

Present: Delegates from the Following TOM branches: Birmingham, Brighton, Bristol, Cambridge, Cardiff, Colchester, Doncaster, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Haringey, Harrow, Hemel Hempstead, Leicester, LSE, Liverpool, Kirkby, Manchester Greater, Manchester Central, Nottingham, Oxford, Reading, Stirling; London: East, South-East, North, North West, West, South.

Observers from Cymru Goch, IRSP, IS.

1. SOC REPORT - Chair moved acceptance of report. ACW observer challenged Chair's ruling on right of observers to speak. A motion of no confidence in Chair was moved - defeated overwhelmingly. Amendment to SOC Report - That amendments may be moved from the floor rather than via SOC, Chair having right to rule if amendment in order - CARRIED.
2. REPORT ON STATUS OF DELEGATES - SOC recommended allowing one delegate from each disputed branch. Counter-motion: DEFEATED "That one-minute reports be taken from each disputed branch". Second Counter-motion: ( Privacy ) "That all applications from branches be accepted (waive financial criterion and accept all delegates who have applied) - CARRIED.
3. AGENDA - Amendment to proposed agenda: "December Rally to be taken at same time as "Next steps for TOM" CARRIED.  
Amendment 2 : "That organisation of TOM be discussed Saturday afternoon and political perspectives on Day 2" - DEFEATED  
Amendment 3: "That Next Steps for TOM be discussed in 2 parts: Political perspectives and Plan of Action" - CARRIED.
4. REPORTS - Reports were given on Organising Committee; Labour Party Conference TOM meeting; Free Speech Rally/demo; GLATC delegation; Women's Organiser; Literature; Students; Labour Movement; International; Finance.

#### SATURDAY SESSION 2

5. RESOLUTION: "That Conference goes ahead with decisions taken on Standing Orders this morning" - CARRIED
6. POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES - The following documents were moved: "What Next for TOM?"; "Critique of London Branch Practice"; "Suggested RCG Motions for the TOM NDC"; "Notes on TOM"; "Ireland, the Storm Clouds Gather"; "Which Way for TOM/Building the TOM".

There was then an International Report.

Discussion.

Procedural motion ( Privacy ): "That discussion be extended from 35 minutes to 1 hour and that speakers have 5 minutes each." CARRIED.

7. PLAN OF ACTION - The following resolutions were moved:-

\*\* "This conference urges that all TOM bulletins should bring out sharply the difference between, on the one hand, the two basic TOM demands and on the other hand reformist demands such as that for a "Bill of Rights" which assume a continuation of Partition and

demand for a British solution - prevails in the Labour movement today. Conference further urges that Left organisations claiming to support the TOM demands be asked to organise TOM meetings in all areas where TOM branches are not yet established but where those organisations have members. Left organisations should also be asked to undertake a concerted campaign to distribute labour movement bulletins on Ireland throughout the working class".

X  
X  
X

(Edinburgh 1/Gr. Manchester 3/S E London 1) - DEFEATED

\*\* "Recognising that the struggle to withdraw British troops from Ireland cannot be separated from the struggle to build socialism in Britain, this conference urges that the 2 demands of TOM be argued for in the labour movement in a clear anti-imperialist manner. This would involve: constantly challenging reformist perspectives such as the Bill of Rights position; emphasising the dangers of the British working class being drawn into a common front with its own bourgeoisie on the question of Ireland."

(Haringey A) - DEFEATED (see below for amendment)

\*\* Amendment: Add: "clearly arguing the case for solidarity with the Republican and socialist forces fighting against the British Army of occupation and against Orange reaction. This solidarity must be seen as the concrete expression of the 'self-determination' position" ( Privacy S E London) DEFEATED

\*\* "NDC notes that the most important progress that the TOM has made over the last year has been the extent to which the argument for the immediate withdrawal of the B Army from the north of Ireland has made its impact within the official Labour movement, i.e. the trade unions, and, most immediately, the Labour Party. Central to the TOM's campaign in achieving this response has been, firstly, the arguments contained in the publication "The Alternative White Paper" and, secondly, the Labour Movement Conference of May 1975.

NDC urges the most positive action from all the leading bodies of the TOM in order to ensure that the pressure being placed on the official labour movement to debate the role of the British Army in Ireland is maintained and intensified. In particular, we urge that far closer attention is paid to the possibility of winning ground amongst rank and file Labour Party activists in the localities.

NDC calls on the TOM co-ordinating committees and the TOM local branches to attempt to monitor the opinions and the development of support for the Troops Out position within their local Labour Parties. Wherever possible, direct contact with local Party activists should be sought, with the objective of organising debates gaining sponsorship for local meetings etc. and other actions which will enable TOM to reach broader sections of the labour movement.

In order to organise this area of activity, NDC calls for the enlargement of the present TOM Labour Liaison Committee to include delegates from all TOM branches anxious to develop their work in more deeply penetrating the labour movement with our campaign. An enlarged Liaison Committee will be charged with the following responsibilities and functions.

i) To provide advice and basic information to the TOM branches on the question of how an initial approach to the local labour

Parties should be made.

ii) To co-ordinate the approaches of TOM branches around the basis of certain priority issues, e.g. the organisation of regional or national meetings - Labour Party members prepared to discuss with TOM, debates, resolutions at Regional and National Party conferences, etc.

iii) To produce propaganda, agitational and educational material which has a specific orientation towards the level of discussion, and the issues being discussed in relation to Ireland within the Labour Party,

iv) To take all other actions in line with TOM policy necessary to ensure that sympathisers in the Labour Party become supporters, that supporters become proficient campaigners and that every opportunity to put the TOM positions across to the broadest number of Labour Party members and supporters is taken to the fullest advantage of".

(Haringey TOM) - CARRIED

\*\* "This NDC re-affirms the two demands of the movement "Troops Out Now" and "Self-determination for the Irish people" and reiterates that TOM will use any structure for organising national events in pursuance of these demands, which TOM considers will win most support and help to build a mass movement within the working class and other progressive sections.

"The NDC recognises that the National Labour Movement Conference was a significant step forward for TOM and has played an important part on mobilising the British labour movement on the Irish question. It now states that local branches of TOM should, in the next period, make every possible effort and take every possible initiative to intervene at the local level of the labour movement and should, by the next NDC, produce a report for circulation of their activities. The NDC instructs the Labour movement co-ordinator to monitor the progress of branches in carrying out this work and to act as an advisor and co-ordinator.

"The TOM, in line with its policy of mobilising support in the labour movement will, in the next 8 months, hold a conference for Labour Party members. The present Labour Party liaison Committee will plan this event and will, if necessary, co-opt members of the Labour party who are outside TOM to sit on this committee.

Local TOM branches should prepare for this conference by making contact with Constituency Labour Parties."

(North London TOM, as amended) - CARRIED

\*\* "(NDC resolves) to continue with the plans for the "November" demo and rally, albeit on a reduced scale and in December, because of the problems in obtaining a suitable hall early enough to launch an appeal for money and support, plus the decreased outward activity of TOM arising from the factional attacks which TOM has been subjected to for the past several months.

"That the next major 'national' action for TOM after the November demonstration/rally should be a Bloody Sunday Rally and demo in early February, similar to this year's but perhaps in a bigger hall.

"At the Bloody Sunday Rally we should publicly announce our plans for a campaign to have a mass delegation elected from the TU movement to visit Ireland next May or June. The idea would be that the same type of organisations which elected delegates to attend the May 24 conference should be entitled to send delegates. The delegation would be seen off by a rally and/or demonstration and at the end of the tour elect a committee to draft a report which would be put to a report-back conference before the end of the summer.

Following this we should work to get delegates to include in their report the idea of a Labour Commission of Inquiry on Ireland, which would hold public hearings both in Britain and Ireland on the lines of the 1921 Commission.

The delegation should be as large as possible, but with problems of fares, etc. we should aim initially at 100. We should also campaign for funds to subsidise the delegation and plan to have a Press Officer on the tour with equipment to issue daily press statements in London, Dublin and Belfast.

The campaign around such a delegation would enable TOM to use the undoubted support it has gained in the labour movement (as witnessed at May 24 conference) in a more active way than has been possible in the past, and the visit itself would, with any luck, have a very good effect on the morale of the people in the Catholic ghettos, while the report-backs of the delegates to their own branches and to the conference would have a ripple-effect more widespread than that which could have been achieved by the TOM on its own.

"We repeat that these proposals are subject to the same limitations as our proposals made last November at the NCC and ADM, i.e. in the event of the type of situation which the Contingency Committee was formed to cover emerging, then we would alter or scrap these plans and concentrate on a programme to meet the new situation."

(From "What Next for TOM") - CARRIED

\*\* "Prepare a poster with TOM slogans for distribution in Britain and Ireland. The slogan should be "No British Aid for a Loyalist State, Troops Out Now"

"New TOM pamphlet on the new situation following the collapse of the Convention;

"National speaking tour of Britain in February by well-known Irish and British speakers (to spread TOM to areas where it doesn't exist and consolidate where it does);

"That TOM branches who haven't done so already give urgent consideration to the question of relief;

(Big Flame Ireland Commission) CARRIED

\*\* "Our conference rejects the idea that the army is playing a peace-keeping role or preventing a civil war. The longer the army remains in Ireland the greater the suffering of the minority population and greater is the threat of irresistible Loyalist pogroms. There are 15,000 in the North, virtually all of them concentrated against the Catholic community. Today all three major parliament-

ary parties are committed to maintaining the army in force against the minority. Only an independent movement for the immediate withdrawal of troops can successfully aid the struggle for Irish self-determination.

"As an important step towards this goal the TOM pledges full support for a national demonstration in December.

"To rally the broadest possible opinion to British involvement in Ireland the TOM will work in full collaboration with the Ad Hoc Committee to:

gain sponsorship from a wide range of Labour MPs, trade Unionists and student union leaders, local branches of the trade unions women's liberation groups and the student Unions;

produce a mobilising leaflet with a list of sponsors, an appeal for financial aid and an offer of speakers from the ad-hoc committee. This to be distributed nationally and included in a mailing to all known TOM sympathisers and contacts;

campaign within the student movement for national organisation of university debates with broadest possible platform including TOM speakers;

organise a nationwide tour including all principal cities for the film "Ireland Behind the Wire" to be accompanied where possible with prominent national speakers,

hold a major rally in Central London in mid-November to draw broader forces into building for December and raise funds for the ad hoc committee;

make definite arrangements for these activities for use as a calendar of activities to be publicised through a second mailing and at other public political activities.

"If the ad hoc committee does not agree to the demand for immediate withdrawal of troops, the TOM itself will organise independently around its own demands and have a separate 'Out Now' contingent on the demonstration."

(W London TOM) - CARRIED

"That an analysis of each branch area guide the branch in its practice. Where there is no community as such and people work out of the area then concentrate on the service industries which do employ people locally like hospitals, schools and colleges. Where there are local factories, copy the WL example: mass leaflet in the morning for a lunchtime meeting - 100 came to theirs."

(London Big Flame Irish Commission) - DEFEATED

"That where TOM militants are not actively based in the community that they are sensitive to those who are when planning activities. And that some analysis be done of how people not actively based in the area can work in the area."

(London Big Flame Irish Commission) DEFEATED

"That meetings be alternated with activity groups and some formula be constructed whereby no work means no vote. Activity groups to include the above-mentioned areas".

(London Big Flame Irish Commission) DEFEATED

"That each activity group relates and co-ordinates with the relevant National Officer".

(London Big Flame Irish Commission) DEFEATED

"That the lapses mentioned above be rectified and that creativity and imagination be used in planning activities. Nobody wants to continue having public meetings where the same faces appear again and again. Branch membership has to be considered; activity that doesn't produce much response is dispiriting."

(London Big Flame Irish Commission) DEFEATED

"That in general we pursue activities more consistently and with some idea of how to measure success."

(London Big Flame Irish Commission) CARRIED

"That all-London meetings be re-vamped so that we can meet to analyse and compare our branch experiences."

(London Big Flame Irish Commission) CARRIED

#### 8. ORGANISATION OF T.O.M. : RE-STRUCTURING AND NATIONAL AFFILIATION

**Privacy** motion to defer decision on National affiliation had been rejected as out of order by SOC. Chair put this question to Conference. Conference voted to have the motion put.

SOC resigned and was then re-elected.

The following resolutions were then moved:-

- 1) "The TOM re-affirms itself as a united front body of all forces opposed to British Imperialism in Ireland on the basis of the two principle demands of "Troops Out Now" and "Self-Determination" and therefore extends affiliation to National organisations who support these two demands and not just to individuals".

(W London 2/Haringey B/Edinburgh 2 composite)

- ii) "Restructuring TOM on the basis of national affiliation. Control of TOM should be in the hands of a committee giving adequate representation to all nationally affiliated organisations and to TOM branches across the country - not, as at present, de facto in the hands of a group of officers who were appointed to fulfil certain organisational tasks.

"Rejecting the idea that TOM can exercise any discipline beyond that needed for maintaining security, guaranteeing the orderly conduct of its meetings and demonstrations and requiring that individuals and groups adhering to TOM support the basic TOM demands. Specifically we reject, and advocate non-recognition of:-

- a) any restriction of circulation of literature inside TOM
- b) the notion that TOM members can be expelled, suspended or otherwise disciplined for questioning the honesty or judgement of TOM officers or committees,
- c) the notion that TOM members or branches must 'prove themselves' in the eyes of the central bodies of TOM before being recognised,
- d) preferential or exclusive rights to address lists, etc. for certain factions in TOM,
- e) any demagogic ranking of 'genuine' TOM activists above 'left group' members; in particular, the notion that members of declared political tendencies should be disbarred from such posts as membership of the Standing Orders Committee,
- f) mandating of delegates by TOM branches. TOM branches themselves must be considered as united fronts, rather than as independent bodies."

(Bristol TOM)

- iii) "We propose re-structuring TOM as follows:-

- a) We re-affirm that the annual delegate conference is the supreme decision-making body of TOM.
- b) To set up a National Committee consisting of representatives of all groups working within TOM who would be affiliated nationally with their members working in local branches. 'Groups' to include political organisations, trade unions, trades councils and other bodies of the labour movement. The ratio of TOM branch delegates to group delegates should not be less than 70% - votes to be distributed on a bloc basis if necessary. This body will meet every two months and elect national officers.
- c) The veryday work of TOM will be conducted by a London-based ad-hoc committee meeting weekly, consisting of representatives of the same groups and TOM branches. The meeting will be open to observers from affiliated groups and TOM branches, who will have speaking but not voting rights (delegates would take precedence for speaking).
- d) The ad Hoc committee will appoint administrative officers as necessary and would be responsible for circulation of information and discussion throughout TOM branches.
- e) All political organisations and bodies of the labour movement supporting the two demands of TOM can affiliate to the Ad-Hoc committee and the National committee.

(Gr. Manchester 1/S E London 3/R C G S composite)

17) "In order to consolidate the gains we have made and to build the TOM into the sort of mass movement it must become, we propose:

- a) TOM must be a broad coalition of all forces supporting the main demands;
- b) That TOM policy be decided at a national conference open to all its supporters;
- c) That the day-to-day implementation and concretisation of the policy decided at the open conference should be the responsibility of the TOM steering committee which will also be completely open to all supporters of TOM who will also have voting and speaking rights;
- d) That if a change of policy was needed an open conference would have to be called;
- e) Single one-off initiatives would be organised by ad-hoc committees which will be composed of delegates from political and trade union organisations."

(I M G/Oxford TOM)

v) "The all-London meetings will now be held monthly. These meetings, open to all members of TOM, will discuss the strategy and tactics of TOM and make suggestions to the LCC.

"The LCC is the major decision-making body of the TOM in the London region. The Organising Committee is merely its administrative arm. All decisions taken by the Organising Committee are to be ratified by the LCC.

"The composition of the Organising committee shall be restricted to (-) members, proposed from London branches and elected at the LCC.

"The LCC shall comprise 2 delegates elected from each branch within the greater London area plus 5/6 national officers.

"No person whatsoever shall have a vote at the LCC unless elected as a delegate by her/his branch, other than the 5/3 national officers.

"All members of the Organising Committee will be subject to recall by the LCC.

"All branches electing delegates must be fully approved by the LCC.

"The Organising Committee can recommend the setting up of committees for specific areas of political work, but these must be ratified by the LCC.

The Organising Committee shall meet regularly, once every week."

(S London TOM/L London TOM/Big Flame composite, as amended)

- vi) "The TOM must work in the spirit of a United front. In order to achieve unity in action on the demands and aims of TOM it is necessary to allow individuals and groups which work to build the movement around its two demands the right to voice their own politics, and any criticisms they have of other groups and individuals publicly. Recent actions of the LCC have served to abolish this right of participants in TOM. These include the attempt to control debate through the Organising Committee by giving it as one of its tasks the organisation of a three monthly discussion and also the censure motion passed on 2 RCG comrades for public criticism they made of TOM officers. The LCC has therefore violated the rights of participant members. This conference rejects such interference and confirms the right of participants to circulate material when it is requested by the authors."

(Gr. Manchester 2/ S E London 2/R C G 2 composite)

- vii) Proposals for a secretariat/Work group  
(Summary of tasks)

"Arranging correspondence or raising "difficult" or controversial correspondence at LCC.

Distribution of mail to officers.

Circulating all documents authorised by the NCC/NCC/NDC for distribution to all members and affiliates via branch secretaries (this includes typing/duplicating them); preparing for LCC approval and then typing, duplicating and circulating a monthly LCC report to branches which would include a summary of reports from branches and any matters which branches want discussed in TOM.

Arranging the LCC agenda. Prioritisation of items for agenda.

Ensuring that things get proposed early enough, that they are not 'emergency' unless absolutely necessary.

Chasing national co-ordinators or LCC sub-committees responsible for particular tasks.

Putting out press statements (via press officer).

Minuting LCC and Work Group meetings in detail. Circulating LCC minutes after agreement by next LCC. Typing and duplicating any written minutes of LCC sub-committee.

Sending out a monthly questionnaire to all TOM branches to get a detailed picture of what's happening and what problems are arising.

Aiding officers with administrative work.

Arranging time and place of LCC and informing all London branches and officers. Also NCCs and NDCs.

Calling emergency LCCs if necessary.

Carrying out any other specific tasks allotted to it by the LCC - but with the proviso that this should not normally happen.

Organising all-London meetings and Weekend schools when these are proposed by LCC".

( **Privacy** )

- viii) "Conference recognises the importance of the discussion on structures for the TOM. A decision of this importance needs to have a period of time for an authoritative decision to be taken which will keep the movement united.

It would therefore be better to delay taking a final decision at this conference so that the issues can be more clearly understood by the entire membership.

Conference therefore decides to take the decision after the December demonstration at a re-call conference and to regard the discussion today as preliminary."

( Privacy ) DEFEATED

9. VOTING

Voting on the above proposals was as follows:

- i) (W London 2/Haringey B/Edinburgh 2) 39 for 49 ag. 1 abs  
DEFEATED
- ii) (Bristol) 19 for 64 ag. 1 abs  
DEFEATED
- iii) (Gr. Manchester 1/S E London 3/RCG 3) 19 for 54 ag. 0 abs.  
DEFEATED
- iv) (IMG/Oxford TOM) 30 for 54 ag. 0 abs.  
DEFEATED
- v) (S London/East London/Big Flame) 48 for 16 ag. 18 abs  
CARRIED 6 no votes
- vi) (Gr. Manchester 2/S E London 2/RCG2) 18 for 65 ag. 5 abs.  
DEFEATED
- vii) ( Privacy proposals for Secretariat) 37 for 25 ag. 20 abs  
CARRIED

10. AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION

- a) Line 7 of "Prologue" change Labour movement to 'working class'  
CARRIED 50 for, 18 against 15 abs.
- b) Add to constitution: "Branches have the right to challenge and then, if no satisfactory reply is received, to ask for the resignation of any member who, for no good reason (e.g. illness, holiday, national TOM work) over a 3 month period takes very little or no part either in the organisation of branch activities or in the activities themselves, while insisting on his/her right to still attend, speak and vote at branch meetings."  
DEFEATED 35 for 51 against
- c) "TOM members should be active members of their current branch for 3 months before being allowed to vote for, or stand for election as, a delegate to the LCC, NCC or NDC."  
OVERWHELMINGLY DEFEATED
- d) "Para. 8 line 1 of Constitution. Change £1 to £3 and so on."  
CARRIED

11. MANCHESTER RESOLUTION ON P T A PAMPHLET-THE STATE THE LAW AND IRELAND  
CARRIED

12. EMERGENCY RESOLUTIONS

The following were moved:-

- a) N London
- b) Rosemary Sales
- c) SOC
- d) W London TOM
- e) RCG

13. ELECTION OF NATIONAL OFFICERS

Following were elected to the following posts (other offices to be decided by LCC):-

- a) Sec/Convenor - Privacy
- b) Student Organiser - Privacy
- c) Labour Movement co-ordinator - Privacy
- d) Treasurer - Privacy
- e) Women's Organiser - Privacy

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