

DUBLIN SOUTH-EAST ELECTION NEWS

PROGRESSIVE
DEMOCRATS

General Election

PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATS : 26 RANELAGH, DUBLIN 6. TEL: 973791

November 1992

Michael McDowell For Your No. 1 Vote

Michael McDowell is fighting for a vital seat in Dublin South-East. All political commentators have agreed that this constituency is one of the critical seats which will determine the outcome of the election.

It comes down to a fairly straight forward decision — will Dublin South-East give the Fianna Fail of Reynolds, Flynn and Doherty 2 seats as part of an overall majority? "To get that vital seat I need first preferences" says Michael McDowell "I am appealing to every voter in every household who supports open, honest and effective Government to give me their first preference vote."

We Need Jobs Tax Reform Crucial

The biggest issue in this election is jobs. Past policies have led us to a jobless total of 300,000. Growth in employment in the 30 years from 1961 to 1991 is only at the annual rate of 0.31%. For every 9 people in employment thirty years ago, all our efforts at industrial policy have created only one more job.

Michael McDowell, who has been the Progressive Democrats Finance Spokesman since 1987, has brought pro-jobs tax reform to centre stage. "Politicians who give out publicly about unemployment but support our present tax system are weeping crocodile tears" says McDowell.

Penal Tax

For a single worker below the average industrial wage, on earnings of £205 per week, the State takes 55.75% of every extra pound in taxes and employees' PRSI. When employers' PRSI is taken into account it costs the employer £2.54 to give the employee £1 extra in take home pay.

"This is a vicious penal tax rate on work and on investment in job creation" says McDowell "and until the Progressive

Democrat policy of radical tax reform is implemented vigorously, there is no solution to joblessness."

Pro-jobs tax reform is not the complete solution, McDowell concedes, but the Culliton report makes it clear that without job related tax reform no real progress will be made.

"In 1973 less than 2% of employees paid tax above the standard rate and unemployment was about 60,000. In 1989 43% of taxpayers paid tax at the high-

er rates and we now have nearly 300,000 unemployed".

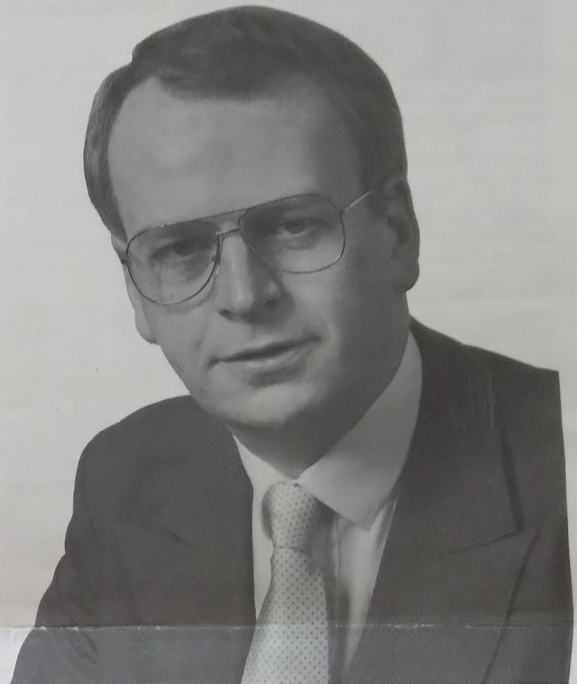
There is a simple message — tax work and employment penalty and you tax away jobs. If there is to be any change in unemployment it will only come about with radical pro-jobs tax reform.

Third Sector

58% of those on the dole are long term unemployed. We have got to provide universal training for young unemployed people and some form of voluntary 'third sector' employment for the long term unemployed.

The public and the private sector can not absorb the present number of unemployed. The State must devise a 'third sector' in which the resource of the jobless is matched to the needs of society. It is not beyond the wit of man or woman to devise and implement such schemes."

"I regard present policies that exclude the jobless from making any real contribution to society as immoral and unjust. Vested interests are pursuing a policy of human 'set-aside' without regard to the question of long term social justice.



Michael McDowell is aged 41 years. He is married to Niamh Brennan and they have two sons. He has always lived in Dublin South-East. Educated at Pembroke School, Gonzaga College, University College Dublin and Kings Inns where he studied law. He became a Senior Counsel in 1987. He is a co-founder of the Progressive Democrats and is the Party Chairman. Michael represented Dublin South-East in Dail Eireann from 1987 to 1989 and has been Finance Spokesman for the Progressive Democrats since 1987.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS ARE IMPORTANT

The Progressive Democrats plan to do the following in the short term as part of their overall programme to vindicate women's rights:-

- 1] To quickly implement legislation in relation to the family home and assets.
 - 2] To have a Constitution which defends the rights of pregnant women to have counselling, full contraception services and the freedom to travel and information.
 - 3] To end the Constitutional ban on divorce.
 - 4] To give women genuine equality at law in relation to pension rights.
 - 6] To reform the tax and welfare codes to encourage women to participate in Society.
 - 8] To put in place a system of pre-school education and play groups to help women to play a full role in society,
 - 9] To fully implement the recommendations of the Commission for the Status of Women.
 - 10] To encourage by legal measures the full integration of women into sporting and social life by bringing about equality of access to State funded or licenced facilities.
- But above all, we hope to lead by example. The Progressive Democrats believe this programme to be a realistic agenda for completion by 1995.

"The Progressive Democrats have a proud record on women in politics" — Mary Harney

The Progressive Democrats are the party with the strongest record in women's rights. At the very beginning Des O'Malley, Michael McDowell and I decided there would be real gender equality at every level in the party. We agreed that there would be no tokenism and no special party group for women. Every other party has had a women's group in order to relieve its consciences.

Success

The results were a spectacular success. In the 1987 election the Party fielded strong women candidates and the number of them elected amounted to one third of the Parliamentary Party. By contrast there were no left wing women T.D.s and in Fianna Fail and Fine Gael the number of women T.D.s amounts to less than 10%.

The 1989 election, saw the Progressive Democrats returned to the Dail with women still accounting for one third of their number. There were still no women among the left-wing T.D.s from Labour, the Workers Party or Democratic Left.

Local Elections

In the recent Local Elections the total number of women elected as a percentage of party Councillors among the main political parties

is as follows: Progressive Democrats 32%, Fianna Fail 7%, Fine Gael 12%, Labour 16%, Workers Party now the Democratic Left 17%.

These figures speak for themselves. But they tell only half the story. Within the Party the Progressive Democrats have overcome gender discrimination.

Dublin South-East

For instance, in Dublin South-East, 60% of branch Chairpersons are women. Both candidates at the last local elections were women. The Constituency Council is chaired by a woman. Dublin South-East has elected Liz O'Donnell to Dublin Corporation. She is a member of the Party's National Executive.

The Progressive Democrats were the first party to be chaired by a woman and still have by far

the highest proportion (50%) of women members on the National Executive of any political party. Women are annoyed when they hear the old parties talk about women's rights and find that *nothing is being done about them*. If the Progressive Democrats could get Mary Harney, Geraldine Kennedy, Ann Colley and Mairin Quill elected in 1987, why didn't Labour or the Workers Party get a single woman elected.

Real Equality

The recommendations of the Commission for the Status of Women, on which Cathy Honan, another Progressive Democrat is a member, are being steadily implemented. There is a lot more to be done. But only a party like the Progressive Democrats which *practices* gender equality at every level can properly tackle the real issues in sexual discrimination.



● Mary Harney T.D. former Progressive Democrat Minister of State

Mary Harney endorses Michael McDowell

Michael McDowell has an outstanding record in achieving equality and fair play for women in politics. Remember his courageous stand for Mary Robinson when she was attacked by Padraic Flynn during a radio interview. He needs your support on November 25th. I ask that you give him your No. 1 vote.

Progressive Democrats Care for the Environment

The Progressive Democrats are the Party of the Environment. Consider the achievements of the Party in the field of the environment in three short years.

- The control of Dublin smog
- The establishment of the independent Environmental Protection Agency.
- The abolition of outrageous rezoning practices
- The ending of the scandal of planning compensation.

In all these areas the Party was originally opposed by Fianna Fail but by persuasion, force of argument and public opinion we won the day.

The Party has achieved useful changes in planning control. Residents Association can now seek planning injunctions more cheaply in the Circuit Court. Development thugs who destroy listed buildings can now be forced to rebuild them.

Remember it was Mary Harney who was the first politician to speak out and stop the Eastern By-Pass. Her comprehensive Dublin Traffic Plan has largely been adopted Dublin Transportation Initiative with the strong support of **Progressive Democrat** Councillor Liz O'Donnell.

Rebuilding the inner city

The Progressive Democrats believe that Dublin City needs a realistic policy for its built environment which will make it a living city rather than a traffic corridor.

Michael McDowell has commented "Despite large scale destruction in the past this city still has a great legacy of buildings which could be the basis for a city where people live as well as work without being threatened by a constant drive to tear down everything that doesn't measure

up to modern development expectations"

Present renewal policy puts the emphasis on new buildings. This must change. There is an enormous stock of viable buildings suitable for housing and commerce, both north and south of the River Liffey and these buildings, properly used have the potential to transform the built environment in Dublin.

A start can be made by ending positive discrimination in favour of new houses whereby a £2,000 grant is available for the purchase of new houses only and stamp duty is payable only on old houses. Michael McDowell says "a change of emphasis to encourage preservation and refurbishment would revitalise the city centre."

There are many advantages apart from the aesthetic. Services such as transport, schools, churches and shopping

are abundant. To provide these services in a greenfield site outside the city adds enormously to the cost of housing. Roads and utilities such as gas and electricity are already in place. Inner city communities are well established, and their continuity helps to foster social cohesion. This in turn has an effect for the better on the prevention of crime and the terrible isolation which is often evident in new housing developments.

Michael McDowell also wants to see action on inner city derelict sites and says "derelict sites are a major eye-sore and the issue must be tackled . . . the owners must be identified and obliged to put their property in order."

Where dereliction persists the local authority must be given power to take sites in charge and ensure their proper development.



Michael McDowell and his wife Niamh have two children — Hu and South-East Constituency — which was also home to both their parent lectures in accountancy at UCD. She is a director of a number of text books in the field of accountancy. She is a director of Cooper Society of Chartered Accountants and of FISC, the accountants' volun-

YOUR VOTE COUNTS

Our Agenda for Minorities

Since its foundation, the Progressive Democrats have championed the pluralist cause. Ethnic, religious, philosophical and sexual minorities have always been assured that the Progressive Democrats protected their rights.

The Party's proposals for constitutional change, Mary Harney's brave stand for the rights of travellers, the Progressive Democrats insistence in implementing the decision of the European Court of Human Rights in relation to the Norris case — all of which are areas in which, regardless of popularity, the Party has spoken out for the weak and vulnerable in Irish society.

Moreover the Progressive Democrats fearlessly defended the principle of proportional representation when others threatened it or vacillated on the matter. The Progressive Democrats are allied at the European level with the Alliance Party in Northern Ireland, the Free Democrats in Germany and are part of the broad movement of liberal parties in Europe.



children — Hugh (4) and Ross (1). They have always lived in Dublin with their parents and grandparents. Niamh is a Chartered Accountant and a member of significant companies. She has co-authored several leading works of Cooperation North. She is a former Chairperson of the Leinster accountants voluntary advisory service.

Abortion Referenda: Where we stand

The Progressive Democrats ask you to support the Travel and Information proposals in the Referenda to be held on 25th Nov. next but to reject the so-called 'substantive amendment'.

Des O'Malley, leader of the Progressive Democrats, speaking in the Dail recently on the abortion referenda said he regretted that the consensus which the political parties had achieved on the Maastricht referendum did not extend to this more contentious set of issues.

If there had been such a consensus this abortion issue would have been dealt with by legislation rather than by referendum.

"The Oireachtas should not be afraid to legislate in difficult areas, because it is impossible to reduce the matter in all its complexity to a single proposition for inclusion in the Constitution on Yes or No basis."

"One has only to take into account the medical problems that arise for a small minority of pregnant women and the threats

posed to their health and lives and the implications they have for their unborn child."

"In these exceptional cases, which can derive from various medical conditions associated with cancer, blood diseases or heart problems, or which could be the outcome of serious accidents, the decision facing such pregnant women and the implications for their unborn, are matters which should be resolved by the women affected."

"Medical experts have a daunting task in deciding in all conscience what is the best course of action to take when they are directed principally by a general Constitutional statement that is hard to interpret in particular circumstances."



● Des O'Malley T.D. Leader of the Progressive Democrats

"That is why I have urged that these matters are best dealt with by legislation. It is simply impossible to reduce the complexities of this matter to a single black and white proposition to be enshrined as a basic principle of Constitutional law in this State."

"There is much in the debate of the last few weeks which is deeply offensive and insulting not only to women who have faced, or might face, traumatic choices relating to their life and health when pregnant, but which has also been very offensive and unfeeling to women in general.

NO POSTERS

THE PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATS IN DUBLIN SOUTH-EAST, IN THE INTERESTS OF A LITTER FREE CITY, WILL NOT PLACE POSTERS ON LAMPOSTS.

Why we need this Election

- In 1989 Albert Reynolds negotiated the coalition arrangement for Fianna Fail with the Progressive Democrats..
- In 1990 Albert Reynolds told a Fianna Fail meeting in Kanturk, Co. Cork, that the coalition with the Progressive Democrats was "a temporary little arrangement" which would brought to an end as soon as possible.
- In 1991 Albert Reynolds unsuccessfully challenged Charles J. Haughey. Hungry for the position of Taoiseach he promised that he would lead Fianna Fail to an overall majority.
- In February 1992, with the help of Sean Doherty, he undermined the position of the Taoiseach Charles J. Haughey and replaced him in that job..
- The Coalition Government, for its first three years, was highly praised by all commentators for being the most effective Government for twenty years and had high ratings in the opinion polls.
- The breaking point came when Albert Reynolds had to answer for his performance as Minister for Industry and Commerce in giving the Goodman organisation Export Insurance cover — which could have cost the taxpayer £170 million..
- The Beef Tribunal has already uncovered a series of malfeasances — just one of these, non-payment of PAYE taxes has resulted in the Goodman organisation paying many millions to the Revenue Commissioners. On this account alone the cost of the Tribunal was recouped.
- The reality is that Fianna Fail has gone to extraordinary lengths to stop the efforts of the Progressive Democrats developing the process of open Government.
- Scandals in the beef industry and certain semi-state trading companies would have been hidden. They only come to light when the Progressive Democrats joined the Government.
- The question to the voters on November 25 is — do you want proper, efficient and open Government or do you want to continue with the system of the nod and wink, of favours to inner circles of friends which are costing this country millions of pounds?



● Michael McDowell meets a Sandymount resident

PROGRAMME FOR CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

We failed to convince Fianna Fail that the time was ripe for comprehensive Constitutional reform in the life of this Government. But we haven't given up on our clearly stated aims. We remain committed to a radical Constitutional reform which would:

- abolish the Senate
 - scrap the constitutional referendums to the death penalty
 - replace Articles 2 and 3 with a positive statement about unity based on consent
 - reform the method of judicial appointments
 - repeal the ban on divorce
 - clearly separate church and state on the basis of mutual respect
 - end the one judgement once and-for-all rule in relation to constitutional challenges to laws
 - give an enhanced role to the Presidency
- The Progressive Democrats are the only party to have addressed seriously the issue of Constitutional reform by introducing comprehensive papers on the issues which include a draft of a proposed new Constitution for the Republic.

We Need Peace in Northern Ireland



● Michael McDowell with Sir Ninian Stephen, Chairman of the Strand Two talks on his recent visit to Dublin.

The **Progressive Democrats** have led the way in building bridges between North and South and between Orange and Green. The Party is linked with the Northern Ireland Alliance Party through the European Liberal and Democratic Reform Group (ELDR). The Official Unionist, SDLP and Alliance parties have sent representatives to **Progressive Democrat** conferences in the Republic.

The **Progressive Democrats** are committed to making a success of the current Northern Ireland talks.

"We are determined that the Northern Ireland talks will be successful" says Michael McDowell, who has made detailed proposals and analysis of the present problems and suggested possible ways forward. "We are convinced that the best way forward lies in both sides being open-minded and generous."

The revision of Articles 2 and 3 of the Constitution to reflect an aspiration for unity rather than a territorial claim would aid the talks process and is established **Progressive Democrat** policy. The European treaties will also help change the relationships of communities on both sides of the border and this dimension of European Union offers great potential for closer relations for all the groups and the two governments involved both at institutional and local levels.

The peace group, New Consensus International, was formed in 1988 originally by a number of **Progressive Democrat** members with the aim of challenging the apathy and ambivalence in the Republic about the Northern Ireland unrest. There are now, in Britain and Northern Ireland, cross-party groups which meet regularly. Their aim is to stop the killing on all sides in the Northern Ireland conflict. This movement demonstrates the capacity for people of all traditions to work together.

The Peace Train movement evolved from New Consensus and its success signals the hunger for peace and mutual respect which will eventually unite the two communities in Northern Ireland.

Semi-State Bodies The time for change

The **Progressive Democrats** are committed to major changes in the State and Semi-State commercial sector. Every company must be reviewed in terms of its ownership, structure and competitiveness.

Ports:

For instance take the Dublin Port and Docks Board — 40% of the Republic's roll-on roll-off exports are routed through Northern Ireland ports, adding 500km to the journey! Why? — Because Dublin Port is open for only 8 hours a day and because labour practices, ferry costs and port charges are much higher in Dublin. Larne is cheaper and open 24 hours a day.

Telephones:

There is scope for much greater competition in telecommunications — "We don't want to substitute a private for a public monopoly" says Michael McDowell "but Irish telephone costs are far too high. Ireland pays about twice as much of GDP in telecom charges as the average OECD state. We have got to get greater efficiency and lower charges. Competition in the use of telecommunications network is essential."

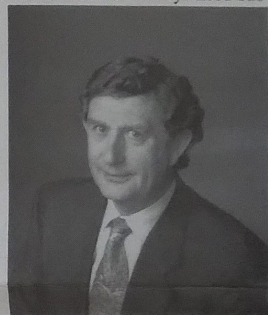
Post:

Likewise our postal services have to be radically restructured. "It's easier to buy a lottery scratch card than a stamp" says Michael McDowell "and it's harder and harder to find post boxes. "No wonder An Post is in difficulty."

The huge £70m loss at B & I has taught us the lesson that, things will have to change. Some public sector bodies will always need subsidy but that does mean that they cannot in other respects be competitive and efficient.

Energy:

The **Progressive Democrats** are working to reduce energy costs. That is why Robert Molloy has taken the necessary steps to link Ireland to European gas and energy grids. We will also have to introduce competition into the generation and distribution of electricity.



● Bobby Molloy T.D. former **Progressive Democrat** Minister for Energy

Broadcasting:

Despite the Century Radio debacle there has been an expansion of competition in broadcasting. The recent Broadcasting Bill however was an error. "Its thrust was wrong" says Michael McDowell, "Nobbling RTE was part of a political agenda — we need an approach that encourages competition while at the same time recognising a role for public service broadcasting."

Air Transport:

Aer Lingus and Aer Rianta must be reviewed to see whether exclusive state ownership is part of the problem or part of the solution.

We need your help to
secure your future

Please contact us to help
our election effort

To:
Progressive Democrats,
Election Office,
26 Ranelagh, Dublin 6
Fax : 973772

Tel: 973791

I would like to help with:
canvassing / literature drops / other

I enclose a donation of £ _____ towards
your election fund.

Name: _____

Address: _____

Phone: _____

Crime: Action Plan

Michael McDowell SC has extensive experience of Criminal Law and has made frequent calls for its reform to make our criminal laws more effective.

The **Progressive Democrats** propose:—

- Changing our bail laws to prevent abuse of bail
- Changing of bail terms so that bail is forfeited for criminal activity as well as for non-appearance
- Increasing the number of prison cells to stop the present revolving doors policy for convicted prisoners
- Standardising sentencing practice by means of a Standing Judicial Conference on sentencing
- Heavier sentences for crimes of violence
- Changing the rule that now allows an accused person remain silent during the trial of his case
- Speeding up criminal procedures
- Compensating victims of crime from a Central Criminal Fines Fund which would be financed by fines, proceeds of crime and property of those convicted of serious crimes
- Establishing a Serious Fraud Office
- Codifying the criminal law into one single statute