



LABOUR '81

Labour : 1981

ELECTION PROGRAMME

ELECTION PROGRAMME 1981

Contents

<u>SECTION ONE: INTRODUCTION</u>	1
National Crisis	1
The Path to the Future	1
Economic Crisis	1
Social Crisis	2
Reform Ignored	2
The North	3
Background to the Election	3
The Will to Create a New Future	4
Labour's Role in the next Dail	4
<u>SECTION TWO: GENERAL STRATEGY</u>	6
<u>SECTION THREE: THE ECONOMY</u>	8
The Crisis Outlined	8
Immediate Policy Aims	9
<u>SECTION FOUR: LABOUR'S ECONOMIC PROPOSALS</u>	11
Inflation	11
Income Determination	12
The National Plan	13
Saving the Irish Pound	15
Employment: National Development Corporation	18
Employment: Youth Employment Guarantee	20
Industrial Relations and Profit Sharing	21

Contents (2)

Banking	23
Taxation and the Management of the Economy	24
Small Business	26
Energy	27
Agriculture and Land Policy	29

SECTION FIVE: TRANSPORTATION 32

SECTION SIX: SOCIAL POLICY 35

Housing	35
Social Welfare	37
Health	39
The Disabled and Handicapped	40
Education	40

SECTION SEVEN: LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM 42

Justice	42
Poverty	43
The Family	44
Consumer Rights	45
The Environment	46
Public Service Reform	47
The Constitution	48
Children	49
Youth Issues	50
Voluntary Bodies	51
Women	51

Contents (3)

<u>SECTION EIGHT: IRELAND AND THE WORLD</u>	53
Neutrality	53
Third World	54
Defence	55
<u>SECTION NINE: THE ARTS, SPORT AND RECREATION</u>	57
The Irish Language and An Ghaeltacht	58
Bi-Lingualism	58
<u>SECTION TEN: THE NORTH</u>	60

ELECTION PROGRAMME 1981

Section One: INTRODUCTION

National Crisis

- 6 x 45
- (1) In this election the electorate is of one mind. (The country is in a state of crisis.)
 - (2) The problems that really matter multiply and intensify. (But there is no national leadership to guide us through this crisis.) There is no sense of national purpose. (Instead, the nation's mood is one of disillusionment, almost of despair.)

The Path to the Future

- 4 x 45
52
- (3) In this election the Labour Party presents its own independent policies as the only coherent answer to that crisis. (It believes that another four years of incompetence and indecision will but ruin the economy,) destroying whatever social progress has been made (and blighting the hopes of our people - above all, our young people.)
 - (4) Labour offers this Election Programme as the basis of economic reconstruction and social renewal, as the only path to the future. (Old policies, no matter how well disguised,) will not solve new problems. (We need a new way.
- 3 x 45

Economic Crisis

- 45
- (5) Are things really that bad? The honest and objective answer must be yes, and getting worse.

14
17
21
21

(6) Unemployment is at a peace-time record. Inflation is the highest in the European Community. The State's finances are in chaos and a cause for real alarm. Agriculture is in its worst depression for decades. The crucial tourist industry is in decline. The gap between our imports and exports widens with each passing month. The forced devaluation of the Irish pound is unavoidable unless present policies are changed.

Social Crisis

0

24
34
24
25
24
52 24
24
24
18
18
18

(7) Irish society too is in a deep crisis. Crime and vandalism are on the increase. Real poverty persists. But many of the social services designed to eradicate it have been cut back. The housing shortage worsens and is of crisis dimensions. Land speculators make fortunes while young couples go homeless. The inner cities decay and crumble. The suburbs are starved of amenities. Transport is a nightmare. Roads remain inadequate and unrepaired. Traffic congestion chokes our cities and towns, stifling economic and social life.

Reform Ignored

0

45
24 45
24 45
27 45
24 43

(8) Necessary reforms are ignored. The causes and consequences of poverty remain untackled. Existing programmes are either reduced or scrapped. Education continues to support privilege while being unsuited to the new needs of the economy. The legal system is archaic. The law is in urgent need of reform in many areas which affect our children and family life.

45 45(9)

But nothing happens. Except for the occasional public relations stunt.

The North

- 2 (10) And the problem of the North continues unsolved. If
2 anything, that crisis grows deeper. The path towards
2 reconciliation and peace is blocked. Violence has taken
2 on a renewed and dangerous vigour.
- 2 (11) Nowhere in our national life is the gap between rhetoric and
reality more ominous and menacing.

Background to the Election

- Y (12) This is the background to the 1981 General Election.
- X X Tragically all this is happening at a unique moment in our
history. At what should be a time of great hope and inspiration.
- 17 (13) Our population decline has at last been reversed. Emigration
17 has ended since the mid seventies. We have the fastest growing
17 population in Europe - and the youngest.
- 24 x 4 (14) Labour sees this not as a problem but as a great opportunity.
The opportunity to build a new Ireland, freer, more equitable,
more committed and a better place in which to live.
- 45 (15) But tragically at that very same moment the collapse of current
5 2 17 policies has caused a crisis in existing social values. Our
27 25 25 young feel alienated from a society which cannot give them jobs,
proper education, adequate social facilities, enough homes, and
above all, a real purpose in life.
- X (16) This is the central issue which must be addressed in this
election.

The Will to Create a New Future

- 5 x 40
C.CORR
- 45 (17) Election Programmes can be fantasies of the passing moment! Clever but cynical, creations of an advertising agency with one single aim: to put a party in power, no matter what the cost.)
- 45 (18) Or they can be serious and committed, based on long held principles and directed towards the present and immediate future.
- 45
45 (19) Such is Labour's course. Labour's socialist principles are spelled out in detail in its Party Programme adopted in 1980 which deals with the long-term problems of the eighties. This Election Programme, focussing on 1981 and the years immediately ahead, is firmly based on the principles and the long-term policies of that Party Programme.
- 45
45 (20) There are no empty promises here. There is no flight from reality.
- 4 x 45 (21) Labour accepts the fact that the nation is in crisis. Labour recognises we need policies on the issues that really matter. Labour is committed to matching policies with problems. This Election Programme sets out to do that.
- 45 (22) Only Labour has the will to do it.

Labour's Role in the Next Dail

- 45
24
24
24
24 (23) The problems of today and the immediate future must be matched by realistic policies. But those policies must contain more than realism; they must also have a moral purpose. That purpose must be to rid this country of poverty and unemployment, to end injustice and discrimination and to instil a new meaning into the national life so that individualism and materialism are replaced by humanity and common concern.

- 24
24
45 (24) As the only major political party with a coherent philosophy based on the inherent dignity of every individual, Labour has a key role to play in formulating the policies of the next Dail. The aim of the Labour Party is to ensure that it exerts a decisive influence on all legislation.
- 45
24 (25) The aim is to match problems and realistic policies; but to do so with clear, consistent moral goals constantly in view.
- 45 (26) That is the socialist way and this is the Socialist Alternative.

Section Two : GENERAL STRATEGY

- 45 (27) There are so many social and economic problems to be solved in the next few years that there must be great clarity as to the objectives, priorities and solutions. All the problems cannot be solved at once. While many desirable improvements could be introduced without any increased cost to the tax payer there are others which depend entirely on our economic circumstances.
- 45 15 (28) In reality, Labour begins by recognising that a serious and protracted economic crisis exists. The Party goes further. Unless strong action is taken immediately the economy will slide into total chaos, sooner rather than later.
- 24 (29) Those whom Labour seeks to represent will suffer most in that situation. Unemployment, inflation, reductions in essential services, cut backs in social welfare; all these are in prospect for even greater numbers unless the present crisis is dealt with. That is why Labour has the will to act, and to act decisively.
- 15 (30) Labour's strategy is based on this central principle. Action must begin with the economy. Any plan for recovery must start here.
- 15 (31) Accordingly, this Election Programme commences with a series of proposals on the economy. They are designed to regenerate an economy in serious and deepening decline. They are also designed to commence the necessary process of its restructuring along socialist lines.
- 17
24
65 (32) The proposals are based on an unflinching acceptance of facts. They are not founded on wishful beliefs in favourable external factors solving our current problems without any effort on our part - or on the gambler's desperate hope that oil will suddenly pay for everything. Neither are they predicated on dishonest allegations that buoyancy in the economy will provide money which is presently non-existent.
- 45
45
84

4
24
(33) Above all, these proposals are based on the moral responsibility of this society to provide an acceptable minimum standard of living for all and to provide employment for every person eligible to work.

52
(34) In particular, the responsibility to provide work for all our young people dominates this Programme.

Section Three : THE ECONOMY

The Crisis Outlined

15 (35) The economy is in crisis. The extent of that crisis is
15 visible everywhere.

17 (36) Unemployment has climbed to 126,000, according to official
17 statistics. The real level is in excess of 150,000. The
17 numbers out of work are rising remorselessly and the official
statistics will reach 140,000 by the end of the year.

5x52 17 (37) Unemployment among young people has reached catastrophic
17 proportions. Thirty three thousand young people under twenty-
17 five years are officially counted as unemployed, although the
17 true figure is in excess of 40,000. A further 60,000 young men
17 and women will leave full-time education in the coming summer
months. Their prospects of finding jobs are bleak.

19 (38) Irish inflation is the highest in the European Community and
19 is forecasted to remain so. Prices rose by 21% in the year to
19 mid-February last. For 1981, it is forecast that inflation
19 will be at least 18%. The result will be further inevitable
19 cuts in living standards, a further loss of competitiveness
19 and, therefore, more redundancies.

21 (39) Our balance of payments deficit has reached frightening prop-
21 21) ortions. It will amount to over £1,300 million or 13% of our
21 Gross Domestic Product, ten times the EEC average. It is by
21 far the largest in the European Community. If nothing is done
21 to correct this deficit, then devaluation of the currency within
21 the EMS is inevitable. And this will only lead to more inflation.
21 In the meantime, our external reserves have fallen to the equiv-
21 alent of two months' imports only, compared with cover for four
21 months in 1977.

- 27 (40) To add to the crisis, public borrowing is rising inexorably.
2 Servicing the public debt this year is estimated to cost
21 £984 million, equivalent to four-fifths of all income tax
21 collected. About half of all public borrowing in recent
21 years has been squandered on current expenditure and will show
21 no lasting benefit for those who will have to repay it in
21 the future. In addition, foreign borrowing is dangerously
21 high and is set to exceed £1,000 million in 1981 alone.
- 21 (41) The current budget deficit is out of control. It is likely
21 to exceed £800 million this year, compared with the £515 million
21 forecasted in the last Fianna Fail budget.

Immediate Policy Aims

- (42) The immediate policy aims are clear if catastrophe is to be avoided:
- 17 - Jobs must be protected and created - in that order
 - 21 - Inflation must be reduced, at least to the European average.
 - 17 - Investment for new job creation must be both maintained and increased.
 - 21 - The current budget deficit must be phased out on a planned basis and borrowing concentrated on investment.
 - 21 - The Balance of Payments deficit must be cut sharply and a devaluation within the EMS avoided.
 - 25 - Essential public services must be protected.
 - 47 - Agricultural output must be restored.
 - 25 - Social Welfare recipients and pensioners must be guaranteed real increases in incomes.
 - 17 - A policy of deflation must be resisted as it will simply lead to more unemployment.

17 (43) But above all, Labour's central priority is more jobs.
17
17
17 Employment must be protected and created. All economic policy
must be sub-ordinated to this aim. Restraint in private
consumption and a coherent approach to the rise of all money
incomes is therefore essential.

Section Four : LABOUR'S ECONOMIC PROPOSALS

Inflation

- 17 (44) The key question is how to protect and create jobs. The
19 answer must be to conquer inflation.
- 19 (45) Most assuredly, a major contribution can be made by incomes
19 moderation. But that in itself will not be forthcoming unless
19 there is a decisive and dramatic initiative in bringing down
prices.
- 17 (46) The actual and expected level of inflation is of crucial
19 importance to incomes determination. It has a vital bearing
19 on the competitiveness of the economy in general, on the
19 47 structure of the budget, and on farm incomes.
19 For these weighty reasons, Labour proposes the following course
of action on prices to the extent that the operation of an open
economy will allow.
- 17 (47) Labour proposes to lower the rate of inflation by 4% through
19 continuous subsidies on food items such as bread, flour,
19 milk, butter, margarine and sugar; and on public transport,
electricity, gas and household coal.
- 19 (48) These subsidies will be maintained for the period of the
three year plan outlined in paragraphs (57) to (64).

- (49) These subsidies will only be introduced provided that the
19 pay norms which emerge from the planning process, which
19 are spelled out in paragraphs (53) to (56), are consistent
with Labour's priorities for job protection and creation.
- (50) These subsidies will only be maintained for such period as
19 the pay norms are held.
- (51) This programme will have an immediate favourable and beneficial
19 effect on the economy, on the expectation of consumers and on
the breaking of the inflationary psychology. It will facilitate
21 a fall in interest rates, and, therefore, in the level of
Government debt service, create savings in public service pay
21 and on Government purchases, modestly contribute to overall
17 growth and tax buoyancy through increased employment, and save
19 on transfers for social welfare and other inflation linked
expenditure.
- (52) To the extent that the programme is not self-financing,
24 revenue will be raised by adjustments in the higher rates of
income tax and by increased capital taxation referred to
later. Recouping the benefit of the subsidies from the higher
24 income groups will meet most of the traditional arguments
employed against subsidies.

Labour's Economic Proposals: Income Determination

- (53) The introduction of price subsidies to reduce inflation will be
19 inseparably linked to a new approach to incomes determination
19 throughout the economy.

19 (54) The determination of money incomes is of critical importance to the competitiveness of the economy, to job creation and to the structure of the public finances. For these reasons, incomes, jobs, taxation, prices, public and private investment, and social policy on health, education, social welfare and other areas, must be evaluated together in the context of the budgetary and balance of payments situations. Free central wage-bargaining must be the foundation of this process.

19 (55) The critical part of this process will be the central pay norms established between the trade unions, employers, and the Government as employer. But the norms must be established having regard to the protection of existing employment, the cost of creating new employment, the state of the Exchequer finances and the size of the Balance of Payments deficit. They must also be established against the background of Labour's policy of holding back price rises, of thereby increasing the social wage and, not least, of its moral commitment to maintain the living standards of those on social welfare.

17 (56) Pay policy must be geared to salvaging the economy. But it must be a policy freely accepted by the unions in particular and with a clear understanding on everybody's part that it is the key to beating both unemployment and inflation - and of restoring rising living standards when the crisis has been successfully overcome. But there can be no doubt as to the necessity for sacrifice all round if these national objectives are to be met. These are the issues that really matter; Labour here offers a strategy to deal with them.

The National Plan

12 (57) It has for long been Labour's socialist policy that the economy must be planned. It is evident that the economic strategy outlined here is the first real attempt to plan the Irish economy. But this planning process must be based on new institutions invested with all the authority of the State and community-wide support.

42 (58) In order to achieve the coherent planning of the economy while
40 avoiding the social disruption which results from a lack of real
involvement in decision taking, Labour will take the following steps.

43 12 (59) Firstly, the establishment of a National Planning Board to be pre-
sided over by the Taoiseach of the day and involving all the senior
63 40 economic ministers, together with representatives of the Trade
Unions, Employer Organisations, Farming Organisations, as well as
other social and public agencies.

2 (60) Secondly, the introduction of a three year National Economic and
Social Plan to cover incomes, prices, employment, taxation, social
expenditure, budgetary policy and economic growth. The
12 Budget will become the mechanism for implementing the Plan on an
12 annual rolling basis. Thus its broad outline will be the subject
of discussion by the National Planning Board before it is enacted.

43 12 (61) A Department of Economic and Social Planning will be established
43 12 to oversee the planning process and to ensure its implementation.

12 (62) Thirdly, all estimates of public expenditure, both current and
capital, and of revenues and resources will be made available to
the National Planning Board covering both the period of the plan
and, in more detail, for each year in advance.

43 12 (63) Lastly, the setting up of a new Dail Committee on Public Finances
43 12 to monitor and evaluate all estimates of income and expenditure.
The absence of such a mechanism at present is a serious deficiency
in the management of the economy.

46 (64) If it does not prove possible, in any single year, to reach agree-
46 ment on central pay norms on this basis, pay will be determined in
the private sector by normal free collective bargaining. In the
12 public sector, pay will be determined later by bargaining in the
12 context of Labour's priorities for job creation, investment, social
policy and management of the economy. The planning process will
continue, in these eventualities, and decisions will be taken in the
light of the outcome of overall pay negotiations. Planning will
remain, of course, the final responsibility of Government.

Saving the Irish Pound

- 19 (65) The introduction of food subsidies, the determination of
17 incomes on the basis of protecting and creating jobs and the
12 new planning process are all preconditions to winding down
19 the rate of inflation.
- 21 (66) They are also essential preconditions for putting the public
finances in order.
- 17 (67) These in turn are the necessary preconditions for future growth
17 and development. In other words, of more jobs and rising living
24 standards.
- (68) But even at that, before Labour unfolds its employment programme,
21 equally decisive action is required in dealing with the Balance
of Payments deficit. Unless this is corrected, swiftly and sub-
21 stantially, it could undermine the strategy already outlined as
17 well as the policies on employment which will follow.
- (69) The paradox is that a general improvement in our economic per-
17, 21 formance would automatically lead to a corresponding, and very
heavy increase in our import bill. This would hasten a devalua-
21 tion, in turn causing increased inflation and probably unemploy-
17 ment. This prospect must be prevented by the following exceptional
measures.
- (70) The Protocol to the Treaty of Accession to the European
13 Community, negotiated in 1972, should be invoked for the very
first time. It should not be left dormant.

- 13 (71) The Protocol was negotiated in response to Labour Party criticisms that the economy could not withstand full free trade in the short run. It provides for possible exceptional measures by this country to protect its vital economic interests in the event of a serious economic crisis.
- 13 (72) The whole point is that there is now a serious economic crisis.
- 13 (73) Labour, therefore, proposes a temporary import surcharge of 10% on selected consumer goods from other countries of the Community. The import value of these goods in 1980 was just £1,100m.
- 13 (74) Such a surcharge would apply to about half of these imports and would last for one year only at the full rate. It would be phased out over the subsequent years of this plan. Goods manufactured in Northern Ireland would be excluded from the provisions of the surcharge.
- 21 (75) The objects will be:
- 19 (a) To ease pressure on the balance of payments;
- 17 (b) To generate a switch in demand in sensitive industries, such as parts of food processing, clothing, footwear, furniture, other household goods, in order to protect jobs while domestic costs were being brought under control;
- 21 (c) To prevent a devaluation of the Irish Pound inside EMS;
- 13 (d) To support the "Guaranteed Irish" Campaign;
- 19 (e) To provide a source of revenue to the Exchequer in the short-term.

19 (76) The surcharge will have a temporary adverse effect on
19 consumer prices. That is unavoidable and must be faced.
19 However, this will be far more than counter-balanced by
21 the subsidies on basic items as stated earlier. The
19 alternative to measures such as this will be forced devaluation
of the Irish Pound which would lead to a far greater
increase in prices.

19 (77) Basic foodstuffs will not be subject to the surcharge.
19 Domestic price control will be strengthened on key items
19 covered by the surcharge produced in Ireland. Compensation
for the price index effects of the surcharge will not be
considered as relevant to the income determination process.
19,52 The main reason is that the revenue from the tariff will go
24 to the funding of youth employment schemes. This will be a
contribution by all to meeting a primary social obligation.

(78) These derogations will of necessity have to be agreed by the
21 European Community. But, given that the aims of the three
21 year plan are to cut inflation, current borrowing and the
21 payments deficit, the Community will look more favourably on
this course of action than might otherwise be the case.

(79) These proposals do not mean that Labour is advocating an
14 abandonment of free trade and the spirit or letter of our
obligations under the European Treaties. The protocol
14 negotiated for Ireland, is an integral part of the
Treaty and was won through pressure from Labour precisely
to cover the type of critical situation which now prevails
13 in the economy. It is the duty of Government to make use
of exceptional clauses at exceptional times, and it is in the
13,12 ultimate interest of both Ireland and the Community that the
Irish economic crisis is rectified in a planned, coherent
and practical fashion.

- 21 (80) In summary, the Balance of Payments deficit is a serious constraint on all measures designed to solve the crisis. If it is not reduced - and reduced dramatically - further devaluation will be imposed upon us, leading to inflation and more unemployment.
- 17 21 17 (81) At the same time, with unemployment surging upwards, Labour cannot countenance a deflationary policy as the remedy to the Balance of Payments crisis. The unemployed cannot be made the victims of previous irresponsibility or a general refusal by all to face the facts of the present crisis.
- 13 21 (82) For these two reasons Labour will ask the European Community to permit the use of the protocol in imposing a tariff as suggested. But, in addition, Labour will also seek substantial stand-by credit from other member states so as to sustain the value of the Irish pound during the adjustment period.
- 13 21 (83) The proceeds of the tariffs will be devoted in their entirety to the protection and creation of employment.

Employment : NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

- 20 (84) The Labour Party has consistently argued that the private enterprise sector alone cannot create adequate employment to meet the needs of an expanding population even in the most favourable economic climate. Experience alone has shown this. In these circumstances the state has a clear responsibility to engage directly in employment creation in the commercial sector to a considerably greater degree than at present.
- 20

47 20 (85) It is, therefore, proposed to create a National Development Corporation with the task of creating wealth and employment in potential growth sectors of the economy, either on its own or in joint ventures with other enterprises. The National Development Corporation will have equity capital of £300 million to be taken up over a period of years. Its upper borrowing limit will be £1,000 million.

20
45 (86) These proposals were activated prior to the 1977 General Election and had been worked at in considerable detail. The principle has been Labour Party policy for many years.

20 (87) As a general rule the Corporation will invest in new projects and it will have power to invest in any organisation, public, co-operative or private. It will also have the power to organise and develop new projects in its own right or through subsidiaries.

20 (88) It must be emphasised that the Corporation will not be a grant giving body. That is the role of the IDA, which will remain unchanged.

17 (89) But it is incontestable that, against a drop of 10,000 in industrial employment over the last twelve months, a major innovation of this type is urgently needed. Recent IDA criticism of lost opportunities, indicates that even in the middle of a depression a proper entrepreneurial approach by existing private enterprise could have created tens of thousands of additional jobs. The Corporation will fill this gap in national enterprise.

Employment: Youth Employment Guarantee

- 17 (90) Labour realises that economic growth needed to substantially reduce unemployment will not occur overnight.
- 17 Interim and immediate measures are required to reduce the number out of work. On the basis of current trends,
- 17 unemployment could approach 200,000 within a relatively short period unless emergency measures are adopted. The
- 52 17 problem is particularly acute among the younger age group.
- 35 (91) The Labour Party believes that the whole community is
52 prepared to make sacrifices for those, especially the young,
17 who cannot find jobs, provided the sacrifices made are seen to lead directly to job creation and are not squandered for other purposes.
- 45 52 (92) Labour believes that the question of youth unemployment
17 particularly requires decisive and direct action. Our uniquely high population growth demands special measures.
- 17 52 These must revolve around an employment guarantee to our young.
- (93) Labour will pledge to every person entering the Labour market that after three months if they have not found employment they will be guaranteed any one or a combination of the following for a period of three years:
- 17
- 6x52 17 (a) Training in AnCo;
- 17 (b) Participation in a Work Experience Programme;
- 17 (c) Employment in Environmental Improvement Schemes;
- 17 (d) Employment in Community and Youth Work;
- 17 (e) Employment by voluntary social and community organisations.

17 52 (94) The guarantee will also apply to any person under 25 years who has been continuously unemployed for more than twelve months.

18, 52 (95) In all cases, training will be an integral part of the guarantee, with particular emphasis on the development of manual, managerial and entrepreneurial skills.

10, 52 (96) In addition, Labour will introduce, as part of this guarantee scheme a system of grants to meet capital and labour costs for young people establishing co-operative enterprises on their own initiative.

52
13
21
24
21
17
52 (97) The cost of the Youth Employment Guarantee Scheme will be funded partly out of the tariff receipts (which will be devoted entirely to this project), partly by EEC grants from the Social Fund and partly from savings on welfare payments. The balance will be met by a special levy on all incomes, excluding social welfare recipients, farmers under £40 PLV and others on low incomes. The Youth Employment Levy will not exceed 1% of incomes and all of the revenue from it will be devoted to this purpose. Unemployment is always an obscenity, but it is even more grievously so amongst those seeking a start in life.

12 (98) The guarantee scheme will be a component part of the three year plan.

Industrial Relations and Profit Sharing

35, 12 (99) Major changes in psychological attitudes towards inflation, incomes moderation, innovation and growth, are essential to the success of the national plan.

47 12 (100) A fundamental reorganisation of company structures is demanded
 40 46 as an essential precondition of these changes. In the public
 40 46 sector this will include the extension of the worker director
 40 10 principle. It must also involve the implementation of the self
 management principle, particularly in the area of public adminis-
 tration where so much initiative and ability is currently frustrated
 by outmoded bureaucratic structures.

40 46 (101) In the private sector it must consist of giving employees a
 40 46 meaningful stake in the enterprise for which they work. Labour
 40 46 will, therefore, extend to them the right to share in profits.
 Consultation will take place with the trade unions and employer
 organisations on the most appropriate schemes.

40 46 (102) Linked to the concept of profit sharing, Labour will introduce
 40 46 legislation to give employees the right to information on the
 40 46 financial state of their firms. Too often in the past employees
 have been shown the books as a prelude to being shown the door when
 it is too late to avoid a closure or redundancy.

40 46 (103) It is unfair and intolerable that workers should be unaware of
 40 46 the fortunes of the enterprise in which they work. Workers have
 a moral right to this information in good times and bad.

40 46 (104) In addition, Labour will extend the concept of worker participation
 43 40 46 into the private sector by providing a legislative framework for the
 40 46 establishment, throughout industry and commerce, of representative
 Works Councils. This is an essential prelude to the extension of
 the concept of Worker Directors into the private sector which
 Labour proposes.

- 35 (105) These major innovations will do much to contribute to a spirit of consensus rather than of confrontation which currently dominates the industrial relations scene. They would also reflect the value of each individual worker and the contribution they make collectively to the common good.
- 46 29

Banking

- 12 (106) It is clearly essential that the investment and credit policies of the banking system should conform to the objectives of the National Plan. New measures are needed to ensure that they do.
- 12
- 12 (107) The role of the Central Bank will be strengthened so that it can exercise greater control over credit policy within the context of the National Plan. To avoid conflict of interest within the banking system, representatives of the private banking sector will not be eligible to be members of the Board of the Central Bank.
- 43 12
- 43 (108) A review of the functions of existing state controlled financial institutions - notably the Agricultural Credit Corporation, the Industrial Credit Corporation and the Post Office Savings Banks - will be carried out with a view to developing their role in and share of the banking system.
- 12
- 20 (109) As an immediate measure of securing greater public control, Labour proposes that the Government should acquire a share-holding in the banks with provision for its enlargement. This method for expanding public control is favoured because of the banks' long tradition of association with British banks. The process of disengagement to greater public control must be carried through without any loss of public confidence. The steps to be taken must be seen as responsible ones in the light of economic policy and the implementation of the principle of community control over capital resources.
- 20
- 20
- 20
- 20

Taxation and the Management of the Economy

- 24 (110) The Labour Party is committed to the introduction of an equitable and redistributive taxation system.
- 24 (111) Taxation policy, in addition, must be related to policies on jobs, prices, investment and the social services.
- 25 (112) Labour is opposed to any changes in the taxation code which would have the end effect of cutting essential public and social services. These must be preserved and, where possible, enhanced. Given the present crisis in the public finances and an expanding young population, there is limited potential in the short-term for any significant relief in the combined burden of direct and indirect taxes.
- 17 24 (113) The Labour Party's proposals on growth and job creation will lead to increased tax buoyancy and revenue over the period of the National Plan. In the short-term, however, any scope for income tax relief will be directed mainly to those in the bottom one-third of taxable incomes, to ensuring that employees on low incomes are protected against any increase in the real burden of taxation and to protecting those who should not pay tax from entering the taxation net while their real income remains unchanged.
- 24 (114) Labour accepts the principles outlined in the White Paper "Capital Taxation" published by the Government in 1974.
- 24 (115) The partial implementation of these proposals in 1975 has been overturned by Fianna Fail, principally by the abolition of wealth tax and the dilution of capital gains tax.
- 24 (116) Labour will widen the base for capital taxation. Since the early seventies, the erosion in the yield from capital taxes has been startling. Inflation has increased two-fold and the yield from income tax almost six-fold. The yield from capital taxes has only increased by 30%. This is not equity.

24 (117) Labour will introduce, therefore, a comprehensive and properly structured system of capital taxation, including a wealth tax, capital gains tax and capital acquisitions tax. The objective will be to ensure equity by an adequate yield from capital taxation, rising to at least £100 million in three years over the 1981 base. The mechanics of a comprehensive capital taxation system will, in addition, serve to limit the evasion of income tax. Special arrangements will apply in levying an annual wealth tax on productive assets.

(118) In addition, Labour will initiate the following taxation reforms:

- 24 (a) Loan interest on loans for a second private residence will not be deductible for tax purposes;
- 24 (b) The basic rate of Corporation Tax on financial institutions will be raised to 65%. In the short-term a special surcharge will be levied on bank profits as a component of financing for the Youth Employment Guarantee Scheme.
- 24 (c) Labour will introduce differential rates of PRSI for employers with the object of improving competitiveness in exposed sections of the economy. The rate for manufacturing, 10 tourism and other activities subject to severe international competition will be lowered. The rate on activities in the 13 sheltered sections of the economy will be raised. The new rates will be evaluated in Labour's national planning framework and the scheme will be self-financing. 12 21

Small Businesses

9 (119) Even in today's economy, small firms have a crucial part to play.

(120) Despite the growth of large-scale industrial companies, and
9 the threat of the multinationals, small firms are crucial for
9 the future development of our economy. Small firms account
for ninety percent of manufacturing establishments and employ
about one-third of all those in the manufacturing sector.
9 National policy must have due regard to their importance.

48 9 (121) Labour will appoint a Minister of State for the Small
Business and self-employed sector, within the Department
9 of Industry, Commerce and Tourism. The sector requires
expansion, promotion and representation at this level
9 and Government must provide for the sector's proper involvement
12 in the planning system.

(122) 9 Small scale enterprises must have the opportunity to expand
without constraints which arise specifically from their
9 size. Schemes designed to help small firms to cope with
9 necessary national legislation (for example, labour and social
legislation) which may have a particular impact on them will be
introduced in such a way as to protect all legitimate rights.

(123) 9 Small firms often claim to suffer special disadvantages from
9 the workings of the tax system and from the banking and credit
9 system. Assistance will be provided to small businesses to
9 ensure that they can deal efficiently with the demands of the
tax system. The banking system, under public control, will
provide schemes of appropriate financial support, eg., for
stock-funding.

25⁹
9 25 (124) Labour believes that the self-employed and the small
businessman must be afforded the full cover of the social
welfare system. A scheme for the social insurance of the
self-employed will be introduced to provide adequate cover
in the case of all relevant contingencies.

9 •
9 (125) Labour will further strengthen the present Small Industries
programme of the IDA to create, in conjunction with the
National Development Corporation a Small Business Section with
general responsibility for the development of the entire
small business sector and for co-ordination of programmes,
aids, advice, etc.

Energy

18 (126) Tackling the energy crisis is basic to economic recovery.

18 (127) The economic problems of the past decade have been caused to
a major extent by the growing world energy crisis. For the
eighties there must be a coherent national energy policy,
to ensure our economic survival. Such a policy must be based
upon a massive and determined effort to lessen our dependence
on imported oil as an energy source. Nuclear power does not meet the
requirements of a balanced energy policy.

12, 18 (128) Energy management must be based upon coherent long range plans
and rational structures for their implementation. All aspects
of the national energy-providing industry must be brought under
the direct control of the Minister for Energy and operated within
the ambit of the National Plan.

12, 18 (129) The Irish National Petroleum Corporation and An Bord Gais will have responsibility for the implementation of national oil and gas development. This will encompass control of exploration; contracting with developers and the provision of appropriate state-controlled refinery and distribution capacity.

18 (130) The prospects for commercial oil and natural gas finds appear good. This represents a challenge as well as an opportunity. Labour will devise a comprehensive long-term plan for the utilisation of the resources arising from these national assets. The benefit derived from them will be used in capital investment.

22 (131) Labour believes that nuclear power is not an acceptable element in the national energy programme. The environmental hazards, the unacceptable risks of waste disposal and the overall economic uncertainties add up to a powerful case against this option.

(132) Special emphasis must be placed upon

- 18 - Energy conservation in the home, in industry and in public places.
- 18 - Energy research in every area of potential.
- 18 - Alternative energy development.
- 12, 18 - Planned development of all available native energy sources.
- 7, 18 - International co-operation, within the EEC and with other countries, in pursuit of energy development.

Agriculture and Land Policy

- 4 x 47 (133) Agriculture has experienced a severe crisis. Real incomes on farms have declined to 1972 levels. Output is stagnant, while employment in food processing has fallen.
- 12, 47 (134) There is no plan for agriculture. Since EEC entry, agricultural policy has focussed almost exclusively on annual price negotiations in Brussels. These are vitally important, but they must be accompanied by domestic measures to boost production and growth. Brussels cannot ensure that Irish agriculture and related industries achieve their full potential. We must do that here at home..
- 47
47
47
47
- 40 12 47 (135) The Labour Party has provided for representation of farmers' organisations on the National Planning Board. This will be of crucial significance to the future of agricultural planning.
- 2 47
- 19 47 (136) The Labour Party's proposals to cut domestic inflation will mean that farm incomes will rise. The fact that Irish inflation has consistently outstripped EEC price rises is the primary cause of the present crisis in agriculture.
- 19 47
- 47 (137) The Labour Party favours the retention of the recently announced subsidies on calves and fertiliser and aids for first time silage makers. These are necessary given the absolute need to expand farm output again in the shortest possible time.
- 47
- 47 43 (138) Labour will seek to secure adjustments in the Common Agricultural Policy to achieve enhanced incomes through greater productivity and better structural policies.
- 47 43
- 19 (139) In relation to Land Policy, the central objective must be to increase mobility in land ownership and, in particular, to increase the supply of land available to smaller, potentially development farmers. The other side of the coin is that policy must seek to prevent the continuing accumulation of land by non-farmers and by those larger farmers whose need for it is no longer great.
- 24
24
24

19
19
19 47
19 47
43

(140) Given the substantial gap between the supply of land which becomes available on the market and the demand for it at reasonable prices, it is clearly necessary to control access to the agricultural land market. Accordingly, the Labour Party proposes that access to land be limited to full-time farmers or to individuals who, within three years of purchase, intend to become full-time farmers. Access to the land market should also be limited to those who have demonstrated that they are competent to farm efficiently and to meet minimum training and vocational requirements.

20
20
20
9, 47
20

(141) The Land Commission must retain its land acquisition and distribution functions. In addition to the retention of the Commission's land purchase role and the allocation to it of an adequate budget for this purpose, as far as possible the land purchased should be retained by the Commission and used as a land bank for long-lease arrangements. While we do not rule out the value of transferring title to individual smallholders, as far as possible, the Commission should take on the role of arranging and overseeing long term leases from older, heirless farmers who are not themselves working the land to younger more commercially orientated farmers.

24
24
24
24

(142) Improved policies to secure earlier transfers of land from father to son or within the wider local kinship group are required. The fact that 80% of all annual farm transfers occur through inheritance arrangements points to the merit of focussing special attention on ways in which such transfers can be speeded up. Policy in this area should emphasise the positive rewards of retirement and land transfers and, of course, the security, welfare and protection of the older retirees should at all times be guaranteed.

- 43 24 (143) The Labour Party envisages the appointment of Special Socio-Economic advisers to facilitate the transfer of land from father to son, within the wider kinship or through the Land Commission. In addition, these advisers could facilitate and encourage long-leasing arrangements by older, heirless farmers to younger developmental farmers.
- 24
- 19 (144) The Labour Party favours the integration of land transfer policies with income maintenance and development aid programmes. These should be devised and implemented by a single state agency in a co-ordinated, coherent way. In other words land transfer policy, Small Holders Assistance, rates remissions, Disadvantaged Area Schemes, welfare programmes and all other developmental aid schemes should form a range of policy instruments available to a new Rural Development Agency to promote effective development programmes. Only by integrating the full range of policy options under a single co-ordinating agency can effective rural development occur in those areas which most need it.
- 19
- 12 (145) The development of the food industry would be linked to these structures as part of the national planning process.

Section Five : TRANSPORTATION

18 (146) Poor roads, appalling traffic congestion and the absence of modern transport systems are now a national scandal. The development of an efficient transport system is one of the biggest challenges facing this country, not least because of its importance in ensuring economic growth.

18
18 17

45 (147) Labour's central policy is unambiguous. The future lies in the expansion and modernisation of public transport.

20 (148) All attempts to dismember the present public transport system and to sell off its profitable operations will be opposed.

47 (149) The existing structure of a single company responsible for the total public transport needs of the country has long outlived its usefulness. A completely new and dynamic approach is urgently required, particularly if solutions are to be produced in the short run.

40 18

63 (150) Labour thus proposes that Coras Iompair Eireann should become a holding company.

8 x 43
8 x 18

(151) Separate companies, under the co-ordinating umbrella of the new CIE will be established for the following operations:

- Dublin Bus and Suburban Rail
- Cork Bus and Suburban Rail
- Limerick Bus
- Waterford Bus
- Galway Bus
- Long Distance Rail and Bus
- Road Freight

- 43 (152) Such a restructuring would increase operational efficiency.
12 It would also enable society as a whole to identify accurately those sectors of the system which need to be subsidised. It
12 would facilitate public debate on where the subsidies should go and to what extent.
- (153) It must be emphasised that, while each of the new companies would
12 have operational freedom and would be financially accountable for their own performance, there would still be a requirement to co-
12 ordinate their activities as coherently as possible. This would be the role of CIE as a holding company.
- 18 (154) The traffic problem is particularly acute in the suburban areas.
18 Labour's policy here will be to shift passenger movement from the private to the public sector. Ultimately, this is the most
18 43 efficient method of mass transit particularly from the point of view of fuel economy.
- (155) Labour will therefore instruct the new Dublin Transport Company
18 to proceed immediately with the building of the rapid rail transit system, which was first proposed in the mid seventies.
- 18 (156) The cost in 1980 prices would be in the region of £250 million, exclusive of the current commitment to electrify the Howth to Bray line.
- 18 (157) The rapid rail transit system would consist of a modern high performance electric rail system using underground construction in the centre city area.
- 18 (158) The suburbs and new towns included in the system would be Bray, Dun Laoghaire, Dundrum, Ballyfermot, Blanchardstown, Cabra, Finglas, Ballymun, Killester, Raheny, Kilbarrack and Howth. This proposal
18 includes the re-use of the Harcourt Street line at least as far as Dundrum.

- 18
45 (159) A flat fare system will be considered for all city bus and suburban rail. This pricing method has already proven its efficiency in other European countries.
- 18
18
18 43 (160) The long distance system has been disastrously starved of capital investment. Its rolling stock is completely inadequate and out of date. The encouragement of any switch from private to public transport for provincial travel depends on frequent, efficient and dependable systems. These will be provided. In particular, a renewed emphasis will be given to maintaining the existing rail system and to re-opening, where appropriate, those parts which are currently closed.
- 18
18
18 (161) The national road network has been seriously under-capitalised over the last four years. Even repairs have been below the level necessary to maintain the system. With a rapidly growing population there is an inescapable obligation to develop an efficient road network. This Labour will do.
- 18
18 (162) Inner city and town traffic congestion must be tackled urgently. As part of an overall commitment in this regard, Labour will, for example, give the go-ahead for the building of a cross-river tunnel in Cork City where such improvements are of critical urgency.

Section Six : SOCIAL POLICY

- 24 (163) Programmes to generate economic recovery must be accompanied by policies to create social justice. The achievement of social justice, which is the concrete expression of the democratic principle of equality, is fundamental to the Labour Party's philosophy and policies.
- 17 24 (164) The earlier part of this Election Programme was concerned with policies to generate economic recovery and, in particular, to tackle unemployment and inflation. This section is concerned with the social policy measures which must accompany the return of economic growth and development.
- 24 (165) The Labour Party has set down its long term social policy objectives in its 1980 Party Programme. It will not be possible to accomplish all of the measures set down in that document in the period immediately ahead. Progress must, however, be made despite the economic circumstances with which the nation is faced.

Housing

- 25 52 12 (166) The Labour Party will increase the supply of local authority dwellings to meet the demands of an expanding young population, many of whom will not be in a position to purchase their own homes. The necessary finance will be made available in the context of the national plan.
- 19 11 11 11 (167) Land prices are a crucial element in the cost of both public and private sector dwellings. The Labour Party will eliminate the surplus profits which accrue from the sale of land for building development. Legislation will be introduced to ensure that all land designated for development in local authority plans is sold at its value in existing use, together with a reasonable percentage of that value to compensate owners for disturbance and displacement.

11, 10 (168) The effect of this measure to control building land prices will be to reduce house prices by around £3,000 in present money terms, in the case of the average house.

10 (169) Labour will introduce a real value mortgage scheme to assist first time house purchasers with low incomes. The effect of this scheme will be to dramatically reduce the percentage of incomes devoted to repayments during the early years of the mortgage, by maintaining repayments at a fixed percentage of income throughout the period of the loan. The real value mortgage will supplement existing mortgage schemes. To ensure the financing of this scheme action will be taken to reduce the liquidity ratios of building societies.

10 (170) Labour will, in addition, encourage savings for first time house purchase. Savings used by depositors for the purchase of their first new house will be matched pound for pound by a tax-free First House Bonus to a maximum of £3,500, where the depositor has the savings on deposit for not less than twelve months. The bonus will be payable only on new houses costing £40,000 or less in current prices (the limit will be index linked)

10 (171) Labour will introduce a special £1,000 grant for home improvement and energy conservation measures or to provide solid fuel central heating. 10 The grant will apply to houses with PLVs of £30 or less.

24 (172) Labour will introduce a Fair Rents Tribunal.

24 (173) A Tax Credit at 25% of private rents will be introduced up to a maximum of £300 for all private tenancies.

Social Welfare

43 25
25 25
(174) The Social Welfare system will be reformed on comprehensive and modern lines to provide proper financial and social support for those in need. Indexation will be regarded as a minimum condition and October increases re-introduced.

25
25
(175) A comprehensive Social Welfare system will be created which will bring all gainfully occupied persons, including the self-employed, into social insurance and which will include a single social assistance scheme providing adequately for all those outside social insurance.

43
25
25
(176) The whole pensions area will be reformed as promised in the Green Paper introduced when Labour was in Government. A National Income-Related Pensions Scheme will be introduced to guarantee all citizens an equitable share of national resources in retirement, or in widowhood and invalidity.

25
25
(177) Old Age Pensions will be increased, over four years, by 50 per cent in real terms. This major advance will be the central point of a comprehensive programme of care and services for the elderly.

25 (178) The pension age will be reduced to sixty-five years.

25
25
25
(179) Child Benefit will be introduced replacing monthly Children's Allowances with a weekly payment of £3 per week. The present tax allowances for children will be abolished and the benefit arising from them applied to Child Benefit. This benefit will be adjusted annually in line with the cost of living.

25 51
(180) Dental and Optical Benefit will be extended to all women outside the Labour force.

43 (181) The Supplementary Welfare Allowances scheme will be reformed to meet fully its original objectives. In particular, emphasis will be placed on the so far neglected aspects of recipients' rights, an independent appeals system, supplementation, rent and heating allowances and close and effective links with the personal social services.

25
25
25

25 (182) The present free phone rental scheme will be extended to invalidity pensioners living alone and to any housebound person who, in the opinion of the health boards, requires a telephone.

25

25 (183) Labour will amend the means test for one-parent family allowances by increasing the income disregarded for assessment from £6 to £15 a week in the case of the parent and from £2 to £10 a week in respect of each child.

25
25

43 (184) The present scandal of mis-direction and inefficiency within the system permitted by Fianna Fail neglect will be rectified. A total reorganisation, within the overall reform of the social services, will concentrate on service, training of personnel, provision of information and advice and on the improvement of premises around the country. The whole social welfare system will be given a genuinely new dimension of care and sensibility to people's rights and dignity.

43
43
29

Health

24 (185) Every citizen has a right to the very best health care provision.

25 (186) The Labour Party is committed to the introduction of a comprehensive, free health service for all to be introduced on a phased basis as rapidly as resources allow, as set down in the policy statement, "Towards a Socialist Health Service" published in 1978.

25
25
25 (187) In its general programme to improve health services, Labour will pay particular attention to improving psychiatric services. Existing institutional facilities which are sub-standard, and there are many, will be replaced in a major programme of capital development.

25
25 (188) The present policy of reducing the numbers in psychiatric hospitals will continue. Additional support services will be provided in the community to facilitate this trend.

25 (189) A capital programme to improve institutional facilities for the elderly will also be introduced and implemented on a phased basis.

24 (190) Labour will introduce a new Family Planning Bill to provide for a comprehensive family planning service for those who wish to avail of it.

43 24 (191) A review of the operation of the Community Care Programme will be undertaken with a view to maximising its effectiveness and providing it with increased resources.

24 24 (192) Labour will introduce greater flexibility in hospital visiting arrangements and will introduce special arrangements for the parents of young children in hospital.

- 43 (194) Under Labour the structure of the Health Service
47 administration will be reformed. A single Department of
38 Health and Social Welfare will be set up. All administration
will be decentralised to reconstituted democratic Regional
29 Social Service Boards, responsible for health, welfare and
community social services. Bureaucracy will be minimised by
the extension of automatic cover and by the introduction of
effective computerised systems utilising the most up to date
243 technology. Staff will be widely redeployed to deal directly
with the needs of the public.

The Disabled and Handicapped

- 24 (195) Labour believes that the disabled and handicapped should be
guaranteed their full rights as citizens.
- 4 (196) Labour will implement the 3% quota in all public sector
employment as a matter of urgency.
- 4 (197) Labour will improve sheltered employment programmes and
will encourage the employment of greater numbers of disabled
and handicapped persons in the private sector.
- 24 (198) Labour will introduce legislation to ensure that all new
public buildings are easily accessible to the disabled and
24 to ensure as far as possible that existing public buildings
are modified for that purpose.
- 24 (199) Labour will provide more residential facilities for the
mentally handicapped.

Education

- 27 (200) Every child has a right to full personal, social and
intellectual development through the education system.

- 27 (201) Labour believes that change in society demands change in
24 27 the education system. We must have a socially just system
24 27 of education which will develop the free and critical intelligence
40 of our young people. Education expenditure should favour the
disadvantaged and the structure and control of education should
in itself be democratic.
- 27 (202) Labour will give priority to primary education, stressing
27 systematic reduction of average class numbers, co-education,
24 pluralist structures and absolute abolition of corporal punishment.
24 Special needs will be given priority, especially those of dis-
advantaged areas and handicapped children.
- 27 (203) A scheme to provide free school books at primary level will be
introduced.
- 27 (204) Second level education will be developed in line with the
51 24 concrete needs of economic and social progress. Education for
27 girls will be put directly on a par with that for boys in terms
of curriculum choice, etc. The concept of free education will
be honoured in practice with more realistic capitation finance
on a phased basis.
- 24 (205) Third level education must be organised to meet the needs of
27 the community as a whole and to promote equality in society.
27 Adequate grants, and overall financing, will be provided. The
Vocational and Technological sectors have a crucial role to
play and must be supported with adequate finance and facilities.
- 12 (206) The development of the overall educational system will be
12 encompassed in an overall plan designed to ensure the optimum
23 use of necessarily scarce resources. Labour will give priority
43 status within this plan to the expression and improvement of all
aspects of adult and continuing education, with a special support
unit in the Department of Education.

Section Seven : LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM

43 (207) Labour's programme of legal and administrative reform will
 24 24 embrace the administration of justice, poverty, the family,
 51 52 issues of concern to women, youth issues, consumer rights,
 29 22 the environment, the reform of the public service and the
 43 Constitution.

43 (208) Reform - real and lasting reform - can be brought about
 45 without great financial cost and with dramatic, positive
 effects for very many people if the will exists. Labour
 has that political will.

Justice

24 (209) The Courts system will be made more accessible to the people,
 53 more efficient in dealing with all levels of cases and more
 43 24 relevant to the needs of modern society. New Family and
 43 Children's Courts will be established. A comprehensive
 review of the provision of all legal services will be undertaken.

24 (210) The full recommendations of the Pringle Committee on Legal
 24, 38 Aid will be implemented on the basis of a Legal Aid Act.
 Special attention will be directed to the creation of an
 effective network of Community Law Centres.

43 (211) Law Reform will be carried forward on a systematic, planned
 43 basis under the supervision of a full-time Minister. The
 43 Law Reform Commission will be strengthened and restructured
 to provide a continuing input of expert analysis and advice to
 Government.

34 (212) Tackling crime and vandalism will be a priority for Labour. This
 34 must be done at a number of levels: By more systematic, and better
 34 supported policing, including the introduction of neighbourhood
 20 policing; by effective and humane custodial and remedial provisions
 24 within an overall plan of Penal Reform; and by the determined
 pursuit of economic and social reform.

(213) Reform of the criminal law, and of court procedure,
43
24 will be pursued actively to ensure speedy and efficient
action on criminal cases.

29 (214) Capital punishment will be abolished for all crimes. The
29 State cannot justify the taking of human life.

(215) Labour is committed to the full development of the role
34
43 of the Garda Siochana. Labour will establish a National
43 Police Authority. The O Briain Committee findings will be
implemented and an Independent Appeals Tribunal established.

(216) Labour will carry out a comprehensive review of the prison
29 system to ensure that the most humane conditions exist con-
29 sistent with security. The Curragh Detention Centre will
be phased out at the earliest possible time.

POVERTY

(217) An Anti-Poverty Plan will be drawn up and implemented
24 within the context of national economic and social planning.
24 Over the long-term the concentration will be on the
24 re-distribution of wealth and income; in the immediate
78 future the emphasis will be on the creation of effective
structures of welfare and community services, encouraging
autonomous community action.

(218) The structure of the Combat Poverty Organisation will be
43 recreated. The recommendations of the Combat Poverty Report
43 will be acted on and Labour will establish the National
38 Resource Agency which will become the focal point for
24 Community Development, and especially, for constructive
community action against poverty.

(219) Political responsibility for the Anti-Poverty Programme will
lie with the Minister for Health and Social Welfare and
43 24 a special unit will be set up within his Department to
43 24 co-ordinate its work.

(220) Labour will regain for Ireland its former role as the leading
7a 24 proponent of EEC action against poverty, again callously
thrown away by Fianna Fail, by urgently pressing for a com-
7a 24 prehensive Community programme based on the findings and
achievements of the 1975 - 1981 programme which was a Labour
initiative in Government.

The Family

(221) The state will recognise the importance of family life by its
32 social policy, taxation and legal provisions and will do everything
possible to help the establishment of secure, prosperous families
32 within the community by special attention to the needs of newly
formed family units.

(222) Social policy in general will be geared to meet the particular
24 needs of the family, through such provisions as Child Benefits,
25 health care facilities, child care facilities (including
24 child care provision for working mothers) and family support
51 services. Special attention will be given to the needs of
24 single-parent families.
24

(223) Labour is committed to the reform and up-dating of Family Law
43 in all of its aspects. Progress in this area has been too
51 slow in relation to women's rights; children; marriage law;
43 property; domicile, etc. The Courts system as applied to
family cases will be most urgently overhauled.

(224) Women remaining at home to care for their families are
51
51
25 entitled to special consideration. Back-up services for
mothers at home will be improved. Full eligibility for
Dental and Optical Benefit will be extended to all mothers
at home.

(225) Labour will ensure that a full and accessible family planning
24 service is available to the whole community. The existing
24 Fianna Fail legislation is restrictive and fails to respond
to the real needs of the present day.

(226) Labour is totally opposed to the legalisation of abortion.
32
24
51 A comprehensive programme for women faced with problems related
to pregnancy will be introduced, with counselling and support
services.

Consumer Rights

(227) The move towards legislative protection of the consumer requires
29 to be speeded up with a wider range of rights enshrined in law
29 and, especially, with more accessible systems of redress and
compensation.

43 (228) The Office of the Director of Consumer Affairs will be strengthened
45 in respect of staffing, research and information dissemination
so as to provide an effective service for all consumers.

(229) Consumer Education will be stressed by Labour with a systematic
29 programme of media activity, seminars, publications and schools
projects aimed at improving consumer awareness and knowledge.

- (230) 29 The role of consumer groups, and particularly of the Consumers' Association of Ireland, will be given formal recognition, 40 appropriate back-up support and enhanced rights of representation and consultation on legislative and practical matters.
- (231) 1 The structure and practices of the retail trade must be controlled in the interest of the consumer. The expansion of multiple 11 supermarket chains will be controlled and abuses such as below 11 cost selling dealt with by strict fair trading legislation.

The Environment

- (232) 22 Protection of the national environment will be made a matter of positive planning. All planning authorities will be required to 22 assess the potential environmental impact of all industrial projects and development proposals. Environmental programmes will be 22 prepared, at central and local levels, to ensure that all water, sewerage and pollution control systems meet acceptable standards.
- (233) 22 Labour proposes stricter environmental controls for industry and for public authorities. Special attention must be directed to 22 the problems associated with refuse disposal - in particular, disposal of toxic wastes - which will be brought under public 22 control. The principle that the polluter pays will be firmly applied.
- (234) 22 The nation's natural resources must be managed in the interest of all the people. This calls for planning, in relation to 12 economic aspects, but also in respect of environmental damage, 22 pace of utilisation, depletion and, where applicable, judicious 22 replacement.

(235) Labour believes that a major element in the environmental improvement of the nation relates to the layout and upkeep of housing estate districts, towns and of industrial sites. A national programme of environmental improvement and development within our towns and cities will be implemented. Legislation will be strengthened to ensure the full completion of all housing estates, private and public.

(236) The scandal of Wood Quay must never be repeated. The services of the National Museum will be appropriately improved and the Department of the Environment will assume co-ordinating and regulatory powers in the whole area of protection of the nation's physical heritage.

Public Service Reform

(237) The size and rate of growth of the Irish public service demand that there should be a continual programme of reform and restructuring./ The allocation of government portfolios must be changed in order to permit more effective political control/ Initiatives will be taken in the whole area of Government planning and decision-making as indicated throughout Labour's programme./

(238) The structures of government decision-making will be changed with the creation of a Cabinet Policy Review staff to co-ordinate policy/ and facilitate planning/ Each Minister will be entitled to form a political and advisory "cabinet" including non civil service experts and advisors.

(239) Civil Service Reform will be speeded up. The Aireacht experiment will be ended and replaced by structures more amenable to management and planning. Mobility within the civil service will be encouraged. The research and development, and policy review capability of all Departments will be strengthened.

- (240) Local Government reform is urgently needed as the present system is inadequate, too tightly controlled by central government and too subservient to the managerial system. Reform must stress restructuring of authorities in line with population trends, greater guarantees of financial resources and recognition of the role of local community organisations.
- (241) Labour believes that the proper functioning of the democratic system demands greater openness to the public and greater professional. The proceedings of both Houses of the Oireachtas, and of the standing committees will be opened to radio and TV coverage and direct reporting. Oireachtas members will be given full-time research staff to assist them in their legislative duties.
- (242) The long recognised need for reform of the procedures of the Oireachtas will be faced up to by Labour. Many positive proposals have been made by Labour over the years and neglected in practice. The emphasis will be placed on committee work on legislation; review and control of the administration and open budget and estimate debate.
- (243) The Community Information Centres network will be extended and expanded in scope and professionalism to provide information and advice for all citizens.

The Constitution

- (244) The Constitution must be consistent in every respect with the principle of the good of the national community. Thus, provisions which interfere with the legitimate rights of the community as a whole must be changed. The present provisions on property rights must be adapted to allow abolition of Ground Rents.

- (245) 29 The Constitution should not include an absolute prohibition
29 on divorce. Labour will provide for the holding of a referendum
to decide on the appropriate revision of Article 41 of the
Constitution.
- (246) 24 The family protection and social provisions of the Constitution
24 require to be strengthened and brought into line with progressive
24 thinking. Labour's proposals on such matters as adoption,
24 illegitimacy and the social and economic rights of children should
24 be given force in the Constitution so as to further equality,
24 justice and human rights.
- (247) 6 Neutrality should be positively affirmed in the Constitution.
- (248) 40 The concept of popular initiative for amendment of the
Constitution should be given effect.

Children

- (249) 47 The issue of policy for Children has been discussed and
47 debated at great length in recent years. Labour will take the
43 necessary steps to reform the legal framework and services
structure.
- (250) 43 will co-ordinate services, research and public information.
- (251) 24 The 1908 Children's Act will be replaced by a new legal framework
24 guaranteeing the rights of all children and protecting their
24 interests. The age of criminal responsibility will be raised
24 to 15 years and a restructuring of the Children's Courts will
24 be immediately undertaken.
- (252) 24 The Loughan House experiment has failed. A new approach will
24 be initiated as outlined in the Interim Report of the Task
24 Force on Child Care, involving smaller, community based units
and counselling.

(253) ^u The concept of illegitimacy will be abolished and the existing disadvantages of children in relation to succession and maintenance rights will be removed.

(254) ^u The laws and services related to Adoption and Fostering will be reviewed and reformed to expand the opportunities of providing children with a secure and happy family life.

(255) ⁴⁰ The government will recognise in practical terms the vital role of voluntary, community organisations in relation to Child Care and statutory services will work closely with these bodies to provide optimum levels of service.

Youth Issues

(256) ⁵² Young people, by the sheer weight of their numbers, will determine this election and dominate the future course of Irish society. Policies and facilities catering for the needs of young people have been neglected over the years. ⁵² The terrible problem of youth unemployment will be accorded priority in all national planning. ^{17 52}

(257) ^{52 27} Labour will provide a range of Continuing Education facilities to help young people to enrich their education experience. ^{52 27} Special projects combining vocational training and continuing education will be launched in areas of particular need.

(258) ^{23 52} Youth facilities - especially in the cultural, recreational, sporting and self-development areas - are urgently needed throughout the country. A national programme will be introduced, involving central and local government and community organisations. ^{23 52}

(259) Labour is concerned to guarantee young workers uniform and appropriate conditions at work: With proper conditions for all apprentices; block and day release facilities; standard work conditions and full integration into the workforce in relation to representation, participation, etc.

52 46
52 46
52 42
52 46
52 40

(260) Labour will appoint a Minister with special responsibility for Youth Affairs and will give special statutory standing to the National Youth Council as the representative body for young Irish people in relation to all aspects of public policy, economic and social development. A Youth Service Agency will be set up to support community youth organisations.

47 52
40 52
43 52

Voluntary Bodies

(261) Labour acknowledges the enormous contribution of voluntary, community-based organisations to tackling social problems and meeting local needs. The examples of Social Service Councils, specialist bodies and non-governmental organisations dealing with a wide range of current issues are well-known.

40
40

(262) Labour will ensure that this role is given proper recognition. A Charter for Voluntary Services will be introduced which will provide a framework for the relations between the statutory and voluntary agencies. The National Resource Agency for community development will play a major role in this situation.

40
40
40

Women

(263) Labour's policies on "Equality for Women" are set out in its policy document on the subject adopted in 1979. The proposals in this document will form the basis of the Labour Party's Programme of action.

24 51
24 51

(264) All aspects of equality legislation will be urgently reviewed with regard to implementation, coverage and applicability. A continuing programme of legislative reform will be introduced covering employment, training and equal opportunity.

24 51
24 51

(265) The work of the Employment Equality Agency and the Council
24 51 for the Status of Women will be strengthened by the provision
of increased staffing and resources. Special emphasis will
25 51 be placed on the research and education role of those bodies.

(266) Legislation will be introduced to deal effectively with Domicile,
25 51 Rape, Property Rights and the repeal of outdated domestic and
25 51 family law. A legislative review group will be established within
the Law Reform Commission to report annually on the state of the
law as it affects women.

(267) A National Programme to provide appropriate support for groups
51 24 in special need will be started, involving structured co-
operation between the statutory and voluntary agencies. This
51 24 will involve support and promotion of bodies such as Women's
51 24 Aid, Cherish, etc., together with innovative action by the
Regional Social Services Boards.

(268) A national programme to develop play groups and creche facilities
51 will be introduced.

(269) Responsibility for the co-ordination of policy relating to the
51 43 status of women in society will be allocated to a Minister of
State. This responsibility will extend across all departmental
51 43 and functional areas including taxation reform, education and
training, the public service and family policy.

Section Eight : IRELAND AND THE WORLD

(270) Ireland, as a small neutral country and as a member state
6, 6 of the EEC, has a particular role to play in the world.
6, 7 Foreign policy must preserve our neutrality, promote peace,
7a rights and freedom around the world. The deep-seated nature
of the problems of the EEC calls for fundamental change.

(271) Labour will implement the detailed policy proposals contained
x in its published statements on the Principles of International
x Policy, Neutrality, Development Co-Operation and the EEC.

Neutrality

(272) Ireland's neutrality is basic to the pursuit of a positive
b foreign policy. Such policy must be rooted in a belief in
b freedom, development, human rights and peace. An active
b neutrality will permit independent action in promoting these
b principles and give a credibility in respect of our peace-
b keeping role, our stand on Third World issues, etc.

(273) Ireland's traditional neutrality will be strengthened by:
b Constitutional affirmation; creation of formal links with
b the Non-Aligned Movement and active foreign policy involvement
b through all international fora.

(274) Labour recognises the fact of Irish membership of the European
7a Community but rejects the implication that this should dominate
7a our foreign policy stance. Ireland must stand firm for certain
7a basic principles within the EEC, in relation to detente, dis-
7a armament, Third World policy and Southern Africa. Labour will
43 introduce a mandatory Dail debate on all aspects of European
Political Co-Operation at least twice yearly.

- (275) The nation's interests are now closely tied into the European Community. The promises of membership have not been realised and many of the threats foretold by Labour have come about. Ireland's stance must be that of an active, involved and consistently critical partner, striving for a more progressive Community adhering to the principles of justice, democracy and solidarity.

Third World

- (276) Ireland must honour its responsibilities to the deprived and exploited peoples of the Third World. Labour will implement a coherent strategy of financial and technical co-operation and education which will ensure that we make the best contribution possible to the great world challenge of development.
- (277) Labour is committed to the achievement of the UN target of 0.7 per cent of GNP in Official Development Assistance at the latest by 1989. This target must be guaranteed in budgetary terms. Ireland's bilateral aid programme must be further strengthened on the basis of progressive principles of development and no longer with a restrictive "tied" approach.
- (278) Labour will appoint a separate Minister and Department of Development Co-Operation to ensure that Third World issues receive proper government attention. A reformed National Council on Development Co-Operation will have the task of leading and informing public debate and of co-ordinating broad based and independent research and analysis.
- (279) Labour's programme envisages close working links with the developing countries in pursuit of common strategies and common action at international level. In this connection Labour's position on the creation of links with the non-aligned group of nations is underlined as providing a sound basis for seeking justice in the world order.

(280) Labour has made clear its position on the role of the EEC
7 in relation to world development. Labour's programme places
7 a special emphasis on the Community's unique responsibility
7 as the world's largest trading bloc, and on the need to
7 strengthen and extend the working of the Lome Convention while
7 maximising the Community's contribution to solving world food
7 and agricultural problems.

(281) Labour will work with all progressive governments and international
7 movements to seek reform of international trading relations
4 and investment policies, and of the world financial system and
6,7 institutions which threaten the interests of the Third World and
6,7 will work actively for disarmament - which involves switching
6,7 investment from destruction to development - and control of the
arms trade.

Defence

(282) Labour believes in the defence of neutrality. The cost of the
4 Defence Forces appears high to many people. Apart from the
4 current requirements to resist and defeat terrorism it is
4 essential that the nation's neutrality should be given the
4 additional credibility which flows from the demonstrable will
of the people to defend the nation to the greatest degree possible.

(283) 4,6 Ireland's long and distinguished role within the peace-keeping
6 forces of the UN will be fully maintained. The nation is committed
4 to playing its full part in whatever peace-keeping duties may
arise around the world. The Defence Forces will be kept equipped
and trained to meet all of the needs of this important dimension
of their duties.

(284) All necessary steps will be taken in respect of recruiting, training, conditions of service, premises and equipment to make a career in the Defence Forces rewarding in every way. Special attention will be devoted to trade and apprenticeship training.

(285) The Defence Forces will continue to act at all times in support of the civilian power. In the present violent period the Army is an essential part of the overall pattern of detection and deterrence. Every form of co-operation deemed necessary by the Garda authorities will be provided. Cross-border co-operation on security matters will be maintained.

Section Nine : THE ARTS, SPORT AND RECREATION

- (286) Labour recognises the intrinsic part that the arts, sport and recreation play in the lives of all citizens. But an economic system determined largely by consideration of private gain, with minimum public expenditure, has resulted in limited resources being made available for cultural and recreational development.
- (287) The active promotion of cultural activities - including music, theatre and the arts - will have Labour's committed attention. A Ministerial appointment will be made with responsibility for Culture and the Arts and the role of the Arts Council will be systematically extended. Structures for cultural development at local levels will be strengthened.
- (288) Labour proposes the establishment of a National Youth Theatre and financial support for the arts will be significantly increased.
- (289) Labour will transform the city centre site of the new Dublin Concert Hall into a national Arts and Conference centre catering for a wide range of cultural, academic and business needs and capable of generating substantial foreign earnings.
- (290) Broadcasting policy will be based upon the public service concept. RTE will have total control of all radio and television wavelengths within the state and, in no circumstances, will private enterprise be permitted to operate broadcasting services. RTE will be asked to maximise the proportion of Irish-produced programmes within its schedules.

(291) Labour believes that a civilised nation must pay attention
to the recreation needs of its people. Accordingly, a programme
of sports and recreational development will be drawn up, involving
the Sports Council and local authorities. Local authorities will
be staffed with Sports Development Officers. Facilities for
sports and recreation will be systematically improved and
extended. Community action in these areas will be encouraged.

(292) In addition, Labour will provide two major National Sports
Complexes - initially in Dublin and Limerick - to include
facilities for the major sports at full international standards.

The Irish Language and An Ghaeltacht

(293) Labour believes in the revival of the Irish language, because
it is a crucial part of our cultural identity. The decline in its
usage over the years has diminished our culture and has meant that
many of the more tolerant and egalitarian characteristics which we
have had as a people have been temporarily lost.

Bi-Lingualism

(294) Labour's aspiration is to promote a growth in bi-lingualism in
Irish and English. This can only be achieved on a voluntary basis.
The political task is to create an environment in which this
becomes possible and to introduce measures in education and
broadcasting which include positive discrimination towards
language revival.

(295) In education it will be necessary to radically improve methods of
teaching the language. These must include measures to ensure that
all teachers of Irish are specially trained for their task and
reach minimum acceptable standards of competence. It is also
desirable that the number of schools in which Irish is the principal
spoken language should be dramatically increased, especially at
primary level.

- (296) Funds must be made available to ensure that high quality
x0 audio-visual courses in the spoken language are made available
b0 cheaply around the country for young people and adults, as a
supplement to the formal education system.
- (297) A great deal of concern has been expressed in recent years at
}0 the low level of Irish language programming on radio and television.
- (298) This charge is justified when it is remembered that positive
}0 discrimination in favour of Irish is needed. Labour believes
}0 that as part of a radically improved national programme for
}0 language revival, additional time on radio and television should be
}0 made available for Irish language programmes. There is no reason
}0 why, as a start, one or more nights each week on a national radio
}0 and television channel should not be made available in toto for
}0 such programmes. In this context, RTE facilities should be
}0 available to Irish language groups to make their own programmes.

Section Ten : THE NORTH

- (299) ¹⁵₁₅ This Election Programme began by outlining the scale of the economic crisis and Labour's proposals to deal with it. It ends with Labour's policy on the other major crisis - that in Northern Ireland and the relationships between all parts of these islands.
- (300) X The North should not be an issue of controversy in this campaign. The situation there is too serious and too many lives are at stake for political parties in the South to pretend they have a ready-made answer to this protracted and deep-seated crisis. The truth is, peace and reconciliation will only be achieved through further negotiations and dialogue on a time-scale which cannot now be predicted.
- (301) Labour aspires to the unity of the people and territory of this Island. That unity, however, will come about only through reconciliation between the two communities in the North, through the creation of devolved political institutions based on partnership there and through a growth in co-operation between North and South. Violence can play no part in this process. It is evil in itself and it is a continuing obstacle to political development in both parts of the island.
- (302) The current Anglo-Irish talks and joint studies are to be welcomed insofar as they provide a framework for dialogue between the Governments of the two countries. They can contribute to peace and political development if they are continued on the basis of realism and if exaggerated claims as to their outcome are avoided. That has not been the case up to now and the price which is being paid is growing sectarian tension within Northern Ireland.

(303) Labour proposes a change of emphasis in the current discussions
which would involve greater communication between both communities
in the North and the Government in the Republic. Both communities
must be given a guarantee that no solution will be arrived at over
their heads. This is the essential precondition for establishing
trust. On that trust we can build reconciliation. Out of that
can come peace and the unity to which we aspire.