

THE
PROGRAMME
FOR NATIONAL
RECOVERY.

Fianna Fáil
The Republican Party

Contents

THE ISSUE IS GROWTH	...	...	...	...	3
THE FRAMEWORK	...	...	...	...	5
The Financial Framework	...	...	...	...	6
Taxation	...	...	...	...	7
Industrial Consensus	...	...	...	...	9
THE SCOPE FOR GROWTH	...	...	...	...	11
Enterprise in Trade and Industry	...	...	...	...	12
Science and Technology	...	...	...	...	15
Tourism	...	...	...	...	17
Energy	...	...	...	...	19
Agriculture and Food	...	...	...	...	21
Horticulture	...	...	...	...	24
Forestry	...	...	...	...	26
Marine	...	...	...	...	28
Inland Fisheries	...	...	...	...	31
Services	...	...	...	...	32
Financial Services	...	...	...	...	33
Entertainment Industry	...	...	...	...	34
IMPROVING THE NATIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE	...	...	...	...	35
Training for Employment	...	...	...	...	36
Civil Service	...	...	...	...	37
Semi-State Bodies	...	...	...	...	38
Transport	...	...	...	...	39
Broadcasting	...	...	...	...	40
Decentralisation and Regional Policy	...	...	...	...	41
Environment	...	...	...	...	43
CARING FOR BASIC VALUES	...	...	...	...	49
Social Welfare	...	...	...	...	50
Health	...	...	...	...	51
Education	...	...	...	...	53
Justice	...	...	...	...	55
Women	...	...	...	...	60
Youth	...	...	...	...	61
An Ghaeilge	...	...	...	...	62
Arts...	...	...	...	...	64
Heritage and Conservation	...	...	...	...	65
NATIONAL AFFAIRS	...	...	...	...	67
Northern Ireland	...	...	...	...	68
Foreign Affairs	...	...	...	...	69
Defence	...	...	...	...	71

The Issue is Growth



The great benefit that can come from this general election is the restoration of confidence by the people in their future, the restoration of a belief that the economy can be restored by better management; that more employment can be provided and the burden of taxation reduced.

The people have seen the damage that incompetent handling of our affairs can do. After four years of high taxes, high unemployment and high emigration, the outgoing Government now propose even more cutbacks, hardship and unemployment. In contrast, Fianna Fáil's approach will be to prudently and carefully manage the public finances, while at the same time stimulating growth, seeking out development opportunities and making fullest possible use of our skills and resources. We will integrate financial control into a programme of economic development and implement a comprehensive programme of economic recovery. No matter how skilfully we manage existing resources we can only solve the present enormous difficulties by creating more resources. Ireland's problems cannot be solved in a no-growth situation.

The last few years have proved finally that Coalitions do not work in an Irish context. They have brought economic collapse: unemployment is a quarter of a million; 100,000 of our young people have emigrated; economic growth has been negative; taxation and interest rates are at an all-time high; the national debt has doubled, mainly because of record current budget deficits. There has been no coherent leadership — no vision, no sense of direction.

The basic requirement for recovery is the election of a single-party Government that only Fianna Fáil can provide. Nearly all the major economic and social advances of the last sixty years have been made under Fianna Fáil Governments. The creation of modern industry, the Semi-State sector, our social welfare system, free secondary education, the opening up of Ireland to trade, tourism and investment, were all brought about mainly under Fianna Fáil. The high-technology investment brought to Ireland in the late 1970s, together with the infrastructural improvements carried out by the Fianna Fáil Government at that time, were a foundation for the export growth, which has helped the country to survive over the last few years.

The Programme for National Recovery set out in this document has these key objectives:

- * to increase substantially the number of people at work
- * to increase positive economic growth by making better use of our skills, by the active development of our natural resources, and by better management of our economic opportunities
- * to develop a high-income, high-technology economy and to place high-quality Irish goods in international markets
- * to use additional wealth created in the first instance to reduce the burden of debt
- * to reform the system of taxation and to reduce or remove impositions which are excessive or which have led to a serious loss of economic activity
- * to reduce costs to the productive sector, especially interest rates, and to make the prices charged by public utilities more competitive
- * to further improve the physical infrastructure that is necessary for development
- * to maintain public services at a reasonable level, and especially to protect the living standards of the weak and the poor
- * to concentrate what resources are available on those opportunities offering the best prospects for early results, rather than diffusing the effort by spreading them around
- * to redeploy State resources to ensure better co-ordination and integration of effort and the elimination of overlap and fragmentation. All programmes will be re-examined to see if they match the aims that are now relevant
- * to overhaul the machinery of government to ensure that decisions are taken and implemented more quickly
- * to rebuild national confidence, especially in business

The most vital need at present is to restore confidence through sound leadership. The election of a Fianna Fáil Government with a clear mandate to implement this programme will start us on the way to national recovery.

Charlie Haughey

The Framework

The Financial Framework

Taxation

Industrial Consensus

The Financial Framework

The last four years have seen a doubling of the national debt, and its growth to 148% of GNP in 1986, while the current budget deficit has reached an all-time high of 8½% of GNP. Continuing low or negative growth makes it very difficult to contain the growing level of debt. This year it is projected by the outgoing Government that economic growth in value terms will be less than half the increase in borrowing. The gap between economic growth and increased debt must be gradually closed, so that the overall level of debt can be stabilised and in due course reduced. That cannot be done without increased growth on the one hand and the maintenance of a sound financial framework on the other.

Resources must be managed in a way that will promote growth and investment leading to increased employment, while continuing to maintain basic public services, including welfare payments for the old and those on low incomes.

A Fianna Fáil Government will manage the public finances in accordance with the following principles:

- * Government expenditure will be contained in real terms at or below the 1986 expenditure levels measured as a percentage of GNP.
- * We see the excessive size of the current budget deficit as the primary cause of unsustainable levels of borrowing and high interest rates.
- * The current budget deficit will therefore be progressively reduced from the all-time high in 1986 of 8.5% of GNP, so as to allow the possibility of increasing the proportion of public spending devoted to productive capital investment.
- * A related priority will be to slow down and in due course reverse the growth of national debt as a percentage of GNP.
- * Real interest rates for most borrowers are at present five times the rate of inflation. A major priority will be to use all policy instruments at the Government's disposal to reduce the level of interest rates so as to encourage investment. In this context Fianna Fáil will seek by establishing trust and confidence in Government policy and intentions to attract back funds that have gone abroad recently.
- * Fianna Fáil in Government will seek to maintain as far as possible a stable exchange rate, so as to minimise speculative influences which force up interest rates.

Taxation

In the last four years the Irish people have been heavily overtaxed. Levels of income tax and indirect taxation are now among the highest in the developed world, and are driving people and money abroad or into the black economy. Many people with average or near average earnings find themselves subject to the higher rates of tax, and have little incentive to increase their earnings. Some tax rates have been raised to such a high level that they are yielding diminishing returns. High rates of VAT and excise duties imposed in 1983 have had a devastating effect on businesses within reach of the border. New tax measures like DIRT have shaken confidence, and contributed to a flight of more than £1.5 billion of capital out of the country.

Progressive reductions in tax levels would give a stimulus to economic confidence without substantial loss of revenue overall. Sweeping tax cuts on the other hand are not possible without wholesale economic disruption and loss of essential public services. The main objectives of Fianna Fáil's taxation policy will be:

- * To rapidly reach the stage where two-thirds of taxpayers pay tax only at the standard rate.
- * A system of self-assessment for the self-employed was first proposed by Fianna Fáil in January 1986 as recommended by the Fifth Report of the Commission on Taxation and will be introduced based on accounts presented shortly after the end of the tax year with penalties for evasion or late tax returns. This will make the system more efficient and bring revenue into the Exchequer at an earlier date, while reducing the volume of correspondence with the tax offices. Tax officials released from other duties will be directed by the Revenue Commissioners to clear up the backlog of arrears for all past years in the year 1988-9.
- * A fair and equitable system of taxation is of paramount importance, and each taxpayer is entitled to be assured that everyone is paying their taxes. There will be vigorous penalties for those evading or defaulting on their tax payments.
- * Where sharp rises in indirect taxes in recent years have led to substantial drops in the volume of sales of particular items, and to loss of employment in the service sector, a review will

be conducted to determine whether selected reductions in such taxes could lead to an increase in economic activity and employment with little or no loss of tax revenue overall. This would be particularly advantageous for the border regions whose special situation must be considered in relation to all imposition of indirect taxes.

- * Capital taxation as it affects the transfer of family businesses intact from one generation to the next will be reviewed.
- * Successful incentives were introduced in the past such as Section 23 of the 1981 Finance Act for the provision of rented accommodation, and suitable tax incentives and tax bands will be used to stimulate developments in particular sectors.
- * The Deposit Interest Retention Tax which has been responsible for a flight of funds from the country will be immediately reviewed, and collection arrangements introduced which are designed to secure a major repatriation of funds through the re-establishment of trust and confidence.
- * All farmers will be taxed on actual income, the same as any other section.
- * Proper staffing will be maintained and adequate technology provided in the tax offices so as to improve their efficiency.

Creating an Industrial Consensus

Fianna Fáil will provide leadership in the development of a team approach to economic problems.

Fianna Fáil have always believed that a consensus with the social partners is an essential element in the economic development of this country to its full potential. We believe that the economic situation now requires us to take a major step forward in our ability to work together towards national goals. Our aim will be to focus the attention of all sections on the over-riding need to create economic growth, and to develop an awareness of what this involves in terms of individual commitment.

To achieve this, Fianna Fáil will create a forum in which the social partners can negotiate the terms of a national plan for recovery, based on agreed medium-term objectives.

These discussions will examine all the obstacles to higher employment and greater competitiveness, the way in which these should be tackled, and the possible solutions. It is only by confronting economic problems together in this comprehensive way that lasting solutions can be found and made to work.

Damaging strikes in public utilities and private industry have long been a major cause for concern. A reform of industrial relations practices, to enhance the prospects of peaceful resolution of problems, is one of the elements that should emerge from the national consensus we will work to create.

As part of this consensus planning, the aim will be to devise ways that will lead to greater co-operation in the workplace, to the benefit of all concerned.

The Scope for Growth

Enterprise in Trade and Industry

Science and Technology

Tourism

Energy

Agriculture and Food

Horticulture

Forestry

Marine

Inland Fisheries

Services

Financial Services

Entertainment Industry

Supporting Enterprise in Trade and Industry

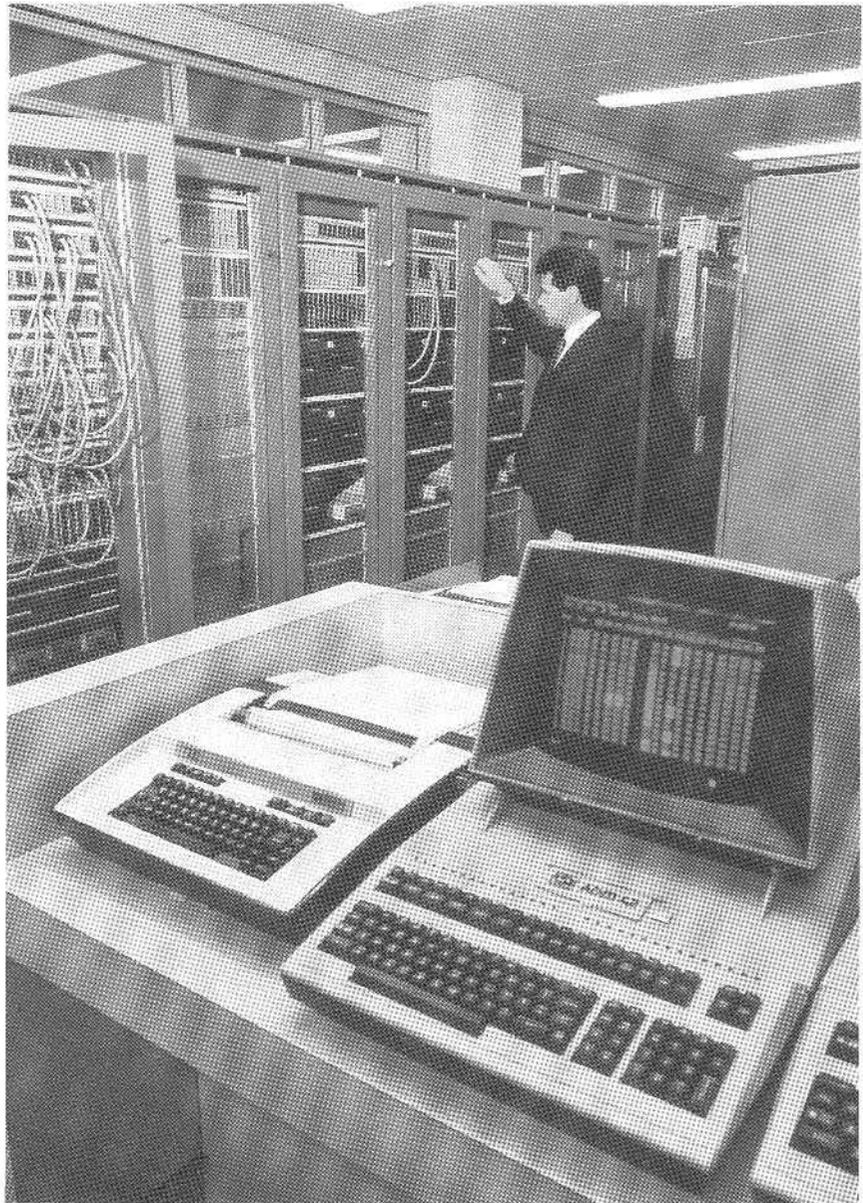
Fianna Fáil will concentrate on export led growth.

The new industrial revolution, the information-technology revolution creates enormous opportunities for Ireland, and gives us the possibility of competing on equal terms in a way not possible in the past. Exploiting these new areas does not require large investment in fixed assets. Our intelligent and highly educated young population possesses the skills demanded by these new industries. We can create successful small firms in computer software and in components for high-tech programmes. With access to the right markets we can create suitable niches for ourselves.

We also have to recreate a climate that strongly encourages business enterprise, with special emphasis on developing small businesses and on self-employment. Central to industrial strategy must be a concentrated export drive, reversing the trend which caused a drop by nearly half a billion pounds in the value of exports last year. Two out of three manufacturing jobs depend on exports: real growth in employment can come only from exporting more.

Key elements of the Fianna Fáil approach:

- * We will concentrate investment resources on areas such as micro-electronics, information technology, biotechnology, chemical and pharmaceutical products and on natural resources based industries such as food processing, mariculture and fish-farming, timber processing.
- * We will work to restore Ireland's attractiveness as a location for foreign investment, and will conduct a concentrated drive both in countries that have provided the bulk of the investment in the past and in new regions, such as the Far East, which are only now beginning to invest abroad on a substantial scale.
- * We will encourage the increasing emphasis by the IDA on technology and marketing. We will encourage the IDA to extend its efforts to develop indigenous manufacturing industry.



* We will set up a Product Identification Centre, resourced mainly from existing development agencies, to speedily identify product possibilities suitable for Irish export industry.

* We will encourage the development of export services, especially financial services. Our aim is to make Ireland a financial centre of international significance.

- * We will identify small enterprises with export potential and actively encourage their export activities. This will include the fostering of group marketing schemes.
- * We will work to reduce costs that make our exports less competitive. One example is the simplification of export documentation, where we will immediately set up a task force drawn from within and outside government. Another cost to be addressed is that of insurance, where the present unsatisfactory situation has implications not alone throughout industry but also in the personal lives of many people. We will also examine ways of rectifying the situation that has arisen, where the banks in demanding personal guarantees have negated the whole concept of limited liability.
- * Side by side with vigorous export development, we will strengthen manufacturers in the home market by import substitution within the public sector. There is considerable scope for improvement in this area, consistent with our EEC obligations.
- * We will encourage export marketing activity through personal tax incentives, aimed at stimulating immediately a much stronger sales presence in overseas markets.
- * We will emphasise the trade role of our diplomatic missions abroad to ensure that the development of our export trade receives its proper priority and we will deploy our resources for that purpose.

Putting Science to work



Fianna Fáil will implement a new approach to science and technology, aimed at producing rapid results in terms of growth.

Ireland must harness science to the task of creating economic growth. We must get more Irish manufacturers doing research and development (now only 1 in 20 does any R & D at all). We must commit to technology the same level of resources that other small countries do. We must seek out niches to suit Irish talents and resources; we must exploit scientific progress to create new and improved products.

Higher priority for science and technology will better equip our industries to adapt to change, which is essential to their survival. Even more important, it will create new sources of wealth and jobs, and lay the foundation for a high-technology, high-income economy.

Key elements of the Fianna Fáil approach:

- * A Minister of State for Science and Technology, who will maximise the contribution of the area to our economic development. This will provide national co-ordination at the highest level.
- * Concentration on the best prospects for immediate success, such as Biotechnology, Information Technology, Mariculture and Engineering.
- * Identification of neglected opportunities, and elimination of overlap and duplication in the present fragmented approach.
- * Comprehensive tax arrangements to encourage greater research and development activity by private-sector companies in this critical area. These will point the redeployment of state research funds to ensure more effective use of existing resources. The overall aim will be link research expenditure directly to commercial potential.

The new approach is outlined fully in the Fianna Fáil document 'A Policy for Science and Technology'.

Putting growth back into Tourism

Fianna Fáil will aim to regain Ireland's market share in a growing world market.

Revitalising tourism must be a top national priority. The industry is a big employer, with earnings from it multiplied many times through all economic sectors and all parts of the country. It is a major user of native raw materials, a major earner of foreign exchange. Effort put into tourism, if correctly channelled, will produce early results.

Fianna Fáil will restore a clear sense of direction to this vital industry, and by doing so will reverse the present trend where Irish tourism income is falling while world tourism increases.

Key elements of the Fianna Fáil approach:

- * **Promotion.** We will shift resources away from administration and towards the promotion of this country abroad. We spend too little on promotion compared to our competitors, and this aspect must be given higher priority within the allocation of available resources.
- * **Marketing.** We will re-examine from scratch our marketing stance, in the light of the needs of today's tourists. We will determine the most effective market positioning for Ireland in the world of tourism, then focus our resources on building a secure future within that chosen niche.
- * **Access.** We will ensure that the potential for improved access that is now developing will be fully exploited and co-ordinated, and that improvements in transport to Ireland will be aggressively promoted so that they immediately pay off in tourist revenue. Improved access for visitors is critical to tourism growth.
- * **Organisation.** We will rationalise the development of tourism policy, now fragmented among a wide range of agencies. We will give tourism a priority in the structure of government that reflects fully the part it should play in the national economy. We will give those working in the industry a more effective input into policy.

- * **Investment.** We will encourage investment that is aimed at raising standards, improving facilities and creating more attractions for visitors. One way we shall do this is by extending the Business Development Scheme to the tourism area.
- * **Natural Environment.** We will foster greater awareness of the central need to preserve our natural environment, in protecting and developing our tourism product.
- * **Competitiveness.** We will give priority to improving price competitiveness in tourism services.

Using our Energy Resources to Stimulate Growth

Fianna Fáil will encourage resource exploration, and use energy policy to generate growth

A vital element of our Programme for Economic Recovery is the supply of energy at a more competitive price, since Irish energy costs are now higher than those of most of our competitors. Equally, we cannot in present circumstances afford to have valuable national assets lying idle or under utilised.

Key elements of the Fianna Fáil approach:

- * **Natural Gas.** We will change the present approach to natural gas, which creams off the maximum short-term profit for the State through high prices. Instead, Fianna Fáil will adopt a flexible pricing policy and stimulate economic development and job creation by supplying gas at favourable rates to key areas. Development of further finds of natural gas will become viable only if the market for gas is larger: we will aim to develop the market and build a national grid that will eventually cover all major centres; immediate priorities will be to supply Drogheda and Dundalk. If more natural gas is found, it could provide the basis for a cheap energy policy and for the eventual development of a petrochemical industry.
- * **Oil.** Fianna Fáil policy will be directed to bringing oil ashore at the earliest possible date. To do this we will provide terms for offshore development that will give a fair return both to the nation and to investors in this high-risk area. We will aim to maximise the potential for job-creation in adjacent coastal areas. Any oil revenues created will be used to ease the financial situation of the State and to invest in the national infrastructure. We see both Whitegate refinery and the Whiddy terminal as capable of playing important future roles.
- * **Mineral Exploration.** We will encourage onshore exploration by providing investors with a clear and attractive framework for development. Ireland has considerable mineral wealth yet to be explored, and investment capital for this type of development is available under the right conditions.
- * **Electricity.** Fianna Fáil will aim to reduce electricity prices to a level closer to the European average.

* **Peat.** Fianna Fáil remains committed to the maximum utilisation of our peat resources. Bord na Móna is on the threshold of great change as its peat production phase approaches maturity. Its future role needs to be clearly defined, and we will provide a new and wider brief to fit the organisation for the years ahead and make it fully market-oriented. New product development, overseas consultancy and the utilisation of cutaway bog are some opportunity areas that call immediately for a fresh impetus. We will examine how Bord na Móna can be developed into a Resources Development Corporation with responsibility for both forestry and bogs, taking advantage of the latest advanced technology which has potential to create considerable added value.

610 Making Agriculture profitable in a changing world



Agriculture will be central to Fianna Fáil's Programme for Economic Recovery. Fianna Fáil policies will be directed towards restoring confidence and investment in the industry and increasing farm income. Fianna Fáil will lead a market-driven approach to food production, creating new opportunities for adding value.

The entire agricultural and food sector will be integrated so that we can quickly adapt to changing patterns of consumer demand and achieve growth by supplying the type and quality of products that the market calls for.

We will enlist the brains and the expertise of the agri-food industry, the scientists, the chemists, the research workers, the production experts, the specialists in the financial institutions, to bring a whole new momentum and impetus to making Ireland a quality food producer of international importance. The increased application of bio-technology to agricultural products offers a very definite prospect for an opening up of new markets and an increase in agricultural incomes.

Key elements of the Fianna Fáil approach:

- * The creation of a new Department of Agriculture and Food. The work of all State and semi-State organisations with a role in food production will be co-ordinated by this Department.
- * A new Agriculture and Food Council, to provide continuous input into policy-making from all the major sectors of the industry during the coming period of development and change.
- * A target of £1 billion extra income from high-quality pure food products. Realising this target would create 10,000 jobs directly, and 20,000 more in downstream activities.
- * The promotion of Research and Development programmes for the development of new by-products in Agriculture and the strengthening of each semi-State enterprise to achieve maximum employment and added value in this sector.
- * Better farm financing. In addition to the lower interest rates that Fianna Fáil's economic policy will strive to bring about, we will encourage lending organisations to convert farming debt into long-term mortgage-type finance.
- * Education and training to provide the technical and management skills for profitable operation in modern conditions. We will ensure better co-ordination and cost-effectiveness of research, educational and advisory services.
- * A Land Authority, to encourage the buildup of as many family farms as possible to a reasonable size.
- * A diversified range of dairy products, created by redirecting resources to marketing and product development in the dairy industry. Such a product range is needed to preserve and improve profitability in dairy farming and food processing, as well as create jobs. Greater co-operation between co-operatives, including amalgamations where necessary, will be encouraged so as to create the scale of business necessary to compete in world markets.
- * Grading schemes to encourage better quality and presentation of all meat products. Beef cow numbers must be increased to counter the effects of milk quotas, and calf mortality must be reduced; the bovine TB eradication scheme will be actively pursued. Rationalising pig processing will be completed, to make our product acceptable on all world markets. Efficiency

in poultry processing is needed so that imports can be reduced and exports increased. The quality of the sheep herd will be raised, and a special effort made to introduce sheep management techniques to farmers not already engaged in this enterprise.

- * A target of national self-sufficiency in cereal production within five years (saving £100 million annually in imports). Export opportunities will be developed for high-value specialised grain crops.
- * A major drive to halt the decline in rural population, including a focus on the development of alternative farm enterprises such as agri-tourism and deer-farming to produce supplementary income.
- * Top priority for the review of disadvantaged areas, and a revised scheme for drainage and development in Western areas.
- * Development of the Thoroughbred Horse Industry on the basis of the recent report of the Commission of Enquiry.
- * Development of the Half-bred Horse Industry by a re-organised Bord na gCapall.

Putting life back into Horticulture



Fianna Fáil will replace horticultural imports and create new jobs.

We must reverse the present trend in Irish horticulture, and once again create growth. We must replace as much as possible of the £87 million of fruit and vegetable imports that could be home-produced.

Growth in horticulture demands better organisation among growers, particularly in marketing. Equally, it demands better organisation of State assistance, which is now fragmented and lacking in co-ordination. Together, these changes will equip horticulture to respond effectively to changes in the marketplace.

After a product-by-product examination of the entire horticultural sector, Fianna Fáil believes that a realistic 5-year

target is to substitute £37 million of imports, and to create £23 million of exports. This will create over 3,000 new jobs.

Key elements of the Fianna Fáil approach:

- * Appoint a Minister of State with sole responsibility for the development of the horticultural industry.
- * A new horticultural development authority. One body will in future be solely responsible for the overall development of the industry. This will bring together all the State's research, advisory and educational services.
- * Better organisation of growers. State assistance will be channelled largely to units which are organised to supply the quantity and quality that the customer requires, and which can develop the marketing expertise to compete effectively with imports.
- * Modernised facilities for produce assembly, chilling and storage.
- * More investment. Lending organisations will be encouraged to take part in the rejuvenation of horticulture. We will create conditions to attract venture capital, particularly to the areas of processing and marketing.
- * The provision of natural gas to the glasshouse and mushroom industries at a competitive price where the gas grid allows. The Fianna Fáil document 'A Policy for Horticultural Development', already published, outlines fully our plan for the industry.

Giving Forestry a Commercial Thrust



Fianna Fáil will stimulate investment in the forestry industry and restructure it to cater for market needs

Forestry offers immediate prospects for increased employment, and considerable scope for import substitution. With the right management structure and expertise, we can make this country self-sufficient in timber, develop valuable export markets, and create a range of timber-related industries.

Fianna Fáil will put the planting programme back on target, and ensure that the community fully benefits from the nation's investment in this area. We will create a new awareness of the potential of forestry in our overall economy, and we will inject into the sector for the first time sound business criteria as the basis for decision-making.

Key elements of the Fianna Fáil approach:

- * Arrange for a commercial semi-State structure to manage the State involvement.

- * Forestry planning to be based totally on market-related criteria. Extending the planting area of hardwood trees will become increasingly important.
- * Increased emphasis on research and development.
- * Active promotion of planting by farmers.
- * Co-operative forestry programmes.
- * Encouraging private investment in afforestation.
- * Joint ventures with farmers, private investors and the State.

Developing our Marine potential



Fianna Fáil are convinced that there is scope for major development of our marine and marine-related resources, with consequent benefits for the economy in terms of wealth creation and additional employment. There are opportunities to be grasped both in expanding existing activities and developing new ones which have been neglected so far. Fianna Fáil intends to launch a comprehensive and co-ordinated programme designed to exploit to the full the opportunities that exist for maritime industry.

Under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea this country will shortly have assigned to it a 200 mile exclusive economic zone. This gives us jurisdiction over an area five times

the size of Ireland. A co-ordinated Government policy directed towards the development of this marine resource is required. The country can no longer afford to neglect it.

The need for early and positive action in the marine area has been made more necessary and urgent because of the liquidation of Irish Shipping, the closure of Verolme Dockyard and the generally depressed and demoralised state of the sea-fishing and boat building industries.

All aspects of maritime activity must now be tackled in a co-ordinated and energetic way so that the country can get from the sea the economic benefits it is capable of providing. The marine sector must be nurtured in the same way as the agricultural, industrial and service sectors.

The first requirement is the preparation of a comprehensive policy covering the whole spectrum, identifying growth areas, the actions and resources needed to achieve that growth, the time-scales of implementation, the economic returns. This needs vigorous and undivided attention at Government level which cannot be provided at present, with responsibility spread over many Departments.

Fianna Fáil will therefore entrust responsibility for the policy aspects, co-ordination and general direction of marine and marine-related activities to a new separate Department to be set-up, Roinn na Mara.

The following major issues need to be addressed:

- * promoting public awareness of the importance of the sea and its resources, in collaboration with educational and other interests
- * developing the stocks within our exclusive fishing limit, enforcing the country's exclusive fishing rights, encouraging greater employment in fishing and promoting improved marketing, necessary research being conducted in all these areas
- * planning and implementing the development of the mineral resources of the country's 200 mile Continental shelf, through research, use of most modern marine equipment, data collection and processing, etc.
- * planning and developing sea fish-farming and mariculture industries generally

- * establishment of a Marine Research and Technology Institute, to promote the level of research appropriate to this country in all relevant areas
- * developing and implementing a new shipping policy in the wake of the liquidation of Irish Shipping to assure this country of the availability of at least a minimum strategic fleet in terms of overall capacity and composition to meet the country's needs in the event of an emergency, but which would be used to trade profitably in peace-time
- * examination of how Irish-owned ships can be helped to secure not only the highest possible proportion of this country's sea trade, but also of international shipping business, including examination of any legislative and other restrictions that impede this
- * re-establishing a profitable Irish ship-building, ship-repairing and marine-servicing industry, and re-vitalising the boatbuilding industry
- * preparing a national harbour development policy, identifying ports to be developed, the appropriate management status and structures for these ports, etc.

All of these would be arranged in close consultation with all the interests involved.

Fianna Fáil's document 'Roinn na Mara' outlines in full detail the aims, functions and structure of the new Government Department. The overall objective is to exploit the potential of our marine and marine-related resources to the full, providing at least 20,000 jobs over a period.

Developing our Inland Fisheries

Fianna Fáil will realise the employment and other economic potential of this neglected asset.

Our inland waters are an underexploited resource of high importance. Like the tourism sector as a whole, they offer an immediate opportunity to create jobs and earn foreign exchange. The inland fisheries potential is so great that it merits attention on its own rather than as part of the tourism sector.

Following a careful examination of the possibilities, Fianna Fáil's target will be to create an additional 4,000 jobs from inland fisheries development over the next 5 years. Our long-term aim, which is equally attainable, is to establish Ireland as the angling centre of Europe. We will focus proper attention for the first time on the economic potential of our 357,000 acres of lakes and 8,600 miles of rivers.

Key elements of the Fianna Fáil approach:

- * A co-ordinated research and development programme, backed by EEC funding, to provide a firm basis for decision-making.
- * An action programme on pollution, protection of spawning grounds, introduction of new hatching stock, disease prevention and control.
- * Improvement of fish stocks, financed with EEC assistance.
- * Locally financed schemes to improve access to fisheries and to develop other relevant amenities.
- * Broader representation on regional boards for all the interests involved.

Services

The service sector is the biggest employer in Ireland. It employs 56% of the Irish workforce — twice the number employed in manufacturing. Its share of the workforce grew from 46% in 1975 and continues to increase.

Fianna Fáil will encourage expansion in high growth services with export potential and high added value. We will concentrate on specific internationally traded services, such as healthcare, the financial services, technical and consulting services and data processing.

These industries depend on highly skilled personnel, technology and communications, not location or heavy capital investment. With our highly educated workforce and our advanced telecommunications system, we are uniquely well-placed to generate internationally saleable services.

The service sector has good growth prospects, and can contribute to regional and national development; Fianna Fáil is committed to exploiting this.

Financial Services

The Irish financial services sector has considerable growth and employment potential. Rapid advances in communications technology, coupled with deregulation, have resulted in banking, insurance and other financial services becoming increasingly internationalised. The European Community aims to create a single financial market by 1992.

Ireland is ideally placed to build up a strong international financial services centre. We have a first-class computer-literate workforce, an advanced telecommunications network and an advantageous geographical location.

Fianna Fáil will designate certain sites, equipped with the necessary infrastructure, for the establishment of high-technology financial services. We will put in place an appropriate regulatory structure to facilitate the development of new financial products and services for sale on international markets. We will actively pursue the development of this area. The benefits in terms of high-quality employment are considerable, a wider range of services will be provided for Irish industry and business and a considerable increase of investment funds made available.

An Entertainment Industry

The entertainment industry has always played an important role in our social and cultural life. More recently it has assumed a very significant economic dimension with a high employment content.

The industry comprises the following activities: Feature and Documentary Film Making; T.V. shows and Documentaries; Live Music Concerts; Recorded Music — Records — Compact Discs and Video Theatre; Music Publishing; Book Publishing.

It is the intention of Fianna Fáil to adopt a comprehensive policy of development for the industry that will encourage it to 'package' its talents for export. This policy will also encourage international performers, production companies, and managements to establish themselves in Ireland thus creating a large community of creative talent and entertainment business skills.

By introducing an attractive package for the entertainment industry, Fianna Fáil will create a climate for a sector that has the capacity to be a significant export earner and tourism promoter for Ireland. Fianna Fáil recognise that the entertainment business is, uniquely, a labour intensive activity depending heavily on the human skills and talents that are clearly widely available in Ireland. The policy would be designed to maximise the considerable spin off benefits to all sectors of the Irish economy through the presence of a vibrant and successful Irish entertainment industry.

Improving the National Infrastructure

Training for Employment

Civil Service

Semi-State Bodies

Transport

Broadcasting

Decentralisation and
Regionalisation

Environment

Training for Employment

Fianna Fáil will focus on preparing, educating and training people for employment and on a manpower policy to place them in suitable jobs.

Jobs can be created only by the development of new and existing enterprise, but emphasis must also be put on equipping people with the right skills for the jobs that are and will become available.

Key elements of the Fianna Fáil approach:

- * We will make existing manpower and training services more effective by providing an integrated service at local and regional level. We will set up Regional Manpower Boards whose brief will be to identify training and job opportunities within each region, to co-ordinate the roles of all the various agencies now involved, and to provide a more effective return on resources by cutting out overlap and duplication.
- * We will expand the terms of reference of the industrial training committees. Their new brief will include assessing the potential for job creation in each industry, identifying technological change affecting each industry, and recommending facilities and programmes needed to realise job potential.
- * We will establish a single-access system for all training and employment services. This will include comprehensive information for all school-leavers and unemployed.
- * We will introduce a counselling and guidance service for the disadvantaged and the unemployed to encourage the full use by them of existing schemes.
- * We will seek a review of the European Social Fund criteria to meet training needs, particularly for the over 25s and the long-term unemployed.
- * We will establish a national committee on management training, to co-ordinate the present effort which is spread across industry, colleges, training agencies and the Irish Management Institute. We will totally review the funding arrangements for management training, to ensure that resources are used to provide the best return.

The Civil Service

Fianna Fáil will create the conditions in which the civil service can make the fullest possible contribution to economic recovery.

There is abundant talent in the civil service, whose traditions of loyalty and commitment are among the highest in the world. What is needed now is to more effectively harness and deploy that talent, raise morale and acknowledge the contribution civil servants can make when properly led and motivated.

Key elements of the Fianna Fáil approach:

- * Ministers will set clear priorities and targets, and responsibility for meeting these will be clearly allocated. Staffing will be allocated within and between Departments on the basis of settled priorities, and progress in meeting targets and objectives clearly monitored.
- * Maximum use will be made of information technology and modern management techniques, drawing on outside expertise where necessary. Full training will be provided where necessary, and all change implemented in consultation with staff interests.
- * Fianna Fáil are committed to the settlement of claims in the civil service through an orderly negotiation process. The existing conciliation and arbitration scheme has served both Government and staff well, but it is widely accepted that it is now in need of updating. Fianna Fáil will do this, in consultation with the staff organisations.
- * Modern communications have reduced the need to keep together all related activities of individual Departments. Fianna Fáil will prepare a programme for the phased decentralisation of selected services, as part of an overall effort to secure a better balance between Dublin and the rest of the country. We will aim to delegate some functions from offices in Dublin to provincial areas, particularly those of Departments with local offices. In some cases, such as the Departments of Health and the Environment, delegation of some functions to local authorities will be pursued.

The Role of Semi-State Companies

Fianna Fáil will restore to the State companies their role as development corporations.

The State-sponsored sector, which was largely created under Fianna Fáil Governments, has served the country well. The time has now come to re-examine the role of each of these companies, to ensure that their resources and talents will remain fully employed towards the realisation of today's priorities. Fianna Fáil continue to see State-sponsored companies essentially as national development corporations, with a key role in economic development, scientific and technological research and development, and new products and outlets.

Key elements of the Fianna Fáil approach:

- * We will carry out a regular review of the basic brief of all companies in the State-sponsored sector.
- * We will work to restore the teamwork relationship between government and the State companies. In recent years this relationship has often become an adversarial one. This trend must be reversed.
- * We will take steps to restore to all of the State-sponsored sector the spirit of endeavour and capacity for enterprise that was previously their hallmark.
- * We do not believe that profitable parts of the operation of State companies should be sold off to commercial interests while less profitable or loss-making areas are left to the State. Fianna Fáil support the concept of viable State companies, with a mix of activities enabling them to fulfil their overall national purpose, pay their way and provide an efficient, cost-effective service.
- * We will, where appropriate, encourage the potential that exists for new joint ventures between public and private sectors.

Improving Competitiveness through better Transport

Fianna Fáil will maintain and develop the system of transport links, both internal and external.

For an island nation, an effective transport policy is particularly important; on it depends our ability to develop reliable, speedy and economic access to our export markets, as well as inward access to the country for tourists. Fianna Fáil's aim will be to improve the quality of our communications and reduce their cost, recognising their critical importance to national competitiveness in both commerce and tourism.

Key elements of the Fianna Fáil approach:

- * **Access.** We will attach high priority to providing efficient, competitive and profit-making transport links both across the Irish Sea and directly to Europe. In this context we are perturbed at the present state of affairs in B & I. Fianna Fáil will initiate the process of re-establishing an Irish crewed and flagged deep-sea fleet. We will encourage the further development of Aer Lingus, including its fleet renewal. We will support efforts to increase business through and in our airports, and will continue the development of viable regional and local airports.
- * **Road Haulage.** We will promote the development of an efficient road haulage system and will support efforts by entrepreneurs to make their mark in the international haulage business.
- * **Export Services.** We will encourage Irish transport companies, both private and public, to sell services and expertise in Middle East and Third World markets.
- * **Public Internal Transport.** Recognising the economic and social importance of good public transport, we will work to achieve the highest possible efficiency in the national transport system. Private bus operators will continue to play an important auxiliary role in the provision of transport services. We will encourage the development of spin-off industries from CIE's engineering expertise. We shall emphasise the importance of a commercially successful Bus Atha Cliath and of providing efficient public transport to the city suburbs.

Broadcasting

RADIO

The simplification of radio technology and the availability of efficient but cheap transmission equipment has led to a proliferation of private radio stations because of the absence of legislation. Fianna Fáil believes that it is essential that this whole area be regulated.

- * To that end, Fianna Fáil will introduce a Local Radio Bill under which a Local Broadcasting Authority will be established, involving local community groups as well as local authorities, to regulate local and community broadcasting.
- * Raidió na Gaeltachta has been a successful example of community broadcasting. Fianna Fáil will actively investigate, in consultation with RTE the extension of Raidió na Gaeltachta's transmission hours, as well as the possibility of some limited form of commercial expansion.
- * The possibilities for a Long Wave Radio Service will also be actively pursued.

TELEVISION

In its 25 year existence, RTE has served the nation well. The whole area of the communications media is one, however, which is constantly undergoing change and on return to Government Fianna Fáil will:

- * Actively re-examine all aspects of Ireland's present television service.
- * In particular, in harmony with our overall policy of decentralisation, we will work to promote the development of more regionally based programmes reflecting views and values of life from a regional perspective.
- * Fianna Fáil will also investigate, in consultation with the broadcasting authorities, the feasibility of a limited form of Gaeltacht television on a pilot basis.
- * Fianna Fáil will also examine the feasibility of developing educational television, even if, in the initial stages, this has to be done on a limited basis.
- * World-wide developments in satellite broadcasting inevitably involve this country. Fianna Fáil will seek to ensure, as regards orbital slots allotted to Ireland, that the national interest is kept constantly in mind.

Decentralisation and Regional Policy

Fianna Fáil believes that local areas can be given a more direct and creative role in contributing towards national recovery.

- * We will resume the implementation of our Decentralisation Programme with the decentralisation of sections of Government Departments to centres outside the Dublin Region. Such a policy will not only reduce regional imbalance in public sector employment but will also help to reduce the pressures on the Dublin Region.
- * We will promote the preparation of integrated development programmes in the regions for which EEC funding will be available. We will encourage the regions to prepare feasibility studies for the regional programmes to ensure the maximum benefit from national and EEC funding.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In accordance with our local election Document, 'Power Back to the People', Fianna Fáil will undertake a comprehensive re-organisation of local government structures. This will include:

- * In addition to the existing County Councils and County Boroughs, the creation of smaller units based on the district rather than the town, as at present.
- * In the Dublin Region, new District Councils will be established within the existing four-Council area.
- * Voluntary bodies and community councils will be given representation on District Council sub-committees.
- * Special consideration will also be given to Gaeltacht electoral areas, to facilitate the establishment of Gaeltacht District Councils.
- * We also believe that there is a need for a more creative role for local authorities in the creation and promotion of local enterprise, in the effective organisation and operation of planning procedures, in the protection of the local environment, in re-inforcing the local fight against crime and

in giving local authorities greater access to EEC funding. We must ensure that the locality, whether this be a Gaeltacht area, an area of great natural beauty or an area with distinctive amenities or resources, is not developed or designated without local input and consultation on the ground.

- * Local authorities will be responsible for housing, water and sanitary services working within overall capital limits with minimum interference from the Department of the Environment. There will be greater use of block grants rather than specific grants for the various capital items.

GRANT PAYMENTS

Grants administered from central sources in many departments could be more effectively administered through Local Authorities. These will be identified and administration transferred to Local Authorities.

- * Fianna Fáil believes that Local Authorities must assume the role of local enterprise agencies initiating development, linking the operations of state agencies in their areas and stimulating construction, thus helping to tackle the unemployment problem.

LOCAL AUTHORITY FINANCES

- * Fianna Fáil will introduce legislation which will eliminate the present uncertainty whereby Local Authorities cannot anticipate what the money from the Central Exchequer each year will be. The legislation will provide that the Local Authorities will receive a statutory contribution each year from the Central Exchequer which will be sufficient to provide for a satisfactory level of necessary services.
- * Often Regional Fund money is used for projects that would have been financed at national level anyway. The money goes just to pay for projects already decided on, not to pay for extra ones. This needs to be changed so that payment is made directly to the local level and not to the National Exchequer.
- * Fianna Fáil will introduce procedures whereby Local Authorities can make direct application for regional funding and receive such funds directly from the Community.

Environment

THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

Fianna Fáil believe that the Construction Industry can play a major role in National Recovery. We will create a positive environment for the industry which will provide the confidence which is the key to recovery in the industry. The main elements in the Fianna Fáil approach will include:

- * Establish a National Roads Authority.
- * The restoration of a Section 23 - type incentive to stimulate private sector investment.
- * The reduction of the VAT rates on construction projects from 10% to 5% as soon as possible.
- * Establish a Construction Industry Development Board comprising representatives of Government, employers, trade unions and the professions. The Board will encourage the development of the industry, both economic and technological, facilitate the export of construction services and products, and ensure that the benefits of the Public Capital Programme will be to the advantage of Irish suppliers.
- * Increase the supply of serviced land for housing, factories, schools, hospitals and other development necessary to meet the needs of our growing population.
- * Release as soon as feasible school, harbours and other projects which are at present being held in various departments.
- * The review of the entire administrative system and the burden of red tape in order to shorten the time between conception and completion of construction projects.
- * The re-establishment of the monitoring section of the Department of the Environment, to maximise the benefits of the spin-offs of the public capital programme as well as of States, Semi-State, Local Authority and Health Board Purchasing.

ROADS

Transport costs amount to 12% of the final price of manufactured products on sale to customers in Ireland. We

believe that with an efficient road network, these costs can be reduced by 25%. An efficient road networks is a vital component of National Recovery. We propose:

- * The establishment of a **National Roads Authority**. This will be responsible for the development of an integrated network of National primary, secondary and access link roads to ports and airports.

The authority will provide a single focus for the development of this total strategic network, and the result will be a significant acceleration in the rate of progress in the development of the network.

The authority will be responsible for the identification of sections of the network in need of improvement, the design of improvement works, construction, and maintenance. All projects on the strategic national network will be constructed on the basis of open competitive tender. The National Roads Authority will have power to act on its own or in partnership with any other private or public organisation.

- * To encourage joint ventures with private investors, especially in the construction of ring and relief roads, bridges and multi-storey car parks.

COUNTY ROADS

- * The establishment of a National Roads Authority will not interfere with the position of Local Authorities in relation to 92% of the total roads network. Fianna Fáil view with concern the rapid deterioration of the county roads system generally. A special five year programme to assist Local authorities to maintain the county roads in a proper manner will be drawn up. A specific and increased proportion of the annual exchequer grant for roads will be allocated to fund this programme. We believe that the preservation of the investment of over sixty years in county roads is essential.

- * Road systems in Gaeltacht areas will be classified separately and funds allocated accordingly on an annual basis.

HOUSING

Within our overall commitment to National Recovery and to the role of the construction industry in that process, Fianna Fáil will encourage:—

- * The development of joint-venture housing schemes between private investors and public bodies such as Local Authorities.
- * **The Development of Co-Ownership Housing** This would involve the house purchaser in sharing the ownership of the house with the Local Authority, with an option to increase his or her equity and buy out the Local Authority interest in the property, as the purchaser's income position improved.
- * Special schemes to cater to the needs of the elderly, the homeless and the disabled.
- * **Voluntary Housing Agencies** Fianna Fáil supports greater incentives for these Agencies as they can make a valuable contribution to meeting housing needs. Facilities should be made available to them to build in urban renewal schemes and to participate in existing schemes as well as in co-operative house schemes.
- * Legislation to provide for the needs and rights of the homeless and Fianna Fáil will consult with organisations such as the Simon Community to ensure that such legislation will be comprehensive and compassionate.
- * Fianna Fáil will continue our historic commitment to the provision of local authority housing.

RENTED ACCOMMODATION

In relation to Local Authority Rents;

- * Fianna Fáil totally opposes the decision of the Fine Gael/Labour Government to renege on the undertaking of successive administrations as to the method of determining Local Authority Rents.

We believe that there should be a nationally-devised scheme of rents and on election to government, we confirm that there will be consultation with the representatives of the Local Authority tenants prior to determining Local Authority rents on a national basis, as was the situation before.

In relation to **Private Accommodation**, Fianna Fáil recognises the importance of the private rented sector which comprises 10% of all dwellings and in which over 220,000 people live. Fianna Fáil will set up a working party to report in six months and which will review rented accommodation. This working party will

consist of representatives of landlords, tenants, voluntary bodies and relevant Government Departments, all under the direction of the Department of the Environment.

The brief of the working party would be to develop clear and detailed guidelines on condition of letting; the regulation of rents; the introduction of standardised leases; the maintenance of physical standards.

Fianna Fáil believes that these guidelines should form the basis of new legislation which would govern this sector and that such should be introduced as matter of urgency.

ENVIRONMENTAL AMENITIES

In Ireland, people are becoming increasingly concerned about the quality of our environment. Rivers, the sea, bathing areas, parklands and other amenities have all shown signs of being adversely affected by both excessive and inadequately designed development. Fianna Fáil believes that :-

- * It is vital to protect and maintain green-belts especially in our major cities and towns.
- * In too many areas, the quality of bathing places in unsatisfactory. A major commitment is now required to remove pollution from our beaches and seas and so restore a safe quality to those vital natural resources.
- * Fianna Fáil is also aware of the need for tighter legislation to control the potential sources of the pollution of our air and seas.
- * In addition to smog, the atmosphere, especially in major urban areas, is affected by acid rain.

Human health and building are being harmed. Fianna Fáil believes that there is an urgent need for far greater curbs on industrial emission of sulphur dioxide and for a lowering of the level of lead content in the petrol which we buy.

Fianna Fáil intends to press ahead with proposals to have lead-free petrol more widely available on the Irish market. Fianna Fáil believes that the Litter Laws, introduced by the last Fianna Fáil Government, are not being enforced by the Coalition. We renew our commitment to the anti-litter campaign and to preserving and developing our national surroundings generally.

PLANNING

305-20
3-35
Fianna Fáil recognises the need for planning controls that balance the rights of individuals with the community interest. Information on development plans should be readily available, easily understood, and the period needed to make planning decision should not be unnecessarily protracted. Delays in granting planning permission and decisions involving unnecessarily complicated conditions are a costly hindrance to development and often involve the postponement of desirable projects which have a high employment input.

In office, Fianna Fáil will review controls and charges—

- * Charges for outline and modifications of existing planning permissions will be nominal so as to encourage application for potential new work.
- * Charges in the case of unsuccessful planning applications shall be reviewed.
- * An Bord Pleanála shall be required to decide appeals within four months.
- * Exempted authorities such as Government Departments will be required to give adequate public notice of major development proposals so that individuals and community interests will be able to make their views known before development commences.
- * Unfinished Estates: In office, Fianna Fáil will insist on the completion of estates. In many areas, there are estates where roads and footpaths are incomplete and where lighting and open spaces are not provided. Neither are adequate local shopping facilities or schools.

Fianna Fáil proposes that the relevant Local Authority should compel builders to provide such infrastructure while the estate is being developed. This might be done in phases agreed on between the Local Authority and the developers. Moreover, in guarantee of such agreements, the developer should be obliged to lodge index-linked and verifiable bonds to ensure the completion of estates in their entirety.

DEVELOPMENT

Fianna Fáil will introduce legislation to close the loop hole in the law, be it in relation to planning or sanitary services, whereby

at the moment the Courts hold the view that if the land can be connected to a sewer, it can be developed or otherwise compensation is payable notwithstanding zoning considerations and the development plans of the Local Authority.

URBAN RENEWAL

Fianna Fáil will, in consultation with local representatives and community groups, continue and actively develop our long-standing commitment to Urban Renewal integrating the revitalisation of the residential sector including the rehabilitation of older buildings with commercial development and enterprise.

Caring for Basic Values

Social Welfare

Health

Education

Justice

Women

Youth

An Ghaeilge

Arts

Heritage and Conservation

A Better Managed, More Humane Social Welfare

Fianna Fáil will maintain benefits in real terms, while streamlining social welfare administration and removing anomalies.

Our aim will be to maintain Social Welfare allowances in real terms, to ensure that the position of recipients is not eroded by inflation.

A priority will be to continue our work in improving the status, dignity and security of older people in the community.

We will make the administration of the social welfare system more fair and more efficient:

- * We will simplify the appeals machinery, emphasising impartiality, and ensure that it operates on uniform criteria for eligibility.
- * We will accelerate computerisation, to give greater efficiency and to cut out delays.
- * We will review the workings of the Family Income Supplement, which is availed of by only a limited number of people at present.
- * We will examine sympathetically the small number of cases where people fail to qualify for pensions because of changes in the structure of the system that took place between the 1950s and 1970s.
- * We will extend optical, aural and dental benefits to the spouses of insured workers.
- * As budgetary circumstances permit, our aim will be to improve the value after inflation of children's allowances.
- * As recommended by the recent Commission on Social Welfare, we will invite wider participation in policy-making through a new advisory body which will represent all the interests involved.
- * Outside the State system, we will regulate the operation of occupational pension schemes. We will work towards making pension rights fully transferable, and protect the position of employees whose companies go into liquidation.

A Sensible and Caring Approach to Health

Fianna Fáil will shift the emphasis towards the promotion of personal health care through better lifestyles and to community rather than hospital-based care.

Our overall aim will be a comprehensive health service geared to the future needs of all the Irish people. To ensure that this can be provided in an age of expensive high-technology developments in medicine, we will undertake an immediate review of the entire funding of the health services, including a wider role for the VHI.

Central to Fianna Fáil health policy will be a shift towards the promotion of health. Much illness today is directly related to how we choose to live, and investing in healthier people is a sound financial decision. Encouraging a healthy lifestyle will get higher priority.

The threat from AIDS, which will be immediately addressed, is an example of a major health problem where preventive action has far-reaching benefits both in human and in economic terms. Special treatment facilities will be provided as a matter of urgency.

An equally fundamental shift will be the gradual transfer of resources from hospital care to community care. Many who are elderly, handicapped or suffering from long-term illness could be cared for more effectively within their own communities rather than as long-term hospital patients. We will ensure that there are adequate facilities for prevention, diagnosis, treatment, education and rehabilitation of the mentally and physically handicapped with more emphasis on community services. We recognise the important contribution made by the Voluntary Organisations in the care of the handicapped, and we will continue to work closely with them in the further development of services. Upgrading out-patient and day hospital facilities, which are inadequate at many centres, will be part of this change in emphasis. Residential care will continue to be provided for those who need it.

The Choice-of-Doctor scheme, now 15 years in operation, will be reviewed to ensure maximum efficiency and value.

We will take immediate steps to streamline the administration of the health services, reducing costs and providing more effective care:

- * Duplicate means tests, now carried out both by Health Boards and the Department of Social Welfare, will be abolished.
- * We will set up a proper system in each Health Board for appeals on eligibility claims, ending the anomaly under which appeals are now heard by the official who made the original decision.
- * We will search out ways to improve the system for individuals, yet at minimal or no cost to the State. An example is the problem of sufferers from long-term illnesses using the Drugs Refund Scheme, who are now expected to make large outlays on drugs each month. Most of this money is eventually refunded by the State, but having to provide money for several months is often difficult for limited-eligibility patients.

Planning Education

Fianna Fáil will work to create a consensus on the development of education and will guide that development more closely toward employment possibilities.

Education, which involves fully one-third of our population, faces a challenge of huge numbers and limited resources. Fianna Fáil, who pioneered major changes in the past, will put back into education a clear sense of direction based on sound long-term planning. A priority will be to foster a consensus as to aims and objectives among all involved.

Education has an important support role in our economic recovery. Key elements of the Fianna Fáil approach :

- * Stronger industry links. We will reactivate links between post-primary schools and industry. At 3rd level we will inject a strong commercial orientation through Enterprise Centres in all colleges. To facilitate closer industry links, VEC 3rd level colleges will be empowered to do research.
- * More emphasis on science and languages. As part of the higher national priority for science and technology, science subjects will get more attention. To respond to the needs of export marketing, post-primary schools will be encouraged to offer a second European language other than French.
- * An employment placement programme for 3rd level graduates will start at once, using Youth Employment Agency funds. Many young people now emigrate immediately on graduating, and priority will be given to keeping this valuable human resource within the economy.

Improvement in Education must be related to the availability of resources and in this context we will seek to:

- * Reduce the pupil/teacher ratio, initially at primary level and then progressively into the post-primary system.
- * Simplify the entry system to 3rd level.
- * Provide more 3rd level places by accelerating the new RTCs and other extensions already in the planning pipeline.
- * Review the primary curriculum, and encourage an integrated psychological and health service for primary schools. (Fuller

details of Fianna Fáil's approach to primary education are in our policy document "Education — The Early Years").

- * Set up the Curriculum Board on a statutory basis, while ensuring that reform and innovation will proceed in conjunction with the retention of sound educational standards.
- * Plan new school buildings to be adaptable for future change, and to be suitable for community use outside school hours.

Fianna Fáil will encourage the development of current trends in co-education, all-Irish schools, multi-denominational schools and parental involvement. Continuing and adult education will have a key role in long-term planning.

Justice

Given the unacceptably high levels of crime, especially violent crime, personal injury and malicious damage, Fianna Fáil renews our commitment to:

- * defeat the criminal
- * protect persons and property, and
- * support the victims of crime.

Fianna Fáil rejects the view that there is such a thing as an "acceptable level of crime" and instead, we propose that the Gardai, Courts and Community Groups be re-mobilised to defeat the criminal.

THE GARDAÍ

The Garda Síochána have served the country well. Fianna Fáil believes that better use can be made of the Gardaí by building on our existing resources and by reorganising them. Fianna Fáil proposes:

- * To set up a **Garda Review Group** — for a major reorganisation of operational structures.
- * Greater emphasis will be placed on **Training** and in particular, practical training, community relations and management.
- * The better use of the Garda Training College for Garda-related research, in-service training and project work.
- * To provide a better Garda presence in the community and to improve detection rates, Fianna Fáil policy will free more Gardaí for duty by providing more **civilian** back-up in routine office and other administrative duties.
- * To develop a more efficient system for the use of Garda time in areas such as the prosecution of Court cases and "post duties" around public buildings, such as the Dáil and Embassies.

THE COMMUNITY

Fianna Fáil encourages greater contact between the Gardaí and the rest of the community through Neighbourhood Watch,

Community Alert, Victim Support Schemes, Civil Defence, and other groups in the Community service and welfare.

We also propose:

- * To give the local community a greater say in ensuring that personal safety and the security of homes and property will be restored.
- * To set up Community Consultative Councils to advise the Garda Síochána on the needs of the community, to co-ordinate the efforts of local Public and Voluntary bodies in overcoming crime and vandalism, and to assist in outlining future needs.
- * To continue our support for the extension of Neighbourhood Watch Schemes.
- * To support the growth of the recently formed Irish Association for Victim Support, and to review legislation in regard to support for victims of crime.

DRUGS

Fianna Fáil believes that there must be a relentless effort to prevent the spread of drug abuse. We want to make Ireland free from illicit drugs and their devastating effects on families and communities.

We propose:

- * Severe mandatory sentences for drug traffickers including sentences of not less than 20 years for traffickers in hard drugs and that they will serve out the full sentences **without remission**.
- * To impound and on conviction, to confiscate all goods and assets illegally acquired through drug trafficking.
- * To establish a **Drugs Unit** within the **Customs Service** and to increase the powers of Customs officers to detain, search and charge suspected drug carriers.
- * To increase the resources of the Garda Drugs Squad and to ensure that drug pushers are detected and brought to justice.
- * Increased use of the Health Education Bureau to promote preventative programmes in schools, community centres and among the public.

- * To press for a co-ordinated E.E.C. Policy on drugs detection and on the tracing of assets illegally acquired through drug trafficking.

LAW REFORM

In addition to our proposals on family law we will also undertake a vigorous programme of general law reform. This will include the up-dating of many of the existing laws and the removal of anomalies.

- * Bills, which we have already prepared, to impound and on conviction, to confiscate the assets illegally acquired through drug trafficking; to ban video nasties and regulate the supply of videos in accordance with international standards; the simplification of the law in relation to conveyancing; and legislation to deal with the handling of stolen goods.
- * The up-dating of regulations governing the legal profession; This will include the setting up of a Legal Services Review Commission which will oversee the provision of legal services and make on-going recommendations to the Government and to the professional bodies in areas such as the provision of Criminal and Civil Legal Aid; advertising; the continuation of two separate legal professions; legal costs, legal education and training; and the accessibility of law and the legal profession to the general public.
- * That no order for extradition shall be made unless there is prima facie evidence against the accused; that the administration of justice in the requesting State conforms with the norms of the rule of law and the extraditee shall not be subjected to cruel, inhuman or downgrading treatment.
- * Stiffer penalties for uninsured drivers.

FAMILY LAW

- * Fianna fail will reform the existing court procedure for dealing with family law cases to minimise the legal trauma for all involved and will introduce court procedures which will shift the emphasis in the litigation from confrontation to factual enquiry.

- * The grounds on which a judicial separation can be obtained will be extended to include desertion, constructive desertion, separation for a period of 3 years or where both spouses consent, a lesser period provided that the spouses have availed of counselling.
- * In appropriate cases the Courts will be given power, in addition to the powers already there, to order the payment of lump sums as part of maintenance.
- * Where there has been a default in the payment of maintenance, Fianna Fáil will give the Courts power to order that the amount of the maintenance which is unpaid, be converted into a charge on the property of the defaulting spouse.
- * Fianna Fáil will recognise the valuable work done by the spouse in the home, by giving the right to share in the ownership of the family home.
- * A mediation service will be developed to advise on such issues as custody of children, maintenance, the ownership and occupation of the family home, the distribution of family assets and any other problems that arise as a result of separation.
- * Where a marriage has broken down and reconciliation is not possible, the aim of Fianna Fáil policy will be to ensure that the problems that arise can be dealt with fairly and with as little acrimony as is possible.
- * That there is available throughout the country a professionally based counselling service, through which pre-marital courses can be conducted. Such a service would also be available to assist couples whose marriages have got into difficulty.
- * A special course on the Family in Society will be introduced into the curricula of all post-primary schools. This course will seek to ensure that young people grow up with a clear understanding of the nature of marriage.

THE PRISON SYSTEM

Fianna Fáil recognises the urgent need for a comprehensive and progressive legal system, in the best interests of both the individual offender and the community at large. In recent years, a large number of persons convicted of crime have actually been refused admission into our prisons. In addition, many prisoners

have been released early, having served only a small part of their sentences. Fianna Fáil will tackle this problem and ensure that those guilty of serious and violent crimes will be dealt with effectively.

THE COURTS

The present Courts system can hardly cope with the current high volume of criminal cases, particularly at District Court level. Fianna Fáil will reform and update the Courts enabling them to function more quickly and effectively. It is our policy:

- * To review and upgrade the **prosecution system** and in particular, to facilitate the release of Gardaí for police work in the community.
- * To review the statutory provisions for **sentences** and penalties to provide the Courts with an up-dated basis for adequate and uniform standards.
- * To strengthen and renew our commitment to the **Juvenile Liaison Scheme**, which is a preferable way of handling juvenile offenders.
- * To introduce a '**Night Court**' system in major urban areas, in order to eliminate the current long delays in bringing the criminal to justice.

Improving the Status of Women

Fianna Fáil will further develop and enhance the role of women in all aspects of Irish life.

Improving the position of women in society has always been a Fianna Fáil priority. Our aim is to eliminate discrimination and create the conditions which will allow women to play a full and active role in every area of Irish life, whether they choose to work full-time in the home or outside the home. Full equality before the law, and increased participation by women at all levels of decision-making, is vital to enable both sexes to adapt to the changing conditions of modern living.

Key elements of the Fianna Fáil approach:

- * We will reform the law on rape, and review the services and procedures in this area. We will also amend the law to protect women against domestic violence.
- * We will review advertising standards, with the aim of eliminating the exploitation of women in the media.
- * We will aim to ensure that women in all parts of the country have easy access to information on areas such as cervical cancer and breast screening. Legislation on safety and health in the workplace will be made more effective.
- * In education, we will initiate a drive to eliminate sexism in textbooks. We will aim to have women represented on all interview boards where these exist within the school management structure, and will encourage VECs to provide opportunities for women to pursue second-chance education.
- * Fianna Fáil, who initiated the appointment of women of calibre to State institutions, will pursue a policy of positive discrimination to increase the number of women at all levels of responsibility within the public administration.
- * We will review the Equality Acts, with the aim of extending their scope.

Youth

In government we will create a climate for enterprise, investment and employment. We believe that maximum utilisation of new technology and indigenous resources will lead to substantial employment opportunities for youth. Fianna Fáil will foster youth involvement in the development of local community ventures.

Apart from the provision of adequate resources for formal education at all levels we are conscious of the ever increasing need for sport, recreational and entertainment facilities. We are convinced that 'Youth Work' is an integral part of the whole educational process and commend the special contribution of the many Voluntary Organisations.

However, while dedicated to the spirit and concept of voluntary effort we believe that the provision of an agreed professional element is indispensable to the efficiency and growth of voluntary bodies.

Furthermore, we will

- * Implement appropriate measures to redress the injustice and tragedy of deprivation and disadvantage among young people especially the homeless.
- * Improve legal, education and therapeutic measures to eradicate drug abuse.
- * Examine the means of providing more reasonable motor insurance charges.

An Ghaeilge

Tá neartú agus forbairt na Gaeilge mar chuid bhunúsach de pholasaí Fhianna Fáil agus bhí ón tús. Baineann seo leis an áit lárnach atá ag an dteanga i bpearsantacht na cine.

Ní féidir a ghlacadh go dtuigeann an gnáth dhuine tábhacht na Gaeilge do'n náisiún. Caithfear, mar sin, é sin a aithmíniú do'n dtír agus an t-atmasféir Ghaelach a athmhúscailt. Tá tábhacht thar chuimse leis na meáin cumarsaíde sa ghnó seo agus fiosróidh Fianna Fáil, ar dhul i gcumhacht dóibh, conas tabhairt faoi.

Tá leath-cheal á dhéanamh i gcónaí ar thaobh na Gaeilge ar an dteilifís, cé go bhfuil pobal ollmhór sa tír a d'fháilteódh roimh riar réasúnta Gaeilge ar chláracha, go speisialta i bhfoirm cláracha dhá-theangacha. Beidh lán-tacaíocht Fhianna Fáil ag aon bheartas a déantar ina thaobh seo, agus beidh siad ag brú go méadofaí na cláracha sin.

Gléas feidhmiúil ó thaobh na Gaeilge a bunaíodh le linn tréimhse oifige eile de chuid Fhianna Fáil ab ea Raidió na Gaeltachta. Seasfar leis an tseirbhís seo agus déanfar dícheall le féachaint chuige go mbeidh na hacmhainní is gá aige le dul i dtreis.

Tá mór-chostas ag gabháil le bunú seirbhís teilifíse ach, mar chuid dár bpolasaí i leith forbairt a dhéanamh ar raon cláracha reigiúnda ar an dteilifís, déanfar fiosrú, ar bhonn trialach, ar sheirbhís teilifíse teoranta don Ghaeltacht a bhunú.

Tuar dóchais agus cúis misnigh is ea forbairt na nGaelscoileanna timpeall na tíre. Féachfaidh Fianna Fáil chuige go dtabharfar tacaíocht nithiúil don ghluaiseacht náisiúnta seo sa chaoi is go bhfeicfear breis forbairt fós air 'sna blianta atá le teacht.

A mhalairt de scéal atá ann maidir leis na bunscoileanna agus na h-institiúidí ag dara agus tríú leibhéal. Caithfear béim níos treise a chur ar múineadh na Gaeilge iontu san, go mór-mhór ar chómhra as Gaeilge. Cuirfidh Fianna Fáil chuige sin i gcomhairle leis na heagraíochtaí atá páirteach iontu.

Tacóidh Fianna Fáil chomh maith leis na coláistí samhraidh, a rinne dea-obair thar na blianta.

Cúis inní an meath atá tagtha ar an nGaeltacht, diaidh ar ndiaidh. Tá fáthanna éagsúla leis an meath seo -an sampla ó lasmuigh, daoine gan Gaeilge ag cur fútha sa Ghaeltacht 7 rl.

agus ní mór tabhairt fútha seo uilig, agus an Ghaeilge a dhaingniú agus a neartú sa Ghaeltacht.

Cúis inní freisin nach bhfuil an dea-shampla dá thabhairt ag cuid de's na h-eagraíochtaí Stáit in úsáid na Gaeilge, fiú amháin i dteidil a n-éagraíochtaí féin. Níl seo inghlactha, agus déanfar é a leigheas.

Le deich mbliana anuas, tá Údarás na Gaeltachta agus Bord na Gaeilge ag feidhmiú, dhá eagrais a bhfuil neartú na Gaeltachta agus forbairt na Gaeilge sa tír i gcoitinne mar aidhm acu. Fianna Fáil a thug seasamh fo-stáit reachtúil don dá cheann, agus a ghríosúigh agus a chumasaigh iad le dul i mbun ghníomh le fuinneamh le linn na dtréimhsí nuair a bhíomar i gcumhacht.

Tá sár-obair déanta ag Údarás na Gaeltachta ag soláthar post sa Ghaeltacht le linn tréimhse eacnamúil chomh tubaisteach is a chonaic an tír seo riamh. Tabharfaidh Fianna Fáil lán-tacaíocht dóibh leis an obair seo a bhuanú agus le cuir lena gcuid iarrachtaí. Déanfar amhlaidh le Bord na Gaeilge.

Níl sa teanga ach gné amháin d'ár gcultúr. Le roinnt blianta anuas tá borradh suntasach faoi'n gceol Ghaelach agus faoi rinncí Gaelacha. Treiseóidh Fianna Fáil leis an obair atá dá dhéanamh ag na h-eagraíochtaí atá ag cabhrú le seo agus le gnéanna eile d'ár gcultúr.

To restore confidence and morale and to revive the economy are both different aspects of the same central theme of national recovery. Both equally require a new awakening of the spirit of the nation. The preservation of the Irish language and culture are an integral part of this effort.

The media and especially television will be involved in a campaign to expand the use of Irish generally as an every-day language. The teaching of Irish in our schools and colleges and the general attitude to it need to be improved. The work of Údarás na Gaeltachta and Bord na Gaeilge will be fully supported.

The Arts an Enriching Dimension

The arts give a dimension to people's lives without which they are seriously impoverished. They contribute to the establishment of a sense of identity, both national and personal; and many of our social ills spring from uncertain identity feelings.

The arts also contribute to a sense of community, on both a national and local level. Nothing binds people closer together than a shared cultural experience or gives them more pride in their communal identity.

As well as employment opportunities our social objectives should also include rich and fruitful leisure time for everybody and an opportunity for everybody to share the experience of artistic creation, either on a personal or community level.

Fianna Fáil has done more than any other political party to foster and encourage the arts and takes a particular pride in the establishment of Aosdana and the special tax arrangements for creative artists. It believes that through their contribution to tourism alone and through our image abroad, the arts return fourfold to the community whatever may be invested in them.

Fianna Fáil has always been fully supportive of the Arts Council in its basic objectives and Fianna Fáil administrations have always done as much as conditions allowed to enable it to fulfil its role in supporting and encouraging creative endeavour; in deepening the public consciousness of art; and in fostering community involvement in the production and performance of works of art.

Fianna Fáil was the first to suggest that a sizeable proportion of the proceeds of the National Lottery should go to the Arts Council. It does not, however, believe that exchequer support for the arts should be superseded by the lottery or that handing over a proportion of the lottery proceeds should be the end of the government's involvement. There must be a continuing atmosphere of encouragement and support.

A Fianna Fáil Government will continue to bring forward imaginative initiatives to foster the arts and cultural activity with special emphasis on support for the individual artist. We will seriously tackle the possibility of establishing a national gallery of modern art.

Heritage and Conservation

Our heritage is both our past and our future. It is what we have received and what we will hand on.

We must protect our cultural and physical heritage; deepen the public consciousness of it; enable everybody to enjoy it and involve the public fully in its protection and preservation.

When last in office Fianna Fáil prepared legislation to bring all those parts of our heritage which were in state ownership together under one guiding and controlling body, a National Heritage Council: museums and galleries, parks, waterways, monuments and historic buildings. This body would be charged to protect and conserve, excavate, restore and make accessible in the most exciting and enjoyable way the rich heritage which is ours.

National Affairs

Northern Ireland

Foreign Affairs

Defence

Northern Ireland

The Report of the New Ireland Forum agreed by the four main constitutional nationalist parties will form the basis of Fianna Fáil's position on Northern Ireland in Government.

Fianna Fáil remain firmly of the belief that a united Ireland brought about by democratic means forms the best and most durable basis for peace and stability in Ireland. In the words of the Forum Report, it would restore the historic integrity of Ireland, a concept that is also expressed in Articles 2 and 3 of the Constitution, and it would end divisions in the country, that are still imposing an enormous economic burden on the people of this State.

Fianna Fáil also believe that the framework for a solution involving all the parties must be created by the British and Irish Governments, as was implicit in the commencement of the Anglo-Irish process following the December 1980 Summit in Dublin Castle between the Taoiseach Mr Haughey and the British Prime Minister. Any final settlement must be preceded by an all-round constitutional conference, at which all the main parties are represented, and at which the totality of relationships between all parties of these islands can be discussed.

Fianna Fáil have consistently made it clear that it cannot accept the constitutional aspects of the Anglo-Irish Agreement of November 1985. It would however support any worthwhile reforms or improvement in the position of the Nationalist community that could be brought about through the Conference. Fianna Fáil are willing at any stage to hold discussions with the political representatives of any section of the population in Northern Ireland which may offer an opportunity for progress.

A Fianna Fáil Government are committed to seeking substantial reforms in the administration of justice, the security system, so that they can be seen as genuinely impartial and in relation to continuing serious discrimination in employment will seek a system of affirmative action.

Fianna Fáil in Government will actively support North-South economic co-operation, and seek to give it a more substantial character with particular regard to enhancing employment in both parts of the island.

Foreign Affairs

Fianna Fáil are greatly concerned over the plight of the many thousands of young Irish people who have been forced to emigrate over the last four years. Special problems have arisen in the U.S. where the status and the general uncertainty of their situation prevents them from making definite plans for the future, and where they are often exposed to exploitation in their employment. This is a cause of great anxiety not only to those directly involved, but also to their families here at home.

Fianna Fáil will therefore undertake a major political and diplomatic initiative to secure legal status for those young people.

Over the past few years, Ireland has lost some of its traditional independence in foreign policy with an absence of distinctive positions or notable initiatives. Our position of neutrality in armed conflict has been undermined by equivocal Government statements, and by the failure to have suitable safeguards inserted in the Single European Act.

Fianna Fáil will uphold Ireland's position of neutrality, and maintain an independent policy stance on important world issues when necessary. While fully committed to participation through consensus, where possible, with our European Community partners, Ireland will follow its own policies in areas such as nuclear armaments, Third World issues and support for the role of the United Nations in preserving international peace.

Fianna Fáil will keep Ireland a nuclear-free zone and support all international efforts to combat and contain the menace of civilian nuclear power. We are acutely conscious of the lesson of the Chernobyl disaster illustrating the danger to life and to vital sectors of the economy from a serious nuclear accident. A Fianna Fáil Government will continue to press for the closure of the accident-prone nuclear complex at Sellafield on the basis of the all-party agreement obtained in the Dáil last December.

Fianna Fáil is also fully committed to active membership of the European Community. At the same time we observe that many of the benefits of membership, especially from the Common Agricultural Policy, are being eroded, and the gap in the prosperity and level of living standards between Member States has if anything widened. Fianna Fáil will conduct an in-depth and comparative examination of how Ireland has fared as a

member of the Community, as a basis for effectively pursuing future negotiations.

Fianna Fáil will uphold the dignity and protect the rights of the Irish citizen anywhere in the world and ensure that citizens are not extradited to any jurisdiction in which equitable treatment and a fair trial cannot be guaranteed.

Fianna Fáil will support policies designed to end apartheid in South Africa, and take initiatives to bring peace, justice and self-determination to Latin America, the Middle East and Afghanistan. Fianna Fáil will support human rights throughout the world.

Fianna Fáil will support and maintain the present programme of development aid, and will undertake any possible special measures which are appropriate in helping to cope with famine or other natural disasters.

Defence

The Defence Forces have a vital role to play in defending our sovereign independence, freedom and security; protecting our national resources; providing aid to the Civil Power and making a major contribution to international peace-keeping. Fianna Fáil believes that a constant review of organisation to take account of equipment, skills and career development is necessary in order to fulfil these roles.

Fianna Fáil recognise the outstanding service both at home and abroad of Ireland's Defence Force. The professionalism of our Forces on United Nations service is recognised nationally and internationally. The voluntary back-up service by the F.C.A. at home will be expanded by Fianna Fáil.

Army personnel have acquired many skills which can make a broader national contribution. We propose to continue with and encourage the career release of Army personnel. We believe that such military expertise should be placed at the disposal of the wider community by encouraging liaison with economic, business and job creating ventures outside the Forces.

Since our accession to the EEC, Ireland's Navy and Air Corps have been involved in a considerable range of services, from fishery and environmental protection to Naval and Military duties and rescue missions. Fianna Fáil will provide adequate resources to enable them to carry out these duties effectively.