

1972

Sinn Féin Árd Fheis Clár 1972-73

Sinn Féin

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SINN FÉIN
ÁRD FHEIS



CLÁR
1972-73

Propaganda

- 1 A full time publicity officer be appointed, with responsibility for issuing statements on a national level, appointing local P.R.Os to handle publicity in the provincial press and to have overall responsibility for local news-letters.
CUMANN PATRICK MORAN
RUSCOMMON
- 2 A full time Publicity Officer for Sinn Fein without any other positions in Sinn Fein, be appointed to answer criticisms made in newspapers, and particularly the various left-wing journals, as well as carrying out the normal role of a Publicity Officer.
CUMANN ROBERT EMMET
TYRONE
- 3 That greater emphasis be placed on public relations and press publicity and that a member of the Coiste Seasta be given responsibility for this work.
CUMANN DICK McKEE. FINGLAS
- 4 For more intensified education of the majority of the working class in Northern Ireland with the setting up of a committee based on the same lines as a Comhairle Ceanntar for PRO's (to iron out press statements ect).
CUMANN HENRY MUNROE
- 5 That the Republican Movement at home and abroad make an all-out drive to counteract the pro-Establishment propaganda, and make our views known to the general public.
WILLIAM OPR REP. CLUB
BALLYMURPHY
- 6 That a central information bureau should be set up to gather and keep information on all struggles in which we have been involved, i.e. ground rents, fisheries, etc., and to have this information available to our local bulletins and members only, so that we can keep the people more informed of the struggles in which we are involved.
CUMANN JACKIE GRIFFITH A/CLIATH
- 7 That a propaganda campaign on the Movement and its policies be launched from Headquarters in the form of one leaflet each month to each club, this in turn to be duplicated and distributed throughout their areas.
JOE BAXTER REP.CLUB
CO. DOWN
- 8 That in order to counteract British Army propaganda in the news media, a stronger propaganda machine than the present one be built, not only on a national level but also on an international level.
OLIVER CRAVEN REP.CLUB
CO.DOWN
- 9 That Official Republican policy be more regularly published in all the available media.
COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR
CIARRAI THEAS
- 10 That the incoming Ard Comhairle implement the decision of the 1971 Ard Fheis, re establishment of Workers Radio throughout the 32 Counties.
WILLIAM ORR REP. CLUB
BALLYMURPHY

21 That all republicans come together in the fight against the common enemy. In order to achieve this all bickering must cease between both factions of Sinn Fein. These petty arguments not only waste valuable time and energy, they play into the hands of our enemies as well. So let us Officials take the first step on the road to internal unity by refusing to take part in any further slugging matches against Provos.

CUMANN RICHARD GOSS
WICKLOW

22 That the Movement should recognise the emergence of 'new' middle class politics who are trying to woo working class people on a 'pacifist' basis, and we should expose these people to the working class, directing propaganda against them.

GEORGE PLANT REP. GLUB
LR. ANDERSONSTOWN

Local Govt.

23 The Ard Comhairle resolution at last year's Ard Fheis clearly identified the proposed re-organisation of Local Government in both the Six and Twenty-Six counties as an attack on the very principle of local democracy. During the last year with the introduction of Direct Rule in the North and the Common Market Community Bill in the South, Local Government re-organisation represents a further erosion of the Irish peoples' power to control or even influence their own affairs.

In both parts of the country the major functions of local government - ranging from housing, transport to health and welfare services - are in the process of being removed from the control of an already greatly reduced number of local authorities (27 District Councils will remain in the North and only an amended County Council structure will survive in the South). The various functions of local government are now being regionalised without any corresponding creation of local, democratic regional structures to control and administer them.

In this the political thinking of the British and Dublin Governments is identical and is in direct opposition to the Sinn Fein policy of placing the control of local government in the hands of those affected by its exercise, i.e. into the hands of the people.

While the dismantling of local democracy has been more piecemeal in the South, it is in many ways in advance of the North. Fianna Fail has already taken steps towards setting up the undemocratic alternatives to local control. The nine regional planning boards for example are emerging as the real focus of new planning and development already beyond the control of the proposed new county authorities. The region health boards in the South are now over a year old, while the organisation of local government services in the North has been postponed until October 1973.

While Housing has been centralised in the North the Dublin Government's White Paper leaves open the possibilities of similar developments in the South.

In Ireland Local Government expenditure totals some £400 million representing 18.5% of the Irish G.N.P., and over 100,000 people are employed directly and indirectly in Local Government services. As such Local Government is one of our major industries.

- 11 That a Publicity Campaign with the aim of increasing U.I. sales be commenced on a national level, through well designed posters. CUMANN COUNTESS MARKIEVICZ
SLIGO.
- 12 (a) That the Republican Movement set up a Films Producing Committee, to undertake the making of documentary films on various aspects of exploitation in Ireland (e.g. housing speculation, redundancies, tourist industry, exploitation of young, Gaeltacht etc). (b) In explaining their content these short films must have a correct socialist line and must be a major part of our propaganda methods in the face of capitalistic media - RTE, BBC etc); (c) That this films committee be seen to be as important as Repsol and the United Irishman as a means of propaganda for the Movement's theory and policies.
REP. CLUB U.C.G.
- 13 More literature should be aimed at enlightening the Protestant working-class in Ireland, particularly in the North. CUMANN GEORGE PLANT
ENNIS CO. CLARE
- 14 A mass project should be got under way to get our policies across to the Protestant people. SEAMUS BURNS REP. CLUB
CLONARD
- 15 That Republican literature be printed in foreign languages, so that our propaganda may be more widely read and appreciated abroad. WOLFE TONE REP. CLUB BELFAST
- 16 That policy statements be issued each month. One side of these statements to be blank, where clubs can fill in details of local activities and advertise its presence. CO. DERRY EXEC. REP. CLUBS
- 17 That more discretion be used in the compiling of and issuing of statements. COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR
CIARRAI THEAS
- 18 That the phrase "Irish people" be not used in Republican Publications but that it be replaced by the phrase "Workers and Small Farmers". REP. CLUB U.C.G.
- 19 That Sinn Fein publications and statements should avoid the use of terms which are open to misinterpretation or distortion in such a way as to alienate the support of workers, small agricultural producers and owner managers of small businesses who fear the establishment of an extreme dictatorial regime even less democratic than the present government. CUMANN LEON O MHURCHU
CORCAIGH
- 20 That Sinn Fein, whilst pointing out the differences between ourselves and the Provisionals, should use its' propaganda more intelligently to seek to win the ordinary rank and file provo to the policy of our movement. CUMANN FRANK RYAN

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Sinn Fein, recognising Local Government as an industry in its own right sees the proposed British/Fianna Fail re-organisation as being similar to other nationalisations and 'take-overs' experienced throughout Irish industry in general. The reorganisation is thus directly in line with Britain's long term aim of consolidating and extending its control over the Irish economy.

Any possibility of Irish democratic control over this important industry is now being dismantled and control is being unplaced in the hands of a commercial-professional class unwilling and incapable of offering any resistance to British Imperialism.

Already the effects of this can be seen. Rent structure in both parts of Ireland are being 'rationalised' to bring it in line with the British Conservative Party Economic Rents Scheme. - At the same time Mr. Molloy in Dublin and Whitelaw in Belfast are ensuring that Ireland is kept ripe for property and land speculation by British and gombeen interests.

In Mallow, Monaghan, Armagh and Ballymena, local hospitals are being down-graded leaving large areas deprived of immediate hospital and casualty facilities.

Power and heating services to major housing areas throughout Ireland are being abandoned to private gas and oil companies.

Ironically in the North while the Local Government elections will be carried out on a democratic basis for the first time the power of the Councils has already been removed. The McRory reorganisation in denying democracy at a local level have side-stepped and nullified many of the Civil Rights gains.

These changes in the structure and control of Local Government readily define areas of struggle and agitation for the Republican Movement. Against the attempt to insulate Irish local government from democratic control, Sinn Fein must mobilise genuine democratic groups such as Tenants Associations, Housing Action Committees, Trades Councils, Community Groups and District Councils against the proposed re-organisation and against the undemocratic regional boards already established.

The politics of these boards should be exposed and their anti-working class measures disrupted and frustrated.

While the defeat of the Unionist Sectarian patronage has to be completed it is vital now that the Republican Movement activates the militant defence of working class interests in the fields of housing, unemployment and local industry, health and welfare, and community facilities. The achieving of North-South solidarity in working-class demands in these fields should be a major objective.

By its very nature this struggle is a 32 County struggle of unrelenting resistance to British penetration and control of this vital area of Irish politics. The grip of British commercial and financial interests formalised by the proposed Local Government reorganisation must be challenged and fought at every level by the Republican Movement.

Ard Comhairle

24 That (a) a practical and up to date guide for the operation of a Local Government Election campaign in urban and rural areas be issued; (b) That our Local Government policy be finalised before the end of January.

CUMANN DICK McKEE.FINGLAS

YES.

25 Realising that the Republican Movement will never be accepted by the Establishment as an 'open Political Organisation', this Ard Fheis resolves that the contesting of the Local Government Elections is part of the strategy of the Republican Movement and not an end in itself.

CO. ANTRIM EXEC. REP.CLUBS

YES

26 That the Ard Fheis re-examine electoral policy, with regard to our participation in the forthcoming 6 County Local Government elections.

COCHRAN/LOWANS REP.CLUB
CO.DOWN

YES.

27 That the Movement reverse its decision taken at the 1970 Ard Fheis to contest Local Government Elections in the Six Counties, primarily because of the acceptance of the McRory Report, which should be opposed from the outside.

NORTH-WEST EXEC. REP.CLUB
DERRY CITY

LEFT TO A.C.

28 In view of the increasing sectarian situation and also in view of the undemocratic nature of the McRory Report, the Republican Movement should reverse its decision of the 1970 Ard Fheis which referred to the Movement's participation in Local Government Elections in the Six Counties.

MARTIN O'LEARY REP. CLUB,
SHANTALLOW, DERRY.

29 That Local Government election plans be postponed, and not be contested. This is taken in view of the fact that internment, brutality, and the Special Powers Act etc., remain, and our taking part in these circumstances would seem that we are lowering ourselves to the standard of the administration which is responsible for this situation.

SEAN SABHAT REP.CLUB
BELFAST

30 That this Ard Fheis, through its cumainn and comhairle ceanntar call on local Government to cease the sale of public held land to speculative building companies for private housing, and that it devote its resources to the building of Local Government Housing Schemes which can be rented out at a reasonable rent.

CUMANN MICHAEL McGRATH
WATERFORD

YES.

31 That Sinn Fein demands the immediate re-instatement of all democratically elected Local bodies which have been suspended, and also the removal of legislation which allows the Minister to deprive the people of their local democratic representation.

CUMANN ROBERT EMMET,ATH CLIATH

YES

32 That this Ard Fheis abolish the compulsory ruling that elected candidates, when taking their seats in Local Government in the Six Counties, take the oath of allegiance, and that we make it compulsory that elected members should not take the oath irrespective of the circumstances existing at the time.

PATRICK PEARSE REP.CLUB
ARMAGH

NO 5

Publications

- 33** That this Ard Fheis, recognising the important role that propaganda must play in building a revolutionary movement in Ireland recognises as a matters of priority the need of the Republican Movement to:
- Produce an urban orientated national weekly paper;
 - Maintain the U.I. as the national monthly journal of the Republican Movement;
 - Establish Teoiric on a regular basis as the quarterly theoretical paper of the Movement designed primarily for internal consumption within the Republican Movement and encouraging the right of reply to articles printed;
 - Acquire a printing press on which to print all of these publications and also expand the capabilities of Clo Naisiunta and Repsol.
- CUMANN FINTAN LALOR
ATH CLIATH
- 34** That the incoming Ard Comhairle devise a way for the Movement to produce:
- a weekly news sheet;
 - monthly U.I.;
 - 4 monthly Theoretical journal e.g. Teoiric.
- CUMANN SEAN McCAUGHEY
WICKLOW
- 35** That a theoretical magazine be brought out bi-monthly, responsible to the editorial board, with the right of reply guaranteed, and that it be strictly for internal circulation.
- CUMANN FRANK RYAN
- 36** That 'Teoric' be brought out every 2 months and that it be strictly internal, that the right of reply be guarded and that it be under the control of the editorial board.
- COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR
ATH CLIATH
- 37** We propose that it be left to the Ard Comhairle to appoint the editor of 'Teoric', who will work in conjunction with an editorial committee.
- COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR,
ATH CLIATH
- 38** That Eoin O Murchu be made editor of an internal theoretical journal.
- CUMANN EAMONN CEANNTAR
DUBLIN
- 39** That a weekly newspaper, with an initial circulation of approx. 10,000 copies be established immediately for sale through newsagents, factories and any other sales area not covered by the U.I.
- CUMANN COL. LEONARD
DROGHEDA
- 40** In addition to the monthly U.I., a weekly newspaper with a limited circulation and aimed at industrial workers be produced by the movement. Rural cumann to help in the sale of a farmers newspaper to be produced by the Small Farmers Defence Association.
- CUMANN PATRICK MORAN
ROSCOMMON
- 41** That the organisation produce a weekly news paper to be circulated by members mainly in their place of employment where feasible. This paper reporting activities of the Movement in the 32 Counties weekly.
- PATRICK PEARSE REP. CLUB
ARMAGH

- 42 That the U.I. be brought out on a fortnightly basis. CUMANN FRANK RYAN
- 43 That the United Irishman be brought out fortnightly. COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR
ATH CLIATH
- 44 That the incoming Ard Comhairle take immediate steps to bring out the United Irishman on a fortnightly basis. CUMANN JAMES CONNOLLY
TRALEE
- 45 That an editorial committee for the U.I. and Teoiric be elected by the Ard Fheis each year. U.C.D. CUMANN
- 46 That the editor of the U.I. be employed on a yearly basis to be renewed at the Ard Fheis and that the Ard Comhairle be held responsible for the quality of the paper. CUMANN SEAN RUISEIL
ATH CLIATH
- 47 That the U.I. be under the direct control of an editorial board, which should be elected by the Ard Fheis and responsible to the Ard Comhairle. CUMANN FRANK RYAN
- 48 That the Ard Fheis instructs the incoming Ard Comhairle to appoint an editorial committee to be responsible for the United Irishman. That this editorial committee be representative of all branches of the movement and of all four provinces, as far as is practicable and that it be responsible and responsive to the Ard Comhairle of Sinn Fein. CUMANN AN PHIARSAIGH
ATH CLIATH
- 49 That the structure of the U.I. be changed to cover more about the fight in the North. MARTIN O'LEARY REP. CLUB
DERRYMACASH CO. ARMAGH
- 50 That the United Irishman give more adequate coverage to all aspects of the Northern situation in order that people may be made aware of the social injustices as well as the more overt type of military repression, from which all the ordinary working class people of the North are suffering. WOLFE TONE REP. CLUB BELFAST
- 51 That more coverage be given to the North and its problems in the U.I. and that a full page be given over to open letters, questions, answers etc., thus making the paper more interesting to people outside the movement. JOE BAXTER REP. CLUB
CO. DOWN
- 52 United Irishman should become more localised, i.e. on issues concerning the North. SEAMUS BURNS REP. CLUB
CLONARD
- 53 That the United Irishman be brightened up, more coverage for Six Counties and that all Republican Clubs submit articles and local news to U.I. Office. SEAN TREACY REP. CLUB
BELFAST

- 54 That the United Irishman consist of more local news, and that Sinn Fein should get a Printing Press of its own. CUMANN MARTIN O'LEARY
CORK
- 55 That the United Irishman devote a page each month to publicise county activities. CUMANN JAMES CONNOLLY
TRALEE
- 56 That the United Irishman publish more articles on industrial situations in Ireland in language that can be easily understood by its readership. JAMES CONNOLLY CUMANN,
ATHENRY, Co. GALWAY
- 57 That the U.I. publish more articles on International affairs to illustrate that the struggle in Ireland has its counterparts throughout the world in the fight against capitalism and imperialism. JAMES CONNOLLY CUMANN.
ATHENRY CO. GALWAY
- 58 That a 4-page educational supplement should be included in the U.I. every 3 months to complement the national educational programme and to summarise present policy. JAMES CONNOLLY CUMANN,
ATHENRY Co. GALWAY.
- 59 That the policy of the Movement should be published at least four times per year in the United Irishman. CUMANN COUNTESS' BRIDGE MARTYR
KERRY
- 60 That, as the language and content of the United Irishman is beyond the comprehension of the people we are trying to educate, efforts must be made to correct this situation. CO.DERRY EXEC. REP.CLUBS
- 61 The language of the United Irishman be simplified, so that it can be read and understood by the working class people, at whom it is supposed to be aimed, and if this be done, the paper be produced on a fortnightly basis. JAMES CONNOLLY REP.CLUB
BOGSIDE, DERRY
- 62 That the format and content of the United Irishman be altered and simplified to give the paper greater appeal to the ordinary working people and to make it a much more effective organ of Republican education and propaganda. ARMAGH/SOUTH DOWN EXEC.
REP.CLUBS
- 63 That the United Irishman return to being a newspaper and cease being a platform for left-sectarian articles which do not represent the views of the majority of the Republican Movement. PATRICK PEARSE REP.CLUB
ARMAGH
- 64 We, the members of the club wish to propose that the general layout of the U.I. be revised and simplified for better understanding. PATRICIA McKAY REP.CLUB
LOWER FALLS.

- 65 That a qualified journalist be engaged to edit the United Irishman with a view to improving the layout and content of the paper. CUMANN LONGFORD
- 66 That the present form of the United Irishman be changed to make it more readable and also a professional editor be appointed. OWEN MCGILL REP. CLUB
TYRONE
- 67 We express our disappointment in the quality and general standard of the 'United Irishman' and believe that Republican Clubs should have better control over the standard and content of the paper. MARTIN O'LEARY REP. CLUB,
SHANTALLOW, DERRY.
- 68 That if there are to be changes in the structures of the U.I. that the finished product be similar in style to the October edition. CUMANN PADRAIG O PEARAILL
WEXFORD
- 69 That the United Irishman publish names of all political prisoners, whether they are members of the Movement or not. CUMANN JAMES CONNOLLY
TRALEE
- 70 That the United Irishman be less sensational and more educational in its material. REP. CLUB U.C.C.
- 71 That it be stated on the front of the 'United Irishman' (possibly under the title) that "This paper is Printed by the Official Republican Movement." CUMANN FEARGAL O'HANLON,
Co. DOWN

Internal Education

- 72 That there is need for a study of the long and short term objectives of the Movement in order to develop a coherent revolutionary programme and a structure united to the attainment of our revolutionary goals. That this would require detailed examination of the major contradictions of Irish society, political, economic and social, that the resources of the Movement should be directed to exploiting these contradictions, and that the agitation with which the Movement involves itself should be integrated with this end. CUMANN FINTAN LALOR, ATH CLIATH
- 73 That the Republican Movement set up an Educational Committee (approx. 6 members), employed full-time, to travel around the country (cumainn and clubs) and set up a system of education internally, namely for a) an intensive course for new members and b) to put a firm external educational policy to the membership for the next Ard Fheis. This committee to meet 6 months after and start to formulate this policy. CUMANN JACKIE GRIFFITH A/CLIATH
- 74 That the ad hoc Education Committee, in consultation with the Ard Comhairle, and with the assistance of all members willing to cooperate, be given the responsibility to draw up a proper induction course for people coming into the organisation and that this course becomes mandatory for all applicants. COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR, LUIMNI

- 75 That this Ard-Fheis supports the establishment of the National Education Committee and endorses the preliminary educational programme carried out to date within the Movement and recommends the further development by the National Education Committee of a continuous educational programme, based on Marxist principles, for all members. JAMES CONNOLLY CUMANN
ATHENRY, Co. GALWAY
- 76 That something on the lines of Mornington Education centre be opened in Belfast. THOMAS RUSSELL REP. CLUB
GRANSHA, BELFAST
- 77 That more of Sinn Fein's educational programme deal with the Economics of the Capitalist system and the economics of a socialist system. CUMANN FRANK RYAN
- 78 That the leadership of the Republican Movement take more definite steps in educating club members in the Republican Socialist ideal as applied to Ireland and as applied on international levels. OLIVER CRAVEN REP. CLUB
CO. DOWN
- 79 That the Republican Movement place more emphasis on the education of all its members. WOLFE TONE REP. CLUB BELFAST
- 80 That special schools be set up immediately to cater for the Officer-boards of all Republican Clubs bearing in mind that many people who take on Club positions do not realise the particular functions they are expected to fulfill. Moreover we suggest that Gardiner Place issues fact sheets which will explain to office-holders the precise nature of their duties. HENRY JOY MCCRACKEN REP. CLUB
TURF LODGE, BELFAST
- 81 That the Ard Comhairle elect someone to draw up a comprehensive educational programme using adequate equipment, e.g. tapes, films, as well as literature. CUMANN MARTIN O'LEARY
CORK
- 82 That Cumann in rural and urban areas establish a lending library of books of a general and political nature to be available to all members of the local community. COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR, DONEGAL
- 83 In order to increase democracy, we propose that the Ard Comhairle arrange weekend sessions on specific areas of policy in order to involve ordinary members in forming Movement policy, subject to Ard Comhairle ratification, and that the particular subject of each session be fully discussed at cumann level before delegates are sent to the sessions. CUMANN SEAN MISTEIL
(RINGSSEND/SANDYMOUNT)
- 84 That the 3 months probation period for new members be rigidly enforced and that this time be used to educate them in Republican policy and history. CUMANN JACKIE GRIFFITH A/CLIATH
- 85 That the rules governing applicants joining Sinn Fein should be more strictly adhered to. CUMANN PEADAR O'LOUGHLIN
NORTH CLARE
- 86 That this Ard Fheis supports the idea of a mandatory recruits course for all applicants to Sinn Fein. CUMANN SEAN SABHAT, LUIMNEACH
- 87 It is proposed that probationary members of the Movement be given a basic course of instruction in the essential theory of Republicanism and Socialism. CUMANN JAMES CONNOLLY
BRY CO. WICKLOW

88 That this Ard Fheis views with concern the increasing drift towards a sectarian civil war in the Six Counties. It is also the belief of this Ard Fheis that the British Army, through their open and secret contact with certain elements of the Protestant population, are deliberately fostering such a situation in the interests of their imperialist masters, and in order to avoid such a situation this Ard Fheis instruct the incoming Ard Comhairle of Sinn Fein to seek contacts with the working class leaders of the militant Protestant organisations with a view to expanding and developing an organisation based on democratic workers control.

PATRICK PEARSE REP.CLUB
ARMAGH

YES

89 That we make greater efforts to unite the Protestant and Catholic working-class of Ireland by persuasion.

CO. DERRY EXEC. REP.CLUBS

YES

That the Movement issues a more detailed statement of its policy towards sectarian groups of whatever denomination, e.g. U.D.A, provisional alliance.

GEORGE PLANT REP.CLUB
LR. ANDERSONSTOWN

YES

90 Sectarianism is a weapon of the enemy. It has been used as an aid to British imperial rule in Ireland for almost three centuries. It has been used in the past to maintain the power and rule of the ascendancy and capitalist class by a patronage system of privileges for Protestant workers and penalties for Catholics, thus keeping the attention of all workers diverted from the real source of their common deprivation.

Today, the Protestant workers, although still held in the grip of sectarianism, have thrown off their old leadership and broken free of the old political mould. They have established their own organisations and their own politics and are moving into a position in which they will be able to identify their enemy as British imperial rule and economic exploitation. In this situation Britain was forced to take desperate measures to maintain the sectarian conflict long enough to enable her to put a new Tory leadership in power. Therefore direct rule was imposed and sectarianism has been continually heightened and fuelled where necessary by SAS operations. The past year has clearly shown that the role of the British Army is to increase sectarian confrontations and not to keep peace. The withdrawal of the British Army will therefore have no effect on the sectarian situation other than removing one of the sources of sectarian acts.

Sinn Fein believes that the trade union movement has the capacity and the ability to organise a non-sectarian corps of workers whose sole purpose would be the elimination of sectarianism and giving security to people in their homes.

Positive proof of SAS operations promoting sectarianism to be stopped

Ard Comhairle *YES*

91 That the Movement explicitly clarify its short term policy with respect to the 6 County area.

FINTAN LALOR REP.CLUB
BELFAST

YES

92 That this ARd-Fheis review the involvement of the Republican Movement with other Peoples Organisations especially N.I.C.R.A.

CO. ANTRIM EXEC. REP.CLUBS

YES

93 That the Republican Movement reiterates its support of the campaign of civil disobedience in the North, of the basic demands of the Civil Rights movement and of the short term I.R.A. demands for a settlement as outlined in April of this year.

CATHAL BRUGHA REP.CLUB
CO.DOWN

YES

- 94 That this Ard Fheis pledges itself to continue the civil disobedience campaign in the Six occupied Counties, until all internees are released, Special Powers Act abolished and a general amnesty declared. *yes*
PATRICK PEARSE REP. CLUB
ARMAGH
- 95 It was proposed that we support the Civil Rights Movements aims and objectives for democracy within the 6 Counties context in any future proposals or settlements by the British Government for this area. *yes*
PATRICIA MCKAY REP. CLUB.
LOWER FALLS
- 96 That this Ard Fheis reiterates its opposition to Direct Rule which has meant, as we forecast, a total abolition of all democracy, increase in repression and sectarianism; pledges itself to do all in its power to bring it to a speedy end and therefore regards the ending of direct rule as a priority short term objective.
ARD COMHAIRLE
- 97 That this Ard Fheis rejects any solution to the present crises which entails the re-establishment of a Six County Parliament or Assembly.
CUMANN SEAN McCAUGHEY
WICKLOW *NO*
- 98 That the Republican Movement supports a "Border Plebiscite" only if held on a 32 County basis. *yes*
CATHAL BRUGHA REP. CLUB
CO. DOWN
- 99 That Sinn Fein recognises (1) that the demand for a united Ireland at the present time is not an anti-imperialist demand; (2) that it is a sectarian demand which divides the working class and confuses the class issue. [That the demand be therefore dropped at this time.] *yes*
REP CLUB U.C.G.
amendment - "Recognising that the long term demand for a united Ireland is seen only in context of a socialist republic"
- 100 That the Official Movement in the South try to launch a movement similar to the Civil Rights Movement in the North to fight all Repressive Legislation in the Twenty-Six Counties. *yes*
SEAN MAC DIARMADA, REP. CLUB
BELFAST
- 101 That the Ard Fheis give clear direction to the Movement as to what our reaction should be to the possibility of a U.D.I. bid by Unionist extremists in the 6 Counties. *yes*
COCHRAN/LOWANS REP. CLUB
CO. DOWN
- 102 That the Movement recognise the need for an effective defence organisation in the 6 Counties. *yes*
CUMANN SEAN BERGIN
CO. TIPPERARY

Electoral Policy

- 103 Since the Movement is governed by the resolution passed at 1971 Ard Fheis, we ask that the Ard Comhairle define the term 'revolutionary parliamentary politics' in order that the Movement may be free to contest elections.
CUMANN SEAN MISTEIL
(RINGSEND/SANDYMOUNT)
- 104 That elections, local or otherwise, should not be contested for the sake of contesting. It should be remembered that when one fights one fights to win.
CUMANN JAMES CONNOLLY
WATERFORD
- 105 That Sinn Fein contest the next General elections.
CUMANN JAMES CONNOLLY
CARLOW

106 That Sinn Fein contest as many seats in elections as finance and the availability of suitable candidates permit, and that the necessary research be undertaken at a sufficiently early date to enable campaigns to be commenced in good time for the elections concerned.

CUMANN O'HARE/CURRY
CORCAIGH

107 That Sinn Fein do not contest any general election for Leinster House, Stormont or Westminster, except on the Abstention policy

COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR
CIARRAT THEAS

Social Affairs

108 *yes* That Sinn Fein, at all levels, intensify/reactivate itself in the basic social problems of the people in leading them to the awareness that it is they and they alone, and not any group or organisation, can liberate the nation and to recognise that lip-service or armchair aspirations in this field will lead to defeat for the people and the development of a useless intellectual-elitist movement.

CUMANN JAMES CONNOLLY
WATERFORD

109 *yes* That this Ard Fheis recognises the necessity of Citizens Advice Bureau in the 26 Counties and as such is willing to co-ordinate the activities by establishing a national executive to co-ordinate the functions of such a body.

CUMANN JACK EDWARDS
WATERFORD

110 The function of each cumann include the establishment of a Citizens Advice Bureau. *yes*

CUMANN PATRICK MORAN
ROSCOMMON

111 That members of the Movement take a more active part in the struggle of Tenants for a fair and just rent. *yes*

CUMANN JACKIE GRIFFITH A/CLIATH

112 That the Republican Movement launch a 'Right to Work' campaign, and assist in the setting up of an 'Unemployment League' to fight for the above mentioned right. *yes*

CUMANN MICHAEL McGRATH
WATERFORD

113 That Sinn Fein should support in any way possible any effort to organise the unemployed of the country. *yes*

CUMANN JAMES LARKIN
BALLYFERMOT

114 That this Ard-Fheis state clearly the attitude of the Republican Movement towards integrated education in the 6 Counties. *yes*

WOLFE TONE REP. CLUB BELFAST

115 That the Republican Movement organise mass agitation against the unjust education system in the 26 Counties. *yes*

WOLFE TONE REP. CLUB BELFAST

116 That the Republican Movement mount a nationwide campaign to highlight the plight of itinerants in Ireland, and to offer a constructive programme which would effectively solve the problem of this underprivileged section of the community.

WOLFE TONE REP. CLUB BELFAST

Abst. Abstain

Culture

117 An environment should be created which is conducive to the furtherance and development of Irish culture within the Movement and to an awareness of its role in the anti-imperialist struggle. The creation of this environment could by example, help to stimulate the Irish people to have an interest in and enthusiasm for their cultural heritage, to identify with it and realise its importance. A basis for this environment should be along the following lines:-

- ✓ 1. The Irish language, Anglo-Irish culture, both Orange and Green, and Irish culture in general, should have their proper place on the educational programme, e.g. Irish language classes, classes on local history and folklore, Irish traditional music and dancing. Special lectures on the role and importance of culture in the revolution should be also on the educational programme.
- ✓ 2. The Ard Fheis should set up a committee to study the relationship between the Republican Movement and cultural organisations especially for the possibilities of co-ordinating cultural activities.
- ✓ 3. A cultural week should be held once a year especially at a local level, which would have the involvement of the people in the Movement and also the general public.
4. The Irish language should NOT be confined in the U.I. and periodicals to articles on the Gaeltacht and Irish culture only. The Irish language is a living language and must be seen to be.
5. As the likelihood of a cultural revival is almost nil without a strong Gaeltacht especially in an economic and cultural sense their importance and development must always be kept in mind, as follows:
 - a) A special officer should be appointed to co-ordinate activities, (economic, political and cultural) between na Gaeltachtaí themselves and between them and the rest of the country. This person should be, if possible, a person who, comes from the Gaeltacht and lives there.
 - b) An educational camp similar to Mornington should be situated in one of the Gaeltachtaí. It would also serve the purpose of providing people from urban areas and the east coast with an insight into the way of life and problems of people living in the west and a better appreciation and understanding of their general culture.
 - c) Major political writings, e.g. those of James Connolly should be translated into Irish.
- ✓ 6. The mass media, both private and public of the Free State and the Six Counties should be condemned by the Ard Fheis for their hostility and neglect of Irish culture and their propagation of imperialist culture.
- ✓ 7. The Coiste Seasta should hold their meetings in the Irish language as often as possible.

CUMANN AN PHIARSAIGH, ATH CLIATH

118 That the Movement take a much bigger interest in the Irish language and culture. MARTIN O'LEARY REP. CLUB
DERRYMACASH CO. ARMAGH

119 That it be compulsory for each club and cumainn to run an Irish language and adult ceili dancing class in their own area. PATRICK PEARSE REP. CLUB
ARMAGH

120 That all Cumann undertake to promote ceili dancing classes and ceilithe for young and old in their respective areas. ARMAGH/SOUTH DOWN EXEC.
REP. CLUBS

121 That all Cumann undertake to promote ceili dancing classes and ceilithe for young and old in their respective areas. JOE McCANN CUMANN. Co. ARMAGH

Economic Affairs

122 Whereas the monopolists and capitalists are attempting to divide the working-class by various devices which amount to new, more refined forms of exploitation; recognising that the forces of imperialism are seeking to perfect their methods of influencing the workers both ideologically and politically by means of the policy of "social partnership" which is designed to persuade the working-class to surrender the class struggle in exchange for so-called "profit sharing", a policy that suggests to the workers that they can and do cease to be workers and become small capitalists; recognising, too, that the vote for entry into the European Economic Community opened the way for further imperialist penetration and control of the Irish economy.

This Ard Fheis declares the determination of the whole Republican Movement to continue its wholehearted opposition to imperialism in Ireland. In particular we call for the immediate nationalisation of the institutions of finance, i.e. banks, Insurance Companies, Building Societies, Credit and Investment Cos., etc. We demand the right of the working man to secure equality with all other sections of the community when seeking financial aid from the banking system, recognising that such equality does not exist at present since workers are grossly discriminated against by the banks, building societies and credit companies. We call for a state-owned banking system and for the support of people's credit unions backed and secured by the state and the removal of present restrictions on Credit Unions which favour the Commercial Banks.

We demand that all the mineral and oil wealth of Ireland and its surrounding seas be developed in the interests of the people of Ireland and not be privately owned, foreign corporations. Where such development is controlled by private concerns, we call for immediate nationalisation without compensation, recognising that these companies have already made huge profits at the expense of the working class. By controlling the mineral wealth of Ireland, the people of Ireland will be free to use the surplus value created in their own interests e.g. to finance other forms of economic activity.

This Ard Fheis further calls for the repealing of the Value Added Tax legislation as a prelude to the complete revision of the whole tax structure. The increased use of indirect as opposed to direct tax which V.A.T. entails will further benefit the wealth and penalise the poor. The decision regarding V.A.T. was made in Brussels and removes the decision-making on tax structures from the hands of the Irish people. V.A.T. as presently conceived penalises Irish-made goods in preference to foreign products, since Irish factor costs are rising faster than other European costs. Since this means that the value added is greater in Ireland, V.A.T. will create further redundancies and add to the massive unemployment which exists at present. This is totally unacceptable. We call, instead, for a tax system which will deprive the large monopolies of their vast holdings of wealth and which will re-distribute such wealth among the workers, e.g. tax on Capital gains and Corporation profits.

In this connection we call for a more realistic policy of industrial development by over-hauling the existing organisations used to promote new industry and jobs i.e. the IDA, Gaeltarra Eireann etc., and demand that priority be given to industries, which will be labour intensive, not capital intensive. As a first step, a proper industrial infrastructure must be created by the building of modern Transport System throughout the country but particularly in the Western seaboard areas. In addition, ocean going port facilities should be established in these areas, thus reducing the dependence of Western areas on the Eastern and Southern seaboard ports. Such a policy would assist in the long term industrialisation of the depressed areas of the West and would, furthermore, create immediate employment for the worker in the West. This in turn would have a spin-off effect on Western economy. Sinn Fein pledges itself to resist the economic imperialism of the Common Market

actually met by the same

yes

and to fight every decision made in Brussels that penalises the workers.

Ard Comhairle

yes

123

That a specialist economic committee be set up immediately to compile and present a dossier which will tentatively reveal the economic structure of a post revolutionary-Ireland which can avoid slipping into a neo-colonial position. This committee should have a high level of expertise, including socialist economists.

The dossier should also explicitly suggest a tangible economic strategy re Trade Unions etc.; whereby we can offer the Protestant and Catholic working-class non-utopian inducements to join us in the struggle against monopoly capitalism.

HENRY JOY McCracken REP. CLUB
TURF LODGE, BELFAST

124

In view of the present employment situation and the failure of the policies of the IDA in increasing the employment situation in this country, we call on the IDA to change its policy from one of giving grants to capital, to giving grants to labour, to encourage the setting up or extension, of labour intensive industries.

CUMANN JEMMY HOPE
DUBLIN

125

That Sinn Fein issue a statement to clarify our policy of Bank nationalisation and to give greater emphasis on the re-allocation of the assets and profits of the banking interests. To explain also the type of action that can be taken by the rank and file members of the Movement towards this end.

CUMANN PARLE/HOGAN/CRANE. WEXFORD

126

The Sean McDermott cumann call on the incoming Ard Comhairle to start a 32 County campaign to nationalise the Banking, Insurance and Assurance companies, and a greater effort should be made to inform the public how they are being exploited by these companies.

CUMANN SEAN McDERMOTT,
PALMERSTOWN, DUBLIN

127

That Sinn Fein define its alternative to the existing banking system.

CUMANN FRANK RYAN

128

That Sinn Fein start a campaign to nationalise all banking and related finance establishments, initiating the campaign with a document stating the case for nationalisation.

CUMANN SEAN RUISEIL
ATH CLIATH

129

That the Republican Movement should expose the gross exploitation of the mass of working people by the parasitic hire purchase companies, and encourages workers as an alternative to support their own credit unions where they exist, and to set them up where they do not.

CUMANN GURRY/O'HARE
BLACKROCK-STILLORGAN

130

That a co-ordinating committee should be established by Sinn Fein with respect to Co-ops. This committee to centralise funds for any Cumann or Republican Club who wish to establish a Co-op. Also to keep Cumainn in city or town areas in contact with Cumainn in rural areas with respect to providing goods.

CUMANN JAMES LARKIN
BALLYFERMOT

131

That this Ard Fheis encourage the setting up of Cooperative shops in the 26 Counties (as has been done in the 6 Counties).

CUMANN ALLEN, BANDON

Trade Unions & Industrial

- 132** That a full time organiser be appointed to help the Republican Industrial Group. CUMANN ALLEN, BANDON
- 133** That the incoming Ard Comhairle encourage the organisation of Republican Shop Stewards co-ordinating Committees at Comhairle Ceanntar level throughout the 32 Counties. JAMES CONNOLLY REP. CLUB
STRABANE TYRONE
- 134** That a member of Sinn Fein associated with the Republican Industrial Development Section be assigned the duty of making a regular report to the Ard Comhairle. CUMANN PATRICK MORAN
ROSCOMMON
- 135** That the Republican Movement publicly set up an Industrial Emergency Action Committee with an address and phone no., so as to make available advice in times of industrial strife. CUMANN LIAM MEELOWES
NAVAN
- 136** That this Ard Fheis issue a directive that all members of the Republican Movement become actively involved in peoples organisations particularly Trade Unions. CUMANN ROBERT EMMET, ATH CLIATH
- 137** We the members propose that the Movement get involved in the Trade Unions North and South more than it has done in the past. PATRICIA McKAY REP. CLUB
LOWER FALLS
- 138** That this Ard Fheis compels its members, where possible to join and become active in the Trade Union movement. CUMANN SEAN McCAUGHEY
WICKLOW
- 139** That Sinn Fein encourage their members to be more active in Trade Unions, Tenants Associations, and Strike Committees. CUMANN MARTIN O'LEARY
CORK
- 140** That industrial workers who are members of the Movement should be compelled to join a Union. CUMANN SEAN MISTEIL
(RINGSSEND/SANDYMOUNT)
- 141** That it be made compulsory for all members of the Movement to be active members of a Trade Union. JAMES CONNOLLY REP. CLUB
BOGSIDE, DERRY
- 142** It is proposed that Sinn Fein adopt a more militant policy of involvement with workers organisations in industrial disputes etc., and through these efforts impress upon workers the need for a Socialist approach to their problems. CUMANN JAMES CONNOLLY
BRAY CO. WICKLOW
- 143** That Republicans in Trade Unions pressurise their unions towards using old industrial premises. CATHAL BRUGHA REP. CLUB
CO. DOWN
- 144** That a pocket size booklet be made available by the Movement for the purpose of advising and educating workers on the methods and procedure of take-over of factories and industries in which they are employed. CUMANN COUNTESS MARKIEWICZ
Co. DONEGAL
- 145** That members, who are also members of Trade Unions do their utmost to make known the policies of Sinn Fein. CUMANN JAMES CONNOLLY
CARLOW
- 146** Donegal Comhairle Ceanntar call on the Republican Movement to actively support the workers of Gaeltarra Eireann in their refusal to allow their factories be closed. COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR, DONEGAL

- 162 That the present clubs known as Republican Clubs become known as Sinn Fein cumann. OWEN MCGILL REP. CLUB
TYRONE No
- 163 (Bunreacht page 2 (c), To establish in the Republic a reign of social justice by a just distribution and effective control of the Nation's wealth and resources. CUMANN SEAN MISTEIL
(RINGSEND/SANDYMOUNT)
- 164 That Republican Clubs be renamed Sinn Fein Republican Clubs. CUMANN SEAN RUISEIL
ATH CLIATH
- 165 That the name of Sinn Fein cumann in the South be changed to that of Republican Club. THOMAS RUSSELL REP. CLUB
GRANSHA BELFAST No
- 166 That the Ard Fheis rule that in future the organisation be known throughout the 32 Counties as Sinn Fein Republican Clubs in order that we do have a uniform identification. PATRICK PEARSE REP. CLUB
ARMAGH
- 167 All Clubs and Cumann North and South should come under the same name e.g. Sinn Fein, Cumann or Republican Clubs. SEAMUS BURNS REP. CLUB
CLONARD
- 168 That the rule in the Constitution of Sinn Fein which debars members of Irish Customs Authorities from Sinn Fein be revoked. THOMAS CLARKE CUMANN, TYRONE
- 169 That nominees to Ard Comhairle be proposed by a minimum of three Cumainn or Comhairle Ceanntair. CUMANN LONGFORD
- 170 In order that the Ard Comhairle be more representative of grass root membership it should be limited to a maximum of ten members, with area representatives being co-opted from all comhairle ceanntair areas. CUMANN SEAN RUISEIL
ATH CLIATH
- 171 When any member is nominated for membership of an Ard Comhairle as a regional representative or for election at Ard Fheis - their record of attendance and activity at Cumann level shall be checked to ensure that they are in fact members of Sinn Fein (i.e. attend at least 12 cumann meetings and participate in activity of cumann). CUMANN LIAM MELLOWS
CRUMLIN/KIMMAGE A/CLIATH
- 172 When a position becomes vacant on an Ard Comhairle it shall be filled, not by co-option, but by a postal ballot or by personal ballot at regional level - when the services of a specialist are required he may attend meetings and advise but will have no vote. CUMANN LIAM MELLOWS
CRUMLIN/KIMMAGE A/CLIATH
- 173 That the incoming Ard Comhairle redraw the regional boundaries before the next election of regional delegates to the Ard Comhairle. CUMANN PATRICK MORAN
ROSCOMMON
- 174 Recognising that Regional Representation to an Ard Comhairle has been unsatisfactory we propose that the Regions be re-drawn immediately. That the new regions be based on Comhairle Ceanntair areas. CUMANN JIMMY JOE REYNOLDS
CO. LEITRIM
- 175 In view of the unsatisfactory working of regional representation on the Ard Comhairle that all regions be redrawn at once. CUMANN LONGFORD.

176 That the areas of Comhairle Ceanntair should coincide with the new electoral areas, North and South.

OLIVER CRAVEN REP. CLUB
CO. DOWN

177 That the Regional Executive be restructured on the basis of the number of Cumainn.

CUMANN MARTIN O'LEARY
CORK

178 That each Regional Executive reserve the right of admission of new members into the Movement, after the 3 months probationary period, in consultation with Cumainn, and leaving the new member the right to appeal to an Ard Comhairle.

CUMANN JACKIE GRIFFITH A/CLIATH

179 That the constitution be amended to allow Sinn Fein more control over incoming members by changing the structure so that new members remain on probation for a period of not less than one year working with and under the supervision of the cumann and allied to this undergoing a full course of political education, based on a clearly defined policy of the Movement and only after this period will the decision on whether to grant full membership be made, taking into account the recommendations of the cumann and the results of a personal interview.

CUMANN AN PHIARSAIGH
ATH CLIATH

180 That the Six County Executive meets monthly and County Executive meets fortnightly to help clubs keep in touch with activities in other areas, thus fulfilling their aims, - to Act as co-ordinating committees.

JOE McKELVEY REP. CLUB
COALISLAND TYRONE

181 Any member who misses three consecutive meetings of their club or cumann without giving an excuse, and/or participation in the general work of the Movement be dismissed from the Movement.

JAMES CONNOLLY REP. CLUB
BOGSIDE, DERRY

182 That the minimum attendance at cumann meetings be increased from 12 to 24 yearly.

CUMANN SEAN RUISEIL
ATH CLIATH

183 That the Comhairle Ceanntair Officer Board be elected from the full membership of the Comhairle Ceanntair area; that nominations for the seven positions (chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer, finance officer, education officer and P.R.O.), should be received 14 days before the AGM.; That from the list of nominations put forward, the delegates propose and elect the officer board for the coming year.

COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR
ATH CLIATH

184 That the maximum membership of a cumann be twelve.

CUMANN COL. LEONARD
DROGHEDA

That the Comhairle Ceanntair Officer Board be elected as follows:

- 185
1. Each cumann select 7 names for the officer board;
 2. That the comhairle ceanntair, on the receipt of acceptances by nominees, send out an election paper to each cumann;
 3. That each cumann select 7 members from this list and return it to the Comhairle Ceanntair;
 4. That the Comhairle Ceanntair count the votes and inform cumainn of the elected officers.

CUMANN SEAN MISTEIL
(RINGSEND/SANDYMOUNT)

186 That the Bunreacht be amended so that the Comhairle Ceanntair have the power to expel or suspend a cumann member, pending the right of appeal to the Ard Comhairle.

COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR
ATH CLIATH

- 187 (Bunreacht page 13 - Powers), The Comhairle Ceanntair may on a 2/3rds majority, suspend or ~~remove~~ any member of the Movement or a cumann. The person or cumann must receive in writing, due notice of the time and terms of the enquiry and should have the right of appeal to the Ard Comhairle. *YES.* CUMANN SEAN MISTEIL
(RINGSEND/SANDYMOUNT)
- 188 That Comhairle Ceanntair have the power to dismiss or suspend a member for adequate causes, subject to right of appeal to the Ard Comhairle or Coiste Seasta. CUMANN COL. LEONARD
DROGHEDA
- 189 That the individual registration fee be increased to ~~1.50~~ *passal.* *No.* CUMANN COL. LEONARD
DROGHEDA
- 190 That the present issue of registration of membership form be changed, and a new issue be introduced void of all questions excepting:
a) Do you wish to become a member of the Sinn Fein Organisation - Yes - No.
b) Do you accept the Constitution and laws of the Sinn Fein Organisation ; Yes - No.
- 191 That all other questions regarding members be collected and forwarded to the Ard Comhairle by an appointed member of the organisation, such a member to be of senior standard. *No.* COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR DONEGAL
- 192 That the rule governing reports from Comhairle Ceanntar to Ard Oifig be strictly adhered to. *YES.* COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR, LUIMNI
- 193 That every member of Sinn Fein should be obliged to acquire a copy of the Sinn Fein constitution and if necessary, the registration fee may be raised to cover the cost of supplying same. *YES.* COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR
ATH CLIATH
- 194 That continued membership of Sinn Fein cumann be subject to selling the paper once a month, unless a member is excused by his cumann. *YES.* CUMANN SEAN RUISEIL
ATH CLIATH
- 195 That on page 9 of Bunreacht Sinn Fein the paragraph commencing "The Ard Comhairle shall set up regional areas....." be deleted and that the following paragraph be altered to read:-
"Each Cumann within a regional area will be represented at the regional general meeting and they will be chaired by the regional chairman. Cumainn will have equal representation at regional general meetings. Each region will, in annual general meetings elect one member to the Ard Comhairle, and shall be empowered, if such is desired, to appoint a Comhairle Reiginach to co-ordinate the activities of the organisation in the region. Each Comhairle Reiginach so formed shall contain at least one member from each Comhairle Ceanntair area in the region and each Comhairle Reiginach shall appoint from among its members such individuals as it considers appropriate to act as its officers." COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR
CATHAIR CORCAIGHE
- 196 Under Cumann - Committees, lines 3/4/5 changed to read - 'and that all social functions held under its auspices are of a Revolutionary Socialist nature. COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR, LUIMNI

197

We propose that this Ard Fheis declare itself for the establishment of a Socialist Workers's Republic, recognising that the only means of achieving this is through the organised working class. The Republican Movement must therefore define a revolutionary strategy for Ireland today and a perspective for building a revolutionary party. This strategy must be based on the following four main areas:

(a) The North; (b) Opposition to international capitalism; (c) Trade Unions and other popular Movements; (d) Internal education and democracy.

(a) The North: This Ard Fheis must recognise that the policy to date in the North has been mis-directed in so far as the Civil Rights and democratisation demands have been presented in isolation rather than as part of the revolutionary process. It should be clearly understood that the call for democracy in itself presents no threat to the capitalist interests in the 6 Counties. While fully supporting democratic demands, revolutionary Socialists must also raise demands which point to the specific interests of the working class throughout Ireland. Therefore, more attention must be focused on unemployment, bad housing, weak Trade Union organisation and other such issues which are common to the working class. While British troops are present in the 6 Counties, we must continue to demand their immediate withdrawal and oppose their presence by all means.

(b) Opposition to International Capitalism: The Republican Movement rightly recognises that international capitalist domination of Ireland is the main obstacle to progress. However, the anti-EEC campaign suggested that there was a possible alternative within an Irish capitalist context. The struggle against international capitalism necessarily brings us up against native capitalism. The Movement failed to point out that the only real alternative to the Common Market was the establishment of a Socialist Republic. As capitalism is international, Socialism must also be seen in an international context, i.e. the struggle for a Socialist Republic within a Socialist Europe. It is not the task of Socialists to sort out the capitalist alternative.

We must therefore oppose the effects of international capitalism, e.g. massive redundancies, with calls for workers action not with Utopian calls for more protection for Irish industries. etc.

c) Trade Unions and Other Popular Movements: Whilst recognising the value of such groups as the Republican Trade Union Group this Ard Fheis calls for greater priority to be given to work within the Trade Unions. If we aim for a Workers' Republic it is vital that we centre our activities on the working class. The Republican Movement must be seen to support all workers in struggle to improve their living standards and defend their jobs and the political freedom of workers organisations. We must be seen to give a lead in such struggles directing the workers towards the goal of Socialism. Similarly, our involvement in defence of small farmers and other oppressed groups must be designed to raise the consciousness to the need for Socialism.

d) Internal Education and Democracy: It is essential that the Movement intensify its internal educational programme at central and local level to develop the political consciousness of its members. The clandestine history of the Movement has tended to stifle internal free expression and discussion between members of divergent points of view. The need therefore for internal democracy is evident. Externally, each member should speak with the voice of the majority as expressed through the Ard Fheis. This could be summed up as full democracy inside and absolute discipline outside.

These proposals are presented as ideas towards a revolutionary programme. We call on the incoming Ard Comhairle to draw up a detailed plan of action on these proposals. The Movement must now consciously develop a revolutionary programme as part of the process of becoming a truly revolutionary organisation.

COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR, DONEGAL

*Note No - or propose
23 but back for*

198 Pearse Cumann, Dublin, call for the formulation of a comprehensive policy document for the Republican Movement as a whole, to be published in pamphlet form. It should be developed in four sections:-

- a) A definite outline of the principles upon which the Republican Movement (including all wings) and associated bodies are based.
- b) An outline of the structure of each organisation in the movement, their objectives, their functions, and their relations to the Movement as a whole.
- c) A clear vision as to the form of the new society we wish to create. Stressing the rights of the individual, his relationship to the community and the state and dealing with the new economic, social and cultural orders and what they will involve.
- d) Arising from A, B, and C, we ask that directions be given as to the means we should employ to achieve our ends in accordance with our principles. A discussion on the choice of methods and tactics is thought desirable.

Because of the major importance and the wide implications of such a work, specialist committees might be formed to investigate different areas, but they should be subordinate to a general council on which the leadership would have strong representation and which would point the direction.

However, each cumann and republican club and similar branches of other organisations attached to the Movement deserve a creative share in developing such a policy. Therefore, once a council or committee is established, views as to the socialist republican ideal and the way forward should be invited from the Movements' grassroots who could be continually consulted through publications like Nuacht Naisiunta and Teoiric.

CUMANN AN PHIARSAIGH
ATH CLIATH

199 That a National Government policy document, on the lines of the Local Government document, be drafted.

YES
COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR
CO. LUI

200 That a detailed definitive policy document outlining both the long and short term aims of Sinn Fein be drawn up by a sub-committee of an Ard Comhairle, and that this document be submitted to the next Ard Fheis, or to a specially convened conference before that, for ratification.

YES
CUMANN CURRY/O'HARE
BLACKROCK-STILLORGAN, DUBLIN

201 That this cumann calls on Sinn Fein to issue immediately, a general policy statement to the public to counteract the existing confusion in peoples' minds and also to draw up a detailed policy document.

YES
CUMANN JEMMY HOPE
DUBLIN

202 That the Republican Movement prepares a manifesto stating clearly its Policies re a 32 County Socialist Republic.

YES
CUMANN LIAM MELLOWES
NAVAN

203 That the Ard Fheis produce a booklet explaining Sinn Fein's aims to the public.

YES
COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR
ATH CLIATH

204 That incoming Ard Comhairle set out a definite policy on both Local and National level.

YES
CUMANN JAMES CONNOLLY
TRALEE

205 A more detailed Policy document from the Republican Movement on its future Policy, to be drawn up from every member of the Movement.

YES
CO. ANTRIM EXEC. REP. CLUBS

- 206 That Sinn Fein draws up and prints for mass distribution a Policy document which will clearly convey our short-term and long-term objectives, and that guide-lines be given in the document, in order of priority, in relation to these objectives, for Comhairle Ceanntair and Cumainn, on the activities to be pursued in relation to State, Government and Local Government bodies, organisations of the people, trade unions, and other mass movements, cooperatives and credit unions as well as political parties etc. The document will also state clearly where we differ from political parties in each individual case, but it will also be indicated wherever there is or could be common ground and scope for specific common action.
- YES* CUMANN LIAM MELLOWES
GREYSTONES/KILCOOLE
- 207 That a manifesto be drawn up outlining the policies of the Republican Movement.
- YES* WILLIAM ORR REP. CLUB
BALLYMURPHY
- 208 That the incoming Ard Comhairle as a matter of extreme urgency produce a comprehensive policy document or series of documents - that this matter be dealt with before any other.
- YES* CUMANN LIAM MELLOWES
CRUMLIN/KIMMAGE A/CLIATH
- 209 That Sinn Fein formulate and issue a policy in booklet form to enable members and the general public to get a clearer picture of the programmes, objectives and progress of the Movement.
- YES* CUMANN PARLE/HOGAN/CRANE. WEXFORD
- 210 That the Republican Movement outline clearly its objectives, both short-term and long-term, with regard to the 6 County State.
- YES* WOLFE TONE REP. CLUB BELFAST
- 211 That this Ard Fheis states clearly and distinctly its policy; so that it may be made clear to the rank and file in the Republican Movement as there seems to be confusion about this amongst members.
- YES* SEAN MAC DIARMADA, REP. CLUB
BELFAST
- 212 That a committee be appointed, by the incoming Ard Comhairle to rediscuss the whole Social and Political programme of the Movement, and its long and short term policies, considering our objective is the establishment of a Socialist Republic, and that our policies and strategy relate to building and educating ourselves as a revolutionary movement, and that this committee reports its recommendations to all clubs and cumainn before the 1st April 1973, and that on discussing these recommendations, that all comments, amendments etc., from the branches be returned to the committee before 1st June 1973, and that a final document be produced for the Movement's 1973 Ard Fheis for approval.
- YES - addendum 198
not 197* JAMES CONNOLLY REP. CLUB
BOGSIDE, DERRY
- 213 That this Ard Fheis instruct the incoming Ard Comhairle to publish a complete document of the policies of Sinn Fein.
- PATRICK PEARSE REP. CLUB
ARMAGH
- 214 That a policy document be produced indicating the most important features of the Republican Movement's strategy for a United, Socialist Ireland. That this document would act as a guide to cumainn activities and that a condensed policy document be produced for public distribution, giving the Movement's policy on matters of national and local importance.
- CUMANN SEAN MISTEIL
(RINGSEND/SANDYMOUNT)
- 215 A proposal was passed that the N.L.M. concept should be revised and a more practical structure of organisation should be formulated.
- Refer for discussion* PATRICIA MCKAY REP. CLUB
LOWER FALLS

addendum - should
amendment carried: 9.11.

Organisation & Structure

*John O'Brien
Lession*

216 Sinn Fein recognises that its foremost organisational task is the creation of a revolutionary party of the Irish working-class to act as the vanguard in the social and national revolutionary struggle on which we are engaged. The revolutionary vanguard party cannot be an umbrella organisation embracing different ideologies, and we affirm the need to intensify our development towards ideological unity and clarity within our Movement on the basis of our educational programme. This can only be done on the basis of democratic centralism, democratic in that all decisions are taken on the basis of the fullest consultation with and participation of the membership; centralist in that all decisions are implemented from top to bottom and that minorities accept the view of majorities on all matters of policy. We therefore call upon the incoming Ard Comhairle to set up a working committee to examine the organisational structure of the Republican Movement, to produce its draft report within three months.

SC. - 216 after last

Yes

Ard Comhairle

217 That Organisers be appointed after consultation with the membership of an area.
COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR
ATH CLIATH

218 That the organiser for an area be appointed after consultation with the membership of the area.
CUMANN SEAN RUISEIL
ATH CLIATH

219 That Organisers should be appointed to act in the capacity of links with Ard Oifig on a regular basis in supplying feed-back to Ard Oifig and direction to Cumann and above all to ensure that Cumann are functioning fully and effectively in carrying out the policy of the Movement.
CUMANN JAMES CONNOLLY
WATERFORD

220 The maximum number possible of full-time organisers be appointed.
CUMANN CS. MARKIEVICZ,
SLIGO

221 That full-time organisers should be seen to be more efficient and that more full-time organisers should be appointed.
THOMAS CLARKE CUMANN, TYRONE

222 That full time organisers be appointed for each region.
COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR-MONAGHAN

223 Adequate transport be provided for full-time organisers.
COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR
LEITRIM/ROSCOMMON

224 That the provincial organisers make more frequent visits to Cumainn.
CUMANN JAMES CONNOLLY
TRALEE

225 That the organisers visit the clubs more often.
MARTIN O'LEARY REP. CLUB
DERRYMACASH CO. ARMAGH

226 That the incoming Ard Comhairle in appointing an organiser for an area should ensure that the sole job of the organiser is to organise his particular area and that no other job be appointed to him.
CUMANN WOLFE TONE, BALLYMUN/SANTRY

227 That Sean Kenny be brought back as National Organiser.
CUMANN EAMONN CEANNT
DUBLIN

228 That an t-Uachtaran should be full-time. CUMANN SEAN BERGIN
CO. TIPPERARY

229 That the relationship of na Fianna Eireann to Sinn Fein should be properly rationalised. CUMANN SEAN SABHAT, LUIMNEACH

230 It is proposed that Sinn Fein seeks a greater involvement with the problems of youth and that support be given to the establishment of effective community and youth centres. CUMANN JAMES CONNOLLY
BRAY CO. WICKLOW

231 That in light of the 'votes at 18' referendum, that this Ard Fheis approve the setting up of a Youth Movement by Sinn Fein for the age group 15-17 yrs. and that the main emphasis in this youth movement be on political education based on Marxist principles. REP. CLUB U.C.G.

232 That Sinn Fein set up a special youth department to deal with the specific problems of students, apprentices and young workers, and that it should be part of the duty of this department, to draw up a youth policy. CUMANN JEMMY HOPE
DUBLIN

233 That regional representatives on the Ard Comhairle should address meetings of all members in his area following each Ard Comhairle meeting to inform members of decisions made by the Ard Comhairle. CUMANN PATRICK MORAN
ROSCOMMON

234 That there be more contact through Regional Councils and Executives, between the Ard Comhairle and Comhairle Cheanntair. REP. CLUB U.C.C.

235 That the regional members of the Ard Comhairle visit the Cumainn quarterly. CUMANN JAMES CONNOLLY
TRALEE

Finance

236 That one person be appointed in each area to handle finance for clubs. This person also to take charge of U.I.s and An Solas or any other local area papers. *amendment passed* CUMANN HENRY MUNROE

237 A permit be applied for all national collections. *passed* CUMANN SEOIRSE PLANT, CILL COINNIGE

238 That finance be made available to cumainn/Rep. Clubs to set up premises. WILLIAM ORR REP. CLUB
BALLYMURPHY

239 That a National full-time Organiser for finance gathering be appointed. These finances be gathered through Ceilithe, Ballad sessions etc. *passed* COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR
LEITRIM/ROSCOMMON

240 That Finance be dealt with more strictly by Head Office and U.I. Office. *passed* CUMANN JAMES CONNOLLY
CARLOW

241 No fund on a national level should be established for the dependents of any one particular republican; all such funds collected on a national basis should be channeled through the dependents committee, and distributed as equal as possible amongst dependents. CUMANN PATRICK MORAN
ROSCOMMON

Miscellaneous

242 That a more militant approach (i.e. ^{DELGTO} take-over of public buildings etc) be taken by Cumainn and Clubs all over the 32 Counties, with regard to such things as Criminal Courts, E.E.C., Plebiscite etc. SEAN SABHAT REP. CLUB
BELFAST

243 That more discipline be enforced in the Movement regarding non-attendance at protests etc. CUMANN EAMONN CEANNT
DUBLIN

244 That the Movement should launch an effective campaign of agitation within the 26 Counties against all repressive legislation. NORTH-WEST EXEC.REP. CLUB
DERRY CITY

245 That in the event of internment or harrassment of Republicans in the 26 Counties that it become official Sinn Fein policy to retaliate by the placing of pickets on the business and houses of members of the government party of the day and that a statement to this effect be issued from this Ard Fheis. CUMANN PADRAIG O PEARAILL
WEXFORD

246 That Sinn Fein initiate drawing in all progressive forces an intensive campaign for a secular state in the South. That the main issues in this campaign are -
1. The right to full family planning facilities without restrictions.
2. The right to avail of medical abortion.
3. The right to divorce (with free legal aid).
4. The right to a secular education.
5. No privileges to any church or combination of churches, e.g. taxes, rates exemption.
6. That any legal discrimination against homosexuals be removed.
CUMANN FRANK RYAN

PROPOSED
THAT
THIS BE
NOT TAKEN

247 That any agitationary activities undertaken by the Movement were ceased to function etc. -
1) Fisheries campaign fell through when Sean Kenny went to America;
2) Ground Rent campaign fell through when Sheamus O Tuathail was interned. CUMANN SEOIRSE PLANT, CILL COIN

248 That the incoming Ard Comhairle appoint a sub-committee to draft a positive campaign of agitation within the 26 Counties, with particular consideration being given to the Offences against the State Act. LIAM MELLOWES REP. CLUB
STRABANE

249 That before any further National agitations are undertaken a committee be appointed for any specific agitation whose job would be to investigate all aspects of the proposed question, to inform all cumann and clubs and then to direct and bring to an ultimate conclusion the campaign in question. CUMANN GLIABH RUADH
CILL CHOINNIGH

250 That all national campaigns undertaken by the Movement such as Fish-in campaigns etc., should be brought to an ultimate conclusion, and not left hanging in the air such as the Ground Rent campaign, Fish-ins etc. That when a decision is made to carry out any national campaign, a committee of 4 or 5 people should be responsible for organising and bringing the campaign to its ultimate conclusion. CUMANN THOMAS McDONAGH
KILKENNY

^{YES} 251 That this Ard Fheis recognises the need for the movement to intensify its campaign in the basic needs of the people in all spheres of the struggle i.e. land, employment, housing etc., and to make the people aware that it is they (the people) and the people alone can achieve liberation and freedom and not any elitist group - whether military or intellectual - and to recognise that unless this is done defeat for the nation and the movement is a definite fact of life with movement members contributing from the armchairs of intellectualism to the well-being of the Nation.

COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR
PORTLAIRGE

^{YES} 252 That this Ard Fheis convene a conference of all working class organisations in the Six Counties.

ARMAGH/STH.DOWN EXEC.
REP. CLUBS

^{YES} 253 That Cumainn use Nuacht Naisiunta to publicise activities with a view to helping other cumainn.

CUMANN LIAM MELLOWS
CRUMLIN/KIMMAGE A/CLIATH

^{YES} 254 It is proposed that Sinn Fein launch an all-out campaign for the release of all Political Prisoners in Ireland and the U.K.

CUMANN JAMES CONNOLLY
BRAY CO.WICKLOW

^{YES} 255 That Sinn Fein adopt a more militant protest campaign in an effort to secure the freedom of all political prisoners in the 32 Counties of Ireland.

CUMANN PADRAIG O PEARAILL
WEXFORD

^{YES} 256 That the Ard Fheis demand the abolition of the Special Courts as they are a direct violation of human rights.

CUMANN PARLE/HOGAN/CRANE. WEXFORD

^{YES} 257 Sinn Fein should mount a campaign to disband the Special Branch and expose their activities to the public.

CUMANN SEAN McDERMOTT,
PALMERSTOWN, DUBLIN

^{YES} 258 That the Republican Movement lead the fight against pollution in all its forms and press for effective anti-pollution legislation to eradicate the practice of indiscriminate dumping of industrial and natural wastage.

CUMANN MICHAEL McGRATH
WATERFORD

^{YES} 259 It is proposed that this Ard Fheis demands the repeal of Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act under which Republicans are denied the means of free expression.

COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR, WICKLOW

260 That more help be given to new clubs being formed, for example, advice on literature, leaflets and finance.

JOE BAXTER REP.CLUB
CO. DOWN

261 That the structure of clubs in relation to the role they have to play in a socialist movement be investigated with specific reference to (a) members in clubs; (b) distribution of work loads in clubs; (c) relationship of the club to all other organisations in the area.

FINTAN LALOR REP.CLUB
BELFAST

262 That as a top priority the Movement should sponsor the establishment of a Socialist research centre on a national basis for the purpose of collecting and classifying information and data on industrial and agricultural investment, both foreign and native. The main purpose of such a research centre should be to centralise and streamline the information necessary to provide quick action when such as strike situations arise.

COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR, DONEGAL

263 (1) That Sinn Fein rededicates itself to the establishment of a socialist Ireland; (2) That its socialism be based on Marxist economic analysis.

REP. CLUB U.C.G.

264 That the ideology of the Movement be defined as more clearly Marxist.
U.C.D. CUMANN

265 That Sinn Fein constantly reiterates that it is a revolutionary republican socialist organisation, and not an aspiring social democratic parliamentary party.
CUMANN SEAN RUISEIL
ATH CLIATH

266 Recognising the need for the Revolutionary Movement to have a programme of action as well as a correct theory; that this Ard-Fheis instruct all members to become more involved in the ordinary day-to-day struggles of the people and in particular renewed emphasis be placed on:-
1. Citizens Advice Bureaus;
2. Involvement in Trade Unions;
3. The need to co-ordinate agitational issues on a national level.
JAMES CONNOLLY CUMANN
ATHENRY Co.GALWAY

267 In order to emphasise that the Republican Movement is a Socialist Organisation concerned with local Working Class issues such as unemployment, bad housing etc., we propose that the Movement drop the practice of naming clubs and cumainn after persons and instead adopt the name of the area in which the club/cumann is based.
FINTAN LALOR REP.CLUB
BELFAST

268 That Sinn Fein recognises:- (1) that the fundamental contradiction in Ireland is that between the working class and the Imperialists; (2) that there exists a cultural historical and economic and religious difference between the loyalist population of the North-East and the rest of the Irish working class which prevents them from uniting against imperialism; (3) that this contradiction among the Irish working class is not a fundamental one from a socialist standpoint. That Sinn Fein bases its policies on the necessity to overcome this division.
REP. CLUB U.C.G.

269 Recognising that the Protestant working-class are the largest single obstacle in the struggle for a Socialist Workers' Republic and acknowledging that their support is a necessary condition in the prosecution of that struggle, and that the Trade Unions and Tenants' Associations are the only truly non-sectarian workers' organisations on which unity of the working-class can be based; The Republican Movement recognises this as being the most important aspect of the struggle and consequently re-affirms its' prior decision to organise within the Trade Union Movement and pledges total and undiluted agitation towards this objective.
HENRY JOY McCracken REP.CLUB
TURF LODGE, BELFAST

270 Recognising that the support of the British working class is essential to the success of the Irish Revolution that Sinn Fein give all possible assistance to Clann na hEireann to enable them to win the support of the British working class.
REP. CLUB U.C.G.

271 That cumainn in 26 Counties take up a more active role than at present and that cumainn/clubs establish better co-ordinating between themselves through such things as exchange visits.
WILLIAM ORR REP. CLUBS
BALLYMURPHY

272 That the Clubs, particularly in Belfast cooperate with each other more and keep in touch, some clubs are practically strangers to each other, for instance in clubs with small membership members could help each other to sell papers etc. on consecutive weeks and help each other out in various ways by combining forces. For instance, members from one Area could go one week and help the Cumann there and then the others help in the others' area the following week.
SEAN MAC DIARMADA REP. CLUB
BELFAST

- 273 Members of Clubs and Cumann should be given experience in various fields by spending a period of time with another club elsewhere in Ireland. A system should be worked out so the Clubs can get in contact with each other easily. SEAMUS BURNS REP. CLUB
CLONARD
- 274 That local sub-committees be appointed to draw up regional economic policies for presentation to the electorate at future elections. COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR
LEITRIM/ROSCOMMON
- 275 That districts for paper sales of a new Cumann be published in the U.I. when the cumann is set up. CUMANN LIAM MELLOWS
CRUMLIN/KIMMAGE A/CLIATH
- 276 That the system for selling pamphlets be improved. CUMANN MARTIN O'LEARY
CORK
- 277 That it be compulsory for every club/cumann member to be assigned to a specific task within the club/cumann, and that the club/cumann does not revolve around 2/3 people. WILLIAM ORR REP. CLUB
BALLYMURPHY
- 278 That the Comhairle Ceanntar immediately investigate any allegations as to the existence of elitist groups within its area. CUMANN SEAN RUISEIL
ATH CLIATH
- 279 That the names of all members on Coiste Seasta or Ard Comhairle sub-committees be published internally at the time the sub-committee is set up. CUMANN LIAM MELLOWS
CRUMLIN/KIMMAGE A/CLIATH
- 280 That spokesmen be appointed on housing, education, finance etc. CUMANN THOMAS McDONAGH
KILKENNY
- 281 That this Ard Fheis believes that attempts should be made to make republican ceremonies more secular. FINTAN LALOR REP. CLUB
BELFAST
- 282 That a case-study of a particular area be set up with a view to thus showing a constructive example of how socialism will change the lives of the people in the area. FINTAN LALOR REP. CLUB
BELFAST
- 283 That more efficiency be practised all round in organising commemorations, educational conferences, functions etc. This to be encouraged by more attention to detail by the leadership of the Movement. COMHAIREE CEANNTAR-MONAGHAN
- 284 That, as we are the Republican Movement, we drop the usage of the word "Official" and resume our title as the Republican Movement of the 32 Counties. WILLIAM ORR REP. CLUB
BALLYMURPHY
- 285 That three months prior to future Ard Fheiseanna, a programme of analysis and strategy be circulated by the Ard Comhairle for amendment and ratification at the Ard Fheis. CUMANN FRANK RYAN
- 286 That at future Ard Fheiseanna matters relating to tactics and strategy be included in closed session. CUMANN FRANK RYAN
- 287 That the Ard Fheis be held in different regions each year. CUMANN PARLE/HOGAN/CRANE. WEXFORD
- 288 That the Sinn Fein Ard Fheis be held in the principal city of the different province each year. CUMANN MAURICE MOORE
CO. CORK

- 289 That this Ard Fheis instruct members who are members of any teachers union or students union to agitate within their union to end British Army occupation of schools.
FINTAN LALOR REP. CLUB
BELFAST
- 290 That the Ard Fheis instruct members who belong to the G.A.A. to put pressure on that organisation to agitate more strongly against British Army occupation of G.A.A. premises.
FINTAN LALOR REP. CLUB
BELFAST
- 291 Speaking tours by leading well-known members of the Movement be organised throughout the country. The aim of the tours be to explain our policies to indoor meetings in the various counties and to the local press. That support on these tours be accepted from people who have something to contribute even though they might not be members of the Movement.
CUMANN COUNTESS MARKIEVICZ
SLIGO
- 292 That the Movement continually fight political and aesthetic censorship on all levels.
CUMANN SEAN RHISEIL
ATH CLIATH
- 293 That Sinn Fein take legal action against any government spokesman or Newspaper who links the name "Sinn Fein" with the Provisional Alliance.
CUMANN COL. LEONARD
DROGHEDA
- 294 That South Kerry Comhairle Ceanntair, strongly object to the inclusion of master resolutions from the Ard Comhairle to the detriment of resolutions from Cumann or Comhairle Ceanntair.
COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR
CIARRAI THEAS
- 295 That all resolutions from Cumainn or Comhairle Ceanntair be discussed by the Ard Fheis and be accepted or rejected on its merits.
COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR
CIARRAI THEAS
- 296 That stronger discipline be introduced into the Movement to ensure that all members are fully active.
COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR
ATH CLIATH
- 297 That the leadership should take a more active interest in the activities of the Republican Movement.
CUMANN COUNTESS BRIDGE MARTYR
KERRY
- 298 That resolutions coming from Cumainn or Comhairle Ceanntair should be dealt as such and not taken as amendments to resolutions from an Ard Comhairle.
CUMANN COUNTESS BRIDGE
MARTYR. KERRY
- 299 That the policy of getting out the constitution after every Ard Fheis be implemented.
CUMANN MARTIN O'LEARY
CORK
- 300 Recongising that an Ard Fheis is the most important decision making assembly of the Movement, that all conversations among those present be held outside the door.
CUMANN PATRICK MORAN
ROSCOMMON
- 301 That effective Executive action be taken to extend and foster the Co-operative idea on a national level and that expert advice and finance be made available for this purpose.
ARMAGH/STH. DOWN EXEC.
REP. CLUBS
- 302 That the role of the Co-op shops towards helping working people be recognised and that it should be emphasised as an effective activity for the organisation.
CUMANN SEAN BERGIN
CO. TIPPERARY

303 That the Republican Movement devote more time to the setting up of cooperatives and also more education courses set up on them. OWEN MCGILL REP. CLUB
TYRONE

304 That the Republican Movement state clearly its policy re Co-ops. CUMANN LIAM MELLOWES
NAVAN

305 That the Ard Fheis instruct all Cumainn and Clubs to consider in depth the setting up of self-employed labour, and home industry, and that the Republican Movement take all necessary steps to establish such employment. WILLIAM ORR REP. CLUB
BALLYMURPHY

In view of the fact that the N.F.A. can no longer claim to represent the interests of the small farmers of Ireland, this Ard Fheis urges all farmers in the Republican Movement to become active in the Small Farmers Defence Association

Yes

ARD COMHAIRLE

307 That a sub-committee of the Ard Comhairle be appointed to draw up a land-agricultural policy for the Movement. CUMANN PATRICK MORAN
ROSCOMMON

308 Support be accorded to the active Farmers Defence Association by every cumann, in rural areas. CUMANN PATRICK MORAN
ROSCOMMON

309 That Sinn Fein should campaign against the purchase of land in Ireland by speculators, native and foreign alike, and especially those who use the land as holiday resorts, thereby leaving good farming land unproductive. CUMANN JEMMY HOPE
DUBLIN

- 310 That the Republican Movement should establish more concrete relationships with revolutionary movements and governments abroad, especially in Europe in view of the necessity to counter the internationalism of imperialism with revolutionary internationalism. *Yes* CUMANN CURRY/O'HARE
BLACKROCK-STILLORGAN, DUBLIN
- 311 That the Republican Movement develops its contacts with other revolutionary organisations throughout the world. WILLIAM ORR REP. CLUB
BALLYMURPHY
- 312 That the Republican Movement develop closer links with revolutionary socialist movements throughout the world. WOLFE TONE REP. CLUB BELFAST
- 313 That the republican movement develop its links with revolutionary organisations throughout the world. BETSY GREY REP. CLUB
BALLYMURPHY
- 314 Recognising that Capitalism is international as exemplified by the E.E.C., this organisation should work towards a greater cooperation with progressive socialist groups in Europe. CUMANN ROBERT EMMET, ATH CLIATH
- 315 That the Republican Movement build up stronger international links with other revolutionary socialist organisations, and that further efforts be made to communicate out policies in the appropriate languages. FINTAN LALOR REP. CLUB
BELFAST
- 316 It is proposed that the Movement should define our present position as regards working with other 'left' organisations and parties. CUMANN JAMES CONNOLLY
BRAY CO. WICKLOW
- 317 That Sinn Fein devote more time to attacking the policies of the Labour Party, with a view to winning over its rank and file. U.C.D. CUMANN
- 318 Be it resolved that the Sinn Fein Movement must exercise and influence a favourable strategy to divert the political Labour Party from their heresy of association with the enemies of Labour, in their endeavour to gain a false political structure as a shadow of the Fine Gael Party. CUMANN PATRICK MORAN
ROSCOMMON
- 319 That this Ard Fheis welcomes the formation of the Krish Sovereignty Movement and in particular the 9 objectives stated in its constitution and urges the members of the Movement to support it on the basis of this policy. ARD COMHAIRLE

to be discussed.