

(Proposed Draft) Program:
Fighting Methods and Organization Forms
of the Unemployed Councils: ¹
A Manual for Hunger Fighters ²

Published as a mimeographed pamphlet, copy in the Tim Davenport collection. n.c. [New York]: National Committee, Unemployed Councils of USA, n.d. [1932].

Dedicated to the memory of the valiant hunger fighters who have been murdered by police in the struggle for the right to live.

Role and Program of the Unemployed Councils.

The Unemployed Councils base their program on a recognition of the fact that *those who own and control the wealth and government are willing to allow millions to suffer hunger and want in order that their great wealth shall not be drawn upon for relief.*

We know that the living standards of employed and unemployed alike will be progressively reduced unless we organize and conduct united and militant resistance.

We know that the amount and extent of relief which the ruling class can be compelled to provide depends upon the extent to which the unemployed and employed workers together organize and fight.

The Unemployed Councils, therefore, are the organs for determined, uncompromising struggle against all who are responsible for and all who assist in imposing upon the workers the miseries that result from mass unemployment.

In the effort to safeguard the masses from the effects of unemployment, the Unemployed Councils organize and conduct the daily struggles for the following basic demands:

For Unemployment Insurance, Equal to Full Wages, For All Workers, Regardless of Race, Sex, Age, or Nationality Who Are Unemployed Through No Fault of Their Own.

Unemployment insurance shall be entirely at the expense of the Federal and State

¹ Prepared by Maoism Library from <http://www.marxisthistory.org/history/usa/groups/ucouncils/1932/0000-ncuc-fightingmethods.pdf>

² This subtitle was recycled in connection with a June 1933 pamphlet by National Organizer of Unemployment Councils of USA Herbert Benjamin, *How to Organize and Conduct United Action for the Right to Live: A Manual for Hunger Fighters*. (New York: National Committee, Unemployed Councils). This hints at potential authorship.

governments and the employers. It shall be administered by the workers themselves.

For Immediate Adequate Cash Relief by the City, County, State and Federal Governments.

The struggle for immediate cash relief is also conducted against existing public and semi-public relief agencies and against individual and corporate large employers.

Free Rent, Gas, Light, Water, etc., to All Unemployed Workers. Reduced Rates and Rents for All Part Time Workers. No Evictions, Foreclosures, and Repossessions for Unemployed.

We refuse to regard the property rights of landlords, bankers, credit merchants, and public utility corporations as more sacred than the right of workers to a home and to belongings which they toiled for years to acquire.

Extensive Public Works of a Character Beneficial to Workers Particularly the Building of New Dwellings to Replace Slum Tenements, Schools, Hospitals, etc., in Working Class Neighborhoods. All Such Work to be Paid for at Union Wage-Rates.

We are opposed to all expenditures of public works funds for war purposes. We are opposed to all forms of forced labor. We fight for cash wages at union rates for all work performed.

The Seven Hour Day, with No Reduction in Wages.

For Miners, Railroad Workers, and Young Workers, we demand a six-hour day without reduction in pay.

Payment of Full Wages to All Part-Time and "Stagger-Plan" Workers, by the Employers.

No Discrimination Against Negro and Foreign-Born as to Jobs, Relief, Insurance, or Any Other Form.

Full and Immediate Payment of the Balance of the "Bonus" to All Veterans.

For Recognition and Unhampered Trade Relations with the Soviet Union. For Defense of This, the Only Land Where Workers Rule. Where unemployment has been abolished and a complete system of social insurance prevails under workers' control.

Defending Interests of Most Oppressed.

The struggle against discrimination, particularly as it is practiced against the Negro

masses, is a most important phase of all our struggles. Those who show tolerance for conditions that result in additional suffering for any section of the toiling masses help thereby to increase the suffering of the working class as a whole.

The attempts of all agents of the ruling class to divide the forces of the working class must be met with special efforts to effect complete unity of all workers, regardless of race, color, or nationality. This can be done providing that we are quick to react to every instance of discrimination and fight with special determination in the interests of those who are most frequently subjected to special abuse and oppression.

The Negro masses are everywhere subject to two-fold oppression as a national minority as well as part of the exploited working class. They are the first to be fired, the last to be hired. They are forced to live in the worst slums; they are given the most miserly relief allotments. They are subject to the greatest abuse and humiliation.

It is the special duty of the militant white workers to take up the struggle against the arrogant master class attitude towards the Negro masses. In this manner, the unity of all workers will be cemented and our power increased.

To the extent that foreign born, women, young workers, and children also suffer additional abuse and discrimination, this must be made the basis for special demands and struggles.

The practice of denying relief to foreign-born workers, to single workers, and to women must be bitterly resisted. The working class as a whole has produced the wealth of this country. We must oppose any effort to make the whole or any part of the working class bear the burden of the crisis.

Immediate Concrete Demands.

Our general demands are consistent with the basic needs and interests of all the workers. They are practical and realizable demands. They can be won. The ruling class can be compelled to grant each and all of them. How soon any and all of these demands are won depends upon the degree to which the power of the workers is consolidated for insistent, militant mass struggle.

The Unemployed Councils, however, cannot and do not confine themselves to occasional demonstrations and struggles and to propaganda for these general demands. *The Councils and the Unemployed Committees are and must be instruments for defending the everyday interests of the great masses who suffer from the effects of unemployment.*

The program of struggle for relief, against evictions, against discrimination and every form of abuse must operate to help quickly every worker who needs help.

We cannot and do not say to a worker who is faced with eviction, who is starving, or who suffers because of some other grievance, that he shall wait until we have compelled the ruling class to provide unemployment insurance, etc.; rather we must aid every worker in mobilizing all necessary forces for an immediate action or struggle that will bring immediate relief.

In this manner, the Councils prove to ever larger masses of workers the correctness

of our program and the effectiveness of our methods. By this means, ever greater forces are united for common struggle. Thus, we develop the power to win ever more concessions and make greater advances towards achieving our more basis general demands.

How We Formulate and Fight for Immediate Demands.

Immediate, adequate cash relief is an immediate general demand. But, for example, if a family in a city where relief is given in the form of food-orders or baskets, finds that the basket does not contain sufficient or the right kind of food, we cannot and do not merely say "Fight for Cash Relief." In such a case, we must be prepared to support this family in an immediate demand for more and for specified kinds of food.

Immediate Concrete Demands, therefore, are such demands as arise out of the most urgent, daily needs of the workers. This means that such demands cannot always be worked out on top and then submitted to the workers for approval. *They are most often the demands that the workers themselves make* and lay before their committee or Council as something on which the organization is asked to take immediate action.

It should be obvious that if we constantly appear in a given relief agency to dispute over the contents of every basket (using the above as an example), the authorities will soon find it more convenient *and safer* to grant the demand for cash relief or more adequate relief as the case may be.

It is in this manner that our fight for the most minute specific, concrete demands can become the means for winning our broader and more general demands.

Our broad general demands must be therefore kept in the forefront of each struggle for even the smallest demand. Thus, each struggle will rally the maximum support by involving both those workers who are for the time being interested in only the one, as well as those interested in all our demands.

The Typical Issues and Demands.

The following are examples of some issues around which struggle can and has been developed and of demands raised in such struggle.

Relief: Cash relief, increased relief, against closing relief offices, against prolonged and humiliating investigations, against specific causes of denial of relief, against forced labor in return for relief.

Flop Houses: More aisle space between beds, clean linen and towels, for extension of time (too early retirement and rising), cleaner and more airy quarters, the right to meet and recognition of elected committees, against abusive attendants, opening to specified hotel and apartment buildings for use of Unemployed.

Bread Lines and Food Kitchens: For more and better food, for indoor waiting rooms, for cleanliness, for additional meals, against forced labor as condition, against discontinuance.

Children: Free food, milk, and clothing to be provided in

schools, free medical care, books, carfare.

Youth: Minimum cash relief, free use of gyms, swimming pools, etc., equal pay for equal work, free uses of YM-YWCA dormitories for homeless youth, opening of trade schools for unemployed people.

Shops, Mines, etc.: Against mass layoffs, against overtime, against speed-up and wage cuts, for reopening of shut-down plants and mines to supply needs of unemployed, for full wages to part-time workers, for cash relief at expense of employers for all former employees, against forced contributions to the charity and welfare racketeers. **Unions, Lodges, Veterans Organizations:** No expulsion for nonpayment of dues, no international per capita for unemployed members, reduction of salaries for officials, surplus in treasuries for unemployment relief, endorsement of Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill, participation in struggles of Unemployed Councils, struggle for specific public works programs, no discrimination in distribution of available jobs.

General and Miscellaneous: Demonstrations at homes and offices of local politicians and office holders, for endorsement of general and specific demands, demonstrations within courtrooms against evictions, against arrests, etc., participation in struggles and demonstrations against war, terror, and all other issues that affect the interests of the working class.

Election Campaigns: All candidates must be called upon to state in categorical terms their stand on our program. Particularly on the Workers Insurance Bill. The Councils should actively participate in support of candidates who can be depended upon to give unqualified support of our program. Such candidates can come only from the ranks of the working class itself and will have no connection whatever with the political parties of the bosses.

How to Conduct a Fight for Relief or Against Evictions.

Whenever a worker is in need, when he has failed to receive or has been denied relief, when he is threatened with eviction, etc., all the workers of his locality must be rallied in his support.

We do not negotiate, request, plead, or beg. ***We Organize and Demand! We Demand and Fight!*** In order to be able to demand and fight, we must have the greatest possible force behind our demands and in our fight.

In the case where we desire to secure relief for a needy worker, we may first send a delegation to place our demands before the proper authorities (relief agency, local officials, local politicians, etc.) If the demands of the delegation are turned down, we follow this by sending a mass delegation or organizing a mass demonstration. The demonstration should be just as <illeg.> as is necessary in order to secure satisfactory action on our demands. If our first demonstration does not secure the required action we follow with greater and more militant actions.

If our first action is broken up by police, we organize a broader action with more

forces and better preparation for struggle until we have convinced the authorities that we mean to continue the fight until our demands are granted.

We must prove that no amount of terror will halt our struggle. At the same time, we must when terror is applied broaden our struggle and demands to include the right to assemble, to present our demands, and to receive satisfactory action. Such demands can then be carried to a higher government body with the support of the workers in a wider area.

In a fight against evictions, the whole neighborhood must be aroused when an eviction threatens. All possible workers must be mobilized to resist those who have come to evict a worker from his dwelling. It is possible to occupy the house and refuse to admit the evictors. To surround the home. To restore the furniture in the event that the evictors succeed in putting it out on the street.

If this is not possible, we may transport the furniture right up to the city hall, the home of a prominent local city official, courthouse, etc.

All forms of resistance must be developed and devised until the evicted worker is assured of a suitable home.

Similar methods can be followed in cases where gas, light, or water has been turned off. Mass resistance here is often followed by action on the part of the workers to themselves restore service by reconnecting the service.

Such local struggles, when they result from a condition which has become widespread, can be followed by a general demonstration which places our demands before the proper authorities. These demonstrations, too, must be of the most militant and determined character, so as to convince the authorities that we mean to fight against hunger and evictions, etc.

Demagogues – Their Role – How to Fight Them.

For the purpose of dividing and misleading the workers, various direct and indirect agents of the ruling class are constantly coming forward with optimistic statements; fake relief schemes and even proposals for so-called unemployment insurance.

The purpose of all these demagogues and their various schemes is to create the hope of an improvement or the promise of relief that will soon be granted. In this way they seek to convince the workers that there is no need for organization and militant struggle.

The numbers of such demagogues are legion. In addition to the direct paid agents of the ruling class, and to government officials from Hoover down, they include all politicians, office seekers, and careerists of the boss-controlled capitalist political parties. Some of the most dangerous of such demagogues parade about with radical phrases, with expressions of sympathy for the "poor unemployed." Some, as the high-salaried misleaders of the AF of L, claim to speak in the name of "labor." Some, as Norman Thomas, A.J. Muste and Co., speak in the name of "socialism." How dangerous these demagogues can be is seen from the work of the charlatan, Father [James Renshaw] Cox. Great masses of workers are deceived by the hypocritical oratory of these fakers. These workers are thus induced to abandon the policy of militant mass struggle, and their fellow workers who are fighting for relief and insurance.

The workers of the United States have lost hundreds of millions of dollars in relief because of the activities of these misleaders. They are more dangerous to the workers and more successful in saving the government and bosses millions of dollars, than are those who use open terror in order to defeat the struggle against starvation.

The Unemployed Councils must take the lead in exposing all these demagogues. Their every fake scheme and pronouncement should be answered with concrete comparison with our program and demands. They should be challenged to public debates with representatives of the councils.

Leaflets and literature should be issued and widely distributed dealing with their treacherous role and proposals.

Their public meetings should be counteracted not only with meetings which we

organize, but should also be penetrated by representatives and delegations of the Unemployed who will there attack and expose them.

Their claim to speak in the name of the unemployed and employed workers should be answered by resolutions of denunciation which should be adopted in all workers' organizations and given the widest publicity.

Their words and claims should be contrasted with their treacherous and hostile deeds.

These enemies will become ineffective to the extent that they are exposed by our convincing propaganda and even more convincing activities and struggles in behalf of the workers and of the program for militant opposition to the hunger policy of the bosses.

We must defeat demagogic Bull as well as murderous bullets, as a condition for victory in the fight for the right to live.

What is an Unemployed Committee?

An Unemployed Committee is any group from 3 to 15 workers who have been elected by a body of workers in any given place, to organize and lead and represent them in struggle against the effects of unemployment insurance and relief.

Where Shall Unemployed Committees Be Set Up?

Wherever any considerable number of workers who suffer from and are menaced by unemployment are to be found. This includes working class neighborhoods, blocks, and even larger tenements. Institutions where destitute workers come for food and lodgings (flop houses, soup kitchens, breadlines, etc.) Private and public employment offices. In and around shops, factories, mines, railroad yards, etc. In trade unions and other organizations composed of workers.

How Are the Unemployed Committees Elected?

All the workers of a given place, institution, or organization are called to a meeting in a home, hall, backyard, or other convenient place that is available. They discuss their problems and grievances and on the basis of this draw up their own immediate demands and if so, disposed endorse the general demands of the Unemployed Councils. They then decide on the immediate steps to be taken in order to satisfy their demands. After they have agreed on a program, they proceed to elect *from their own ranks* a committee that will organize, lead, and represent them in the action agreed upon.

Who Can Be Elected to an Unemployed Committee?

Any worker, whether employed or unemployed, man or woman, young or old,

white or Negro, native or foreign-born, regardless of any other opinion or affiliation who agrees with the program adopted in the meeting where the elections take place. Who is willing to serve actively and to the best of his (or her) ability together with the other members of the committee in carrying out this program.

How Often Shall Elections Take Place?

Whenever all the workers of any given place have been called together to discuss their problems and grievances or to mobilize for some action and they find that their committee is either not large or active enough or that some member or members have failed in their duties or dropped out, they may elect additional members or an entirely new committee.

Who Has a Right to Vote in Elections of Committees?

Every worker of the given place, institution, or organization as the case may be, who is willing to participate in the meetings, regardless of all other opinions or affiliations, has a right and should vote in the elections. Individuals who are disorderly, disruptive, or known to be active agents of hostile elements may be excluded from meetings and from the right to participate in elections.

How to Build an Unemployment Committee.

Any worker can take the initiative in building an Unemployed Committee in his or her block, neighborhood, or shop, or in the soup kitchen, breadline, lodging house, employment office to which he (or she) turns for relief.

This can be done by speaking personally or issuing a call to the workers in the given place to come together for a meeting. At the first such meeting, one worker can explain the reason why the meeting was called. This should be done in a brief and simple statement that describes the conditions in the given place and raises the most immediate and pressing issues of the given group of workers. The others present should then be encouraged to discuss and bring forward their most pressing problems.

On the basis of the issues raised, proposals can be entertained for immediate demands that are to be made upon the agency and authorities in charge of relief, etc. These demands become the immediate program of the given group of workers, when they are approved by a majority of those present.

After the program is adopted, the meeting can proceed to elect from among those present a committee which will represent all the workers in a given place in the fight for these demands. The size of the committee can be determined by those present and will depend upon the available forces. As many as are willing to be active can be elected. This then becomes the Committee (block, neighborhood, breadline, etc.)

It must be understood that those who are elected to the Committee assume responsibility for leading, directing, and organizing the struggle for the program which

has been adopted.

As many additional workers as possible are to be drawn into active participation in the various tasks connected with the program that has been decided upon.

Initiative Groups – Branches.

Whenever it is not possible to mobilize sufficient forces in any locality or town to immediately organize on a Committee basis, workers who are interested in building the unemployed movement may organize themselves into an initiative group or branch. Such groups operate in the same manner and for the same purpose as do Unemployed Councils. Their task is to establish contact with workers who are in need and to organize the widest possible mass actions in their behalf. In the process of these actions, any by means of direct organizational activity, block, neighborhood, flophouse, and other committees can be established. In this manner the branch or initiative groups are eventually converted into regular councils composed of delegates from the committees that have been set up and the organizations that have been affiliated.

It must be the aim of all branches to as quickly as possible convert themselves into councils in this manner. The branch should however not be liquidated until a firm basis for the functioning of the council has been developed.

Branches, when formed, should try to establish contact with the nearest council, to which they should send delegates until they have themselves been converted into councils.

When a branch forms a committee, it should require such committee to send delegates to the branch meeting and thus keep close contact.

How the Unemployed Committee Works.

While in the beginning the tasks of the Committee may be simple, and based only upon some single problem (as an eviction, a needy case, etc.), the work will become somewhat more complicated as the needs of the workers of the given place are brought to the attention of the Committee.

It may then be necessary to subdivide the work among the members of the Committee along the following lines:

1. **Relief Committee:** To consider cases where workers are in need of immediate relief from the existing agencies. To represent these workers in the agencies and insist on immediate and adequate relief. To secure through collections from local merchants and among the workers, food or other immediate necessities in a desperate case.
2. **Housing Committee:** To take care of problems arising from attempts to evict workers from their homes, to mobilize for a fight against eviction, the shutting off of gas, light, water, etc., to secure temporary housing for a desperate case.
3. **Organizational and Education Committee:** To get as many workers as possible to register. To see that all workers are notified whenever general meetings are called. To prepare the

program for all general meetings. To prepare leaflets and see that they are distributed. To organize the sale of literature. To carry through educational programs that will popularize our program and demands.

4. ***Finance Committee:*** To raise necessary finances by such means as can be devised, to keep accounts of all finances. To issue receipts and pay bills.

In cases where original committees are small, these activities can be carried through under direction of an individual member of the Committee who is made responsible for the given task. In all cases, efforts should be made to as quickly as possible draw additional workers into participation in the work of these various departments.

Registered Supporters and Members.

The Unemployed movement is not based on individual membership. All workers who suffer from unemployment and want to help carry on the struggle for common needs and interests of the Unemployed and part-time workers and those menaced and effected by unemployment, should be part of the movement. Any worker, regardless of other political or organizational affiliation who agrees with the demands and program of the Unemployed Committee or Council may receive an official certificate as a **registered supporter**.

No dues payments are required. Workers who can and wish to do so may make voluntary contributions to help finance the work of their committee or council. Those who desire to be registered supporters and carry a card which identifies them as such may secure such a card (Certificate of Registration) by paying a nominal fee and no more than 5¢ for this card.

Certificates of Registration are good for a 3-month period. At the end of 3-months they may be renewed.

The Unemployed Councils and Committees serve alike those workers who are registered as well as those who are not registered. Even workers who do not attend meetings and give no other indication of agreement with the program and demands of the organized movement are entitled and should receive the fullest aid and support of the Unemployed Committees or Council.

Non-registered workers have the same right to participate in meetings and elections as those who are registered. It is necessary, however, that all workers shall learn to understand the need for an organized movement. When they do so, they will wish to register the fact by becoming registered supporters.

All workers and especially those who are registered should attend all meetings and respond to every call for action issued by their committee or council.

The strength of your committee (or council) and its ability to serve every worker depends upon the support it secures from among the workers whom it is required to serve.

What Is an Unemployed Council?

An Unemployed Council is a body made up of *delegates* elected by *organizations* of the unemployed and employed workers, for the purpose of uniting and directing the work and struggle of all of these organizations around the issues, program, and demands for unemployment insurance, relief, etc.

Where Shall Unemployed Councils Be Set Up?

In any neighborhood where a sufficient number of Unemployed Committees or other workers' organizations exist.

In smaller towns it is sufficient to organize only one city or town Unemployed Council. In larger cities local neighborhood or section councils may be established. In such cities there is established also a city-wide council which directs the work and struggle on a city-wide basis.

In addition to territorial councils, it is possible to set up special councils for a given trade or industry. Such councils are composed of delegates from groups or workers from shops and unions in the given industry.

How Are the Delegates to Unemployed Councils Elected?

Every Unemployed Committee elects from 1 to 3 delegates to the nearest council. This includes Unemployed Committees in blocks, neighborhoods, institutions, shops, unions, and other organizations that exist in the territory.

In cases where trade or industrial councils exist, they must also elect delegates to the nearest territorial council.

Where a number of councils exist in one city, these elect delegates to the City Council.

The City Council should also include delegates from City Committees of workers' organizations (Central Labor Unions, etc.)

How an Unemployed Council is Formed.

When the struggle of the workers spreads over a wider area and must be carried to higher political bodies that legislate over larger sections of workers than those represented in any one committee, the need for a broader organization becomes apparent.

Delegates from existing committees in any given neighborhood or locality then come together and form a council. Anyone of the existing committees can take the initiative in calling together delegates from all the others. Or this may be done by an already existing council in a nearby locality.

The council is therefore a *delegate body* made up of representatives from all possible workers' organizations in the locality. The council organizes and conducts all work

indicated for the committee on a broader scale and in a wider area.

Like the committees which need only base itself on the immediate issues and demands raised by workers who have elected it, the council must be expected to support and develop struggles for all the demands and the entire program of the Unemployed Councils movement.

Work of an Unemployed Council.

The Unemployed Council unites forces and coordinates the work of all the committees and workers in its territories. It guides the movement in line with the general program and aims. It aids in the mobilization of all forces within its territory for support of the broader struggles that must be waged. It aids affiliated committees and takes initiative in forming new committees in the neighborhoods, institutions, and organizations within its jurisdiction.

By reason of the fact that it is made up of the most experienced militant and conscious workers in the broader area, it is able to give the committees the benefit of the collective experience of all the

committees. Its decisions should therefore be considered by all committees as coming from a higher sub-division of the movement.

The council may meet every week and at least every two weeks. Between full meetings of the council an elected executive of from 5 to 11 members should, together with the various subcommittees, conduct and direct the work which has been outlined by the council. the council should aim to become the recognized, authoritative representative and spokesman of all the workers in its jurisdiction. It must accordingly concern itself with the interests of all these workers, whether they are affiliated to the council or not. It must quickly act on all matters of concern to the workers. Its actions must set an example of militancy and determination. It must take an uncompromising and stubborn attitude in defense of all the interests of all the workers.

Trade and Industrial Committees and Councils.

In addition to the committees and councils in neighborhoods and institutions, workers of given trades or industries may form committees and where a number of committees have been formed, councils for their trade or industry.

These will operate primarily in defense of the special needs and interests of the workers employed full or part time or seasonally and sporadically in the given industry.

The Industrial Committees or Councils will undertake to advance programs for creating more jobs, by fighting for a shorter workday, against speed-up, overtime, stagger plan, etc., as indicated in our program. They may also make demands upon the city, county, and state authorities for the development of public work projects, for the operation of certain industries to supply the needs of the unemployed, etc.

These committees and councils also lead in struggle against the employers in these industries to compel the payment of full wages to stagger plan work, immediate direct relief to former employees, etc.

Such committees can be formed in given industrial markets in places where workers of a given industry are accustomed to gather in large numbers, around employment offices of big factories and Union Day rooms, around mines, railroad yards, etc.

The Industrial Committees and Councils do not however substitute for the territorial organizations. They work under the jurisdiction of the committees and council in the territory. The supporters of these committees and council should also be affiliated to their respective territorial organizations.

Relations and Tasks of Affiliated Organizations.

Unions, clubs, fraternal organizations, and other groups in sympathy with the aims of the Unemployed movement should be urged and encouraged to affiliate to the Unemployed Councils.

All affiliated organizations are required to send delegates to the corresponding

council and to pay their affiliation fee through these (local, city, state, national).

Affiliated organizations should be urged to not only give financial and moral support, but to actually help their members to become individually organized supporters and organizers of the basic unemployed organizations.

Delegates of these organizations should as much as possible be such workers as can take part in the day-to-day work of the council which they are a part.

Affiliation implies a readiness to support the actions decided on by the councils.

Finances — How to Raise and Control Them.

Funds for the work of the councils and committees are indispensable. they represent ammunition. They are the means whereby we can maintain headquarters, issue leaflets and literature, and otherwise further our aims.

The Unemployed Councils movement is not organized on a dues-paying basis. All workers are admitted on an equal basis without financial conditions.

Our source of financial support must therefore be the voluntary contributions of workers and organizations who are in sympathy with our aims. These can be supplemented by occasional affairs, such as entertainments, block-dances, lectures, etc., and *<illeg.>* of campaigns, by special mass collections, tag days, etc.

“Registered Supporter” Cards.

Our first and basic source of finances is through the use of the “Registered Supporters” card. These are sold to the individual worker at 5¢ and are valid for a three-month period.

The National Office sells these cards to the city council at 1¢ each.

The City Council sells to the local council at 3¢ each.

The Local Council sells to the individual worker at 5¢ each.

Where no local council exists, the committee is given the benefit of the difference.

Fighting Fund Stamps.

These are issued by the national Committee to provide for official receipts by a proper committee or council. All who are authorized to solicit funds must be required to issue a stamp or stamps as an official receipt.

As many as possible of our registered supporters and other sympathizers, especially those who are employed, should be urged to pledge regular weekly or monthly contributions directly through their nearest committee or council. In return for these, they are to receive fighting fund stamps in the proper amount. The stamps are issued in 5¢, 10¢, 25¢ denominations.

The proceeds from the sale of these stamps is divided as follows: 25% to the National Office.

25% to the City Council. 20% to the Local Council. 30% to the Committee.

A small supply of these stamps is issued as an advance to each subdivision. These are replaced only when paid for. Settlements should be made together with financial reports to the next higher subdivision on the first of the month.

Affiliation Fees.

All affiliated organizations must be required to pay a regular monthly affiliation fee to the council to which they are affiliated. The amount of this affiliation should be optional, but 1¢ per capita per month may be suggested as a basis to local and city organizations.

Literature Sales.

All literature should be ordered and supplied through the various subdivisions of the Unemployed movement. Provisions shall be made in each case to allow for a percentage to each subdivision.

Entertainments, Affairs, Picnics.

These may be arranged by all subdivisions and can be a means for providing additional funds for special needs. The disposition of such funds may be determined by the organization which arranges the affair.

Control of Funds.

The workers who contribute to our movement have a right to expect that their contributions will go as intended, to support the work and struggle. Each subdivision will have a Treasurer or Financial Secretary *who will be responsible for collecting and properly accounting for all funds.*

Regular financial reports shall be made and submitted to the next higher subdivision on the first of every month. Wherever possible these shall be published.

Anyone who misappropriates organizational funds shall be excluded from responsible work and exposed before the workers.

Special campaigns for funds, involving tag-days and other public collections not provided for above, should be launched only with the approval of the next higher subdivision.

Self Defense Corps.

All committees and councils should undertake to organize as many of their supporters as possible into "Workers Defense Corps." These shall operate in an organized manner to defend headquarters, meetings, demonstrations, and delegations

against violent attacks by hoodlums and police.

These corps should be trained and drilled for effective action in all situations where they must operate. They must work in such a manner as to involve non-organized workers in the event of struggles. These corps must help maintain order and discipline and be re-

sponsible leaders in all parades and demonstrations.

By virtue of their better organization and greater discipline, they can serve as the shock troops in all the daily work of the Committees and Councils. They can be the organizers of Committees and Councils in new territories, sell our literature and publications, and be ready for instant mobilization in any emergency.

It is not essential that those constituting the Defense Corps shall be of powerful physique, although this is desirable. What is most important is that they shall be well organized and capable of disciplined action in any situation.

The form of organization recommended is groups of 8 with a captain and assistant captain. When in action members of the Defense Corps never operate alone, but in couples, fours, and eights. A special insignia may be adopted to identify members of the Defense Corps. This is, however, no always advisable or essential.

Guarding Against Self-Seekers and Traitors.

It is the duty of all who are entrusted with authority to represent workers to act in the best interest of all whom they are representing.

Those who utilize any influence, prestige, or authority they may gain by virtue of such a trust for their personal advantage are traitors.

The bosses, agencies, and officials will frequently attempt to deprive the workers of leadership by bribing those who show ability to lead. These bribes will take the form of special favors and of offers of jobs, etc. In the case of more influential leaders, the bribes may also take the form of direct and substantial cash payments.

Honest workers will refuse and reject with scorn and indignation all such bribes. Those who accept them must know that their fellow workers will pay for these bribes with greater suffering and deprivation.

Whenever anyone who is active in the Unemployed movement is known to have accepted such a bribe, they must be immediately driven out of our movement and exposed before all the workers.