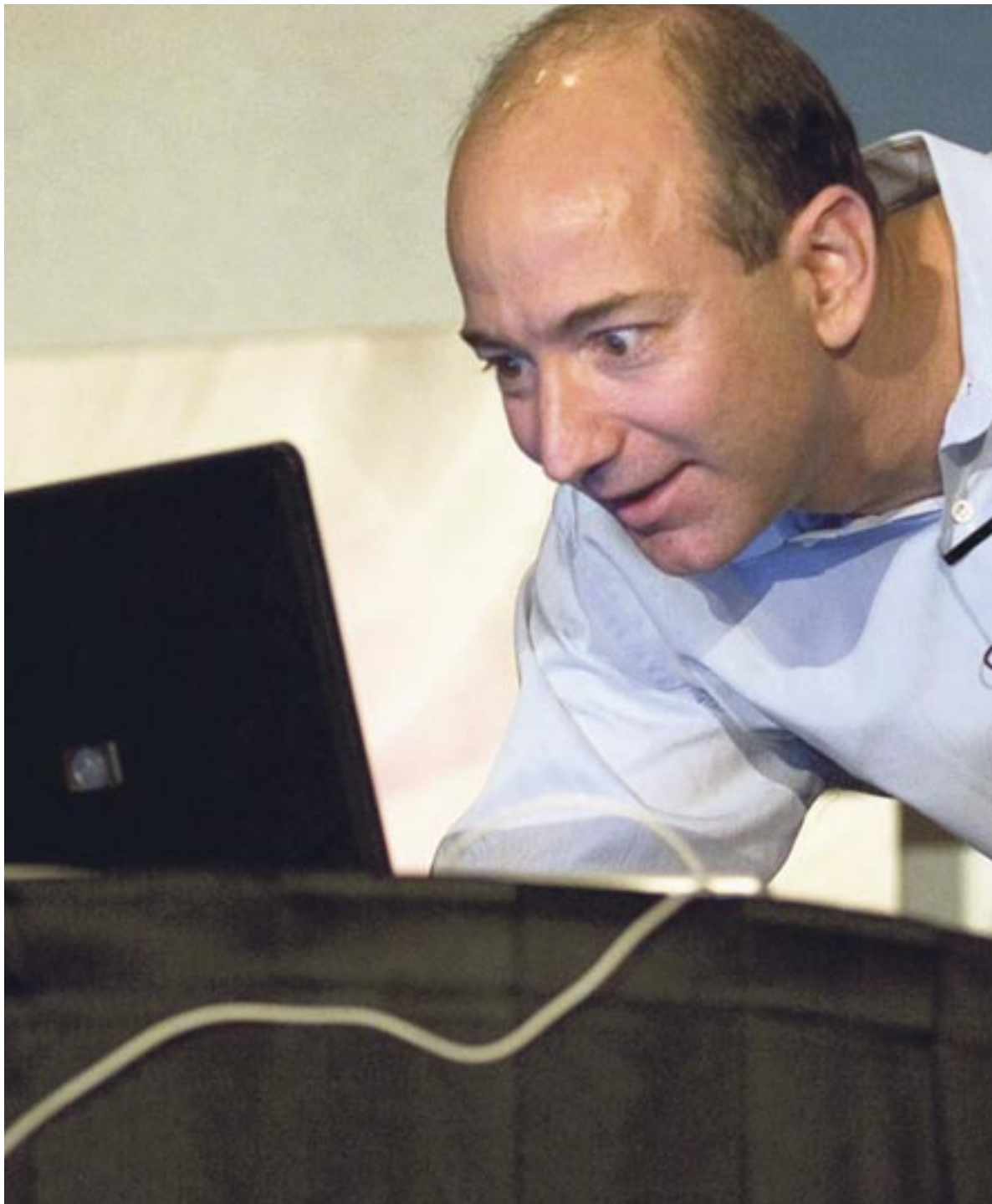
Mandate Training Centre, Distillery House, Distillery Road, Dublin 3

Phone: **01-8369699** Email: **mandateotc@mandate.ie**

Courses are free and open to members who have not achieved Leaving Certificate or who have an out-of-date Leaving Certificate. You can also achieve a QQI Level 3 Award. Skills for Work is funded by the Department of Education & Skills.



robots no longer...



Amazon founder Jeff Bezos, the world's richest man, checks out his current account balance online... Picture: James Duncan Davidson (CC BY 2.0)

Switzerland, UK, USA, and Ireland (represented at this important meeting by Mandate).

The human cost of working at Amazon was outlined – mental health concerns, physical injuries, use of flexi agency workers ('bogus self-employment'), salaries, and retribution.

The meeting was chaired by Uni Senior Organiser Nigel Flanagan. Nigel's passion for workers and for this campaign – as well as his passion for Leeds United! – was evident from the start.

Speakers included GMB General Secretary Tim Roache, UNI Commerce Head Mathias Bolton, UNI Commerce World President Stuart Applebaum, Professor John Logan, and Matthew Painter, who is UNI Communications Campaign Manager.

They were joined by Amazon workplace organisers who give first-hand accounts of their experiences of working in the fulfilment centres. They also set out their plans to organise Amazon workers globally and to



let Bezos know "they are not robots".

In fact, the week after the big meeting there were co-ordinated actions taken at several Amazon warehouses which was a fantastic effort by all involved.

Although Mandate do not represent workers at any Amazon sites, we were there in our capacity as representatives of retail workers. Retail workers will be directly impacted by the increased use of robots in work-

places. Not only are shop workers being told to push online sales, they are being told to direct customers to self-service tills, thus cutting down on the need for humans to operate tills in-store. It has been estimated that the time it takes a robot in an Amazon warehouse to pick and package is 13 minutes, whereas a human doing the same task takes 90 minutes.

Imagine the immense pressure workers must be under to compete with robots in these circumstances – impossible. There's that train again – cheaper, faster, better, cheaper, faster, better...Perhaps we cannot stop this runaway train that's reshaping retail as we know it but we can collectively as a group of unions help to fight back against the ever increasing use of robots in the workplace.

If Jeff Bezos operates globally he will find that now the power of a group of workers from global unions are coming together en masse to organise.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

UNITED STATES

Amazon's 'predatory' venture into US grocery sector blasted

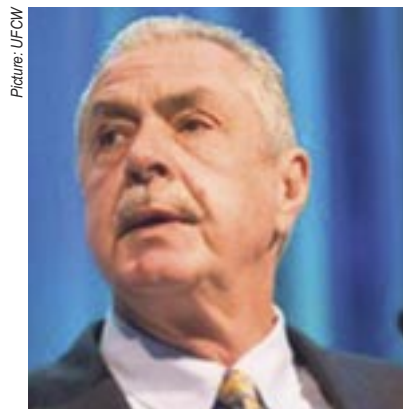
AMAZON plans to open dozens of grocery stores in major US cities, such as San Francisco, Seattle, Chicago, Washington DC, and Philadelphia has been lashed by a leading American trade unionist, who claimed its "predatory" business model would "destroy millions of jobs".

The retail giant, founded by billionaire Jeff Bezos, hopes to open its first store in Los Angeles by the end of this year.

UFCW International President Marc Perrone warned of the impact Amazon's move into the sector would have on ordinary Americans.

"Make no mistake," he said, "Amazon's new and ruthless supermarket strategy is its latest salvo bent on destroying good American jobs."

"Amazon isn't about providing better food or customer service, and it certainly is not about fair competition. Launching this grocery chain is an aggressive expansion of Amazon's market power as it seeks to funda-



Marc Perrone: American jobs under threat

mentally change our country's food retail and service economy while eliminating as many retail workers as possible." And he continued: "It is time that Republicans and Democrats realise that Amazon's predatory business model is wrong for this nation and will needlessly destroy millions of jobs in every state in this country."

Hours scheduling findings 'alarming'

A NEW study by University of California researchers examining the scheduling of working hours at the 80 largest retail firms in the US and the toll taken on staff has produced alarming findings. Based on a survey of nearly 28,000 workers, the research revealed that:

- Only 39% of workers reported having a regular work schedule.
- Half said they had to work so-called 'clopening' shifts, where they

worked the closing shift the night before they had to open their store. It found that anyone working 'clopening' shifts had a 67% chance of getting poor quality sleep.

● One in four retail workers said they have on-call scheduling, where they had to be available to work on certain days without any guarantee of actually being assigned a shift or getting paid.

UK

Shop workers have the blues

A NEW SURVEY carried out by job search engine adzuna.co.uk to mark Blue Monday – January 21: the most depressing day of the year – has found that UK retail staff were the unhappiest workers in Britain.

And who could blame them? The latest pay data has revealed that the average salary for shop workers is £25,243 – or 1.6% lower than last year. For the record, the average UK



wage is £ 33,424. The survey found that 40% of retail workers said they were 'unsatisfied' or 'very unsatisfied' with their wages.

Retail staff 'highest redundancy rate'

A NEW analysis by the Resolution Foundation has revealed retail workers face the highest redundancy rate in the UK when compared with employees in other parts of the economy. The findings follow a succession of high-profile job losses and store closures in Britain across the sector.

And, according to the report's authors, retail workers are also more likely to face unemployment rather than finding another job due to customers choosing to shop online rather than on the high street. For

shopworkers facing redundancy, the Resolution Foundation claimed nearly one in three (31%) leave their current position straight into unemployment, rather than into another job, compared with an overall average of 26% for all areas of the UK economy.

Two in five former retail staff are unemployed for at least six months, with greater risks for younger workers. This is because as many as three in five are under the age of 30 – despite the fact that barely a third of the workforce is in this age bracket.

Women still leading the charge and flying the flag for progress...



By David Gibney
Mandate communications officer

THE concept of International Women's Day originated in Soviet Russia in 1917 as a celebration of women winning the right to vote. On 8th March that year, women textile workers began a demonstration, covering the whole city.

Soviet Russia made the date a national holiday and it remained a celebration in socialist countries until 1975 when the United Nations adopted it and the idea of celebrating women in western societies began, including Ireland.

The trade union movement has had its share of female activists who have delivered lasting change for workers all across the world. Mandate Trade Union is one such union who has led that change, generation after generation.

Strikes

Cissie Cahalan, our first female President in 1921, led strikes as the shop steward in Arnotts where she won a 25 per cent pay increase in 1916. She also led a winning campaign to establish a minimum wage in the drapery sector and the full abolition of the inhumane 'Living In System' – where drapery workers, mostly women, would be locked in their employment premises at night and often died in ferocious fires with no hope of escape.

In 1945, the Irish Women's Workers' Union (now SIPTU) organised a successful three month strike to win improve-



Above: Dunnes workers on North Earl Street, Dublin, still in high spirits despite being drenched during the Dunnes stoppage in 2015.
Below: Dunnes strikers lead the way in an anti-Apartheid demo in the early 1980s



ments in terms and conditions of employment that resulted in two weeks paid annual leave for all workers in Ireland. The Dunnes Stores Anti-Apartheid strike in 1984 when 10 young women and one young man from Dunnes Stores on Henry Street in Dublin went on strike for two years and nine months in order to vindicate their right not to handle goods from the cruel Apartheid South Africa.

Their strike eventually led to the banning of goods from South Africa in Ireland and is credited with helping to end the Apartheid

regime. In early March we saw the introduction of a new piece of legislation, the Employment Miscellaneous Provisions Act 2018 which bans zero hour contracts and provides all workers with secure hour contracts.

This, again, was won by trade union activists, mostly women.

The Dunnes Stores workers – 75 per cent female – went on strike on April 2nd, 2015 and started the discussion about precarious contracts of employment. After they took industrial action, their company targeted them. Some were sacked; some had their hours slashed; some were moved from departments they'd worked in for decades; and some had their shift patterns altered, making it impossible to manage child minding responsibilities. These tactics are not new. Many employers use allocation



LloydsPharmacy workers at Nutgrove on the picket line during last year's strike

of hours as a control over their workers, particularly women. Then the LloydsPharmacy workers – 90 per cent female – went on strike during 2018, highlighting the fact they were employed on zero hour contracts. They lasted nine days and won pay increases of up to 34 per cent, a sick pay scheme and a commitment that their company would issue secure hour contracts in line with new legislation.

All of these actions, led by women, pressured the government into legislating for secure hour contracts. On Monday 4th March, it became law.

While others may try to take credit for it, the only reason legislation was passed was because female trade union activists demanded action. Throughout all of the tremendous



Picture: Mike Atherton (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0)



Pictures: Marcos Brandao/Senado Federal (CC BY 2.0)

achievements won above, there was a consistent group who opposed the workers at every turn. A group who resisted, victimised and made life hell for the activists fighting for a better world for women workers. That group? Employers.

Today, many corporations and businesses have co-opted the day as a marketing tool. Using International Women's Day as a way to express their 'Corporate Social Responsibility' – and hope to receive a few more 'likes' on their social media pages.

They upload pictures, quotes and videos of heroes of the past. People like Constance Markievicz, who just happened to be a founding member of the Irish Citizen Army (a trade union militia), a socialist and a solid

trade union activist who supported the strikers during the 1913 Lockout, helping to feed the starving families in soup kitchens. Ironically, some of those very same corporations still don't allow their female staff the right to be represented by a trade union of their choice today – a position that would be abhorred by the people they have on display in their stores. Others do not disclose their gender pay gap. And many are still using the allocation of hours as a method of control over their predominately female workforce.

On International Women's Day, Friday, March 8th, the activists we tend to celebrate are those who fought for equality, for fairness and for liberty.

For us in the trade union movement, though, we don't just celebrate them as a quick gimmick or a way of selling more products. We celebrate them for the genuine progress they have brought to the entire human race.

We celebrate the women who are still making waves today, the ones who continue to carry that torch of equality and social justice. They are our mothers, daughters and sisters. And we have no doubt that they will continue to be the leaders of progress in 2019 and beyond.

And to any employers who truly want to honour women, you can do this by providing secure hour contracts, providing family friendly scheduling, awarding decent pay rates with paid maternity and pensions, and affording your workers the right to be represented by a trade union of their choice. Anything less than this is just lip-service.



Written by IUDW&C President Cissie Cahalan and first published in *The Distributive Worker*, the Official Organ of the Irish Union of Distributive Workers & Clerks in December 1921.

Let us reflect...

A WAGE cutting campaign is now in full swing. The war of guns and drums is over (at least for the present), and the war on wages has taken its place.

It is sought to justify this new warfare by shouting "the cost of living is coming down." As the big gun war in Europe had the war-cry of "Little Belgium" and "Small Nationalities," so this new war has its war-cry – the cost of living coming down, a phrase that has little meaning for the Irish working class, for they have never lived – they merely existed.

We are told by the Press (of which more anon) that Limerick bacon is down some pence per pound; that mutton chops and sirloin steak have fallen in price; that creamery butter and the new-laid eggs are considerably reduced in price. So are Havana cigars, French wines, Ford cars; and their influence on the family budget of a working man's family would be just as remote as the price of mutton chops and creamery butter are. The fag ends of beef and mutton, margarine, American bacon, dripping, are much more like the menu of the working class population, even in the fictitious prosperity of the war period.

One wonders why so many of these workers with their pockets bursting with cold are still to be found living in slums and why they have not emulated their masters and taken up residence in fashionable squares and suburban villas on the strength of their war profits.

The trade union movement

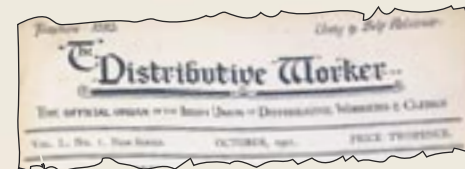
The movement as we know it today has accepted the capitalist system in practice; in theory it repudiates it.

The Labour movement has for many years been strenuously engaged endeavouring to effect reforms in the system. Let us see what progress has been made in this direction. Broadly speaking, as a result of its activities it has drawn forth an admission from a few Churchmen, a number of politicians on the look-out for Labour votes, and a few liberal-minded employers that a working man ought to receive sufficient wages to keep himself and his family in decent comfort. What a smug nice sound it has! Decent comfort for the producer of wealth; lurking for the non-producer and spender. Decent comfort for the working man's wife means a couple of rooms, often in a tenement, where she must cook, wash, scrub and rub, without a range or hot water supply or any modern convenience whatsoever; a mansion and staff servants for the boss's wife.

The working man's wife must needs do her marketing with two or three small children clinging to her skirts, often with a baby in her arms; the boss's wife can either her stores by telephone or roll along to the shop in her automobile, while her children are taken care of by trained nurses and attendants. What does the working man's wife think of the contrast? Will she agree with the boss's standard of decent comfort for a working man and his family?

How long more is the working class of the world going to accept the standard of life laid down for them by the employing class? When and where and at what time will the masses set up THEIR standard of civilised life? When will they cease talking about the cost of living and assert their divine right to all the good and beautiful things of the earth? Will they rouse themselves and examine the position they are faced with and realise that any reduction in the present rate of wages disposes of the "decent comfort" stunt and will mean nothing short of starvation for the masses?

Let us glance at the position of the workers today. They till the land and produce corn, beef, mutton, milk, vegetables and all the necessities of life. What portion of these does the working man own? Are they not locked away in big stores and carefully guarded by the law or in the name of the law. Soldiers and policemen are even paid to guard them lest anyone should try to establish their claim to a portion of them. Men tan leather and make it into boots, yet their children often times are bare-foot. Men and women spin wool and fine linen and beautiful silks, yet they are themselves clad in mean rags. Men build houses and stately mansions for the rich; the builders live in slums. Does this state of affairs reflect credit to the intelligence of the working class? That the workers of Ire-



land (with the exception of a small area) are intelligent has been proved more than once. It only needs to be directed.

Heretofore we were a bit too prone to allow our thinking to be done for us, to permit the Press, the pulpit and the platform to colour our views and turn our minds and our attention from our own interests.

Press propaganda

Many workers were deceived by the outcry against profiteers, which far from it being inspired with altruistic motives were only true to their cult in playing the capitalists' game in preparing the minds of people for the contemplated wage reductions.

Their hypocritical and newly discovered anxiety about the price of food of the poor is just a bit too thin for those of us who remember the villainous propaganda of the self-same Press against the self-same poor in the lockout, 1912-1913. If they desire to give us at least one proof of the fall in the cost of living they can reduce the price of their news sheets and its advertising rates, both of which are 150 per cent. over pre-war prices. "An ounce of example is worth a ton of precept." So much for the Press anti-profitteer screech.

Unemployment

We have thousands of men and women unemployed today in Ireland. It runs into the millions in England, Wales and Scotland. Factories are closed down and works are idle. There are no purchasers at home because of export trade abroad. Yet millions of people in Russia are dying of famine – dying by the wayside from privation and want and hunger and cold – the direct result of the savage cruelty of the blockade of Russia and that Devil's Decree, the Versailles Treaty. It is a bitter reflection that these modern Neros, the Big Four, were speaking and acting in the name of millions of working men and women who elected them to power and who are committed to their policy. The American, French, Scottish, and British members of Parliament elected by labour are no less culpable than the French Tiger and the Welsh Wizard. Thank Heaven the Irish working class are at least spared this shame.

“ Let us glance at the position of the workers today. They till the land and produce corn, beef, mutton, milk, vegetables and all the necessities of life. What portion of these does the working man own? ”



Why we strike and why it's right

TAKING the difficult decision to go on strike is never an easy choice. In today's capitalist world of individual debt and unsustainable consumerism the withdrawal of labour is a heavy financial burden to carry for most retail workers in Ireland.

We are witnessing a calculated move by many multi-nationals operating in Ireland to frustrate workers by stalling any collective progression on terms and conditions before attempting to drive wages and conditions of employment to the lowest possible common denominator without causing worker unrest and disruption to their pursuit of profit.

Retailers are becoming increasingly sophisticated in their attacks on many of the basic principles that underpin our definition of decent work in a unionised environment. One such example is the coordinated and sustained campaign by a number of leading retailers in Ireland: in the case of Tesco Ireland to derecognise Mandate; or in the case of IKEA, Aldi and Lidl to create a hostile environment for workers to organise into a union of their choice.

Anti-union employers intent on driving a wedge between workers and their union are effectively denying workers the right to organise, to collectively bargain, and – even more worrying – restricting their basic human right of joining and belonging to a trade union.

Over recent years I've witnessed a number of leading retailers, such as Dunnes, Tesco, LloydsPharmacy, IKEA, Aldi and Lidl, to name but a few, do their utmost to avoid dealing with the union of first choice for retail workers.

In some instances they'll spend tens of millions and invest in union-busting companies to strategize how to derecognise a union or avoid them at all costs. Thus creating an environment where unhappy workers feel their

**NEW COLUMN!
INTRODUCING...**

**LET US
ARISE!** 

Brian Forbes

*National Co-ordinator
Mandate Trade Union*

only option left is to withdraw their labour and go on strike.

Occasionally while standing on a picket line a union member might doubt their decision to withdraw their labour and this is entirely understandable. Some workers feel a misguided sense of loyalty towards a company kind enough to deem them worthy of receiving their gift of employment.

The harsh reality for many workers about what an employer really thinks of them only really dawns on them as they stand, placard in hand, on a cold, wet miserable day in Ballymun or Ballydehob. Workers sell their labour at a cost to the employer and in most instances they do so far too cheaply.

That relationship between employer and worker is in most cases unfairly slanted in the employer's favour through insufficient recompense for workers and increasingly selfish "profit first" decisions on the part of the employer.

LloydsPharmacy refusing union recognition to their employees wasn't a rash spur-of-the-moment decision and Tesco's failed attempts at union de-recognition wasn't licked off a stone for a bitta craic.

Both employers adopted a deliberate ideological position to avoid and frustrate workers collectivising into a union because a decent job eats into company profits and their shareholders won't get to buy that wee sunshine paradise island they've been so longing to purchase.

Selling some of your valuable time to an employer so that they can make massive profits from your blood, sweat and tears should be a process that adequately rewards the time spent away from family and the efforts you make in work.

Your labour is much more important than any employer's desire for profit, so never undervalue it and never accept less than it is worth.

Mandate believes that the basic minimum any retail worker should earn, in this



Picture: Doug Geisler(CC BY-NC 2.0)

country of increasing demand and capital in the hands of the few, is a starting rate equating to the current Living Wage of €11.90.

We also believe in the need for higher minimum standards across the retail sector and we stand ready to support every retail workplace in their aspiration towards achieving better employment conditions in a sector that can afford a hell of a lot more than they currently offer workers.

Unfortunately, on a few isolated occasions I have witnessed verbal abuse being directed at striking workers by people that should know better. Working class people who direct such abuse are ignorant of their moral and class responsibility to both respect a picket line and to fully

support workers in struggle and they should become social outcasts in their own communities. It is the only logical way to deal with class betrayal.

Thankfully, 99% of retail customers get it. They appreciate the value of retail workers and the vital role they perform in their community. From shop till to dispensing life-saving medicine, these workers deserve respect and wholehearted support from their communities and a much bigger share of the profits while working in a decent job.

The exploitation of workers in Ireland by employers is rife. Our labour laws are at best ineffective and at worst weighted in favour of big business and capital. We need

change. This change will only come via direct action by workers. Employers will not offer change therefore we should be ready to fight them and take our true worth from their business and their profits.

Finally, the work colleague who passes you on strike at a picket line is no longer your "friend." By their actions they are an enemy of your cause and have made their choice to side with their employer as opposed to you and your fellow striking brothers and sisters.

I've heard attempts by striking workers on picket lines to rationalise the actions of a scab class traitor by saying things like, "Ah, sure they are under pressure by the manager," or, "They've financial pressures at home, God love them." Utter nonsense.

A scab is a shiver looking for a spine to run up and can never be trusted to be on the side of the working class again. They should be treated with the contempt they deserve, that very same contempt they defiantly demonstrated towards their work colleagues and ex-friends by breaking a strike. It is never acceptable – under any circumstance!





MANDATE YOUTH **MAY DAY** COMMITTEE MEETING

12PM WEDNESDAY
1ST MAY 2019

 facebook.com/MandateYouth



MANDATE
HEAD OFFICE
O'LEHANE HOUSE,
9 CAVENDISH ROW,
DUBLIN 1

● SVP report flags up impact on living standards of 2015 cut to lone parent's allowance

Doubling the misery

POVERTY among working lone parents – many of whom are members of Mandate – more than doubled over a five-year period up to 2017, according to a new report from the Society of St Vincent de Paul.

The *Working, Parenting and Struggling?* report found that one in 11 working lone parents was living below the poverty line in 2012, but that number had jumped to one in five by 2017.

While the report says the high cost of housing and childcare, combined with low levels of income, were making it very difficult for many families with children to make ends meet, the cuts to lone parent's allowance in 2015 no doubt had a major impact.

The living standards of lone parents in Ireland are among the worst in Europe with the second highest rates of income poverty, persistent poverty and severe deprivation among 15 EU peer countries.

SVP Social Policy Development Officer and author of the report, Dr Tricia Keilthy, said: "It is clear that Ireland is failing to protect lone parents and their children from the adverse affects of poverty."

Dr Keilthy said there are additional barriers to employment for those who want to take up a job or increase their working hours.

Deprivation

Mandate Communications Officer David Gibney responded to the report criticising policy decisions made by the Fine Gael and Labour Party government which ended lone parent's allowance for anyone whose child had reached the age of seven.

He said: "Mandate campaigned strongly against this policy and we managed to get a motion passed at the ICTU conference condemning this particular cut. At the time, 65% of lone parents already experienced multiple deprivation. So any further cuts and we knew the result would be devastating."

"Unfortunately we were ignored. Congress was ignored. Our members, many of whom are lone parents, were ignored."

Mr Gibney added: "What's really frustrating is that in the same year, the Government gave a €405m tax cut to the top 17% of earners. It was literally a case of, 'take from the poor and give to the rich!'"

At the time the Government claimed the cuts were to "incentivise" lone parents to seek more hours at work. What they didn't explain is that Irish workers, including lone parents, have no legal right to seek more hours at work. And generally, when they ask for them, they are denied those vital hours. At the time Ireland had the highest level of un-

Picture: Vincent Angler (CC BY 2.0)



Report: Dr Tricia Keilthy

deremployment in the EU with more than 130,000 people wanting more hours, but unable to achieve them.

Mr Gibney explained: "Last year, Joan Collins TD and Clare Daly TD put forward a piece of legislation that would give workers the right to seek more hours at work. Fine Gael opposed it with 38 votes, and only 35

opposition TDs turned up to vote for it. Workers lost the vote by three.

"Sadly, the party who cut lone parent's allowance, the Labour Party, only sent two TDs out of seven to vote. Included in those who didn't show up for the vote was the Minister who cut lone parent's allowance, Joan Burton.

Had we been successful, lone parents might have had a route out of poverty. Instead they were denied it. And so they must suffer the cuts and the poverty with very little opportunity to improve their lot. Or the lot of their children."

Mr Gibney concluded: "When we see statistics like these ones, we need to understand the reasons they occur. Political decisions. And we need to hold those politicians to account."

“ It is clear that Ireland is failing to protect lone parents and their children from the adverse affects of poverty ”

The report analyses data from the European Survey of Income and Living Conditions, the Labour Force Survey and Department of Employment Affairs and Social Protection to build a comprehensive picture of the income, work and living conditions of one parent families in Ireland.

Some of the main findings include:
● Lone parents in Ireland are almost five times more likely to experience in-work poverty than other households with children (20.8% compared to 4.2%).

● 84% of lone parents in Ireland were unable to meet unexpected expenses, compared to an EU-15 average of 58%

● In 2017, 58% of lone parents were working compared to 46% in 2012. This is the lowest rate among

Lone parent facts...

Families come in all shapes, sizes and forms – no two one-parent families are the same. Here are what the key facts and figures about one-parent families in Ireland show:

- **1 in 5 people in Ireland live in a one-parent family** (Census 2016).
- **1 in 4 families with children in Ireland is a one-parent family** (Census 2016).
- **There were 218,817 family units with children (of any age) headed by a lone parent. This is an increase of more than 3,500 families since 2011.**
- **Almost 90,000 were single; a further 50,496 were widowed while the remaining 68,378 were separated or divorced.**
- **This represented approximately one in four of families with children and one in five of all families (25.4% of all family units with children in Ireland and 18% of all family units).**
- **356,203 children lived in one parent families, representing more than one in five or 21.2% of all children in family units.**
- **84% of lone parents were female and 13.6% were male (approximately one in seven are male).**
- **The average one parent family has 1.63 children compared to an average of 1.95 for general population.**
- **The total number of divorced people in Ireland has increased from 87,770 in 2011 to 103,895 in 2016 – a rise of over 44,000 people in the last 10 years.**
- **In contrast, the number of people identified as separated has levelled off and stood at 118,178, up marginally from 116,194 five years earlier. As divorce in Ireland generally requires a period of separation in the first instance (up to five years) the figures reflects both a progression for people from separation to divorce, combined with more people becoming separated.**



Information: One Family Ireland; Census 2016

EU-15 countries. However, the rate increases to 66% for those with children over 12, indicating that when childcare needs are lower, the labour market attachment of lone parent is higher.

- Almost 60% of lone parents reported that they could not access childcare services due to cost – the second highest rate in EU-15 countries just after Spain

- Childcare costs significantly reduce the returns from work, particularly for those in low paid work.

- Housing costs are also an important factor in a family's ability to make ends meet. In 2017, 45% of lone parents reported a heavy financial burden due to housing costs and almost 18% were in arrears on the mortgage or rent repayments. The

rate of arrears for other households with children was 8% in 2017.

- Employment rates are three times higher among lone parents with third-level education but one in five lone parents reported that they could not access formal education for financial reasons.

Dr Keilthy did say that "Budget 2019 included a number of welcome improvements in income supports for lone parents and the introduction of the Affordable Childcare Scheme is a very positive development."

However, she pointed out that the report showed that Ireland had a long way to go in creating pathways to sustainable, decent and family-friendly employment, which will address the growing issue of in-work poverty among lone parents.

Employment Law

This one day Progression Course in **Employment Law** is for Trade Union Activists who have a desire to improve their knowledge and understanding of employment law. Participants will gain an understanding of the legislative environment within which the employment relationship operates.

Course Content:

Sources of Irish Law

- Common law, judicial precedent
- Equity
- Constitution

Statute Law

- Primary legislation
- Secondary legislation
- Role of EU law. Directives

The role of law in regulating working conditions.

- The role of law in promoting Equality, H&S and best practice in the workplace
- The rights and duties of both employers and employees in the workplace

Contract of employment

- Distinguish between an independent contractor (contract for service) and an employee (contract of service)
- The nature of employers defences
- Redress/remedies in Employment law
- Terms of employment and Information Act
- Organisation of Working Time
- Payment of Wages/Remuneration
- Equality and Discrimination
- Unfair Dismissal and Redundancy
- Redress for breaches of Employment Law

Certification and Progression:

Members who successfully complete this training course will obtain a Mandate Certificate.

Places are limited. As there is a high demand for this course please ensure you contact your Mandate Union Official or the Mandate Training Centre on **01-8369699** or email **mandateotc@mandate.ie** to secure your place.



Negotiation Skills

This one day Progression Course in **Negotiation Skills** is for trade union activists who have a desire to improve their knowledge and understanding in conflict resolution and negotiation skills, managing the process and the psychology of the negotiating environment.

There are three Levels:

- Intermediate
- Building Skills & Knowledge
- Negotiations in Practice

Course Content:

- The Psychology of the Negotiating Environment
- Strategic Approach to Negotiations
- Collective Decision Making
- Identifying Goals to be Achieved
- Prioritising Issues
- Develop Tactical Plans.
- Tactics in Negotiations – Both Sides – *Key Learning
- Stone Walling
- Cooling off Periods
- The Negotiating Team – Formation; Delegation
- An evolving plan – Sitting around the table
- Different roles for different people
- Who takes the lead?



- Who takes the notes?
- Who provokes the other side?
- Who watches the other side?
- Handling problems without sensation and becoming emotional
- Producing facts to support arguments
- Predicting counter arguments
- Benchmarking – what are the markers to work towards: Top, Middle and Bottom

Certification and Progression:

Members who successfully complete this training course will obtain a Mandate Certificate.

Places are limited. As there is a high demand for this course please ensure you contact your Mandate Union Official or the Mandate Training Centre on **01-8369699** or email **mandateotc@mandate.ie** to secure your place.

Seeking truth and not the media spin about Venezuela

Clare Daly

IF YOU want to know the truth, you have to seek it for yourself. I recently had the honour, along with Mick Wallace, of spending a week in Venezuela. Having been subjected, like everyone else, to a western diet of 'Maduro dictator', and EU countries, including Ireland, lining up to support the self-proclaimed Juan Guaidó as President, we decided to go and see for ourselves.

We attended an International Peoples' Assembly in Caracas along with more than 450 representatives from unions and community organisations from across the world. We visited local communes, walked the streets, experienced carnival festivities, witnessed packed streets and busy shops and chatted with people of many political views and opinions.

While we were there we shared in the 30th anniversary of the Caracazo, the original uprising in 1989 following price hikes where hundreds of protestors were massacred by the government.

Hundreds of thousands were on the streets last month to mark those events which initiated the period culminating in Chavez coming to power. There was not a word about this in the Western press. Meanwhile, there was blanket coverage of Guaidó's return to Caracas, an event that precious few in Venezuela paid any attention to. The era of fake news is alive and well!

Exactly six years after Chavez's death, life is undoubtedly very difficult in Venezuela. Low oil prices combined with the crippling economic sanctions begun by Obama in 2015 and escalated by Trump in 2017 have caused huge problems.

The scarcity of dollars and over-reliance on imports have seen hyperinflation. The value of the Bolivar has plummeted from around 730Bs for the US dollar even three months ago, to 3,300Bs to the US dollar now.

This has decimated the value of wages, with a university professor telling us he earns the equivalent of \$6 per month. It is not possible to live on this amount, although electricity, water, public transport and a lot of accommodation is free. You can fill your car with petrol for less than 10 cents.

Also millions of poorer families receive a monthly box of essential provisions and a top-up on their salary. The government has also built 2.5



Picture: Socialist Appeal (CC BY 2.0)

million social housing units in the last seven years (Leo take note!)

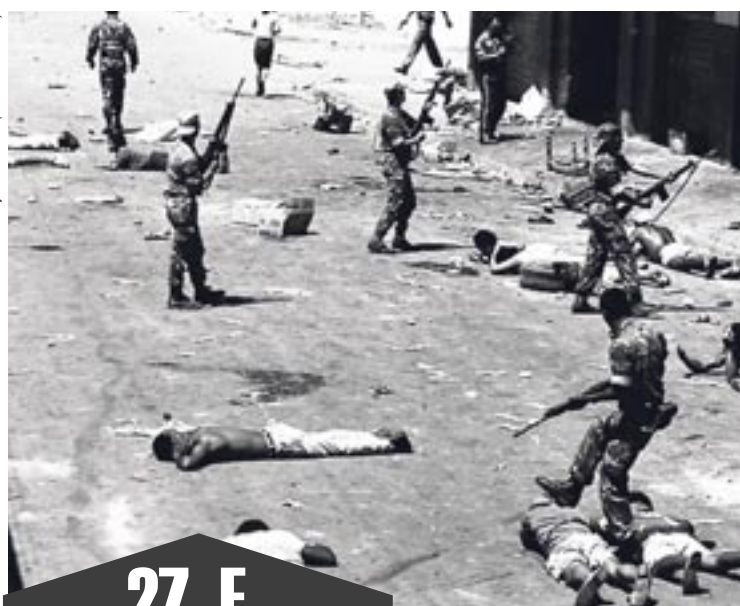
But with low oil production and the failure of the government to diversify and develop indigenous agriculture and industry, the economy has been successfully strangled by US sanctions. It can be difficult to get medicines, queues for limited cash withdrawals or subsidised food are common.

Children told of us teachers leaving the schools as they can get better salaries in nearby Colombia or Brazil.

The problems have been exacerbated by the government's failure to deal with widespread corruption. Contrary to the Western propaganda that Venezuela is divided 50:50 between Maduro and Guaidó, the reality is much more complicated.

It is believed that support for *Chavismo* – or the ideas of the movement spearheaded by Chávez – which attempted to use the oil wealth to develop housing, health, and education and to reduce inequality still has the support of about 60% of the population, but of that Maduro is only sure of about 30% of that.

There are many to the left of the government who are critical of the failures to develop the communes. In many areas people are just bypassing the government, growing their own



Picture: United Socialist Party of Venezuela (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0)

27-F

February 27th marked the 30th anniversary of the 'Caracazo', the 1989 popular rebellion which saw Venezuela's poor and excluded majority rise up against the IMF's structural adjustment package imposed by then President Carlos Andres Perez. Known by the abbreviation of the date, '27-F', the Caracazo is solemnly remembered as one of the most brutal instances of state repression in Venezuelan history.

food, redeveloping ancient herbal medicines and looking after themselves. Of the roughly 40% right-wing opposition, Guaidó's party are the minority. The EU, in pathetically backing him as a self-proclaimed President following the US plan, has very much backed the wrong horse. He has an international creation with no local roots. The population is clear that the Trojan horse of humanitarian aid is



Unreported in the international media – events marking the Caracazo of February 27, 1989

nothing more than a cover for an invasion and the overthrow of the government.

We met young men, members of the local people's militias, who train militarily and had been on the Colombian border when the skirmishes over the misnamed 'humanitarian aid' were organized.

These forces number between one and two million. They will not stand



Picture: Socialist Appeal (CC BY 2.0)

It is believed that support for *Chavismo* – or the ideas of the movement spearheaded by Chávez – which attempted to use the oil wealth to develop housing, health, and education and to reduce inequality still has the support of about 60% of the population, but of that Maduro is only sure of about 30% of that...



An over-reliance on imports – as well as American imposed sanctions – has seen hyper-inflation devastate the local economy with one US dollar equalling 3,300 Venezuelan Bolivars

by and have openly stated they will be prepared to defend the country if the army does not.

This is a very dangerous situation. Military intervention must be avoided, but equally the sanctions constitute war by another means, strangling the economy, internationally robbing their gold, seeking to get US hands back on Venezuelan oil, and so on.

This must be opposed. You don't have to be a radical to agree that the Venezuelan people should be left to decide their own future, elect their own leaders and be facilitated in dialogue to tackle the many problems that exist. It's a bit sickening to hear Western governments – including our own – wax lyrical about the failure of Maduro to call an election while Fianna Fáil continues to prop up Fine Gael and fails to call one here.

They don't talk about dictators in Saudi Arabia where journalists are cut out and where they don't have any elections. They happily work with Israel while Israeli forces target civilians in Gaza. They are hypocrites!



The claim that the US is bringing democracy is just a cover for them to get their hands on the biggest oil reserves in the World and teach a lesson to a people that dared to challenge neo-liberalism. They have made no secret about fact that Nicaragua and Cuba will be next.

The US cannot be allowed to trample on international law this way. Get involved in *Hands Off Venezuela* initiatives. Let the Venezuelan people decide their own future free from interference.

Clare Daly is an Independents 4 Change TD for Dublin Fingal



Computer Training Course QQI Level 3

Mandate Trade Union in conjunction with Skills for Work is offering funded training. The courses are to encourage members back into learning and training whilst aiming towards a QQI Level 3 Award.

Starting from scratch this course helps you to use a computer and builds confidence for communicating on-line.

Courses are open to members who have not achieved their Leaving Cert or who have an out-of-date Leaving Cert

Evening Courses take place one evening per week for a duration of 12 weeks in a venue near your workplace.

If you are interested please contact Mandate's Training Centre on **01-8369699** or by email at **mandateotc@mandate.ie**

Please see Mandate website for further Training courses at **www.mandate.ie**

Email: **mandateotc@mandate.ie**

Places are limited and are allocated on a first come, first served basis

Picture: European Parliament

Training & Development (QQI Level 6)

The **Training & Development** course is designed to enable learners attain skills, knowledge and confidence to organise and deliver training and development in a range of organisational contexts.

Learning Outcomes:

- Learners should be able to recognise best practice in adult learning and development.
- Appraise different learning styles
- Conduct training needs analysis
- Design training to meet identified needs
- Prepare training programmes
- Develop lesson plans
- Identify learning outcomes and put in place relevant methods to access learning
- Develop and use a range of teaching materials
- Evaluate training and development interventions.

*This course will be delivered in two parts.
Each part is of three days duration.*

Certification and Progression:

Members who successfully complete this course will obtain a QQI Level 6 Award.

Places are limited. As there is a high demand for this course please ensure you contact your Mandate Union Official or the Mandate Training Centre on **01-8369699** or email mandateotc@mandate.ie to secure your place.



Political and Social Studies

This two day **Political and Social Studies** course is for trade union activists who have a keen interest in the Political & Social Economy and who have questions regarding the wider social

Course Content

- The politics of economics
- Understanding the Irish economy
- The Global Financial Crash and what it means
- The Great Recession and permanent austerity
- Democratizing economics
- The power of trade unions
- Connecting with communities
- Reflecting community diversity

Certification and Progression:

Members who successfully complete this training course will obtain a Mandate Certificate.

Places are limited. As there is a high demand for this course please ensure you contact your Mandate Union Official or the Mandate Training Centre on **01-8369699** or email mandateotc@mandate.ie to secure your place.

TRIBUTE JER O'LEARY

An activist, actor, balladeer and true friend of Mandate



Jer O'Leary reprising his legendary portrayal of James Larkin during the 2013 Sinn Féin Ard Fheis

Picture: Sinn Féin (CC BY 2.0)

By David Gibney

Mandate communications officer

ACTOR and trade unionist Jer O'Leary, a very good friend to Mandate, died suddenly in Dublin on St Stephen's Day. He was 73.

In his tribute, President Michael D Higgins said Jer would "forever be remembered" for his "unstinting political activism".

Best known for his portrayal of Jim Larkin, O'Leary appeared in 42 films, making his debut in Jim Sheridan's *My Left Foot*. Other roles included the Neil Jordan film *Michael Collins*, where he played Thomas Clarke, and as the King of the Tinkers in Jim Sheridan's *The Field*.

His film credits also included *In the Name of the Father*, *Braveheart*, *This Must be the Place* and the fantasy series *Game of Thrones*.

A renowned balladeer, artist and folklorist, he was also a skilled tapestry banner maker which he

made for trade union marches.

Jer was a committed trade unionist who left school at 13. He became a political activist and joined Official Sinn Féin before moving to the Communist Party.

Standing over six feet tall, his first acting role on the Dublin stage was as Big Jim Larkin in *The Non-Stop Connolly Show*, co-directed by Jim Sheridan, John Arden, and Margaretta D'Arcy in 1975. He came to wider public prominence as Jim Larkin in James Plunkett's *The Risen People*, directed by Jim and Peter Sheridan.

Jer O'Leary was born in Dublin's Holles Street Hospital, "which, I liked to point out to his annoyance, meant he was actually a southsider," sister Margaret told the funeral attendance.

Mandate General Secretary John Douglas said Jer was a true Dublin character who would live on in the folklore of trade unionists in Ireland.

"Jer was the banner man – he even

designed the first-ever Mandate Trade Union banner in 1994. He raised the profile of the trade union movement and his own union, SIPTU, through his banners and through his other artistic skills, including acting."

He told *Shopfloor*: "Jer's portrayal of Big Jim Larkin throughout the austerity years will be remembered by many of us who marched and protested with him against vicious cuts to the minimum wage, for instance. He stood for what was right, and understood the importance of collective actions."

Jer's father was an executive member of the bar workers' union, the Irish National Union of Vintners', Grocers' and Allied Trades Assistants (INUVGATA), now Mandate, and was a presence on the 1955 bar workers' strike in Dublin.

"It's a cliché, but his likes will never be seen again in Dublin," added Mr Douglas.



'Jer stood for what was right': A piper leads the cortege as balladeer, artist and folklorist Jer O'Leary is taken to his final resting place

RECRUITMENT

Trade union membership on the rise North of the border

NEWLY-RELEASED FIGURES have revealed trade union membership in the North has increased by two per cent.

The 26th Annual Report of the Northern Ireland Certification Officer for Trade Unions and Employers' Associations shows that between April

1, 2017 and March 2, 2018, membership numbers rose by 4,826 to 240,054.

The majority – 75% – of all union members in the North belong to UK unions, while 20% were NI-specific union members. Another five per cent were members of unions based

in the Republic. Membership of the four listed Northern Ireland unions was recorded as 48,596: the majority of whom – 41,986 – were members of NIPSA. Northern Ireland membership of the four Republic of Ireland unions was recorded at 12,212.

A Mandate source told *Shopfloor*:

"This is a very welcome development and flags up the strengthening bargaining power of unions in the North."

"The recent victory won by unions on low and zero hour contracts will no doubt act as a valuable demonstration to workers of why it pays to be in a union in the south too."



North's largest union: Public sector union NIPSA

Density levels are up in the south too but...

Rol figures reveal dramatic drop since late 70s/early 80s...

By David Gibney
Mandate communications officer

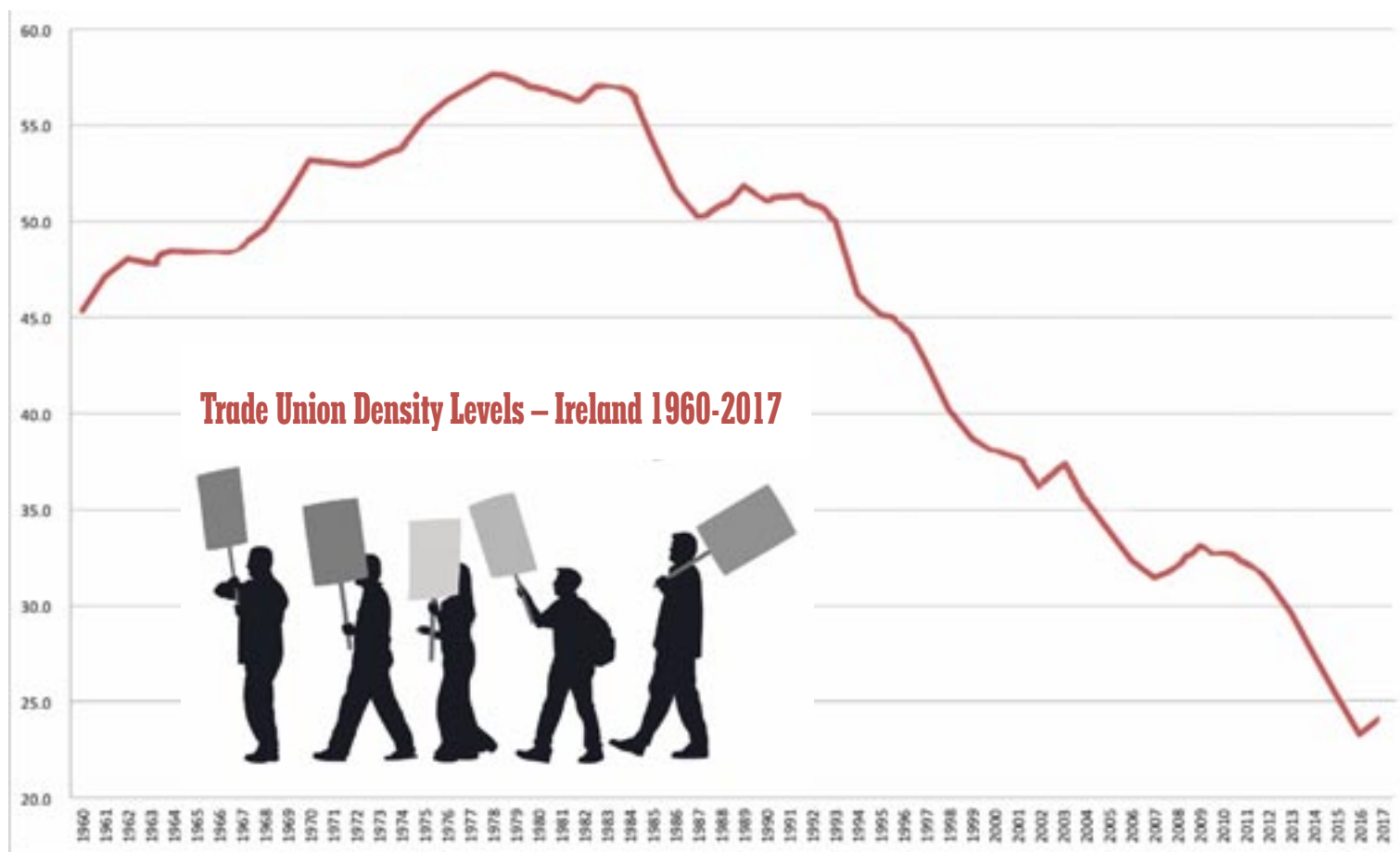
TRADE UNION density levels in the Republic of Ireland have increased for the first time since 2009, moving from 23.3% to 24.2%.

There are, however, some changes as to how the data is interpreted so it is difficult to state with absolute certainty that this figure is entirely accurate.

What we can say is that the changes in the economy, with a resurgence in the construction trade in particular, could have led to this increase.

Worryingly, we are still at less than half the density levels of the 1970s and 1980s, and as a result, poverty levels, deprivation levels and income inequality are all proving to have disastrous consequences on working people.

Hopefully the new secure hour contract legislation will give workers the confidence to join their trade unions and take action so that together we can tackle the scourge of low pay and insecure work.



1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015	2017
45.3	48.2	53.2	55.3	57.1	54.2	51.1	45.1	38.2	34.0	32.7	23.2	24.2

Workplace Leadership Training

● Are you an experienced trade union activist? ● Are you also interested in learning and developing leadership & enhancing your confidence and competence as a trade union activist?

Mandate is delighted to offer a new (part-time) one-year certificate programme in **Workplace Leadership**. This innovative programme is aimed at experienced trade union activists. The overall aims of the programme are to develop the key competencies, skills and attributes essential for activists to succeed in their roles as workplace leaders.

Course Content:

- Unlocking your leadership potential
- Personal Development
- Media Skills
- Understanding the changing context of retail
- How effective change happens or doesn't!
- Developing others
- Handling conflict

Programme delivery:

This part-time programme starts in September 2019 and will be delivered as a blended learning model involving attendance on approximately six days (one per session), with self-directed learning, together with practical and project work taking place between attendances. Application forms will be available in March 2019.

Certification and Progression:

Participants who successfully complete this programme of learning will receive a Mandate Diploma in Workplace Leadership.

Places are limited. As there is a high demand for this course please ensure you contact your Mandate Union Official or the Mandate Training Centre on **01-8369699** or email mandateotc@mandate.ie to secure your place.





WONDER-PHIL! Mandate member Philomena O'Brien who celebrated 51 years working in SuperValu Killester on 28th February

VOLUNTARY PROGRAMME
M&S announce redundancies at seven stores in unexpected move

MARKS & Spencer has announced it is seeking 93 full-time equivalent voluntary redundancies among sales advisors and section managers at seven named stores.

The announcement, which was unexpected, came at a meeting between M&S and Mandate representatives over a pay and benefits claim.

After three days of negotiations, a set of proposals was put to a ballot of those members impacted by the move. The proposals were accepted by a sizeable majority.

Applications were sought for the voluntary redundancy programme and, as *Shopfloor* goes to print, offers have been made and exit dates are being finalised.

The pay and benefits negotiations will start again in early May.

DEBENHAMS

Ashley's bid fails as lenders take control

SPORTS Direct boss Mike Ashley's bid to take control of Debenhams has failed, after it was revealed on April 9th that the retail business had fallen into the hands of its lenders, which include a group of High Street banks and US hedge funds.

The news, which came as *Shopfloor* goes to press, means that the business is in what is known as a 'pre-pack administration'. This allows the company to sell itself, or its assets, as a going concern without affecting the operation of the business.

Mandate said it was keeping a "close eye" on the developing situation and has written to management seeking more information.

On March 21st, the Debenhams union national negotiating committee met with Irish Debenhams senior management for an update on the position of the business.

This had been prompted by the constant flow of media speculation about the high level corporate battle between Mike Ashley and the current owners for control of the business.

At the time a Mandate source told *Shopfloor*: "It appears whoever pro-



Mike Ashley: Debenhams bid fails provides the most acceptable restructuring financial package to shareholders will ultimately win out in the end.

"The Irish management stated at the meeting that apart from what had already been reported in the press, they had not been given access or been made aware of more detailed information. However, they emphasised they were attempting to focus on the day-to-day challenges facing the business.

"Discussions also focused on the likely impact on the Irish business of a no-deal Brexit, and it was made clear that such an outcome would present significant challenges."

Mandate training programme 2019 – full table of courses – p31



NEW! Communication Skills

This one day Progression Course in **Communication Skills** is for trade union activists who have a desire and need to improve their knowledge and understanding in effective communication

Course Content:

- Communications skills: Public Speaking Skills, Better Writing Skills
- Finding the right information that will steer you in the right direction.
- Further understanding of the environment in which we live and work.
- The social, political and economic landscape of trade unions.
- Media ownership – who is telling you what and why?
- Social Media – What it is all about.
- How to write a good CV or application form.

Course Objective:

The objective of this course is to provide you with tools and techniques that will allow you to know more, learn more and develop yourself, your knowledge and your abilities for your own personal and professional development.

Certification & Progression:

Members who successfully complete this training course will obtain a Mandate certificate.

Places are limited. As there is a high demand for this course please ensure you contact your Mandate Union Official or the Mandate Training Centre on **01-8369699** or email **mandateotc@mandate.ie** to secure your place.



House Committee Workshops

Our House Committee Workshops are designed to assist Activists in their role as Union Representatives. Our Workshops run for about 3 hours and can be delivered and tailored by your Mandate Trade Union Official/Organiser to ensure the best time and location is used for our member's convenience.

Learning Outcomes:

- Briefing on Current Industrial Relations Environment
- Understanding House Committee Roles and Structures
 - Communication Skills
 - Workplace Organising
 - Dealing with Workplace issues
- Tips for Representing Member/s in Grievance Meetings
- Tips for Representing Members/s on Disciplinary Matters
 - Principles of Natural Justice and Fair Procedures

Progression:

Members who successfully complete this training course can apply to do our Union Representative Introductory training which is currently delivered over 3 days.

If you are interested in this training please contact the training centre at:

**Mandate Organising and Training Centre,
 Distillery House, Distillery Road, Dublin 3
 Tel: (01) 836 9699 Email: mandateotc@mandate.ie**

RESEARCH



Illustration: Xoan Baltar (CC By 2.0)

Wages in 8 EU states LOWER than in 2009

THE wages of workers in eight EU countries are lower on average in 'real terms' – or when adjusted for inflation – than 10 years ago, according to a new study by the European Trade Union Institute.

The ETUI report, titled *Benchmarking Working Europe 2019* and published on March 26, shows that average wages in UK, Italy, Spain, Greece, Portugal, Hungary, Croatia and Cyprus were lower in 2018 than in 2009.

It also shows that real wages have stood still – with zero increase – in Belgium and Finland over the same period.

However, according to the figures, wages rose in Ireland by an average of 5%.

Average wages, adjusted for inflation, went down between 2009 and

2019 by: 23% in Greece; 11% in Croatia; 7% in Cyprus; 4% in Portugal; 3% in Spain; 2% in Italy; 1% in Hungary and in the UK, with no change in Belgium and Finland.

ETUC General Secretary Luca Visentini said: "This is proof that the crisis is not over in all countries, and that even where economic recovery is happening, workers don't get the benefit of it."

"The reason for this is to be found in austerity measures which have dismantled minimum wage and collective bargaining systems, and hugely increased inequalities."

"The EU urgently needs to take action to increase wages – primarily by encouraging and enabling collective bargaining between employers and trade unions."



Visentini: crisis not over

TESCO

Lab Court recommendation: members to be consulted

MANDATE is to consult with members following a Labour Court recommendation issued on April 5th relating to its dispute with Tesco Ireland over pay increases for workers employed before 1996.

The union has stated that the recommendation "appears positive" but will analyse its contents in detail before deciding on what further course of action to take.

Tesco Ireland has issued pay increases – worth 8% – to its workforce but has withheld payments from its pre-'96 staff for four years. This forms the backdrop to the dispute.

The Labour Court recommendation states: "As recommended by the Court in LCR21139 a basic pay increase of 2% should apply from April 1st, 2015."

It continues: "No basic pay increase should apply in any year thereafter unless the basic pay rates of 'post 1996' workers achieved equality with the basic pay rates of the workers concerned herein in that year."

"At no time since April 1st, 2016 should the rate of basic pay of these workers have fallen below the rates of 'post 1996' workers."

Equality

"Wherever equality of basic pay rates has been achieved since April 1st, 2016 the workers concerned should receive basic pay increases in the normal way with effect from that date onwards such that equality is maintained."

The recommendation concludes: "In any year in which basic pay increases have occurred in the case of

'post 1996' workers since March 30th 2016 and the terms of this recommendation would result in no increase in that year in the rate of basic pay for the workers concerned herein a once-off payment equivalent to 50% of the annual value of that basic pay increase should be made as a cash payment to the workers concerned herein in the year which such increase first applied to 'post 1996' workers."

Mandate Assistant General Secretary Gerry Light told *Shopfloor*: "While the recommendation appears positive on initial consideration, Mandate will be analysing the decision in full and will determine our next steps in consultation with those members affected over the coming weeks."



SNAPSHOT

The Mandate delegation at the ICTU Women's Conference held over two days in early March at the Slieve Donard in Newcastle, Co Down. From left: Pamela Atkinson, Joan Gaffney, Denise Curran, Doreen Curley and Cathy McLaughlin

COMMUNICATIONS

DO YOU HAVE A DESIRE TO IMPROVE YOUR COMMUNICATIONS SKILLS? BUT NEVER GOT AROUND TO IT?

Mandate Trade Union in conjunction with Skills for Work is offering funded training. The courses are to encourage members back into learning and training whilst aiming towards a QQI Level 3 Award.

- Starting from scratch this course helps you to improve your communications skills.
- Courses are open to members who have not achieved their Leaving Certificate or who have an out of date Leaving Certificate.

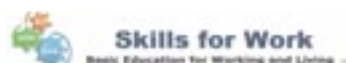
Communication Skills:

For those who want to brush up on their writing and spelling skills while also developing personal and interpersonal skills which are important for dealing with workplace and personal situations.

Evening Courses take place one evening per week for a duration of 12 weeks in a venue near your workplace.

If you are interested please contact Mandate's Training Centre on **01-836 9699** or by email **mandateotc@mandate.ie**

Check out **www.mandate.ie** for further training courses. Places are limited and are allocated on a first come, first served basis. Courses are delivered by the Education and Training Board in a location near your workplace.



THERE'S A NEW WAY TO JOIN OR PAY YOUR DUES

www.joinmandate.ie

OUR NEW WEB PORTAL ALSO ALLOWS EXISTING MEMBERS TO SWITCH THEIR PAYMENT METHOD



Illustration: Daniel Huntley (CC BY-SA 2.0)



Information Technology Skills QQI Level 5

What you'll learn...

- **Word Processing: Document Formatting, Graphics, Mail Merge**
- **Create documents applying a range of processing features**
 - **Use proofing tools such as spell-check, thesaurus & search/replace**
 - **Learn File Management**
- **Use Windows Explorer**
- **Open, edit, and print a document**
 - **Enter, edit and sort data**
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INTERNATIONAL NEWS

ICTU: Govt must promote dialogue in Venezuela

THE Irish Congress of Trade Unions has called on the Government to promote dialogue to foster a peaceful solution to the Venezuelan crisis, instead of stoking tensions in the region.

Ireland has joined a number of countries, including the UK, Germany, France, Spain, the US, Canada and several Latin American countries, in endorsing Juan Guaidó, Venezuelan opposition leader and president of the national assembly, who has declared himself interim president of Venezuela. In the 12th February statement, ICTU voiced its concern at

the escalating international interference – including possible military intervention – in the internal affairs of a sovereign nation.

Vehemently rejecting a “militarised solution” to the crisis, the statement said the people of Latin America had “not forgotten” the history of US-backed military rule in the region.

“It is our view that Venezuelans need to resolve their differences through constructive dialogue and democratic processes, without resorting to violence.

“International intervention risks intensifying existing political divi-

sions and inflaming tensions that are the consequence of the severe social and economic crisis facing the country.”

ICTU called on the Government to abstain from seeking regime change and intervening in the sovereign affairs of Venezuela and instead promote stability “through constructive dialogue with the international community”.

The statement concluded: “We stand in solidarity with the people of Venezuela and support their right to peaceful self-determination.”

European Labour Authority set up

THE European Trade Union Congress (ETUC) has called on the EU institutions to adopt quickly the agreement reached on Thursday 14th February by the European Commission, Parliament and Council on the Regulation to set up a European Labour Authority (ELA).

The ELA will strengthen workers' rights by helping national authorities apply and enforce European labour law and to fight abuses in labour mobility, social security and the posting of workers.

It will also improve the information to workers and employers about their rights and obligations, coordinate and support inspections and facilitate cooperation between member states in applying and enforcing EU law.

ETUC Confederal Secretary Liina Carr said: “Setting up the European Labour Authority is a useful step forward in the fight against the abuse of workers' rights. It also represents progress

in putting the European Pillar of Social Rights into practice. The authority must play an active role in tackling bogus self-employment and letterbox companies.”

Positive elements of the agreement include: employers and trade unions being able to bring cases to the attention of the Authority; the competence of the ELA in the coordination of social security systems; and the safeguard for the autonomy of employers and trade unions to reach collective agreements as well as for unions to take industrial action.

However, the ETUC was disappointed by the restrictions on ELA's role in international transport, where major abuses are known to have taken place.



Liina Carr: 'progress'

ILO future of work report calls for 'revitalisation of Social Contract'

AS IT begins a year of centenary celebrations the International Labour Organisation (ILO) has released a landmark report by its Global Commission on the Future of Work calling for a human-centred agenda for a decent future of work.

The report takes as a starting point the enormous global challenges: around 300 million workers across the world live in extreme poverty, wage rises have not kept pace with productivity growth and the share of national income going to workers has declined.

It outlines the challenges caused by new technology, climate change as well as demography and calls for a collective global response to the disruptions they are causing in the world of work.

The report addresses the impact artificial intelligence, automation and robotics will have on jobs as skills become obsolete, while also examining how the same technological advances, along with the greening of economies, will create millions of jobs.

Co-chaired by South African President, Cyril Ramaphosa, and Swedish Prime Minister, Stefan Löfven, the Commission's report sets out key recommendations that governments should commit to in addressing the challenges caused by unprecedented transformational changes in the world of work.

Löfven said: “The world of work is undergoing great changes. They create many opportunities for more and better jobs. But governments, trade unions and employers need to work together, to make economies and labour markets more inclusive. Such a social dialogue can help make globalisation work for everyone.”

The Commission recognised how globalisation has left the majority of workers behind and underlined that regulation and protection of workers' rights was a must for the new forms of work.

The report's recommendations call for the revitalisation of the Social Contract, and for all workers to be protected by a Universal Labour Guarantee which guarantees freedom of association, collective bargaining and other fundamental workers' rights along with health and safety at work, an adequate living wage and limits on working hours.

It contains many recommendations on life-long learning, support for workers to manage transitions at work, gender equality, rural and informal workers, investment in care and infrastructure, climate adjustment as well as social protection. The strong focus on the importance of collec-

tive representation of workers has been widely welcomed at a time when violence and repression against trade unionists is on the increase, freedom of association is denied to some or all workers in 93 countries, and global corporations use their power to deny workers the right to organise.

In welcoming the report, the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) stated: “The Commission's finding that business models must align with a human-centred agenda recognises that the challenge is as much about new forms of business as about new forms of work.”

“Regulation of businesses in the digital age must be based on a social licence to operate that ensures compliance with rules on taxation, the collection and use of data, labour, environmental and other standards and reins in the monopolistic and irresponsible forms of business that are today dominating the global economy.”



Stefan Löfven: social dialogue is essential



SHOP STEWARDS TRAINING PROGRAMME 2019

Course Title	Course Dates	Duration	Location	Closing date
2nd Quarter Training & Development Part 1	Apr 1/2/3	3 days	Dublin	22 Feb 2019
Employment Law Part 3	Apr 8	1 day	Dublin	22 Feb 2019
Communications Part 1	Apr 10	1 day	Dublin	22 Feb 2019
Workplace Union Representative Training	Apr 15/16/17	3 days	Galway	22 Feb 2019
Negotiation Skills Part 3	Apr 30	1 day	Dublin	22 Feb 2019
Communications Part 2	May 1	1 day	Dublin	22 Feb 2019
Presentation & Speech Design and Delivery Part 1	May 20	1 day	Dublin	22 Feb 2019
Training & Development Part 2	May 20/21/22	3 days	Dublin	22 Feb 2019
Presentation & Speech Design and Delivery Part 2	May 27	1 day	Dublin	22 Feb 2019
Employment Law Part 1	Jun 10	1 day	Dublin	22 Feb 2019
Communications Part 3	Jun 12	1 day	Dublin	22 Feb 2019
Workplace Representative Advanced	Jun 17/18/19	3 days	Cork	22 Feb 2019
3rd Quarter Employment Law Part 2	Jul 8	1 day	Dublin	31 May 2019
Employment Law Part 3	Aug 12	1 day	Dublin	31 May 2019
Political & Social Studies	Sep 2/3	2 days	Sligo	31 May 2019
Employment Law Part 1	Sep 9	1 day	Galway	31 May 2019
Workplace Representative Advanced	Sep 16/17/18	3 days	Waterford	31 May 2019
Workplace Union Representative Training	Sep 23/24/25	3 days	Dublin	31 May 2019
Training & Development Part 1	Sep 30/Oct 1/2	3 days	Dublin	31 May 2019
Workplace Representative Advanced	Sep 30/Oct 1/2	3 days	Dublin	31 May 2019
4th Quarter Communications Part 1	Oct 2	1 day	Cork	30 Aug 2019
Employment Law Part 2	Oct 7	1 day	Galway	30 Aug 2019
Workplace Representative Advanced	Oct 7/8/9	3 days	Limerick	30 Aug 2019
Health & Safety	Oct 14/15/16/17/18	5 days	Dublin	30 Aug 2019
Workplace Union Representative Training	Oct 21/22/23	3 days	Dublin	30 Aug 2019
Employment Law Part 3	Nov 4	1 day	Galway	30 Aug 2019
Training & Development Part 2	Nov 4/5/6	3 days	Dublin	30 Aug 2019
Communications Part 2	Nov 6	1 day	Cork	30 Aug 2019
Presentation & Speech Design and Delivery Part 1	Nov 11	1 day	Dublin	30 Aug 2019
Presentation & Speech Design and Delivery Part 2	Nov 18	1 day	Dublin	30 Aug 2019
Communications Part 3	Dec 4	1 day	Cork	30 Aug 2019

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● Dublin courses will take place in Mandate Organising & Training Centre ● Please note venue/dates may vary ● To secure your place book early to avoid disappointment

Automation and future of work

By Lisa Wilson
Nevin Economic Research Institute

RECENT rapid advances in artificial intelligence, robotics and other forms of smart technologies have led to widespread concern about the potential impact of automation technologies for the future of work.

Some paint a doomsday scenario with the unstoppable march of the robots resulting in large numbers of our jobs being wiped out, widespread technological unemployment and ultimately an economic and social dystopia.

Others take a more optimistic position and maintain that the net effect of technological advancements will be positive. Supporters of this position point to historical periods of rapid technological advancement when the same fears about technological unemployment existed, but never materialised.

This is because while previous periods of technological advancement did cause some job losses, they have also tended to produce a job creation effect. Thus, so long as enough new jobs are created to replace the jobs lost to technology, proponents of this position are happy to take a laissez faire approach.

Impact

The NERI has recently become involved in the debate and discussions around the impact of automation technologies for the future of work with a special focus on this issue in our *Spring 2019 Quarterly Economic Observer*.

The NERI estimate that in the North alone, around 7% of jobs – some 60,000 – are at high risk of job loss from automation technologies. A further 58% are estimated as being at risk of substantial change to the tasks involved in their job over the medium term. No equivalent figures relating to the Republic are as yet available for release, but it's likely to be similar in percentage terms.

While undoubtedly these numbers imply a large number of job losses and disruption for many workers we argue that this does not mean



Illustration: RobotFX Public Domain

that workers are going to be joining the dole queue as a result.

We anticipate that there will be enough new jobs created to replace lost jobs, and consequently we argue that technological unemployment is not a key concern.

However, we argue that just because a worker who has lost their job due to automation technologies finds another job to replace the one

lost, does not mean that advances in technology are not having an impact or that the effects of technology are wholly positive. There is a need to give consideration to the fact that a worker is, nonetheless, displaced and the implications of this need to be taken seriously.

Beyond this there is also need to compare the job lost with the replacement job in terms of quality. Our reasoning here is that while losing

any job is painful for those involved, if it is replaced by new work which is equally rewarding and equally rewarded, then the pain can at least be mitigated.

Worryingly, however, although technology has been replacing jobs in traditional sectors such as manufacturing, with new jobs within the services sector, the economy has not been replacing like with like in terms of job quality.

As we point out in our *Spring 2019 Quarterly Economic Observer*, while many people are moving in to better jobs, there are also many people who are losing out and moving into poorer quality jobs. Many workers are being displaced out of relatively well-paid, secure jobs and are only able to find alternative employment in insecure, precarious, poorly paid jobs.

Undervalued

The policy response to automation should be centred on improving job quality across the labour market, but particularly in those sectors and occupations that are unlikely to be automated but have been undervalued for too long.

Jobs within the care sector provide a key example here. In particular, much of the work carried out in the care sector is provided by females and is undervalued because it is synonymised with unpaid care work usually carried out in the home.

If we have a labour market with strong collective rights and bargaining, it will become easier for workers in 'bad jobs' to fight for and achieve better conditions. If we have a fit and relevant skills infrastructure, we can begin to recognise and reward skills in order to build career progression within these sectors.

Furthermore, we argue for the introduction of a new occupational infrastructure in order to rebuild good quality jobs and make good 'bad' jobs. This will require a social dialogue between Government, employers and trade unions.

This will ensure that the gains from further advances in automation technologies are more equally shared and that large swathes of our workforce are not left behind as the price worth paying.

Lisa Wilson is an Economist at the Nevin Economic Research Institute

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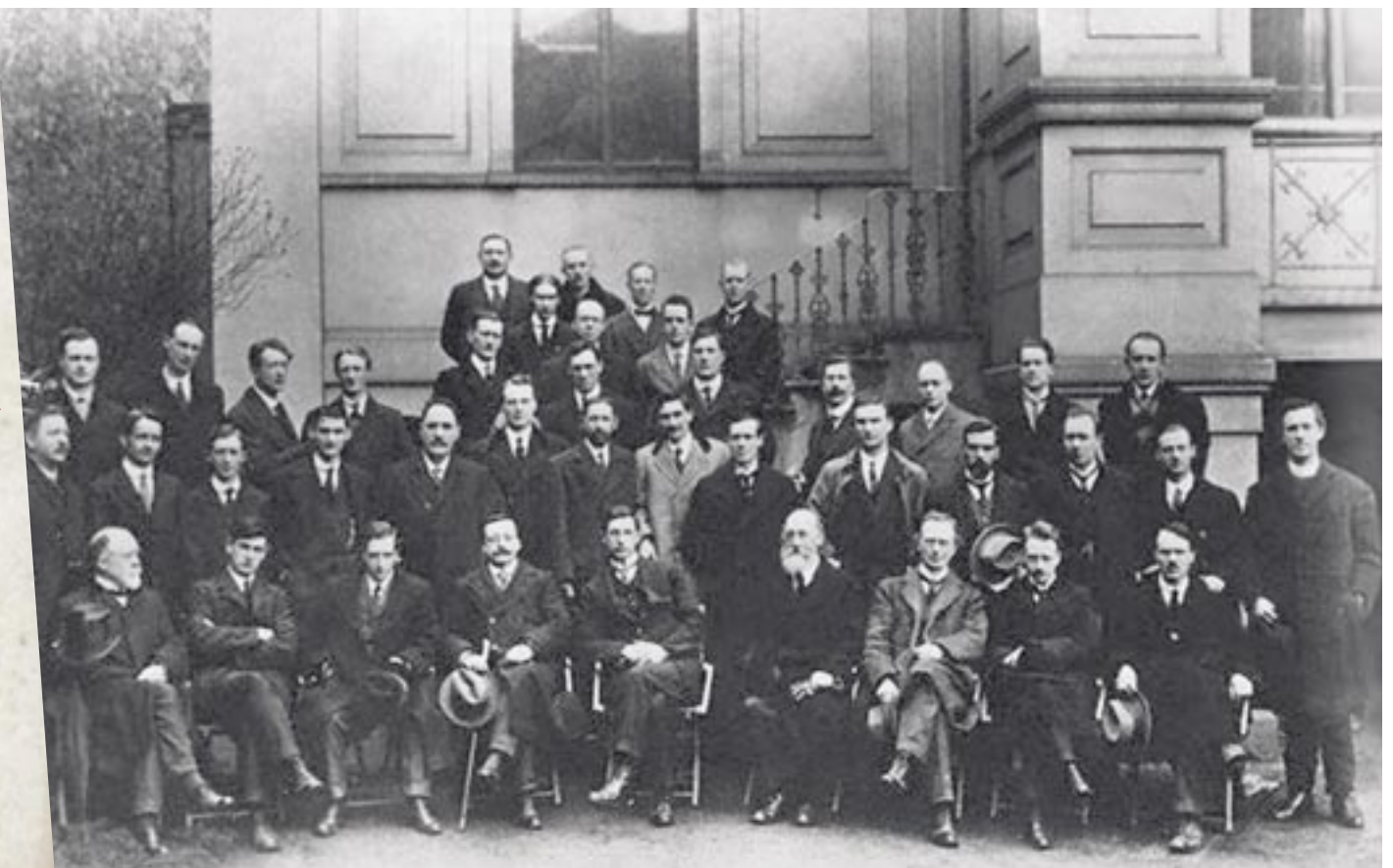


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Group shot of the members of the First Dail – after the editors went to work on progressive elements of the Democratic Programme

Pictures: Public Domain

ANALYSIS

What the blue pencil brigade did to First Dail's Democratic Programme

By Padraig Yeates
Historian and author

THERE has been a lot of discussion about why the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress (ILP&TUC) did not contest the 1918 election but the facts are that it was neither organisationally or politically developed enough to do so.

Sinn Fein did offer to give labour candidates a clear run in several constituencies on the basis that they would abstain from Westminster and join what would become the First Dail. The Labour leadership declined the offer rather than split the Congress because it was clear that Belfast Labour would be fielding their own candidates and, if they won any seats at Westminster, they were certainly going to take them.

The price of unity was to play second fiddle to nationalism in the South and Unionism in the North. On the other hand, if Labour had run candidates there is no guarantee they would have won any seats. In Belfast they secured a respectable 12,000 votes but were defeated by Ulster Unionist Labour candidates who won 20,000 votes in every constituency they contested.

Thomas Johnson, who was secretary of the ILP&TUC, drafted the original of what would become the Democratic Programme of the First Dail, assisted by William O'Brien and Cathal O'Shannon, both senior officers of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union and probably, at this time, members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

It was adopted by the First Dail when it convened on January 21, 1919, but only with drastic excisions at the insistence of yet more IRB members, including Michael Collins, Harry Boland and Sean T Ó Ceallaigh.

Although Johnson based the original text

closely on the writings of Patrick H Pearse, Pearse's ideas proved too revolutionary for Sinn Fein. The opening declaration that "no private right to property is good against the public right of the nation" was watered down to an affirmation "that all right to private property must be subordinated to the public right and welfare". Worse was to follow.

The next section declaring that "the nation in the exercise of its sovereignty may entrust its soil and its resources, its wealth and wealth producing processes to the care and charge of any of its citizens, to use and exploit for the nation's enrichment, on such terms and on such conditions as may be determined by the whole people, so the nation must ever retain the right and power to resume possession of such soil or such wealth whenever the trust is abused or the trustee fails to give faithful service," was deleted.

Anodyne text

Instead the Sinn Fein deputies adopted the following anodyne text: "We declare that we desire our country to be ruled in accordance with the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Justice for all, which alone can secure permanence of Government in the willing adherence of the people." The best known and most quoted paragraph is that accepting that it shall "be the first duty of the Government of the Republic to make provision for the physical, mental and spiritual well-being of the children, to ensure that no child shall endure hunger or cold from lack of food, clothing or shelter, that all shall be provided with ample means and facilities requisite for the education and training of free citizens of a free Gaelic nation."

However, even this was amended with the deletion of the last sentence, which was "to en-

“ The opening declaration that ‘no private right to property is good against the public right of the nation’ was watered down to an affirmation ‘that all right to private property must be subordinated to the public right and welfare’ ”

courage by every reasonable means the most capable, sympathetic men and women to devote their talents to the education of the young". One suspects that the new government did not want to divert such men and women from their patriotic duty to fight against British rule.

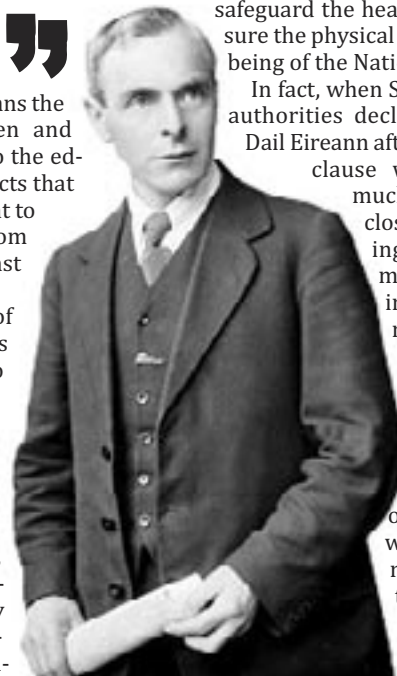
More deletions followed of which the most significant was the call on the "Government to encourage the organisation of people into trade unions and co-operative societies with a view to the control and administration of the industries by the workers engaged in the industries". Finally, it proposed that, "the Republic will aim at the elimination of the class in society which lives upon the wealth produced by the workers of the na-

tion but give no useful service in return, and in the process of accomplishment will bring freedom to all who have hitherto been caught in the toils of economic servitude."

Historians frequently ignore a major insertion into the Democratic Programme that, superficially, appears very progressive. This is a recognition of "the necessity of abolishing the present odious, degrading and foreign Poor Law System, substituting therefore a sympathetic native scheme for the care of the Nation's aged and infirm, who shall not be regarded as a burden, but rather entitled to the Nation's gratitude and consideration. Likewise, it shall be the duty of the Republic to take such measures as will safeguard the health of the people and ensure the physical as well as the moral well-being of the Nation".

In fact, when Sinn Fein dominated local authorities declared their allegiance to Dail Eireann after the 1920 elections this clause was used to dismantle much of the Poor Law system, closing down or amalgamating workhouses and infirmaries, discharging inmates, refusing new admissions, cutting staffing levels, wages, food and other expenditure. The 'work shy' were told to get the emigrant boat and 'fallen women' were handed over to religious orders. The resulting cuts were welcomed by tax and ratepayers as another victory on the road to independence.

Tom Johnson: drafted original



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