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September 9, 1966
national secretary's report
CLEAR LAKE: SDS and the movement
Chicago, Illinois September 6, 1966
The SDS members from all over the country elected new national officers last week. The National Convention chose Nick Hartzog, National President, and Carl Davidson for Vice-President. Both were elected for one-year terms. Carl Davidson was elected National Secretary by the National Council which met following the Convention. Jane Adams will serve as Assistant National Secretary until October 1 when Nancy Bancroft will come to Chicago to replace her.

Don't tell us to get a move on. The only way this office will ever move is if we refuse to budge," 49th Ward CIPA in Chicago sat in at the office of the Board of Election Commissioners after independent candidates had been thrown off the ballot. All four were arrested. Seated are (from left to right) Kathy Kearney, candidate for State Senator; C. Clark Kissinger, CIPA staff; Art Vazquez, candidate for State Senator; and Susan Robi- bina, CIPA staff.

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by C. Clark Kissinger, 49th Ward CIPA

On the evening of July 17, a meeting of 30 residents of Chicago's far north side met and decided to run two independent candidates for the Illinois legislature. They requested a platform calling for an end to the war and a reallocation of national resources, for progressive corporate income taxes, for open occupancy, for a state-owned credit agency, for a civil service review board and for education, for a directly elected school board, for an end to parochial jobs in Chicago, for a 12 minimum wage, for the recognition of welfare recipients unions, and many other things.

The candidates were as follows: Arthur Vasquez, candidate for the Citizens Independent Party - and not as separate independents. And their candi- dacies were perceived as part of a long-term effort to build a radicalized consti- tuency and an independent electoral appa- ratus in a white middle-class neighborhood. In only four weeks, the four staff members at the 49th Ward Committee for Independent Political Action and several dozen vol- unteers from the community were able to gather 6,356 signatures on the petition to slate the new party. Gathered in an area of only two wards, the petition represented the largest petition ever gathered in the community for anything! It all looked very good. The candidates were excellent. Arthur Vasquez, candidate (continued on page 10)

SDS elects national officers
SDS members from all over the country elected new national officers last week. The National Convention chose Nick Hartzog, National President, and Carl Davidson for Vice-President. Both were elected for one-year terms. Carl Davidson was elected National Secretary by the National Council which met following the Convention. Jane Adams will serve as Assistant National Secretary until October 1 when Nancy Bancroft will come to Chicago to replace her.

Hartzog, age 22, is a graduate of Swarthmore College and attended the Taft School for his secondary education. Others running for the presidency were Lee Webb and Bill Holmgren.

Carl Davidson is a native of Pennsylvania, completed his undergraduate studies at Penn State and has been a graduate teaching philosophy at the University of Nebraska. Colvert is a native of the state of Washington, graduated in history from the University of Oregon, and did graduate work at Cornell University and the University of Paris. He has been teaching European history for the past two and a half years at Iowa State University. Nancy Bancroft is complet- ing a Master's degree at Union Theological Seminary this month.

Jane Adams, who served as National Secretary through the summer, will be work- ing Chicago and coordinating the work of the national campus organizers. Outgoing Presi- dent Carl Ogleby has been offered a posi- tion at Antioch College this fall in residence. Jeff Sheri, ex-Vice-President, will return to the University of Texas this fall.

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Why University Reform?

We have named the system in this country "corporate liberalism". And, if we bother to look, its penetration into the campus community is quite evident. We deal with corporations in our Colleges of Business Administration. Its defense is trained in our Law Schools. Its public relations experts float on the News Services. Its scientific experts pontificate on the Schools of Public Health. Its salesmen debase the Schools of Education. Its corporation lawyers, politicians of all sorts, even if untrained in corporation departments of "private enterprise" are being quite fit in, we are brainwashed in the Division of Law. We have named the system in this country "corporate liberalism". And, if we bother to look, its penetration into the campus community is quite evident. We deal with corporations in our Colleges of Business Administration. Its defense is trained in our Law Schools. Its public relations experts float on the News Services. Its scientific experts pontificate on the Schools of Public Health. Its salesmen debase the Schools of Education. Its corporation lawyers, politicians of all sorts, even if untrained in corporation departments of "private enterprise" are being quite fit in, we are brainwashed in the Division of Law.

First, finally, we can see the vital functions of "private enterprise" are being initialized by the UCLA "corporate liberalism". The corporation produces its manipulators. For professional purposes, we use the term "corporate liberalism". We allow ourselves to be intimidated by the money and the power and the scale of the corporation. We have named the system in this country "corporate liberalism". And, if we bother to look, its penetration into the campus community is quite evident. We deal with corporations in our Colleges of Business Administration. Its defense is trained in our Law Schools. Its public relations experts float on the News Services. Its scientific experts pontificate on the Schools of Public Health. Its salesmen debase the Schools of Education. Its corporation lawyers, politicians of all sorts, even if untrained in corporation departments of "private enterprise" are being quite fit in, we are brainwashed in the Division of Law.

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The Democrats will probably be saved from total disaster, but only by the weakness and confusion of the Republicans. The Republican Party is sullen, driven and compromised by the Goldwater-Nixon right wing. A mass political party to the left which would have a good chance to build the issues of 1966 into major election victories. But there is no such party. And so, once again, the liberals and the labor unions, the white and black poor, will vote Democrat. With them of the poor and the radicals the sophisticated right-wingers—the ones who understand Johnson that can deliver more for the poor and the workers than all the Goldwater-Rockefellers in the country.

The shaming is over, after the Republicans have picked up whatever tough scraps they can get from the election, then they will try to make Wilson's political success look like an accident. The PendingIntent of the President, up to now with a demonstration, and apparently put Wilson's accords can come out of hiding.

The elements of the new-economic program can be seen in Johnson's policies even now. Deflation: therefore, rising interest rates, which Truman actually said would bring on a depression. Wage Freeze: therefore, wage-price guidelines and Federal intervention to constrain prices. The pressure is directed against the oil industries that cannot pass the cost, whose measures have an increasing number of voluntary company agreements. Wage guidelines which are no longer "voluntary" but which are backed up with various kinds of compulsory controls.

As LBJ has toured around this summer, he has been missing opportunities all summer to develop a strong new anti-war strategy of appealing to labor, and the results may be very serious losses indeed.

By luck, Johnson was saved from the necessity of intervening in too many strikes when the President's term expired this year. This accident of the collective bargaining year means that management will have to tolerate the national administration from labor pressure — And it prevents millions of workers from going on strike, whenever LBJ comes near. The result may be for breaking their strikes and restricting their demands.

For Wilson, it was the labor majority that had to be stopped. Higher taxes, to take the pressure off interest rates, and — it will be hoped — to save the stock market from further declines. Antitrust: legislation: perhaps the measures posed against individuals, penalties for the breach of combinations and monopolies. Wage guidelines which are no longer "voluntary" but which are backed up with compulsory controls.

In Syracuse, they denied permission for a demonstration wherever Johnson appears. The LBJ war policy has been avoided trips to areas where demonstrations are threatened. The New Left has a tradition of considering the labor movement to be bought off by the rich. There were demonstrations on profits on oil. Now that the boom is getting out of hand, it is to be stopped by raising taxes to the point where the oil producers will work. Because of this national policy for containing inflation, the very President and Congress that the unions helped to get elected, this new rule will generate a new revolt from the organized labor movement. The events of the past few weeks of so many bring us to the moment of attention of the radical left, which has up to now been held by the Negro rebellion and war movement.

The Kennedy-Johnson tax cuts were primarily cuts for the rich. They were designed to create a boom by encouraging the rich to invest, through tax credits for investment in the business. This hypothesis has been tested and found to work. Now that the boom is getting out of hand, it is to be stopped by raising taxes to the point where the oil producers will work. Because of this national policy for containing inflation, the very President and Congress that the unions helped to get elected, this new rule will generate a new revolt from the organized labor movement. The events of the past few weeks of so many bring us to the moment of attention of the radical left, which has up to now been held by the Negro rebellion and war movement.

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much of the internal life of even the most integrated civil rights organizations? A BASIC REASON for this phenomenon was the need for self-identification and self-respect. American black society had for too long accepted the idea that Negroes were incapable of uniting and leading their own groups. Traditional civil rights organizations, once they got to a point where they were stable enough to be 'integrated' organization often appeared to the grassroots of the black com­munity to be white-dominated. Central, then, to the appeal of Nationalism, even for those who rejected it, has been the hunger for black pride. Back to Africa, a separate state, Muslimism—all these ideas themselves hardly account for the popularity of nationalism. They were surface symbols of an inner tensive, a reflex to knell to the white man.

BLACK POWER has a longer history in the American society than the Negro. Familiar with it is its impotence, often unclear, sometimes conservative, sometimes radical, always present. The Negro Church, even with its frequent ties to whites, even with its frequent implied message that "White is Good, Black is Bad," gained support as an alternative to the bi-racialism of the NAACP. The Negro political machine inside the old parties (represented and depended on) the Black for group identity, even if most of the benefits were at best vicarious. Even danger was preferred to dire white central. The Negro power and its alternative were also warring but perceptible indications. The Negro groups had their own institutions and his own power groups.

This trend is even more marked in the Negro community. The central feature was its lack of separation of the races, it was the domination by whites of powerless Negroes. Blacks institutions were controlled by the white power structure. Established black commun­ities lived under the direct support they had in the white community. A "friend" of the whites who could command some respect as a day-to-day ally could work his pleasure on the black commun­ity. But the domination was impossible. Small was not simply two separate communities; it was more closely akin to a ranch, on which multitudes were penned up. It was more as long as they suited the needs of their white owners; if they did not, they were cast out into the wilderness.

WHITE AMERICA has shown the Negro minority identity and its effects. This lesson springs the need and the motive for a Negro movement, led by and responsi­ble to Negroes.

REPLIES THE LIBERAL, we have always urged support for civil rights programs; we were, after all, the first ones that are dedicated to bettering the lot of Negroes. Somehow SNCC and other Black Power militants seem to want a very different kind of movement, they don't want to be integrated into American society. We will try to show, this movement is of necessity different from other civil rights organizations and the questions of middle-class Negroes.

And this difference, not the phony charge of "racism in reverse," is at the heart of the Negro reaction to Black Power—the reaction that not only reveals SNCC's method of isolation from middle-class blacks, but also the white liberal's commitment to assimilation, and formed and controlled many polit­ical institutions; the Jews' built their manifold and powerful organizations, the Italians ra­tional; the Jews built their manifold and powerful organizations; the Italians cer­nered their consciousness as Italians rather than as fellow villagers when they reached these shores—and so on. For separate groups and organizations can each provide the option of simply blending in. Such a choice is only possible when a group be­comes strong enough internally to vitally its force and command respect inwardly and outwardly.

In this way is the Negro's course simi­lar to that of other groups. However, there are significant differences. The most ob­vious is that the color line makes the gulf between white and Black sharper, more severe, over the other minorities came with intact cultures to be eroded over time, while the African's language and culture was destro­yed if not completely destroyed. And, finally, the Negro was treated to the pro­cess of prophylactic inferiority, for more than others. Fourth, the other groups could begin to translate in by increasingly adopting to middle-class standards and by rising on the socio-economic ladder on a large scale. For the vast numbers of Negroes largely kept unskilled or semi-skilled and living in an increasingly fixed and stratified economy, this course is basically not open to them. These FACTORS MEAN that the light of the Negro is harder, sharper, and of neces­sity, more radical. For, if the goal is the self-reliant of 20 million Black Americans, it can only be accomplished by a thorough change of the whole society—its politics, its economy, its culture.

ONE LAST POINT should be made in rela­tion to the European ethnic minorities which is crucial to an understanding of the simi­larities and differences vis-a-vis the Negro. The European minority groups had outside agen­cies which took over their role as leaders. The ethnic groups were frequently hostile to each other, neighbor competition, a long period of time, they tended to buttress each other and fight for common needs. Then, too, despite periods of intense hosti­lity, a loose alliance with the labor movement aided their progress. Given the difficulty of the status, and the situation, the European societies tends to maintain the problem of the Negro is more difficult, but crucially important.

BEFORE ONE CAN even talk about assimilation, or integration, it is important to understand the absolute necessity for building an inter­nally unified, strong, and self-respecting Negro movement. Only then, when Negroes have something going on which other groups can ally with and not simply domi­nate it, can one consider the problems of alliances. The central problem with the Negro movement has been that there has not real­ly been one capable of digging roots into the Negro community and responding to the socio-psychological and political needs of the Negro masses. Black power, as we have seen in the preceding sections, is a radical response to that radical need.

But given the necessary development of such a movement, we still pass to the problems of alliances. For sometime certain leaders within and without the Black Rights movement have declared that the Southern Negro is in coalition with labor, the church groups, liberals, etc., within the polit­ical compass of the Democratic Party. They call for the intensification of this alliance and condemn the idea of Black Power as a method of isolating the Negro and destroy­ing profitable alliances. They say it means that the Negro wants to go it alone and that this would be disastrous. Let us see.

OU LOOK FIRST at the sort of alliances that the idea of Black Power, even at this early stage, In the events and the nature of the coalition alliances upon which the tro­ditional civil rights groups have been based; and third, their dependence and speculative analysis of the potential alliance growing out of the new Negro movement based on the idea of Black Power.

AT ONE LEVEL, the idea of Black Power might identify itself to the question of white student allies.

A RECENTLY PUBLISHED SNCC position paper put it thus: "It is not to say that the whites have not had an important role in the movement. In the case of Mississippi, the SNCC members have helped give Blacks the right to organize, but that role is now over, and it should be." White students have been an important player, they have contributed to a variety of situations in the South and have been crucial in quite a number. Now the concept of Black Power has been advanced and it means simply that a stage of struggle has been reached in which Negroes want control over their own fight, its policies, and its destiny. This decision is both strategic and democratic. Strategic in that it is based on the best way to build a strong Negro movement, democratic in that it states that Negroes should control their own organi­zations. Any white who feels that he has an "inherent right" to be part of the leader­
ship of the movement is only expressing his own feelings about the inability and/or illegitimacy of Negroes to build and lead their own organizations.

AS WE HAVE SEEN, it became increasingly clear that the fight has to be waged by digging deep into the soil and roots of aboriginal traditions among the Negro people themselves in the South. Consequently, the position of whites in the local society there became extremely ambiguous. Their very presence, no matter how well-intentioned, was at some variance with the very core of black people. The Negro, more than anyone, had to go through the process of recognition that people are able to lead, have ideas, and can organize themselves. Articulate, advantaged, independent, they have to impede this process of recognition. Given this need and the conservatism of the Negro's allies — liberals and labor — the development of mass black movements has become of crucial importance.

BETTER EXPERIENCE with "lows" and "gains" from the civil rights movements has shown that they have little content unless there is a powerful movement on the scene to force compliance. The need to involve masses of Negroes means a black movement, but it does not mean the end of alliances with white radicals or social movements of whites. Quite the opposite. The SNCC statement was explicitly aimed at white activists to organize in their own communities with the hope for this sort of black-white alliance. It was an explicit acknowledgment of the correctness of black as well as white powers. The labor movement is not a policy of self-isolation, but a strategy for building strong, united, Negro movement and a call for more meaningful alliances.

Before we discuss more fully the nature of the alliance that we seek, we should examine the nature of the coalition alliances of the old line civil rights groups.

BLACK POWER COMES at a concrete time, in response to concrete conditions and concrete alliances. The trouble with the recent alliances lies in the fact that the mutual goal was economic, social, and political peace. As a result, the opposition had shifted from tokenism to achieve Negro demands into a moratorium with the Negro demands being shifted from the town business-oriented White Citizens Councils to lower levels of the white population in the form of the Klan. The CHAMBER OF COMMERCE would hardy advocate a program that could make a difference in the daily life of the average Negro. In Atlanta, for example, where Negroes can vote more or less freely, unless there is a powerful movement, the attempt by the lib-labs to move to the right, with the result of Negro demands shifting from the town business-oriented White Citizens Councils to lower levels of the white population in the form of the Klan.

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WHERE THE NEGRO PEOPLE have been solidly organized on independent lines, as in the Mississippi Freedom Democrats and the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, their former white "allies" quickly disappeared from view. Phony alliances cannot last when the real aspirations of the Negro are put forward.

THE REAL QUESTION for the Negro movement is whether or not to have alliances. The question is, what kind of alliances, with whom, and toward what ends?

BLACK POWER MEANS, if carried through, the rupture of present alliances and changes in Negro leadership. Alliances between lower social groupings are not broken sharply or in one day. Sections of deporting allies hang on and serve as brakes on the movement. Moderate leaders hang on as long as they can. The publicity given them in the mass media give them the appearance of strength. They can even gain small successes by pressuring their white cohorts to give a little and on a more militant leadership. Revolutions are processes that develop over time. They can wane and wax.

The most far-reaching and integrated alliances that has ever involved the Negro in the South was the Populist Party. S. Yance Woodward and other historians have pointed to this fact, although the plebian Negro-white relationship was temporary and sporadic. The joint effort that occurred at that time was the result of a recognition of common interests by two separate organizations. A white farmers' organization and a black farmers' organization came together in the Populist Party out of common necessity and forced mutual respect. The Southern poor white and the Negro loved each other no more than now. Integration, to the extent that it occurred, was a side result; the mutual goal was economic, social, and political advancement.

SAMUEL LUBELL has documented the pattern of Negro and white voting in the South. He shows that, while Negroes and the upper strata of the white community voted similarly on racial issues, on economic issues the poor whites and Negroes tend to vote alike. We know that historically there are great class divisions in the white community, divisions that have often led to violence. We know that strains still exist — unemployment, underemployment, and low wages oppress the poor white as well as the Negro. Moreover, there is growing resentment among poor whites toward the racial policies of the white upper class whose policy of tokenism affects only them and not the big shots.

(continued on page 9)
An SDS Convention Position Paper

by
Kim Moody
Fred Eppsteiner
Mike Plug

Toward The Working Class

KIM MOODY has been a member of SDS since the Port Huron convention in 1962. He has been active in Baltimore SDS and worked for a year in the Baltimore ERAP Project, U-JOIN. In the past few months he has helped organize the Independent Baltimore City Social Service Employees Union (IBCSSEU), a member of the Baltimore Independent Socialist Union (ISU).

FRED EPPSTEINER has been a member of SDS since 1963 and has worked in U-JOIN. He is presently a staff member of the Maryland Freedom Union (MFU). Fred is also a member of the ISU.

MIKE PLUG has been a CORE activist for a number of years, working in rent strikes and community organizing around New York. Mike is now a staff member and one of the organizers of the MFU.

Why do socialists view the working class as a potentially revolutionary force? Is it not true that the AFL-CIO actively supports and participates in America's Imperialist policies? Isn't it even true that the white mobs that have attacked Civil Rights demonstrators in Chicago and beat up Negro youths in Baltimore were composed of working class teenagers and adults? The answers to these questions and many more like them must be, Yes! Well, then, what is so revolutionary about the working class?

First of all, it must be pointed out that socialists do not identify with the working class because they 'idealize' workers. Much less do socialists entertain illusions about the trade union movement and its well entrenched leadership. White workers in racist mobs are not excused because they are workers; union bureaucrats who attempt to 'educate' Latin American workers in the glories of the American Way of Life are not excused because they function as labor leaders. Socialists, like any radical worth his salt, struggle to defend the Negro community from white racists and to build a revolutionary workers movement in Latin America. In fact, the socialist view of the working class is not based on any set of purely moral positions; it is approached from a different point of view.

To begin with, the socialist view of the working class as a potentially revolutionary force is based upon an analysis of the social position of the working class. The most obvious fact about the working class is that it is socially situated at the heart of modern capitalism's basic, and in fact defining, institution: the corporation. Workers are organized by the very conditions under which they work. They are organized in factories, warehouse, giant stores, mass transportation, offices. Everyday they are brought together by their employer. Furthermore, they are brought together under circumstances which they do not control. Workers are not allowed any say in their life. Furthermore, a worker's working existence conditions of employment under which they work are largely determined by the demands of the corporation. Workers are organized by the very conditions under which they work. They are organized in factories, warehouse, giant stores, mass transportation, offices. Everyday they are brought together by their employer. Furthermore, they are brought together under circumstances which they do not control. Workers are not allowed any say in their life. Furthermore, a worker's working existence is determined by the demands of the corporation. A worker is organized by the very conditions under which he works. He is organized around the state's class structure of society, that is, what decides who is rich, fair to middling, poor. This sounds so obvious to any radical that you might wonder why we have even mentioned it. The point can be made by way of a comparison. If welfare recipients organize and create an insurgency in the welfare system that is highly successful in the end they have only helped about 8 million people. It would be an important fight and a great victory for those who are on welfare but it would hardly scratch the surface of American society. On the other hand, if there were a general insurgency in industry, wages, etc. were raised, workers were given democratic control over their jobs, etc., tens of millions would be affected, the whole basis of the American economy would be changed. The point is that welfare recipients or Negroes should not struggle, they should and must the point is that the working class has a uniquely strategic position in American society. They are at the root of the economy. They are at the root of the same economy that causes poverty and creates welfare institutions. The working class is not the only group that must struggle to revolutionize American society, but it is a group that cannot be left out of this struggle.

There is another socialist fact that gives workers a unique place in any movement that would revolutionize society. For the most part, workers do not need to be organized in the same rudimentary way that poor communities must be organized. Workers are already organized. They are organized by the very conditions under which they work. They are organized in factories, warehouse, giant stores, mass transportation, offices. Every day they are brought together by their employer. Furthermore, they are brought together under circumstances which they do not control. Workers are not allowed any say in their life. Furthermore, a worker's working existence conditions of employment under which they work are largely determined by the demands of the corporation. Workers are organized by the very conditions under which they work. They are organized in factories, warehouse, giant stores, mass transportation, offices. Everyday they are brought together by their employer. Furthermore, they are brought together under circumstances which they do not control. Workers are not allowed any say in their life. Furthermore, a worker's working existence is determined by the demands of the corporation. A worker is organized by the very conditions under which he works. He is organized around the state's class structure of society, that is, what decides who is rich, fair to middling, poor. This sounds so obvious to any radical that you might wonder why we have even mentioned it. The point can be made by way of a comparison. If welfare recipients organize and create an insurgency in the welfare system that is highly successful in the end they have only helped about 8 million people. It would be an important fight and a great victory for those who are on welfare but it would hardly scratch the surface of American society. On the other hand, if there were a general insurgency in industry, wages, etc. were raised, workers were given democratic control over their jobs, etc., tens of millions would be affected, the whole basis of the American economy would be changed. The point is that welfare recipients or Negroes should not struggle, they should and must the point is that the working class has a uniquely strategic position in American society. They are at the root of the economy. They are at the root of the same economy that causes poverty and creates welfare institutions. The working class is not the only group that must struggle to revolutionize American society, but it is a group that cannot be left out of this struggle.

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Alright, these are advantages that workers, if they ever move in a progressive way, have over other sectors of society, but what is to guarantee that the workers will ever move? In fact, workers, or at least some sections of the working class, are always struggling and moving. For the most part, the continuing struggles is visible. Later we shall discuss the existence and extent of these struggles, for now it is necessary to point out why workers are compelled to struggle. First of all, there is just plain old economic necessity, bread and butter. Everyone knows that the bosses do not usually just grant raises to workers. In one way or another, usually through union, workers must fight for what they earn, be that a lot or little. One of the greatest snow jobs done on the American people has been convincing them that most workers have "made it. They're not rich, of course, but they have a home, etc., etc." Many workers do have homes, etc., etc., but the fact remains that the basic condition of life for most workers is one of insecurity. The average worker in manufacturing now makes about 950 a week, which isn't much if you have a family as most workers do. In transportation it is a little higher and in the service industries it is lower. As the cost of living rises workers must struggle harder to meet their bills, to feed their kids. In their struggle to maintain a decent existence, workers must fight not only the bosses, but today also the government. Workers face not only the resistance of the corporations, but the 3,2,1 guidelines and the threat of injunctions from the Federal Government. For those who have doubts about the willingness of workers to struggle for progressive ends, take a look at the recent airlines strike of the International Association of Machinists. Not only did this strike hold out against the threats of a Congressional injunction, but the rank and file had the guts to flatly reject a settlement pushed by Johnson himself. What other organized group of 20,000 has so clearly flaunted the President's will in recent months? An interesting political sideshow to this strike is that four IAM locals have recently called for a break with the Democratic Party and the formation of a third party. Keep in mind that this was a struggle that occurred without the benefit of radical organizers, it was, in a way, a spontaneous act.

There is another area of insecurity that workers face that most people usually forget. That is the fact that a worker's job is still not a completely secure thing. The layoff and hiring systems of most manufacturing corporations is still such that a worker unless he has a great deal of seniority, is not secure. The same can be said for the aerospace industry, where workers must fight not only the bosses, but the rank and file had the guts to flatly reject a settlement pushed by Johnson himself. What other organized group of 20,000 has so clearly flaunted the President's will in recent months? An interesting political sideshow to this strike is that four IAM locals have recently called for a break with the Democratic Party and the formation of a third party. Keep in mind that this was a struggle that occurred without the benefit of radical organizers, it was, in a way, a spontaneous act.

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In addition to the workers' economic problem and situation, there is his position at the point of production. Much has been said on the need to build a revolutionary party. This concept referred to the alternation of labor, the fact that the worker found himself in opposition to the employer. This idea was formulated by Marx and others in the context of the political struggle, but it has even more meaning today. Today's worker in no sense controls the conditions of his work. In production, to which the workers activities are determined by the machinery he faces. Automation, far from curing or even making it easier, merely makes it easier to control the work. Automation makes work more socially destructive; it increases the proportion of work that has to be done by the workers themselves. In some cases, automation makes it easier for the workers to gain a sense of control over their work. In the work process, automation makes it easier for the workers to struggle against the labor bureaucracy, because it has actually made the work load heavier. Automation, for from curing or simplifying, merely increases the proportion of work that has to be done by the workers themselves. In some cases, automation makes it easier for the workers to gain a sense of control over their work. Automation makes work more socially destructive; it increases the proportion of work that has to be done by the workers themselves. In some cases, automation makes it easier for the workers to struggle against the labor bureaucracy, because it has actually made the work load heavier. Automation, for from curing or simplifying, merely increases the proportion of work that has to be done by the workers themselves. In some cases, automation makes it easier for the workers to struggle against the labor bureaucracy, because it has actually made the work load heavier. Automation, for from curing or simplifying, merely increases the proportion of work that has to be done by the workers themselves. In some cases, automation makes it easier for the workers to struggle against the labor bureaucracy, because it has actually made the work load heavier.
In New Left Notes 29, John Maher wrote a very misleading and in some respects downright inaccurate description of the Nation­al Committee for New Politics (NCNP) and its members. We reiter­ation to reporting on the August 20th NCNP Board meeting, I feel called upon to correct some of the inaccuracies.

John has some justified complaints about the "liberal mislead­ers," the "so-called radicals," and the "inert" character of the NCNP. But John's other complaints are much more out of line. NCNP board members didn't see fit to mention in his fulminations and/Webb hove octed on their own hook simply reflects where this collection of people determined it to go. In the first place, the total amount recruited from national sources in the national campaigns probably is less than that re­ceived from similar sources for Ryan's campaign for Mayor of New York. It is not surprising that the NCNP Board would make allocations somewhat in the dark, and since has realized that without determination to a level of activity, that level should be made to make mistakes in the future. It is not the fault of the poor people who were paid by the NCNP Board, by my calculation at least 5%, of the NCNP.

He makes it sound like the staff of NCNP stole the money to go to the Morgan campaign. In the first place, the total amount recruited from national sources in the national campaigns probably is less than that re­ceived from similar sources for Ryan's campaign for Mayor of New York. It is not surprising that the NCNP Board would make allocations somewhat in the dark, and since has realized that without determination to a level of activity, that level should be made.

For that is what happened in the Scher campaign, and very success­fully. And it is, I think a bit difficult to say, but the Scher campaign as its chief beneficiary, but received between $700,000 between 1/4 and • third of cash dispensed. Brother Henry Wineberg, Chicago Voters for Peace Arthur Woskow, Institute for Policy Studies Victoria Gray, MFDP - Steering Comm.

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Kissinger did not expect to receive half of what I have reported promptly on every NCNP vote against LBJ. The NCNP hasn't defined its 1968 strategy yer; Julian Bond is chairing a committee on 1968, which includes Lee.

In the last Board meeting invited six more people to join the Board: Danes Allen of the Chicago Area Peace for Peace, Caesar Chaves of the Farm Workers, Terry Jefferson of Ne­braska, Arthur Woskow of the MFDP, and two public relations consultant who also does RAMPARTS pr, Sue Thresher of SSCO, and two on the Board of the President of the Am. Com­mittee on Africa.

NCNP also declared itself independent of the Progressives. During the Board meeting the NCNP Board members understand that it is strictly an independent basis of power, not of Doing. "Mr. Bobbo," that campaign, will that cart change our foreign policy. They are not able to write off as quickly as John and many in SDS the idea of supporting on anti-Johnson candidate who would promise to end the war. I believe that it will be necessary to offer new political candidates for delegate to the Democratic National Convention pledged to vote against LBJ. The NCNP didn't change its 1968 strategy only; Julian Bond is chairing a committee on 1968, which includes Lee and Webber and one other person whose name I've forgotten. We should address ourselves to that problem of national strategy.

More important, SDS people should be assured that we are in the peace movement to the questions of power and politics. I believe that these people can play an important role in supporting the SDS campaign; we should talk about projects that are a "natural" extension of the foreign policy "where they are of" and could publicize large numbers of them. And SDS itself should play a political role in the peace campaign, as well, I hope that the student of the workshops in Chicago and other places will get down to how that political thing has been done; I fear that it will be and has been conducted in terms of electoral activity. Those hallucinations, we are only in your mind, any the silly thing means for rendering SDS more and more irrelevant to a constituent which looks to leadership.

-N. Booth

HAVE YOU RENEWED YOUR MEMBERSHIP? Dues: $4.00 Yearly (Includes subscription to New Left Notes)  the working class (continued from page 7)
we need your help:
the national office desperately needs money:

to print new left notes
to print sds literature
to pay staff salaries.

won't you help by sending a contribution.

-- the national staff

BLACK POWER (CONT.)

(continued from page 5)

CAN THE DIFFERENCES between the classes in the white community be crystallized so that a new alliance can occur between self-organized poor blacks and poor whites? Obviously, given the existing racial slavery, no one can give assurances of this. But there are possibilities that offer a way forward. The white worker and the white poor will not be organized on the basis of fighting for the rights of Negroes, but they can be organized to fight for their own needs.

WHEN SNCC CALLS FOR white students, especially white southern students, to organize the white poor, it points to a necessity. This in itself will be vastly difficult, but unfortunately even more is necessary. In the 1880s and '90s, white plebeians lent a hand in helping to organize black groups; the reverse is now needed. Obviously, this does not mean sending Negro organizers into white communities, but it does mean that Negro groups will have to adopt a particular stance toward the white undergroup. This stance will be built upon the truth, the way the Negro and white really feel:

1) "The Negroes you despise have organized to fight for their needs and are winning something. Will the poor white do the same or is he a permanent patsy?"

2) "We aren't anxious to 'integrate' into the white community. We want the right to go where we please or sit where we like, but we don't intend to smash our own community to do it, because we have our pride. We will consider the idea of 'assimilation' when white movements worthy of respect are ready to help us in transforming society."

THE NEGRO, IN PRESSING his demands, will widen them and show that these demands have meaning for the poor white as well. For example, the South needs massive public works — dams, power plants, hospitals, schools, libraries. These would give jobs to thousands of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, the bulk of the Southern labor force, both black and white. Not that the Federal or state governments, controlled by the Two-Party Establishment, are likely to heed these demands; they will come through with the needed billions only for the purpose of mass murder. But in the Negro community — and perhaps in the white — the idea will spread that people have a right to a job and a decent income. If the present government won't give it urban workers, they should establish one that will, one that they themselves control.

ALREADY A CHANGE is taking place in the nature of Negro demands. The poor-black program associated with Black Power is still sketchy, but it is becoming more radical. SNCC is calling for block credit unions and cooperatives as well as independent political parties, and it is evident to SNCC and everyone else that this is tug the beginning.

MOVEMENTS EVOLVE in the course of struggle. Generally, even working-class movements start with middle-class goals. Those who want to rise naturally try to follow in other's paths. They want the same things others have achieved. If they believe that they cannot all become small businessmen or have two, cars and the like, they either fall away or build a new group consciousness and more radical ways to raise them. Power will be power of the Negro movement from the beginning raised general demands for jobs and housing, but it never concentrated on a radical economic program. For those leading the fight at the time, this was not the most important thing. But the scene shifts radically as the need is felt to seek deeper roots and attract greater forces.

THE SIGNIFICANCE of this for future alliances is that the demands of the black movement will strike more chords among white workers and farmers and widen their awareness of their own needs.

THERE IS STILL another factor: in aiming at political power, the Negro will increasingly need to orient toward the city, where political power is concentrated. SNCC is having its biggest successes in the rural black belt, but the urban fight still looms. In the black belt, there is less need for allies. There are fewer to be found, even potentially, and in any case the Negro is not in a minority. But as the fight expands, as it must, and as more radical Negro forces enter the Southern cities, they meet a more complex situation. There organized black movements will not be only in separate black institutions but asserting itself within white institutions. At the same time, there will be (and should be) black unions like the Maryland Freedom Union where the white unions refuse even to recognize masses of Negroes, these are important unions with large blocks of Negroes already involved. Here the organization of black caucuses may cause companion white ones to spring up. If inflation continues, the pressure now building up for more money among black and white workers could produce all sorts of struggles and all sorts of alliances inside unions.

AN ALTERNATE COURSE of events — more radical broadside and the dashing of hopes for these new alliances — is possible if it occurs, the blame will rest as much as the failure of white radicals to break from the old coalitionist alliances and help build a movement of white workers fighting for their needs, as it will with an anti-white perversion of the concept of Black Power. An still more essential for white radicals to commit themselves to the building of a working-class movement willing to fight for its rights, its interests, its humanity, against its exploiter, in a society that is increasingly dehumanizing and barbarically oppressive. Opposition to Black Power, which expresses such legitimate needs for a mass Negro movement may only allow a self-fullfilling prophecy for the whites, a reactionary race war that will drown Negroes in blood. Such a warfare will end the hope of a retaliatory force to aid in the creation of a non-exploitative, truly human society for white as well black. It is to that end that we welcome the slogan of Black Power because it makes the way for potential new alliances to replace those that have hampered the Negro movement. It is to that end that we welcome white radical activity in helping to build a movement of whites that fights, its exploitation as militantly as the Negro movement fights its. It is on the basis and from the experience of such struggles that a movement for a new, transformed America can be built.

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Two full-time staff workers are needed immediately by CIPA in Chicago. White Middle-class project: pleasant working conditions and retirement benefits, located near shopping, schools, and churches.

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More Presidential Repression

DAYTON, OHIO, September 6, 1966

President Johnson's speech at the Montgomery County Fair at Dayton, Ohio, was shot down by the chanting of 80 peace demonstrators labor Day. The demonstrators were part of a group of 230 who were picketing the fair at the time of Johnson's appearance. Demonstrators came from Dayton, Yellow Springs, Columbus, Cincinnati, and several cities in Indiana.

About five minutes into the speech, the demonstrators inside the fairgrounds unfurled a banner that had been concealed as they drifted into the fair. A pro-Johnson banner bore similar proportions, with green feeders from a local retail clerks union, was being displayed directly behind the peace demonstrators.

The president had to shout down the banner reading, "Thou Shall Not Kill, End the War Now." The two secret service agents who had been standing behind the demonstrators charged into the demonstrators, and ripped the sign away from the men holding it, as the secretaries in front of the demonstrators charged the agents. Several demonstrators were hit by the clubs as the police moved the demonstrators back to a fence and isolated them from the rest of the crowd.

A few minutes later, a reserve banner reading "Please stop the killing" was put up by the demonstrators. The secret service momentarily allowed it to remain, and the television cameras were focused on the banner while police reversed in to tear it down with their sticks.

The group began to chant "Thou shall not kill" for the peace demonstrators. The police had to shout and were heard to say, "Don't be a fool." The demonstrators stopped chanting the moment the demonstration resumed its speech seconds later.

The police had withdrawn a few feet from the area and the demonstrators were chanting again.

The scene was repeated several times more as another banner broke in the speech.

The police are interested in upholding the policies of the administration. The Johnson administration has been effective in restoring rent strike campaigns against slums, creating job opportunities for minorities, and extending the opportunities of which our candidates are members.

The police and the Johnson administration are the same. The Johnson administration is the police. The Johnson administration is the police in the South.

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Johnson's speech, apparently in response to the recent violence in Dayton's ghetto, contained the phrase, "America needs your service." As he was demanding those who live by the words, "don't nick your neck out, don't get involved ... the chanting erupted.

The demonstrators turned the day's activity very successful, achieving the attention of the President as well as considerable coverage in the local press and national television.

On Monday the fifth, during the first march, people were isolated from the rest of the community. Organizations, and CORE. These organizations were intimidated by its organizing project. Joining the organizations were hit by the clubs as the police moved the demonstrators back to a fence and isolated them from the rest of the crowd.

The police的缘故fully hit the demonstrators with their signs, and ripped the sign away from the men holding it. The secretaries in front of the demonstrators charged the agents.

As has been true all across the country for full-time work.

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toward student syndicalism

(continued from page 2)

way that it is impossible to use them to get power. In order to change the role of the voter it is necessary to take over a student government and threaten to abolish it if power isn't granted.)

For years, we have been working on the problems of our mistakes of the past few years, I think the direction we should move becomes clearer. Also, when we reflect on the fact that our universities are already chief agents for social change, we must make the appropriate decisions. In 1964, we thought we could see why it is imperative that we organize the campuses. (However, I do not mean to imply that we ought to ignore organizing elsewhere.)

What is To Be Done?

Obviously, we need to organize, to build a movement on the campuses with the primary purpose of radically transforming the university community. Too often we lose sight of this goal. To work on programs, every action, every position, and every demand, we must raise the question - how will that radically alter the lives of every student on this campus? With this in mind, I offer the following points for consideration:

(1) That every SDS chapter organize a student syndicalist movement on its campus. It is my belief that syndicalism is a crucial reason. In the labor struggle, the syndicalist unions worked for industrial democracy and worker's control, rather than better wages and working conditions. Likewise, and I cannot repeat often enough, the issue for us is "student control" (along with a yet-to-be-liberated faculty in some areas). What we do not want is a "company" student movement that sees itself as a body that, under the rubric of "laborization," helps a potential corporate system make better rules for us. What we do want is a union of students who themselves are to make whatever kind of rules they want or don't want. Or whether they need rules at all. Only this sort of student organization allows for decentralization and the direct participation of students in all those decisions already affecting their lives.

(2) That the student syndicalism movement take on one of two possible structural forms - either a Freeway Democratic Party (CFDP) or a Free Student Union.

(a) Campus Freedom Democratic Party (CFDP). This is possible on those campuses where the student government is at least formally "democratic" (i.e. One Student - One Vote). The idea is to organize a year-round, electoralcter, for the purpose of educating students about their system; building mass memberships in dormitory and living hall "precincts," constantly harassing and disrupting the meetings of the existing student government (for instance, showing up en masse at a meeting and sing the jingle of the now defunct "Mickey Mouse Club" and, finally, winning a majority of seats in student government elections. As long as the CFDP has a minority of the seats, those seats should be used as soapboxes to expose the existing body as a parody of the idea of government. It should be kept in mind that the main purpose of all the above activity is to develop a radical consciousness among all the students, in the real struggle yet to come against the ad

What happens if a CFDP wins a majority of the seats? It should immediately push through a list of demands (the nature of which, and this is crucial, I will deal with later) in the form of a Bill of Rights and/or Declaration of Independence. The resolution should contain a time-limit for the administra tion (or Regents or whatever) to reply. If the demands are met, the students should promptly celebrate the victory of the revolution. If not, the CFDP should promptly abolish student government and/or set up a student-government-in-exile. Secondly, the CFDP would immediately begin mass demonstra tions - strikes in the administration buildings, in faculty parking lots, in maintenance departments, etc.; boycotts of all classes, and strikes of teaching assistants. In short, the success of these actions (especially when the cops come) will be the test of how well the CFDP has been radicalizing its constituency during the previous two or three years.

(b) Free Student Unions (FSU). The diff erence between a FSU and a CFDP is mainly a tactical one. On many campuses existing student governments are not even formally democratic; but are set up by the school newspaper having one vote, the Inter-Fraternity Council having one vote, and so on. In a situation like this, we ought to ignore and/or denounce campus electoral politics from the word go. Instead, following the plan of the Wobblies, we should organize on the campus that all the students in the goal of the FSU would be to tenda a corpora tion to the existing student government that would eventually embrace a healthy majority of the student body. It would have to encourage non-participation in student government, and to engage in active non-electoral, "on the job" agitation. This would take the form of organizing and sponsoring the violation of existing rules (i.e. dormitory sleep-outs, "freedom" parties in restricted apartments, non-violently seizing IBM cards, disrupting Override classes, non-violently attempting to occupy and liberate the student newspaper and radio station, etc.). All this should be done in such a manner as to restrict more and more support. Once the FSU has more support than student government (i.e. majority of the campus) it should declare student government defunct, make its demands of the administration, and, if refused, declare the general strike.

Obviously, the success of either a CFDP or a FSU depends on our ability to organize a mass radical base with a capacity for pro longed resistance, dedication, and endure nce. With this in mind, it is easy to see why such a student syndicalist movement must be nationa/ (or even international) in its scope. There will be need for highly mobile regional and national full-time organizers to travel from campus to campus. With critical confrontations break out, there will be need for sympathy demonstrations and strikes on other campuses. There may even be need to send busloads of students to a campus where replacements are needed, due to mass arrests. Again, we can learn much from the organizing tactics of the Wobblies and the CIO.

(3) That the student syndicalist movement adopt as its primary and central issue the abolition of the grade system. This is not to say that the other issues, such as decision making power for student-governing bodies, are unimportant. They are not; and, in certain situations, they can be critical. But to my mind, the abolition of grades is the most significant over-all issue for building a radical movement on campus. There are three reasons why I think this is so:

(a) Grading is a common condition of the total student and faculty community. It is their avenue to manipulate the student body. What we do wont is a union of students where the students themselves decide what grades should be awarded, and then use them to replace existing rules. Obviously, the success of either a CFDP or a FSU depends on our ability to organize a mass radical base with a capacity for prolonged resistance, dedication, and endurance. With this in mind, it is easy to see why such a student syndicalist movement must be national (or even international) in its scope. There will be need for highly mobile regional and national full-time organizers to travel from campus to campus. With critical confrontations break out, there will be a need for sympathy demonstrations and strikes on other campuses. There may even be need to send busloads of students to a campus where replacements are needed, due to mass arrests. Again, we can learn much from the organizing tactics of the Wobblies and the CIO.

(b) As an issue to organize around, the presence of the grade system is constantly felt. Hour exams, mid-terms, and finals are always a part of the curriculum. Also, it is the source of the alienation of most faculty members from their work. Among our better educators and almost ideally, faculty, there is a common complaint that they are bored, unfulfilled, and so on. In those situations, we ought to be able to use the grade system as an umbrella Issue for a student syndicalist movement. This is the issue that ought to be used as the "umbrella" Issue for a student syndicalist movement, much in the same manner as the "abolition of the wage system" served within the syndicalist-trade union movement. Under this umbrella, a myriad of other issues can be raised, depending upon which segment of the student community we are appealing to and at what degree of strength we might have at any one time.

(4) That the student syndicalist movement incorporate into its secondary issues the ideology of participatory democracy. This can be viewed as an attempt on our part to sabotage the knowledge/authoritarian corporate system by producing the managers and the managed of a new kind. This is no easy task, but it is necessary if we are to build a consciousness in which we can work towards a different kind of society. Participatory democracy is that kind of society. This can be viewed as a kind of "radical" education, where we learn to be managers and managed by each other, to work out our differences ourselves, and not to wait for a new "era of enlightenment" to come to us out of the blue. Participatory democracy is the only way out of the current situation, and that is why I think that it is necessary to incorporate this ideology into our movement. Participatory democracy is necessary to build a consciousness in which we can work towards a different kind of society. This can be viewed as a kind of "radical" education, where we learn to be managers and managed by each other, to work out our differences ourselves, and not to wait for a new "era of enlightenment" to come to us out of the blue. Participatory democracy is the only way out of the current situation, and that is why I think that it is necessary to incorporate this ideology into our movement. Participatory democracy is the only way out of the current situation, and that is why I think that it is necessary to incorporate this ideology into our movement.
LITERATURE LIST

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- SDS Bulletin, December 1965 (25¢) bulk
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NAT'L SEGY’S REPORT

(continued from page 2)

new group of SDS organizers was seen as the first step toward a potential merger of the movement with the American campus. Just as SDS had involved itself in the organizing of the movement in its Economic Research and Action Project, just as it had as respond ed last April to Vice-President Johnson’s demonstration-approach to politics which mobilizes lots of people to think, to engage in, to participate in politics, anyone, that is without either changing people’s lives or affecting power. I added that the cities or affecting power. I added that the British New Left had spent three years organizing mass marches around nuclear disarmament and then collapsed—yet, we are well aware that SDS has also learned that electoral politics is unlikely to be radical: a variety of people are out in the streets. And out of this, we hoped to be radical revealed that the dynamics of electoral politics in our society makes winning a must and that the goal of educating constituencies in a radical manner is very quickly lost in the process, and, in short, we ourselves are being compromised into oblivion.

Another lesson of the past year, directly related to the decision to focus on campus centers for organizing, is that organizing centers for organizing, organizing centers. Most SDS chapters in the past year have focused on service centers rather than on centers for campus organizing. SDS chapters have organized demonstrations which have mobilized significant local support, but local members have not gone out to talk to the students about organizing with them: that is to say, they have not engaged inorganizers, introversion, rather than creating a real social movement. SDS has also characterized too much of our development.

We have been too ready to accept and support the vision of the Church, which because of its introversion, as Adler pointed out, has always had a sense of optimism, which is too much of a compromise. Some very eloquent criticism had been presented by Bill Higgins at the NO convention; it aimed at the creation of a National Student Union by calling a meeting of radical campus leaders. This kind of proposal had been presented by Bill Higgins at the NO convention; it aimed at the creation of a National Student Union by calling a meeting of radical campus leaders. The proposal had been presented by Bill Higgins at the NO convention; it aimed at the creation of a National Student Union by calling a meeting of radical campus leaders. The proposal had been presented by Bill Higgins at the NO convention; it aimed at the creation of a National Student Union by calling a meeting of radical campus leaders. The proposal had been presented by Bill Higgins at the NO convention; it aimed at the creation of a National Student Union by calling a meeting of radical campus leaders. The proposal had been presented by Bill Higgins at the NO convention; it aimed at the creation of a National Student Union by calling a meeting of radical campus leaders. The proposal had been presented by Bill Higgins at the NO convention; it aimed at the creation of a National Student Union by calling a meeting of radical campus leaders. The proposal had been presented by Bill Higgins at the NO convention; it aimed at the creation of a National Student Union by calling a meeting of radical campus leaders. The proposal had been presented by Bill Higgins at the NO convention; it aimed at the creation of a National Student Union by calling a meeting of radical campus leaders.

We broke up the meeting with a feeling that more had happened at Clear Lake than we had realized in the fatigue of the previous week.

Greg Calvert
National Secretary
P.S. Let me add a postscript to this “report” of the National Secretary’s report as mandated by the National Council at Clear Lake, that we are two years into one of the ways of being at the center of communications in SDS: the National Secretary can speak on the national level, but he cannot speak on the “press.” I chose to speak to those of you who are here for whatever reason, identifying with the “new radicalism,” rather than speaking to the TIME-LIFE image of the NEW LEFT. If we can talk to each other, perhaps officials will want to join in any of our conversations. If we talk to each other, perhaps officials will want to join in any of our conversations. If we talk to each other, perhaps officials will want to join in any of our conversations. If we talk to each other, perhaps officials will want to join in any of our conversations. If we talk to each other, perhaps officials will want to join in any of our conversations.

NEW LEFT NOTES

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