



## **FIGHT THE HEALTH CHARGES VOTE LABOUR**

### **WHEN YOU ARE ILL**

and one of the 1.3 million citizens entitled  
to a medical card then

**YOU WILL PAY UP TO £60 MORE FOR YOUR  
MEDICINE EACH YEAR BUT YOU WILL GET ONLY £12  
MORE IN 1987 in your pension or other benefit  
AND NOTHING UNTIL NOVEMBER**

### **THIS IS UNJUST - LABOUR STANDS AGAINST IT**

#### **2 THE PROPOSED HEALTH MEASURES MEAN**

- \* Hospital services will be cut
- \* You will have to wait longer for necessary attention
- \* Jobs will disappear

**AND YOU WILL BE CHARGED £10 PER VISIT AT OUTPATIENT  
DEPARTMENTS**

### **THESE MEASURES ARE UNJUST - LABOUR STANDS AGAINST THEM**

- 3 Fine Gael, Fianna Fail and PDs are all committed to cuts  
like these or worse!**

**TO RESIST THESE CHARGES AND CUTS**

**VOTE No 1 LABOUR  
PEOPLE MATTER  
MOST**

# **FIGHT FOR YOUR RIGHTS VOTE NO 1 LABOUR**

## **This is what the proposed Social Welfare cuts mean :**

- \* If you become unemployed or sick, then your pay related benefit will be cut by up to £20 per week. This is NOT FAIR - YOU HAVE PAID YOUR PRSI CONTRIBUTIONS
- \* If you have less than 9 months' stamps, don't look for unemployment or disability benefit - YOU WON'T GET IT.
- \* If you are unemployed for 12 months, YOUR UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT WILL BE TAKEN from you.

## **AS WELL**

- \* You will get NO INCREASE in CHILD BENEFIT
- \* You will WAIT UNTIL NOVEMBER for a mere 3% increase in your pension or other benefit EVEN THOUGH YOU ARE DUE AN INCREASE IN BOTH

**LABOUR DEMANDS BETTER AND EARLIER SOCIAL WELFARE INCREASES**

**VOTE**

**LABOUR**



**PEOPLE MATTER MOST**

**LABOUR PARTY  
ELECTION '87  
MANIFESTO**



**THE  
LABOUR  
PARTY**

ADDRESS BY LABOUR PARTY LEADER, MR DICK SPRING  
AT THE LAUNCHING OF LABOUR PARTY MANIFESTO ON FRIDAY, JANUARY 30

The Labour Party has played an individual and important role in Irish politics by constantly focussing on full employment and social justice as its two main objectives.

Those concerns have not always been shared by the other parties.

In this election, Labour again concentrates on the evils of unemployment and social injustice as the two great national problems which must be solved, and solved quickly. The Party puts forward a range of proposals which are consistent with its long held socialist principles while being based on the realities of the present and the needs of the future.

Labour's solutions are different. They are relevant. They are practical. They are born out of a concern for human dignity.

For Labour, People matter most.

The crisis in which the Irish people find themselves is not a new one. World depression since the early seventies has undoubtedly affected us. But the underlying problem remains the same.

The economic system which we inherited as an emerging nation, and which we have maintained ever since, simply cannot meet our needs as a people. It has never provided full employment. It has never secured social justice.

At various times in the past, Labour has remained independent of government. At other times it has supported or participated in Government. But at all times Labour has fought for an end to unemployment, and for an end to injustices. In or out of Government, that has always been our role.

It is now our collective decision that we cannot achieve sufficient progress towards our goals by being an active partner in Government. There is nothing novel in this. We have been prepared many times in the past sixty five years to propagate our policies as an independent voice.

We are prepared to do so again.

In this forthcoming election, the Labour Party will campaign on the slogan that "People Matter Most". It is a reminder that the purpose of all politics is the welfare of the people, not personal gratification, not public expenditure targets and not the profit of powerful business corporations.

At present, with over a quarter of a million unemployed and with over a million dependent in some way or another on social welfare, there is need for a Party with policies which put people first.

Labour is that Party.

After the General Election, we will play our part in ensuring that Dail Eireann concentrates on the problems of unemployment and social injustice. We will also discharge, if necessary, our duty to the Irish people by playing a key role in the election of a Government. Never once since the foundation of this state have we failed to provide an opposition when it was needed or to ensure a Government when it was necessary.

We shall not fail on this occasion.

By voting Labour, people know that they are placing the real problems confronting our nation at the very top of the political agenda. They know they are voting for real politics.

We do not underestimate the extent of the crisis which faces us, be it economic, financial, social or psychological. The policies we present to the Irish people in this election face that crisis honestly and fearlessly. We present no easy solutions based on deception or promises. We present political facts as they really are and offer the electorate a radical alternative based on democracy and socialism.

In doing this, we keep faith with Labour's honourable tradition in Irish politics. It is a tradition based on the unvarying principle that people matter most.

The Manifesto then is based on the following main ideas:-

a programme for economic recovery including an enhanced and dynamic role for state enterprise; a deep commitment to make Ireland a fairer society and the need for radical social change in our community.

The key to our future is economic growth; we cannot make any major dent in the unemployment problem unless we get national output moving up again. This cannot be done by confrontation, by harshness among social groups or by treading on the poor - it can only be done by consensus, by partnership, by getting government, trade unions and employers working together to plan our way into a lasting and sustained economic recovery.

Merely creating a better climate for enterprise is not enough; this approach never created the jobs in the past.

More enterprise all round is vital; we need more and better state enterprise through re-vitalising our existing state companies and through making the National Development Corporation a powerful engine for growth. State companies, the private sector and co-operative societies must work together in a joint development programme to get the country moving again.

But this cannot happen unless there is a fairness, unless there is justice, unless there is fair play and unless this fair play is seen and understood by everyone. Everyone must make sacrifices; everyone must accept a sense of discipline.

Therefore, our tax system must be reformed - those who have not been paying their fair share must be brought quickly and effectively into the tax net: This requires political decision; a political will to implement the necessary reforms, and a re-vamping of tax collection procedures. Our manifesto lists twelve main areas for change to spread the tax burden more fairly.

Labour attributes major importance to tax reform, to spreading the burden to those who can afford to pay, but we accept that there is little or no scope for reducing the overall level of

taxation.

As revenue flows from new sources, there can be tax relief for PAYE workers, essential public spending can be protected and we can reduce gradually the budget deficit and borrowing. The more growth we get in the economy the more tax relief we can afford.

We need to do far more than this, of course. As we move towards the 1990s, the need for radical social change becomes ever more important. We must formulate a new Constitution that will put emphasis on cherishing all the people of the nation equally and will put people before profit and property. This Constitution would provide clearly for the rights of minorities, strengthen the rights of children, enshrine Ireland's neutral status in an explicit form and recognise the national aspiration for a united Ireland by peaceful means, when a majority of the people in Northern Ireland so agree. We invite other political parties to join us in an all-party committee to draft such a new Constitution and to initiate a major public debate on the issues involved.

Labour is advocating a special programme to enhance women's rights and a number of specific proposals for law reform.

We make clear our support for public service broadcasting.

We re-state our commitment to the priorities of peace and stability in Northern Ireland, through the reconciliation of the two traditions and through a guaranteed voice for the minority community. We repeat our adherence to neutrality, our support for sanctions against South Africa and our commitment to the end of the arms race.

Labour's answer to the crisis is based on a set of minimum policy demands. There is no room for compromise on these measures. No other Party can count on our support after an election if they refuse to agree to these policies in full.

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**THE LABOUR PARTY PROGRAMME IN THIS ELECTION IS BASED ON FOUR  
MAIN ELEMENTS**

1. **A PROGRAMME FOR ECONOMIC RECOVERY**

Labour strongly supports a planned approach to economic recovery. Restraint from all economic groups in our society must be clearly linked with employment growth and taxation reform.

The sacrifices and discipline needed to get the nations finances in order must be shared in accordance with ability to pay, right across the whole community. This means that there must be a fair and just tax system, with farmers and the self-employed fully and effectively in the net, and with business and capital taxes contributing a fair share.

2. **MORE AND BETTER STATE ENTERPRISE**

Conventional economic policies have failed to deliver jobs on the scale we need. Increased state investment in new projects and in productive enterprise, and a new dynamic and a more directive relationship between the state and private sector are essential. More enterprise and effective co-operation between the public, private and co-operative sectors is the key to economic recovery, lasting jobs and reduced unemployment. There must be the right balance between the funds provided by the public and private sectors, and the gains going to each from successful ventures. Risks and benefits must be shared.

3. A FAIRER SOCIETY

Labour is committed to redistribution of income, wealth and power in Irish Society, and to give genuine equality of opportunity to children of all backgrounds. The prospect of a fairer society is the spark that will unite the Irish people in overcoming our present economic difficulties and achieving our nations real potential.

4. THE NEED FOR RADICAL SOCIAL CHANGE

Ireland should be a society where women play a full and equal part. Changes in our laws and social structures are essential. We need to bring in after a full and open debate, a new Constitution, that will reflect the needs and aspirations of a modern pluralist society; a Constitution that puts people first.

IRELAND: A NATION IN CRISIS

- We face an economic and social crisis with unemployment at record levels and the renewal of large scale emigration. This is creating hardship for thousands of people, and robbing them of their dignity.
- The resources to create jobs and promote equality are difficult to secure given the huge size of the national debt and the refusal of some of the more privileged sectors of our society to share the burden of adjustment.
- The benefits of what little economic growth we have achieved have simply gone to bankers abroad.
- We have a very unjust tax system and there is still widespread poverty and social deprivation.
- Irish society is still profoundly unequal, and as unemployment grows, it becomes more unequal.
- Ordinary working people in our unequal society are more likely to suffer the hardships of unemployment and low income, are more likely to live in neighbourhoods with fewer amenities and their children benefit least from an unequal education system. In economic, social and political life, women are unequal partners.
- The continuing absence of dialogue in Northern Ireland and continuing sectarian violence and intimidation there is of major concern.
- Here in the Republic, our Constitution fails to adequately promote a pluralist society. It is seriously out of tune with today's needs in the priority it gives to property over people, in its failure to safeguard our national heritage over private gain and in its failure to promote fully the equal rights of all people, children, women and poorer families.

LABOUR'S RECORD

The Labour Party entered government by democratic decision on an agreed programme. Labour did not flinch from taking difficult decisions in Government over four years. On January 20th, the Labour Ministers resigned on grounds of principle and fundamental disagreement on important policy measures. We would not compromise in introducing health charges and at unjust, severe spending cuts in Health and Social Welfare which we had resisted for four years.

But in those four years, Labour had many achievements;

- We worked to defend the interest of working people in a harsh economic climate. We protected jobs in both the public and private sectors. We defended the living standards of ordinary people and of social welfare recipients in the face of demands from other parties for massive spending cuts.
- We established the National Development Corporation.
- We almost eliminated housing waiting lists, through a substantial local authority building programme, and imaginative new grant schemes. We introduced generous home improvement grants and a package designed to bring life back to inner city areas.
- We introduced many new measures to help unemployed persons; the Enterprise Allowance Scheme, the Social Employment Scheme, and improved training and educational opportunities for disadvantaged young people.
- We modernised and streamlined the health services, to give better value for money to taxpayers, while resisting charges. We began to dismantle the 19th

century facilities for the mentally ill, and introduced new laws on family planning, and the care and protection of children.

- We developed policies for our natural resources of oil and gas in the best long-term interests of the Irish people. We extended the national gas grid under public ownership.
- We laid the foundations, through a massive road investment programme for a modern transport network throughout the country.
- Alone in Europe, we not only maintained but increased the real value of social welfare payments.
- We set up
  - the Commission on Social Welfare to point the way to a fundamental reform of the social security system.
  - a new Combat Poverty organisation to help tackle the fundamental causes of poverty.
  - a National Pensions Board to bring forward proposals leading to a national income related pension scheme.
- We protected Irish Neutrality at home and abroad.
- We worked hard to develop and helped bring to fruition the Anglo Irish Agreement.

While these achievements are real, they represent only a part of Labour's socialist programme which could be implemented as a minority partner in Government. Today's economic and social crisis demands the full implementation of that radical programme.

## PART I

A PROGRAMME FOR ECONOMIC RECOVERYPLANNING FOR GROWTH

1. The key to solving the unemployment crisis is economic growth. This can only be achieved by a programme for recovery based on agreement between Government, Trade Unions and employers, and on effective co-operation between an efficient and expanding state sector and private and co-operative enterprises.
2. There must be a national partnership for economic recovery where the sacrifices needed to contain the debt crisis and to foster the social disciplines necessary for growth are shared right across the whole community. The Trade Union movement has already given a lead in demanding such shared and concerted action to tackle the crisis.
3. We must aim to get back to a pattern of increased national output of at least 4% per annum. This can only be done through economic planning, a sense of discipline and a just sharing of the gains of growth.
4. Growth on this scale cannot be achieved by simply creating a better environment for private industry to prosper, nor by a vague philosophy of development, nor by pumping money at short-term projects, which do not yield lasting self-sustaining jobs. An interventionist role for the state is essential. Indirect encouragement is not enough. Investment must be raised in export-led industries with a long term future.
5. Borrowing, both at home and abroad, is fully justifiable when directed to projects with a financial return greater than the full cost of servicing the borrowings.

## A REVITALISED STATE SECTOR

Labour advocates a new mandate for the commercial state sector. A revitalised state sector is of major importance for jobs and growth. Capital, human resources and research and development effort must be directed towards sectors and projects with a long-term future whereby firms develop to stand alone as vibrant commercial enterprises.

An extended and growing National Development Corporation should take a central role in industrial development as the flow of projects builds up. Capital must be made available to the NDC to invest in new projects on its own, in projects with the public and private sectors both domestic and foreign, and with co-operatives.

Labour will resist any attempt to sell off existing profitable state enterprises. These must be the key to future jobs, not liquidated in an act of national asset stripping.

## AREAS OF OPPORTUNITY

Labour accepts the weaknesses, as outlined in the Telesis report, of the national industrial strategy which had been in operation for over 20 years. There are long term dangers in heavy reliance on wholly owned foreign industries, which in many cases repatriate all or most of the profits earned in Ireland and often have little linkage with the rest of the economy.

The emphasis both in the NDC investment policy and in the IDA grant schemes must be directed to building up strong efficient large Irish companies.

The existing state companies and the National Development Corporation, in joint ventures where appropriate, can lead investment to create existing productive jobs in new manufacturing and processing areas and act as a focal point for efficient development of our natural resources. Areas of opportunity include:

- \* High added value food processing
- \* Fishing and mariculture
- \* Forestry and forest based industries
- \* Chemicals and pharmaceuticals
- \* Biotechnology
- \* Information technology.

The tourist industry is of major importance both in providing employment in many locations throughout the country and as an obvious source of increased export earnings. The leisure industry is growing world wide and our natural amenities must be preserved by adequate conservation and planning laws. Labour will make the necessary resources available for effective marketing programmes by Bord Failte.

#### IMPROVING THE STRUCTURES

A number of organisational changes should be made to achieve better co-ordination and implementation of policy.

Responsibility for agriculture and the food industry should be located in one Ministry, and a new Department of Natural Resources involving energy and mining, forestry, tourism and fisheries should be put together over a two year period.

## AGRICULTURE

It is clear that major changes in the Common Agricultural policy are taking place and that change will intensify. There must be better co-ordination between activities before and after the farm gate, between processing and farming, and more product development to move away from dependence on basic products in the dairy and meat industry. Ireland should participate in developing a modified CAP that will gradually limit the serious overproduction of many products, and enable Ireland to obtain a competitive edge as a low cost producer of many items.

Labour does not wish to set town against country, producer against consumer. We believe that improved methods of tax collection, and the integration of farmers into the social security system will lead to greater community harmony.

## ENERGY

The natural gas industry, including both the transmission and distribution network, should be owned and controlled by Bord Gais. Much has already been achieved by Labour in this regard. The nationalisation of Dublin Gas, initiated by Labour, should be concluded without delay.

- Fair licensing and taxation terms for oil and gas exploration have been set. Labour will oppose any relaxation of these terms.
- Labour will oppose any nuclear component in the national energy programme.
- Oil refining capacity must be retained for strategic and security reasons.
- ESB and Bord na Mona must be encouraged to diversify into new areas.

## THE BUILDING INDUSTRY AND HOUSING

The building industry will be revived mainly through a return to sustained growth in the economy creating a demand for new housing and investment in industrial and commercial building and tourist facilities.

On housing policy, Labour advocates:

- Simpler and cheaper procedures for buying and selling houses, and a reduction in conveyancing costs.
- A housing programme which keeps waiting lists short.
- A fair rents system for local authority tenants.
- New rights to housing for the homeless, and an active settlement programme for travelling people.

## FOSTERING OF CO-OPERATIVES

Small industrial co-operatives need special encouragement at the stage of formation and planning and as the enterprises develop. An independent Co-operative Development Unit should be established with a board representative of state agencies, trade unions and co-operative bodies. The IDA Enterprise Development Programme should be modified to cater for the special requirement of worker co-operatives, and any legal impediments to co-operative development eliminated.

PRIORITIES FOR REFORM4 RESTRICTIVE PRACTICES

To aid the process of growth and to ensure equity, Labour advocates action on monopolies and restrictive practices which force up prices. This can occur in industry, for example, in drink or some building materials and in services such as in the legal, accountancy and engineering professions, among opticians, in conveyancing, motor insurance, bank and building society lending.

COMPANY LAW REFORM

There is urgent need for reform of company law to eliminate abuses. This should include full disclosure of company accounts to employee representatives, a requirement to make public all political contributions from all corporate entities and new rules to protect employees and the taxpayer when liquidations occur.

BANKING AND FINANCIAL SERVICES

There is need for far more democratic control of the banking system. There is far too much secrecy in the way many financial institutions are run. Labour advocates a comprehensive independent Commission of Inquiry into the activities of the banking and financial services sector. We cannot go on as if the AIB/ICI affair had never happened. The scope of the Inquiry would include:

- the adequacy of the Central Banks supervisory powers
- the effectiveness of the role of the financial institutions in economic development.
- the operation of exchange control regulations.
- the procedures governing the opening of non resident accounts, and transfers from such accounts.

Many people believe that major abuses occur in the financial services area. Pending the outcome of the Inquiry, Labour advocates:

- the removal of private bank directors from the Board of the Central Bank.
- the development of An Post and the Trustee Savings Banks.

CONSUMERS

Consumers in Ireland are under-protected by comparison with many European Counties.

Labour advocates:

- that the powers of the Director of Consumer Affairs be increased.
- the stopping of illegal moneylending and illegal interest rate advertising.
- that citizens should be allowed access to their personal files in all private centralized information systems, including credit information agencies.
- that price control be re-instated for key products and services firstly by the exercise of his powers under the Prices Acts by the Minister for Industry and Commerce, and later by the Fair Trade Commission when that body becomes fully operational.

DISCIPLINE THROUGH PARTNERSHIP

Improved policies and necessary reforms are not enough. Agreed income restraint by the whole community, increased output and improved productivity from managers, from employees in both the public and private sectors, and from the self-employed is necessary to achieve growth. For a period, the benefits of any increased growth must be re-invested in new jobs and in reducing our debt burden rather than in increases in personal incomes.

Labour believes that through agreement between trade unions and employers deferred pay increases could be invested to give employees a stake in the companies they work for and to provide for expansion and additional jobs. A planned assault on the jobs crisis demands concerted action and shared sacrifice throughout the whole community. And ultimately the key to a partnership to achieve growth is a fair tax system, where the cost of tackling the crisis is clearly shared across the whole community in line with ability to pay.

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A FAIRER SOCIETY

TAX REFORM

A fair tax system where every section of the community pays is the key to a shared effort to overcome the crisis. In order to safeguard essential public and social services, there is little or no scope to reduce the overall level of taxation borne by the community. There is, however, significant scope for redistributing that tax burden so that it is the whole community, and not just the PAYE sector, who share the cost.

The measures detailed below will increase total tax revenue, and by increasing amounts in later years as improved assessment and collection procedures take effect. As tax revenues increase, Labour advocates that part of this increased revenue is used to give a planned programme of tax relief to PAYE workers.

LABOUR PROPOSES:

To shift the burden of tax back to those who can most afford to pay, and who have been successful in the past in avoiding or evading paying their share - the wealthy, self-employed and professionals, farmers and business. Specifically, Labour advocates:

1. An increased yield from capital taxes with the reinstatement of a wealth tax and the reform of other capital taxes to raise £120m a year or about 2% of total tax.
2. The continuation of tax on deposit interest (the DIRT TAX) to raise in gross terms up to £300m.
3. Social insurance for all self-employed, including farmers.

4. The renewal of the special insurance levy introduced in 1986 to yield some £25m and now abandoned.
5. Income tax from the farming community and the self-employed to be paid on a current year self-assessed basis, with effective random checks, provision for seizure of assets including bank balances, and heavy penalties, including jail for false returns.
6. An increase of at least 25% in tax from corporations by 1988 by restricting capital allowances and tax-based leasing schemes or by the imposition of a minimum 10% tax per annum on gross income of all corporations including manufacturing companies before provision for allowances.
7. Full details of all salary or fee payments including, for example by VHI, and government and public bodies to be returned to Revenue Commissioners.
8. Land tax to be based on self-assessment, with valuation system used as a check. Income tax to be retained for farmers over 50 adjusted acres.
9. Tax relief on life insurance premiums and medical insurance to be limited to the standard rate in the context of an overall reform of the tax system.
10. A radical overhaul of the tax collection system. A war on tax arrears, arrears of health contributions and levies, and on tax evasion. Self-assessment, universal current year collection, and detailed random checks, as the key to early agreement on tax bills outstanding so that the arrears problem is progressively eliminated. A massive campaign against unregistered employments, and the related frauds on PAYE, PRSI, and social welfare claims. These changes to be achieved by a completely re-organised Revenue Office, responsible to a separate member of the Government.

11. Considerable extension of local tax units to collect outstanding tax with additional resources and powers.
12. No State, local authority or other grants, subsidies or incentives to be paid to any individual, firm or farm enterprise unless a bona fide certificate of tax due and paid is provided.

The prospects for income tax relief are closely linked to the resumption of economic growth, and to successful collection from the sources outlined above.

As revenue flows from these sources, parts of the proceeds should be used:

- to finance essential public spending
- to reduce gradually the budget deficit and borrowing
- to start on the following priorities for income tax relief.
  - Increases on tax exemption limits
  - Increases in the PAYE tax allowance
  - Widening the 35% tax band to keep more taxpayers on this rate of tax.
  - Reducing the standard rate of tax to 33%.

Only limited relief could be given in 1987, as new sources of revenue will build up over a period of years and health and social welfare budgets must be rectified.

PUBLIC SPENDING

1. The financial crisis in the economy - the debt problem - will take at least 10 years to solve through a combination of economic growth and carefully targeted cuts in public spending. Such cuts can only be acceptable if they are just, and effect only those who can afford to pay. The poor and ordinary employees should not be asked to take the burden, while other groups make no contribution. The crisis must be shared. The last target must be the poor.
2. Ireland has achieved a certain level of public and social services - these must not be dismantled at the behest of some ideological whim or by populist tax relief slogans and promises. Labour rejects unwarranted attacks against the public service. However, we recognise the need for change and reform; waste, inefficiency and low productivity must be eliminated. A well managed, committed and fairly paid public service must be the aim.
3. Pay costs are a critical element in public spending. As part of the national partnership for growth, Labour advocates an agreed trade-off between moderation in wages and salary demands by all state and private sector employees in return for working towards economic growth, increase job creation and a fairer tax system over the period of the partnership plan.
4. Labour further proposes:
  - the suspension of Ministerial pensions for anyone in receipt of a public salary
  - a more selective approach to industrial grants
  - urgent reform of areas which have proved a bonanza to the providers rather than the public; for example, some doctors in the GMS scheme, some vets in the disease eradication programme.
  - savings in health through a change to generic prescribing backed up by a strengthened National Drugs Advisory Board and the establishment of a national drugs purchasing agency involving the NDC, if practical, in drug manufacturing.
  - in education, a re-allocation of funds from producing an oversupply of expensively educated professionals in areas like medicine and veterinary science, and from subsidising exclusive fee paying schools, to better service for the disadvantaged, particularly at primary level while the crisis lasts.
  - that public spending programmes which have completed their task should be ended.

**SOCIAL WELFARE**

In the short-term, Labour proposes a 4% increase in social welfare benefits in July and a special £5 per week for those over 45 living alone. Labour calls for the progressive implementation of the Report of the Commission on Social Welfare over a five year period. Labour's goals are:

- (1) An adequate minimum weekly income for all recipients
- (2) Priority for families dependant on welfare.
- (3) Harmonisation of payment rates for social insurance recipients, and of rates for assistance payments.
- (4) A single, fair, national fuel scheme.
- (5) comprehensive social insurance cover for everyone at work.
- (6) The prescribed relatives allowance to be paid directly to the carer, at a full rate.
- (7) An independent social welfare appeals system.
- (8) Complete reform of the Supplementary Welfare Allowance scheme.

**HEALTH**

Labour strongly resists the proposed £1 prescription charge per item for medical card holders, the proposed £10 outpatient charge and the reduction of £40m in the 1987 budgets of Health Boards and voluntary hospitals.

Labour stands for:

- (1) The phased introduction of a comprehensive national health service with value for money in the health services.
- (2) The development of primary care and community care services to reduce dependence on institutional care.
- (3) An end to two tier care for patients in publicly funded hospitals.
- (4) Democratic management and full accountability for the voluntary hospital sector and other agencies providing care.
- (5) Integrated planning at local level of all health services - hospital care, community care, and special care programmes. 303
- (6) The reform of the structure of Health Boards.

EDUCATION

Labour advocates:

- A programme of positive discrimination in favour of primary schools with large proportions of disadvantaged children. A planned reduction in class sizes in these schools, to be funded by the phasing out of state grants for fee-paying schools over a four year period, and the phasing out of the sixth year academic cycle in second-level schools. The resources becoming available from the reduced pupil inflow to primary schools to be re-allocated to solve the problems of disadvantaged pupils in primary and post-primary schools.
- Democratic control of education, through a single management structure for all schools, under local education authorities responsible for all schools in their areas.
- An end to sexism, and co-education to be the norm rather than the exception.
- A curriculum relevant to pupils' needs, including a lifeskills education programme.

Opportunities for second chance education, particularly for the unemployed should be expanded and programmes of long-distance education developed.

PLANNING AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Speculation, profiteering or insensitive development too often threaten our environment.

Labour advocates:

- Control on building land prices, related to previous use value.
- An end to legal loopholes in the planning and other acts which allow developers claim enormous compensation for refusal of permission.
- An end to nuclear reprocessing and emission of nuclear waste at Sellafield.
- Ireland to be declared a nuclear-free zone.
- A national landscaping project, for amenity planting in urban areas.
- Measures to protect our heritage including archaeological finds, and natural amenities such as the Great Blasket Island.

## PART 111

THE NEED FOR RADICAL SOCIAL CHANGEA NEW CONSTITUTION

Labour proposes the development of a new Constitution for our pluralist society, a Constitution that will place emphasis on cherishing all the people of the nation equally and will put people before profit and property.

- This new Constitution would respect the diverse religious and social traditions in our society and provide safeguards for the rights of minorities. It would enshrine provisions against discrimination on grounds of race, religion, creed, colour, or sex, and incorporate a charter for human rights and protection against incitement to hatred.
- It would provide for civil divorce.
- It would strengthen the rights of children and their families with a clear statement that in disputes involving the care and custody of children, the welfare of the child shall be the primary consideration.
- It would safeguard our national heritage, both our archaeological heritage, and our areas of outstanding natural beauty, by strengthening the primacy given to the common good, in relation to the rights of private property.
- It would enshrine Ireland's neutral status in an explicit form.
- It would provide for a more streamlined system of Government in line with modern needs and for an independent and adequately trained judiciary. It would provide for family courts, and an end to the adversarial system of justice in family cases.
- It would recognise in relation to the national aspiration for a united Ireland, that the Republic would wish to see this achieved by peaceful means, when a majority of the people in Northern Ireland so agree.

We invite other political parties to join us in an all-party committee to draft such a new Constitution, and to initiate a major public debate on the issues involved.

**WOMENS RIGHTS**

Irish women are still not playing their full role in economic, political and social life. Women earn 30% less than men and are not sufficiently represented at the top levels where decisions are made, especially in politics. The power structure must be changed. A comprehensive programme for equality in the education system, in the workplace and for women at home is essential.

Labour advocates:

- (1) A member of the government to have direct responsibility for Women's Rights with a departmental budget and staff.
- (2) An expanded Employment Equality Agency to include education and training, and the raising of its institutional status.
- (3) Better social protection for part-time workers.
- (4) The re-organisation of work practices to recognise the reality of child care and other caring responsibilities. More flexible working times and workplace creches are priorities.
- (5) Equality of opportunity in the education system with the end of stereo-typing for boys and girls.
- (6) Reform of outdated rape legislation.
- (7) A better network of transport services for women in urban and rural areas.
- (8) Priority status for spending on womens health, with a role for women in the administration of health services, including maternity hospitals or units.

Many other measures proposed by Labour in this Manifesto impact directly on developing a full and equal role for women in Irish Society.

**JUSTICE AND LAW REFORM**

Labour stands for:

- A new law providing for freedom of information.
- Implementation of the O'Briain report on treatment of people in custody.
- Reform of the prison system with an independent prisons authority.
- Consistency in sentencing policy.
- New laws to control video nasties.
- Immediate abolition of the death penalty.
- New family courts, and easier judicial separations.
- Easier access to civil legal aid, and an adequate nationwide network of community law centres.
- A minimum notice period of one month for all private tenants.
- Action to terminate ground rents.

**BROADCASTING**

Labour fully supports public service broadcasting.

The values of commercialism must not be permitted to intrude, and commercial interests must not be allowed to obtain control or influence. Public service broadcasting has served the nation well.

Labour advocates:

- the development of genuine community radio at local level with the assistance of R.T.E. Commercial interests should not have any role in local radio.
- the prohibition of pirate radio or T.V. stations,
- the expansion of the role of Radio na Gaeltachta.

IRELAND AND OUR NEIGHBOURS

Labour is dedicated to the promotion of peace and stability in Northern Ireland, through reconciliation of the two traditions, and through a guaranteed voice for the minority community in Northern Ireland.

Labour at home and abroad is committed to the pursuit of peace, justice and human rights.

Labour's policy is:

- Irish neutrality must be formally enshrined in our Constitution.
- Solidarity with the Third World and a generous programme of development co-operation.
- Full mandatory sanctions against apartheid in South Africa.
- Commitment to nuclear disarmament and an end to the international arms race.

SHAPING THE FUTURE

Labour's answer to the crisis is based on a set of minimum policy demands. There is no room for compromise on these measures. No other Party can count on our support after an election if they refuse to agree to these policies in full. The programme in this Manifesto is firmly based on the work of Labour's Commission on Electoral Strategy.