

S I N N F E I N

E D U C A T I O N D E P A R T M E N T

EDUCATIONAL HANDBOOK VOL. V.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Previous handbooks have outlined the following:

- X The history of the Movement and the reasons for past victories and defeats (Vol.1.).
- X The lessons of history as applied to the present times (Vol.1a).
- X Some practical notes on the relationship between the Movement, the mass-organisations and the people (Vol.111.).
- X An outline of the Social and Economic structure of a Thirty-two County Republic (Vol.1V.).
- X There is still in preparation Vol.11. of the series, dealing with Ireland today.

The present volume is intended to be a practical guide to the organisation of the movement and an explanation of the principles on which it is based. It is intended for the use of the organisers and for national, regional and local leadership in the re-structuring of the movement necessary for the implementation of the social objectives as outlined in Vol. 1V., and for the development of new methods of work as outlined in Vol. 111. Some ideas presented here have been anticipated in the later sections of Vol. 111.

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Section 2. The Cumann

The Cumann is the basic local unit of the organisation. No one may be a member of the organisation except through some unit. It is therefore of fundamental importance that the Cumann should meet regularly, have well-defined tastes and report regularly to the higher levels of the organisation. Unless this takes place a member has no real contact with the organisation, his membership is of doubtful value.

2.1. Inaugural meeting attended by the Organiser

The Organiser may use his judgment to decide whether a meeting he attends is 'inaugural' or not. If it is evident that there have not been regular monthly meetings and the Cumann has existed on paper only, he may declare the previous paper cumann dissolved and start from scratch to build a new Cumann structure, disregarding the decisions of the previous A.G.M.

The Organiser takes the chair.

- 2.1.1. First he outlines the objectives of the movement which are- to
 - x establish Socialism in a 32 County democratic Republic, in which the ownership of the means of productive of society will be in the hands of

the people who work them and all economic decisions affecting the lives of the people will be taken with the peoples active participation. (See Appendix 1. "Definition of Socialism").

X In the short run, to defend the peoples interests against the economic forces which are driving them into emigration, by building and strengthening the peoples organisations.

X Especially in the Six Counties, to fight for the democratic right to an open legal existence for the Movement, and to fight against all forms of discrimination, whether in housing or jobs.

2.1.2. Then he outlines the principle methods which are currently in use, the main purpose of these being to raise the level of understanding of the general public, and to bring a significant number of them round to the idea that the 'bread and butter issues' are related to the problem of how to free Ireland, recruiting these into the Movement.

He stresses that there is no question of recruiting to the Movement under the illusion that there is any quick and easy way to victory: we want people who are prepared to work with dedication over a long period, without excitement or glory. He bases his remarks on Vol.111. of the Handbook as a source of ideas distilled from the experience of the Movement to date.

2.1.3. He then throws the meeting open for discussion for a period, but in a disciplined way. He asks everybody present to declare his or her views on the objectives of the Movement as previously outlined by him. He looks for more than a mere declaration of support; he tries to draw out, by questioning, some creative application of principles to local conditions, such as to show that the member has grasped what the policy of the Movement means in local terms.

This part of the meeting can be combined with the Registrations, each member declaring his interests, so that the organiser can fill out the Registration Form.

Any member who feels uneasy about declaring his interests before people unknown to him (as for example business interests) can declare them to the Organiser afterwards. Note that there is no contradiction between having business interests and the objects of the Movement, as long as the management function rather than ownership function predominates.

2.1.4. The Organiser then recommends a nominee for a Chairman of the Cumann, making a judgment on the basis of the quality of the contributions to the discussion, having regard to practicality, experience, level of understanding, etc. He also takes into account the registration information, including length of time in the Movement and outside interests. Thus a good chairman should not have many outside interests in which he has to play a leading part. His job will be to manage, advise and guide the Movement, and to represent the Movement to the general public.

He asks if there are any more nominations; if so, he accepts it or them and throws the meeting open to discussion on their relative merits. In the ensuing discussion it should be possible to arrive finally at a unanimous choice. Note that there is a good reason why the propositions for Chairman comes from the Organiser and not from the meeting: The Organiser has the experience of meetings all over the country, and is likely to be able to make a good first choice. A local choice by an inexperienced Cumann would be based on popularity rather than quality or ability.

2.1.5. The Organiser then retires from the chair and hands over to the new chairman; from then on the Organiser as far as possible takes a back seat, except for advice as needed. This may take the form of a run-down on rules of procedure for the benefit of the new chairman.

It is convenient to declare a fifteen minute interval at this point, in which the Chairman consults with the Organiser as regards nominations for the other officers, bearing in mind the qualities required and the calibre of the people present. The personal knowledge of the Chairman and the experience of the Organiser are used to select a suitable panel.

The meeting then re-convenes and the panel is formally proposed to the general membership for acceptance. At this stage any new factors, such as to invalidate any one or more of the proposed panel, should be brought into the open. If there are no objections, the panel then becomes the Officer-board until the next A.G.M. of the Cumann.

This procedure, if adhered to, will be found to give an objective best choice and to reduce the danger of factionalism between rival candidates for positions.

2.1.6. The meeting then studies the "duties of officers and members of a Cumann" as outlined hereafter, with the help of the organiser when necessary. Additional specialist officers are nominated and agreed if there is time and the people are available to fit the posts.

A Schedule for future meetings is decided on, in such a way as to co-ordinate with other work in the Comhairle Ceanntar area.

A typical Schedule might be:

First Monday: Chairman and one other nominee attend monthly Comhairle Ceanntar meeting.

First Wednesday: Cumann Officers meet to plan the months work in the light of the Comhairle Ceanntar meetings decisions.

Second Wednesday: Comhairle Ceanntar Educational Conference open to all members of all cumainn in the area.

Third Wednesday: Officers meet to finalise plans for the general meeting.

Fourth Wednesday: General open meeting of all members, to which prospective members would be brought, with a well-organised agenda, including an informed specialist talk on a topic of interest, (national or local).

This main meeting of the month should be in the week at the end of which the United Irishman becomes available, so that it can be used to organise a monster sales effort on the first weekend of the paper.

This schedule should be worked out with the Comhairle Ceanntar and then adhered to for a lengthy period.

Note that the link with the Comhairle Ceanntar is the chairman and one another; and the other should rotate among officers and active members, so that experience of meetings, procedures and reporting back can become generalised. This is essential as if the Movement expands the Cumann must divide and there must be suitable officers available to staff the new Cumann.

Section 2.2. Duties of Officers

The Officers of the Cumann, or rather the functions of Officers, are as described below. A large Cumann can have one man one function; in a small cumann the functions may be combined. In the latter case they should be combined as indicated below.

2.2.1. A member of a Cumann is someone who -

- X Accepts the aims and objects of the Movement.
- X Attends meetings of a cumann regularly.
- X Pays membership dues on an agreed scale when he attends.
- X Carries out specialist assignments as delegated by a cumann meeting.

A member shall be deemed eligible to vote at an A.G.M. or to elect delegates to An Ard Fheis if he has attended 50% of all possible meetings in the previous period.

2.2.2. The Chairman is the acknowledged leader of the Cumann, as seen from outside the Movement locally, as well as within the Movement. He presides at meetings, proposes the agenda in consultation with the officers, guides the meeting through it in accordance with the rules of procedure.

He must understand the policy of the Movement at national, regional and local level, and be ready to be interviewed by the local press on any issue arising out of or related to the work of the Cumann.

2.2.3. The Education Officer must be familiar with the policy of the Movement and be able to explain it to new members, and outline to all members the significance of any topical events in relation to the policy of the movement, as well as the significance of any change in the policy of the Movement, should

should these occur as a result of the application of the principles of this movement in a changing external situation.

2.2.4. The Publicity Officer must be capable of issuing statements or leaflets of local significance, to be distributed with the United Irishman or at Church gates, or factory gates or at meetings. He must cultivate good relations with the local press and keep them informed of newsworthy actions. He must write up local events for the U.I. and send them in good time for inclusion in the next issue.

Any two or all three of the above functions can be combined in one Officer. They can be regarded primarily as the chairmans' responsibility; he has the right to delegate the extra functions to suitable members who serve in a staff capacity to the chairman.

The other officers of the Cumann can equally well be regarded as the chairmans' staff; owing to the panel electoral procedure outlined in 2.1.5.

2.2.5. The function of the two joint treasurers divide naturally into two parts:

- (a) The Treasurer-Registrar is responsible for the membership records as regards dues paid and attendance. He is also responsible for recording income and expenditure of the Cumann. He should keep an attendance-book in which attendance and dues are noted. After each meeting he totals the dues collected in the dues book and makes a single entry into the general ledger. He also enters income from sale of publications which has been paid over to him by the other joint treasurer. He pays out bills for secretarial or other expenses on the authorisation of the Cumann. He pays the monthly publications bill without necessarily waiting for authorisation, as U.I. cash must flow without delay.
- (b) The treasurer-publications officer is responsible for handling the U.I., books, pamphlets etc. He must hold, and account for, a stock of current pamphlet literature, including the Educational Manuals. He must see to it that there are no U.I. returns and that the U.I. money is paid over promptly. Pamphlet stocks should be paid for out of Cumann funds on receipt. It then becomes in the interest of the Cumann to sell them rapidly, in order to realise the commission. Capital must not be tied up in idle stocks of publications. Pamphlets aimed at the general public should be sold along with the U.I. in the later weekends of the month, to customers who have the U.I. already bought this month. He must keep a detail book as a record of his literature and paper stock, and record the amounts handed over to the general account.

Thus there are three books which need to be kept: the Treasurer-registrar keeps the general book and the members book, and the publications officer keeps the publications book. The publications officer must also have available a series of two Educational Manuals for members.

The Publications Officer must always have available copies of the Educational Handbooks for new members.

The two functions may be combined in a small cumann, the function of joint treasurer (e.g. for signing cheques) being discharged by any other nominated trustee, or possibly the chairman.

It is desirable that an active cumann, having a large turnover in paper money, should open a bank account and lodge cash immediately. The account can be in the name of trustees or openly in the name of the cumann. If co-operative banking facilities exist (as in Belfast for example) they should be used. Otherwise, Irish owned banks should be patronised as far as possible.

2.2.6. The two Secretarial functions are:

(a) A record secretary who keeps minutes of cumann decisions in a minute book, and if necessary prepares memoranda based on the minutes to remind the members responsible for the actions decided to carry them out. This latter function (chasing the implementation of decisions) is very important and the record secretary should be capable of doing this and should give it high priority. It is also the function of the record secretary to prepare notes for the delegates to the monthly Comhairle Ceanntar meeting, based on the minutes, so that they can report accurately.

(b) Correspondence Secretary who notifies members of activities and writes to outside bodies, when instructed to do so.

In all but the largest cumann these two functions should be combined, as it is more important to allocate competent people to the other specialist functions.

2.2.7.

Specialist Officers on (a) Industry, (b) Agriculture, (c) Housing, (d) Youth.

In what follows, the terms of reference for all these functions are defined similarly. The specialist officer should himself have the appropriate standing, such that his views on the speciality are to be listened to.

He must maintain a list of members of the movement and sympathisers who are interested in the speciality, and be in a position to convene them for specialist meetings, if the need should arise.

He must know who is who in the mass-organisations connected with the speciality, when meetings and conferences occur, and be in a position to mobilise support from members and sympathisers for policy decisions within the mass-organisations which are in accordance with the social objectives of the Movement.

Thus in the trade-union movement it is necessary to develop a militant policy against redundancy and 'rationalisations' and to generate explicit opposition to the Free Trade Agreement with Britain, awakening the understanding of sections of workers to certain aspects of the national question in the process. This involves the organised drafting of resolutions and making notes for speakers, so that the ordinary members of the Movement can be helped to express themselves.

Similarly among the farmers it is essential to attain unified demands by organised working farmers, and to remove the leadership of the latter from the hands of gombeen, rancher and ascendancy elements.

2.3.

Regular Meeting Procedure.

The following is a description of an imaginary cumann meeting, abstracted from the experience of some of the more active cumann in Sinn Fein. It may be taken as a model for cumann meetings throughout the country, changing that which needs to be changed, but abiding by the general procedure.

1. The Chairman, after waiting a short interval (10 minutes) for latecomers, declares the meeting open. He then reads out the agenda and asks for notice of any other business. He allocates approximate times for the various items.
2. The Secretary reads the minutes of the previous meeting. Decisions only are recorded. If correct the Chairman signs; otherwise he amends and signs.
3. Arising from: The minutes are checked to see if any decisions have to be reported on which fall outside the scope of the declared agenda. If so, they are either dealt with there and then, or given a special place on the agenda.
4. Correspondence: All letters to the cumann are read out. They may be allocated to their appropriate place on the declared agenda, or dealt with there and then.
- 4.1. For example a letter is read from the Defence of the Nation League asking for support in the sale of a new issue of their broadsheet, in which the developments in relation to the Common Market since the start of the agitation are analysed, and attention drawn to the effects of the Free Trade Agreement which are already becoming apparent. A member, relatively new to the Cumann, asks for information about this body. The secretary informs him that it is a loose federation of ad-hoc committees, consisting principally of republicans, trade unionists and some individual Labour Party members, which was formed to resist the application for E.E.C. membership by the Dublin Government.

4.1. cont.

A member proposes a motion "that the Cumann order 1,000 copies for distribution with the United Irishman", this is seconded, so it becomes a motion. Another member proposes an amendment "that the last five words be deleted and the following substituted: "...for distribution at factory gates". There is a lively discussion on this, debating whether the agitation should be linked openly with the Movement via the United Irishman sales or not. In the end the Chairman drafts a compromise motion embodying both methods of distribution, the decision to be left flexible. This then becomes the "substantive motion" and is voted.

A compromise motion from the chair often saves time, but sometimes this is not acceptable. If this does not take place, the amendment is voted on first, and then either the original or the substantive (i.e. amended) motion. There should be two votes, as there is no reason to believe that the amendment and the motion are mutually exclusive.

4.2. A letter is read from the Comhairle Ceanntar containing a number of items. These are allocated to the agenda where possible, the remainder are allocated to the item "Report of Comhairle Ceanntar Representative".

5. Finance. This item includes the following sub-items:

5.1. Payments to the treasurer of the U.I. sales money, with an exact rendering of how much is sales money and how much is extra contributions. This can have been done before the start of the meeting and need not take up time: the treasurer, however, should report on results.

5.2. Collection of dues: Each member pays his subscription, the treasurer marks him up in the dues register. He then totals the dues column and enters the amount on the credit side of the cumann cash-book. (He writes a cheque to cover the U.I. bill when he gets home and sends it off the next day. He also sends off a monthly cheque to the Comhairle Ceanntar which includes the Ard Comhairle and Comhairle Ceanntar dues, the former being handled regionally in bulk).

N.B. There is no need for special discussion on fund-raising, as between the members subscriptions and the U.I. commission the Cumann has an adequate income for most regular needs.

6. Delegate and Specialist reports.

This item allows anyone who was deputed to attend any other meeting to report back, say what was decided and if there are unresolved questions he takes the advice of the Cumann. This advice can take the form of a motion: for example "that the Cumann member who is involved in the "XY" closure dispute be instructed to make every effort to get the official

union support for an organised sit-in prior to organising unofficial action, or alternatively "that the member be instructed to contact the Comhairle Ceanntar Trade Union Specialist with a view to calling a meeting of Republican trade unionists to work out tactics".

There must be a report from anyone who was deputed to attend anything: anyone who is a member of something and attends as a matter of course may raise a question relating to his policy in that organisation if he judges it necessary, with the permission of the chair, which must evaluate its relevance. The Comhairle Ceanntar delegate's report should be used to explain and illuminate the background of the written circular where necessary. Any decisions or instructions which may seem arbitrary in cold print can be brought to life and made seem reasonable with a few well-chosen words of explanation from a good delegate.

The item "delegates reports" is a living link with the outside world and it should form the main bulk of the agenda of an active outward-looking cumann.

7. Educational Talk. This consists of a short talk by a member based on one of the educational handbooks, or on a chapter of one of the republican classics, like James Connolly's "Labour in Irish History" or Padraig Pearse's "The Sovereign People". This job should rotate amongst the members, as it is as much to educate the speaker as the audience.

This procedure should be alternated with having a specialist speaker either from the cumann or from another cumann nearby, to speak on some subject he knows about, such as "the farmers organisations and their demands" or "Trade Unions and the proposed new laws" or "How the Tenants Association was founded".

Any such essentially topical talk should lead up to a motion proposing that the cumann take some action, such as "that the cumann organise a survey of housing conditions in Q buildings with a view to encouraging a tenants association to start there".

8. Membership

Potential new members should be discussed. Lapsed members should be seen. Responsibility for seeing lapsed members and contacting particular new members should be allocated.

9. Any Other Business: By this time it is usually too late, and the Chairman should stress the need to start on time so as to finish by 10.30p.m.

2.4. Elections

The cumann area does not necessarily correspond to an electoral division. This ~~is~~ because elections are relatively infrequent events and electoral boundaries tend to be artificial or gerrymandered. The cumann area corresponds ~~to~~ the natural communication lines and focus of activity.

For elections it is therefore necessary to re-organise on the basis of ad-hoc election committees which exist for the duration and then wind themselves up, dividing up any financial liability equitably among the Cumainn. It is not necessary to elaborate on the election machinery as this is well known. It is however, necessary to stress that the election is a rare event and is only one of many aspects of cumann activity. Organisation for elections should not therefore in any sense, dominate the thinking of the cumann.

Section 3. The Comhairle Ceanntar

3. The Comhairle Ceanntar is the regional unit of organisation of the Movement, coming between the Ard Comhairle and the cumainn.

No one can be a member of a Comhairle Ceanntar except as a delegate from a working cumann. Thus a member of existing 'Comhairle Ceanntair' which ~~consists~~ of individuals spread over a wide area over a period will be re-defined as Cumainn and will send delegates to a relatively small number of new Comhairle Ceanntair based on the main urban areas. In this way an effective regional leadership can be developed.

3.1. Inaugural meeting.

The organiser, as in the case of a cumann, may declare a meeting to be 'inaugural' if there was no evidence of any previous activity. The organiser takes the chair.

3.1.1. First he outlines the objectives and methods of the Movement, along the lines defined in 2.1.1. and 2.1.2. but assuming a little more understanding of the picture as a whole than would be appropriate at cumann level.

3.1.2. Then he throws the meeting open for discussion, calling on each of the two delegates from each cumann to declare their views.

In the light of this discussion, and of previous knowledge and experience, he is enabled to recommend a chairman of the Comhairle Ceanntar. He puts this proposal to the meeting; if the choice is not suitable other names will emerge. Ultimately a generally accepted chairman emerges.

The organiser then declares an interval and retires into consultation with the chairman so as to propose an acceptable panel for the Comhairle Ceanntar staff.

3.1.3. The panel of officers having been accepted by the delegates, a routine of regular meetings is drawn up. Specialist conferences (e.g. of trade unionists) are planned, the monthly educational conference is planned etc., in other words, the activity as described in section 2. is co-ordinated at regional level.

3.2. The Comhairle Ceanntar Staff consists of many people as are necessary to carry out (either single or combined) the same functions at regional level as have previously been defined at cumann level: that is, treasurer-registrar and treasurer-publications, correspondence secretary and record secretary, press officer and education officer, specialist officers for industrial, agricultural, citizens advice, housing etc.,.

Initially there will be conflict between the interests of the Comhairle Ceanntar staff and the corresponding staff of the urban cumann. This is resolved by a process of recruiting to the city cumann, training up assistants and ultimately the Comhairle Ceanntar officers shedding local cumann responsibility in order the better to assume regional responsibility, co-ordinating the work of a number of cumainn in particular specialist matters.

Thus it is wrong to denude the city cumann of officers in order to make a fully developed Comhairle Ceanntar Staff if this means that the life of the city cumann is sapped. It is better to get a fully developed city cumann staff first and then build up the Comhairle Ceanntar functions by degrees as trained personnel become available.

Consequently when the organiser and chairman return from their consultation, it will be with a basic panel of 3: Chairman/press officer/education officer; treasurer/registrar/publications officer and record/correspondence secretary. These need not necessarily be on the existing Comhairle Ceanntar. They can be recruited in ad hoc. These officers must as far as possible shed local cumann responsibility and assume the status of a regional standing committee, carrying out the decisions of the Comhairle Ceanntar meetings and keeping in close personal touch with the cumainn in the whole region. This panel will only expand in proportion as the city cumainn is able to provide the people for it. Thus the cumainn from which the Comhairle Ceanntar officers are drawn should provide replacement delegates, so that the link between cumainn and Comhairle Ceanntar is not in danger of being weakened.

3.2.1. Specialist Committees.

A fully developed Comhairle Ceanntar, with a complete panel of specialist officers, can extend its influence further by the convening of specialist ad hoc committees which can include both members of the movement with appropriate specialist standing and non-member sympathisers. The industrial committee, involving trade unionist sympathisers, is the first such committee to emerge. This is a significant method of recruiting into the movement; as a result of this work non-member sympathisers see the logical necessity of full commitment.

An important specialist committee is the citizens advice bureau, which guides the general public towards knowing and using the rights available to it under the existing state machine without going cap in hand to the politicians, and acts as a source of information for cumainn in their local work.

3.3. Regular Comhairle Ceanntar Meeting Procedure.

3.3.1. The Chairman declares the meeting open and reads the agenda 'Any other business' must at this stage be explicitly added and time allowed for it.

The agenda consists of the following items:

- (a) Minutes,
- (b) Arising from,
- (c) Correspondence,
- (d) Reports from Cumainn,
- (e) Reports from Specialists,
- (f) Propositions for future work,
- (g) Finance,
- (h) Any other Business.

3.3.2. The minutes are read by the secretary and signed by the chairman after any factual amendments have been agreed.

Decisions taken at the previous meeting are then checked for implementation (arising from) if they do not arise explicitly in the course of some later point on the agenda.

3.3.3. Correspondence is read over and allocated to the appropriate agreed agenda point if possible. If this is not possible, it is dealt with there and then. Only correspondence requiring a decision should be raised by the secretary. He should not raise routine correspondence but should deal with it as it comes, promptly, in accordance with agreed policy. (He should summarise the quantity and content of routine correspondence in his report).

3.3.4. Reports from Cumainn. These should be brief and factual: No. of U.I. sold, special events, agitations, reports published in local press, reports sent to U.I. meetings held etc. If there is nothing to report the delegate should if possible say why. The report should be given by the second delegate (this is part of his training) and the chairman of the Cumann should if necessary fill in supporting details.

3.3.5. Reports from Specialists.

At this stage the secretary in his report should summarise the routine correspondence dealt with. He should also outline any difficulties experienced in the chasing of the implementation of decisions.

The Industrial officer should report on any special meetings of union members in the Movement, outline the background, say what was achieved thereby. He should indicate any future events in the trade union movement which could act as a focus for the conveying of 'ideas', and should propose steps for organising the movement in future weeks to take advantage of these events, (such as, for example, preparation of a leaflet to hand out with the U.I., organised attendance of interested movement members at the T.U. functions, etc.) These propositions should be noted and raised together with the propositions arising out of other specialist reports under item(f) of the agenda.

Similarly the housing, agricultural, co-operative, youth, credit union etc., specialists, if they have anything to report should do so now, leaving over the propositions to be taken all together.

3.3.6. Propositions for future action

The reason all these are taken together is that it is necessary to decide on priorities when resources are limited. It may not be possible to do everything just now; it is therefore necessary to concentrate forces where the enemy at that time is weak (a good old 'guerilla warfare' principle).

The chairman here fulfills a key role in that he, from his experience, will have some idea which propositions should be taken first and which should be postponed.

The basic principle is to decide what action will bring most understanding to most people of those social groupings whose objective interests are such as to enable them to support the independent socialist republic, if made aware. All actions should be such as to bring about the greatest unity of the working people and the greatest isolation of foreign monopolistic business interests and their agents.

Thus the greatest circumspection should be used in relation to organisations of working people which are under compromising leadership. Such organisations must not be attacked as a body; the effect of this is to unite the members with the compromising leadership. Instead the members must be won to demand that the leadership carry out the objectives; when they fail to do so, an alternative militant leadership must be ready to take over.

The generalisation of these principles to cover all mass-organisations successful will lead to an enormous increase in the strength and influence of the Movement in the short run, and in the long run will build up the bones of an alternative state structure on which the revolutionary government of the future can rely.

3.3.7. Finance

The delegates from the Cumainn pay their monthly affiliation fee (see section 4). The treasurer gives a report on the state of the finances. If any special measures are necessary for raising finance they are not decided, though (as explained in section 4) this should be the exception rather than the rule.

The treasurer enters the affiliation fees and sets aside the Ard Comhairle fraction which he sends off the next day, together with orders for replenishment of pamphlets stocks and orders for extra U.I. next month, if the sales are to be increased.

3.3.8. Any other business.

If the Organiser happens to be sitting in, or if one of the members of the Standing Committee or Ard Comhairle is present, this is the opportune time for him to make his statement, unless there was a special reason for him to speak earlier. He will have absorbed sufficient local background to be able to relate his remarks to local experience.

There should be developed a standard practice of not expecting the Dublin man to be the main speaker and to hang on his words. Instead local initiative should be fostered. The structure of the movement and the procedure at the meeting can help or hinder this process.

The only circumstances when the national leadership man should speak first is if there are rigid local negative attitudes and practices to be broken. Even in this case, to get local people to formulate and justify negative attitudes is half the battle for breaking them.

Section 4. Finance and The Movement

The basic principle that needs to be established is that action generates money. The idea that money from some source can be raised by an abstract appeal unrelated to any immediate objective, and then this money used to bring about action, is basically unsound, though it can sometimes be successful through strength of popular sentiment, as in the case of the Easter Lily. Such healthy tradition-based fund-raising must of course remain. But increasingly the regular income of the Movement must flow from regular activity.

The four main sources of income are (1) The U.I., (2) Members subscriptions, (3) Collection at public events, (4) Special events organised by special committees and the like.

4.1. Members subscriptions.

The fixing of the members subscription is a matter for the Cumainn. It should be related to means, varying between 6d. and 5/- or 10/-, with 1/- or 2/- as the most usual amount. Extra large subscriptions can be related to special projects, such as paying organiser salaries.

The subscription should be paid when the member turns up. Arrears should not be held as a bill against absentees, as this has an adverse psychological effect, and discourages attendance if many meetings have been missed. Instead, the incentive to attend regularly should be the knowledge that a 50% attendance is necessary before voting rights can be exercised on resolutions for the Ard Fheis, or for elections at the next Cumann A.G.M.

The income from members subscriptions, even for a five-member cumann, is sufficient to enable the monthly fl. to be paid to the Comhairle Ceanntar. This should be paid by the delegates when they attend.

The flat rate of fl. a month is an incentive for a cumann to expand its membership and build up a reserve fund towards expenses of a particular agitation or an election.

If 10/- of this fl. were to be passed on by the Comhairle Ceanntar to the Ard Comhairle, the Movement would have a regular monthly income of £50. or more, over and above national collections or lily money. The regular arrival of monthly cheques from the Comhairle Ceanntar would be a measure of the healthy continuous activity that is necessary for building the Movement.

In active, functioning Comhairle Ceanntar, each co-ordinating ten cumainn, would give rise to this situation- which is quite easily realisable with the existing forces.

4.2. Paper Money,

An urban cumann with ten members can sell without difficulty 600 papers a month, realising £4. in commission and extra money. Profit on pamphlet sales can realise a further fl. If this were to become general, there would be no difficulty, even at the present U.I. commission rate of 1½d., in increasing the affiliation fee from fl. to £2. thus doubling the income of the Movement.

If this line of activity were to be generalised, it would mean a U.I. circulation of 60,000, which would enable the commission to be increased to 3d. or even 4½d. This would enable cumainn funds to be built up rapidly to the level necessary if elections are to be fought. Thus the U.I. is the real money-generator, if it is distributed and organised efficiently.

When the U.I. circulation achieves a steady 30,000 it will be possible to establish a sliding scale of commission, whereby (for example) orders of over 300 get 3d. on the 2nd 300, and 4½d. on all sales above 600. This arrangement could give a useful income to comhairle ceanntar via the wholesaling procedure. Rationalisations such as centralising orders to avail of the wholesale rate would need to be examined on their merits and accepted

if they gave rise to a net increase of circulation without significant delay in distribution.

The importance of prompt remittance of paper money in the exact amount as specified on the bill cannot be over-emphasised. Even wrong billing, should be accepted provisionally and sorted out by correspondence afterwards. If cumainn meet regularly there need be no returns as an extra effort can always be made to sell a few more in some area not yet covered, or at a meeting or special event.

4.3. Public Events.

No public event should take place without taking up a collection from the general public to cover its expenses. A special speech should be made to encourage this collection; fl. notes should be asked for first. The meeting should be seeded with fl. notes in the possession of supporters who are not well known; these when handed to the stewards publicly nearly always generate more from the public. No silver should be asked for till the last note has been squeezed from the audience.

Dependence on money raised like this raises the public estimation of the movement; otherwise they ask 'who finances it'?

4.4. Finance and Social Committees.

Special finance-raising committees can usefully augment the income of the Movement by organising dances, concerts, socials etc. The basic rule governing such events is that they should not divert the Movement proper from its routine activity, though a well-timed social can provide a useful and pleasant interlude for hard-working members. They should be aimed to tap the pockets of people whom the Movement does not normally see: older members or sympathisers; the ordinary unconscious dancing public etc.

Section 5. The Ard Comhairle and the Standing Committee

The Ard Comhairle consists of some members elected by the Ard Fheis and also one delegate from each of the Comhairle Ceanntar, unless the Comhairle Ceanntar has more than ten cumainn affiliated, in which case it sends two delegates, until such time as it shall have been re-organised into two smaller regions. At present this structure exists in embryonic form through the co-option procedure. A change in the constitution is however necessary before it can be fully implemented.

The Ard Comhairle elects from its own number a chairman and one treasurer. The remainder of its officers shall be staff appointments made by the chairman subject to the approval of the Ard Comhairle (this also involves constitutional change).

The Ard Comhairle meets quarterly and has the standing of a regional delegate conference. It rotates its place of meeting between a number of the main urban centres; the occasion is made use of for policy statements and press publicity.

The officers appointed by the chairman may or may not be Ard Comhairle members in their own right; if not they have voice and the right to propose but no vote. They should be resident in Dublin and should be technically competent to carry out the jobs for which they are appointed.

The Officers so appointed cover the following functions (one man, one function if the personnel are available).

Corresponding Secretary.

Record Secretary.

Joint Treasurer and Registrar of Comhairle Ceanntar
and Convener of Finance Committee.

Joint Treasurer and Publications Manager, (This function
includes U.I. manager by agreement with the U.I. owners).

Director of Education.

Specialists in Industrial, Agriculture, Housing etc., affairs
as outlined in previous sections but at National level,
having the standing of a Shadow Cabinet.

The Chairman and certain Specifically nominated officers resident in Dublin constitute a Standing Committee, on which however only elected Ard Comhairle members shall have a vote if a policy decision has to be taken at short notice. Basically the Standing Committee is an advisory staff for the Chairman and an executive staff to chase Ard Comhairle decisions through to full implementation.

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