

CARTON 9:29

THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

DELLUMS, RON

2001-2002

2017/193
c

Ron Dellums 3/8/02

address in reply?

Dellums Ron trying to (reach
CL Daughter in her OK

Marta Dellums
will talk Monday/next

Protocol: request should
come from her

(done)

Should I present
myself to her

on visit to
HHS of Congress
review printed
guides to SSC
p. 100 in Dellums
reference

(copy of records of ~~SSC~~)
not guides Stanford

Dixon to Mary DeLong

39867 Fremont Blvd #101

510 988-6472

880, Mowly Ave E

TB Fremont Blvd (Right)
Right on Ridwell Left
~~Left Ridwell~~ Front
8pm #10

Village Green Apt

C.L. DeLong the Site

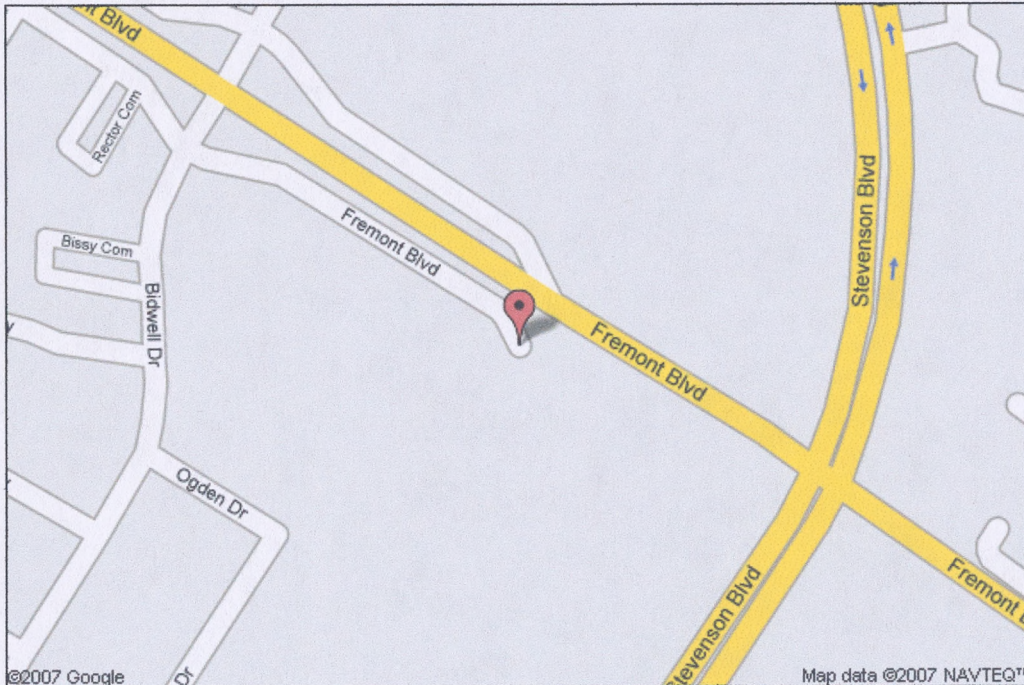
Call Cozy M
July 6 days

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Maps

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Robert L. Allen
1034 Vallejo St.
San Francisco, CA 94133
Phone/FAX (415) 771-0455

1 of 7
944-4832
w/w
phone

Mr. Ronald V. Dellums
Washington, DC
VIA FAX 202 944-3889

December 17, 2001

Dear Ron;

I can't tell you how happy it makes me to win your blessings for the book I plan to write on the life and work of your incredible uncle, C.L. Dellums. This is a dream I have had for almost two years, but only now have the pieces come together to make it a reality. I thank you from the bottom of my heart. (This is not the first time I owed you a debt of gratitude. After I published the *Port Chicago Mutiny* book, your support of our efforts to clear the names of the accused black sailors was enormously helpful.)

I have secured permission from the Bancroft Library Oral History Office to make use of the very fine oral history that they did with C.L. I also have a good publisher (Rowman & Littlefield) committed to publishing the book. Most recently I obtained a small research grant from the UC Berkeley Institute for Labor and Employment that will enable me to travel to archives back East, and to hire a graduate student as research assistant.

Of course, I look forward to interviewing you for the book. We may do this by phone, but if you are in the Bay Area at any time in the next few months, please let me know. It would be great to meet in person. It is also likely that I will be in DC sometime in the Spring. Are there any other persons that you would suggest I plan to interview? Do you know of any persons who have personal correspondence or other documents, clippings, or photographs regarding your uncle that they would be willing to share with us? I would appreciate any ideas you may have for making this book as rich and powerful as it should be.

Enclosed is a copy of the grant narrative I submitted to the Institute for Labor and Employment. (This grant focuses on C.L.'s importance in California, but I assure you that the book will also highlight his national importance.) I have included as well a copy of my C.V. for your information.

Thank you again for your generous offer to help with the project. Please accept my wishes for a pleasant holiday season, and all the best in the New Year.

Sincerely,

Robert L. Allen

E-mail: RobertA648@aol.com

NARRATIVE of proposal for a study of the influence of C.L. Dellums and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters Union in Shaping Employment and Civil Rights Policy in California

By Robert L. Allen, Ph.D.
Ethnic Studies Department,
University of California, Berkeley

C.L. Dellums and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters union (BSCP) helped to precipitate a sea change in race and labor relations in California and the nation. Fundamental issues of unfair employment practices, discrimination and segregation were confronted in new ways by new forces with consequences not just for the black community but for all people. For the first time in U.S. history a black labor organization, its leaders and organizers, played a central role in shaping labor and civil rights policy.

Today, as the demographics of the working population in California and throughout the nation, are undergoing dramatic changes, new unions are facing the challenge of uniting people of different races and ethnic backgrounds to constructively impact public policy. Many of these constituencies (for example, immigrants, various communities of color, and youth) have little or no prior experience with labor organizations. The BSCP struggled successfully to organize and mobilize a new constituency of black workers. An examination of the history of the BSCP and the leadership of C.L. Dellums can offer important lessons with regard to bringing new constituencies into today's union movement and mobilizing the movement as a social base from which to fight for progressive changes in public policy.

The BSCP, the first national union of black workers, was founded in 1925 with A. Philip Randolph as president. C.L. Dellums was elected vice president in 1929 and held that position until 1966, when he succeeded Randolph as president. Dellums was also elected the first West Coast Regional Director of the NAACP in 1948, and he served for 26 years as a key member of the California Fair Employment Practices Commission.

In 1937 the BSCP made history when it compelled one of the largest U.S. corporations - the Pullman Company - to recognize and negotiate a contract with a black workers' union. This was unprecedented and almost inconceivable in the context of prior U.S.

history. This victory would in turn give a great impetus to black organizing in other arenas, including the civil rights movement.

At the beginning of World War II in 1941 the leadership of the BSCP, with the support of civil rights leaders, pushed U.S. President Roosevelt to issue an executive order requiring the ending of discrimination in defense industries. Again this was virtually unthinkable and had never happened before. Tens of thousands of black men and women would be hired to work alongside whites in wartime plants across the nation. California, especially, would be transformed by the explosive growth of defense industries and with them the formation of new, vibrant black communities in cities such as San Francisco, Oakland and Los Angeles -- communities that would have enormous and enduring impact on the economic, social and political fabric of the region and indeed the nation.

In the following years Dellums mobilized labor and community support to successfully conduct a 14-year campaign to get the state of California in 1959 to create a fair employment practices commission to monitor the implementation of anti-discrimination measures throughout the state. The successful struggle for the FEPC was part of the emerging era of civil rights activism and legislative initiatives in California and elsewhere.

Leaders of the BSCP, including Dellums in California and E.D. Nixon in Montgomery, would bring their organizing skills to bear in the emerging struggles of the civil rights movement, giving that movement the benefit of years of experience in confronting entrenched power. In so doing they would shape emerging public policy in the civil rights arena. In passing, it must also be noted that C.L. Dellums was a role model of his nephew, civil rights activist and former Congressman Ronald V. Dellums.

It is difficult to overstate the importance of the BSCP and its leadership to the emergence of the modern civil rights era. Having used the threat of a mass march on Washington in 1941 to secure Roosevelt's ground-breaking executive order, the union would play a critical role in organizing the 1963 march on Washington that would help secure passage of the historic 1964 Civil Rights Act. The success of the civil rights movement depended on an alliance of liberal, labor and civil rights forces. The BSCP was at the center of this alliance-building process, and C.L. Dellums was at the center of the BSCP. In his life and work we find keys to understanding how a

union successfully mobilized its members and tens of thousands of other ordinary working people to change the employment and civil rights policies of the state and the nation. As the new unions of today seek to unite workers across racial and ethnic lines to impact public policy regarding employment, civil rights, and immigration, among other issues, study of the history of the BSCP and the leadership of C. L. Dellums can offer valuable lessons.

There are several published works on aspects of the BSCP and its leaders including, A Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait, by Jervis Anderson; Miles of Smiles, Years of Struggle: Stories of Black Pullman Porters, by Jack Santino; Those Pullman Blues: An Oral History of the African American Railroad Attendant, by David D. Perata; and Marching Together: Women of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, by Melinda Chateauvert. While these all are excellent works none of them focusses specifically on the impact of the BSCP on labor and civil rights policy in California. Nor do any of them give serious attention to the crucial role played by C.L. Dellums.

The proposed study will be a significant contribution to the literature on the BSCP, and, importantly, the literature on the relationship between union leadership and the formation of public policy.

The research methodology will involve study of historical records in archives including the C.L. Delums Papers and the Papers of the BSCP held in the Bancroft Library at UC Berkeley, Papers of the BSCP in the Library of Congress and the Schomburg Center in New York, records of the FEPC in the Library of Congress and the California State Library, and the archives of the NAACP. Published studies of civil rights legislation will also be examined. Where possible, interviews will be conducted with individuals associated with Dellums and the BSCP.

Rowland & Littlefield, a respected publishing firm, has made a commitment to publish a book based on my research.

The research will be undertaken by the principal investigator with the help of a part-time research assistant.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Robert L. Allen
1034 Vallejo Street
San Francisco, CA 94133
(415) 771-0455

Social Security # 259-62-7232

EDUCATION

1983 Ph.D., Sociology, University of California, San Francisco
1967 M.A., Sociology, New School for Social Research, New York
1963 B.S., Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia

ACADEMIC

1994-Pres. Visiting Professor in Ethnic Studies and African
American Studies, University of California, Berkeley.
1981-1984 Head, Ethnic Studies Department, Mills College, Oakland,
CA.
1973-1982 Lecturer, Ethnic Studies Dept., Mills College
1969-1972 Assistant professor, New College and Afro-American
Studies Department, San Jose State University

PUBLISHING

1992- pres. Senior Editor, The Black Scholar. For more than 30
years The Black Scholar has been a leading journal of
Black Studies research.
1972-84, 1991 Managing Editor, Associate Editor, Consulting
Editor, The Black Scholar.
1972-pres. Vice-president, The Black World Foundation (BWF is a
non-profit organization that publishes The Black
Scholar.)

BOOKS:

Forthcoming (2002): Honor Without Honor (with Allene Carter) The
story of the life of Sgt. Edward Carter, an African American hero of
World War II. Carter was posthumously awarded the Medal of Honor
in 1997.

Strong in the Struggle: My Life as a Black Labor Activist, by Lee
Brown and Robert L. Allen (Rowman & Littlefield, 2001).

Brown made history as one of the top leaders of a militant, interracial waterfront union in the New Orleans area during the 1940s and 1950s. In 1958 he was imprisoned under the anti-Communist provisions of the Taft- Hartley Act. After his release in 1960 he moved to the Bay Area and became active in labor and civil rights struggles here. Following his retirement he continued his activism by organizing senior citizens. This autobiography is based on oral history interviews conducted by Robert Allen, who also wrote supplementary chapters to provide historical context.

Brotherman: The Odyssey of Black Men in America -

An Anthology , co-edited with Herb Boyd (Ballantine Books. 1995; paperback, 1996). Winner of an American Book Award for 1995, and 1996 Non-Fiction Award from the Black Caucus of the American Library Association.

The Port Chicago Mutiny (Amistad/Warner Books, 1989; paperback, Amistad/Penguin, 1993). Award-winning study of a tragic disaster during World War II that resulted in 50 black sailors being unjustly charged with mutiny. Based on extensive archival research and interviews with survivors. Following a documentary produced by KRON-TV, a campaign to clear the names of the sailors was initiated by Congressmen Ronald Dellums, Pete Stark and George Miller. In December 1999, acting on a pardon application prepared *pro bono* by the law firm of Morrison & Foerster, President Clinton granted a pardon to Freddie Meeks, one of the Port Chicago sailors.

Court of Appeal: The Black Community Speaks Out on the Racial and Sexual Politics of Thomas vs. Hill, co-edited with Robert Chrisman (Ballantine Books, 1992). A collection of essays that originally appeared in a special issue of The Black Scholar.

Reluctant Reformers: Racism and Social Reform movements in the U.S., with the collaboration of Pamela Allen (Howard University Press, 1974; Anchor Books paperback, 1975; revised paperback edition, Howard University Press, 1983.)

Black Awakening in Capitalist America (Doubleday, 1969; Anchor Books paperback, 1970; Africa World Press paperback, 1990). Considered a "classic" study of the Black Power movement.

AWARDS/FELLOWSHIPS

1996 Nonfiction Award (for Brotherman), Black Caucus, American Library Assn.

1995 American Book Award for Brotherman (with Herb Boyd)

- 1995 Ida B. Wells-Cheikh Anta Diop Award, National Council of Black Studies
- 1991 Emmy Award (Northern California) for "Port Chicago Mutiny" television documentary.
- 1990 Praisesinger Award, given by San Francisco African-American Historical and Cultural Society
- 1990 Resolution of Commendation for Port Chicago research, California State Assembly
- 1989 Media Alliance Award for The Port Chicago Mutiny
- 1977 Guggenheim Fellowship, to support Port Chicago research
- 1963 Woodrow Wilson Fellowship

**Robert L. Allen
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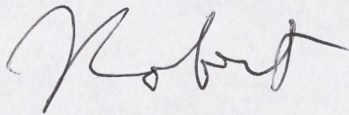
March 5, 2002

TO: Ronald Dellums
VIA FAX (202) 944-3889

Dear Ron,

Enclosed is a draft of the request for CL's FBI files. This request follows the format that I used in obtaining the files of labor leader Lee Brown, with whom I worked on his autobiography. If you happen to know CL's social security number that might be useful to include. If there are any changes or corrections you wish to make please let me know.

After you've looked this over perhaps we can talk by phone about how to proceed with the request and how the process works.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Robert", is written in dark ink.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT REQUEST

March 5, 2002

Subject: Cottrell Laurence Dellums
(popularly known as C.L. Dellums)

Requester: Ronald V. Dellums (Nephew of Subject)
(address for reply)

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Management Division - FOIA/PA Office
9th & Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20535

I hereby request one copy of any and all records in your files concerning my uncle, C.L. Dellums, under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act. Please check all indexes.

C.L. Dellums was born Cottrell Laurence Dellums on January 3, 1900, in Corsicana, Texas. He died November 8, 1989, in Oakland, California. In 1923 he moved from Texas to Oakland, California, where he lived for the remainder of his life.

I am especially interested in records relating to the following:

1. The period from 1925 to 1969 when C.L. Dellums was a leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters Union. From 1929 he served as Third International Vice President, and was elected President in 1966.
2. In the period from 1930 to 1972 he was head of the Alameda County Branch (later known as the Oakland Branch) of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people (NAACP), and from 1947 to 1966 he was chairman of the West Coast Regional Office of the NAACP.
3. In the period from 1943 to 1959 C.L. Dellums was chairman of the California Committee for Fair Employment Practices.
4. In the period from 1959 to 1985 C.L. Dellums was a member of the California Fair Employment Practices Commission.
5. Other organizations with which he was associated at various times included the National Negro Congress, the American Federation of Labor (AFL-CIO), the March on Washington Movement, the Oakland Council for Civic Unity and the California Federation for Civic Unity, and the Negro American Labor Council.

I hope this information will be helpful in locating any files pertaining to my uncle. Although the above periods and organizations are of special interest, I am requesting copies of all documents related to Cottrell Laurence Dellums in your files.

Sincerely,
Ronald V. Dellums

Ask Dellums abt

FU/A

* family memorabilia
letters, photos, clippings, etc
who to interview

Ask Ron
Dellums if
he knew
Rep. Charlie
Hays

(yes)
d. 7-2
with all
controversy
(Lynn)
A (x)

Describe Verney and Willa's family backgrounds, upbringing, schooling, work, coming to Oakland, how they met and married.

When did you first become ^{aware} of CL's work life outside the family?
What did he tell you about his work? Did he ever take you to meetings?

What was it like going to CL's office? What was the billiard parlor like? *anecdotes*

What did you come to learn about the Brotherhood? NAACP

How were you affected by these experiences with CL?

greatest impact on you as a young person? Can
share stories/anecdotes about him that say something

hobbies, recreational activity, sport, pets,
writers, commentators, spare time activity

How did he speak?

Friends, parties, clubs, masons, trips,
etc

How did CL interact with other people? Anecdotes? (e.g. Ronald Reagan story)

Ron working on
Chevrolet space & science center
Chenault space & science ctr, Oakland

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR RONALD DELLUMS 6/20/02

Not written
 * (Ask if he has copy of eulogy he delivered for CL's funeral)

What are your earliest memories of your uncle? *anecdotes*

How would describe your relationship with him as a child? How did he treat you? Did you do things together? *stories*

How did CL relate to Ron's parents (Verney and Willa)? Were they close? Visit each other often?

Describe Verney and Willa's family backgrounds, upbringing, schooling, work, coming to Oakland, how they met and married.

Answer
 When did you first become of CL's work life outside the family? What did he tell you about his work? Did he ever take you to meetings?

What was it like going to CL's office? What was the billiard parlor like? *anecdotes*

What did you come to learn about the Brotherhood? NAACP

How were you affected by these experiences with CL?

What about CL had greatest impact on you as a young person? Can you remember any stories/anecdotes about him that say something about who he was?

CL's favorite food, drink, recreational activity, sport, pets, sayings/apophorisms, writers, commentators, spare time activity

Distinctive mannerisms? How did he speak?

How did he dress?

Socially active person? Friends, parties, clubs, masons, trips, vacations, special events

How did CL interact with other people? Anecdotes? (e.g. Ronald Reagan story)

Ron writing on
 Chebor 5pm & same chtr
 Chewart 8pm & same chtr, Oakland

** Foreword - ?
 (Yes)
 With all
 Conkney
 (Lynn)
 (va)*

Did Ron get to meet Randolph, Webster or other leaders of the BSCP, or NAACP? Others? E.g. Walter Gordon, Tarea Pittman, Frances Albrier, Carleton Goodlett, Willie Brown. How did these meetings affect him?

(OPTIONAL) Please describe CL's --

Relationship to Black Freedom/Civil Rights movement, esp. MLK, Malcolm X, Black Panthers

Attitude toward working with Communists, left-wingers, socialists

Views of political leaders: FDR, Earl Warren, Pat Brown, Reagan,,

Jerry Brown, JFK, LBJ, Carter, Willie Brown, Burtons

Vietnam War

Masons

Dems/Repubs

Relationship with Church

What was it like (challenges of) being the nephew of CL Dellums?

What did Ron believe CL was trying to accomplish with his activism and organizing? What was his greatest accomplishment?

What setbacks did CL face? How did he deal with them?

How would Ron characterize the nature of CL's leadership? What kind of leader was he?

How did the ordinary porters and community people regard CL?

What impact did CL have on Ron's decision to get into politics. City Council? Congress?

What role did CL play in advising him on his campaigns? On issues or political strategy.

What would you say are the most important political lessons and life lessons that you learned from CL?

What would you say is CL's legacy?

political views in general
"if strong"
racist men
challenging
7/15/1988

CL sent Ron to college

Would Ron write forward? Yes, will consider

Get tape of Ron at ACLU - honoring CL (ask him before for tape)

other people to interview?

[Ronald V. Dellums Interview](#): Conversations with History; Institute of International Studies, UC Berkeley

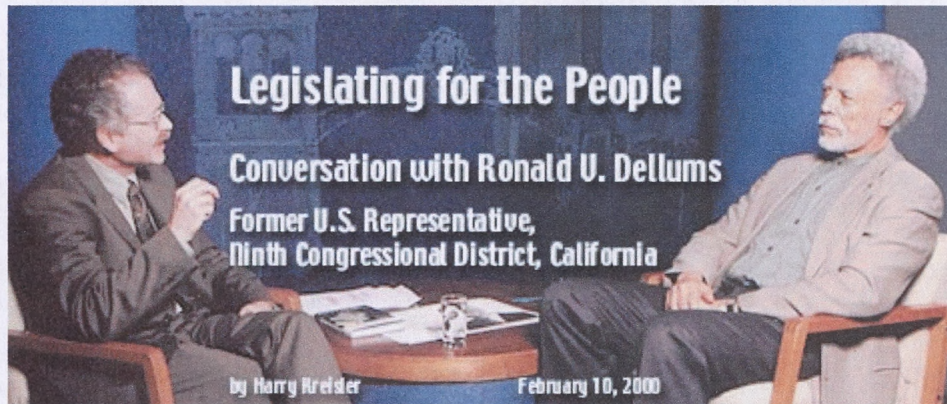


Photo by Jane Scherr

Page 1 of 5

Background

Congressman Dellums, welcome back to Berkeley.

Thank you very much.

How did your parents shape your character?

Let me start with my mother.

My mother is a person without letters, dropped out of high school. I came into the world; [she] went back and finished high school. My mother is a person very much interested in education, tremendous thirst for knowledge, and a very broad visionary human being who, in many ways, lived out her dreams of education through her children, as did my father.

My mother's shaping: she gave me a sense of who I was as a human being. I remember an incident where I had been challenged and the name calling was, "you dirty black African." The short version of it is, she could have reinforced my anger, because I struck back at this person with anger. And my mother's point was that if calling you "dirty" was important enough to rise up, than that should have been the only justification, not because you're black or not because he called you African, because you're both. You have many, many things. There are many adjectives that describe who you are as a human being, and two of them are that you are black and of African descent. And wherever you go for the rest of your life, you should be able to stand very tall and very proud as a human being and, when asked, when challenged as a black and an African, "Yes I am, and I'm very proud of it." So at that point my mother reinforced my humanity, my sense of myself, my own sense of pride, and her desire to see me fully educated.

My father, a person with a photographic memory, loved to debate, loved to challenge, loved to challenge the order of things. When I talked to him about what I learned in school he would say, "Never accept at face value. Always be willing to question. Be open to ideas. Search. Probe. Don't just be a robot." And so both of them together, I think, very much interested in the pursuit of educational excellence and on the

other hand very proud people, race-conscious people, who allowed me to develop a sense of myself as a proud human being. They told me early on in my life that being black and being African was a good thing, so I was not burdened by that. I've never seen myself as a victim. I saw myself as fighting people who attempted to challenge me as a victim. So they gave me a very strong sense of myself and, at the center of it, education and learning and evolving are very important factors.

How did these influences affect you growing up in Oakland when you did?

Well, you know it was fascinating, because many of my friends internalized the same notions about my parents that I did. So whenever many of my friends were about to go off into adventures, sometimes on the edge, they would send me home. "Go home, man!" They would call me Sundown Ronny because my friends knew that my parents, when sundown came, I had to be home, I had to be there for meals, I had to be there to do my homework. And so in one sense, many of my friends saw me as a special person, living with a special group of people who wanted very much to see me pursue my education and I think, in many ways, were very protective of me. You know, "You're one of the guys who are going to make it out of here." And that was significant in reinforcing who I was.

I was born in 1935. West Oakland, early on, was a definite community. There were many white ethnics who lived in West Oakland as a working-class community. When World War II began, West Oakland became the major point of entry for black people coming in from the South, who came in to take advantage of the economic expansion and opportunities of the war economy, as it were. As a result of



Ron Dellums (center) as a schoolboy at St. Patrick's in Oakland, California

Photo courtesy of Wila Dellums

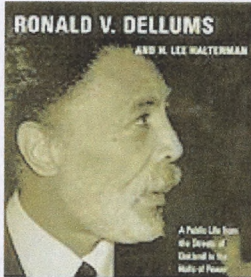
that, suddenly West Oakland over night becomes a small Southern town. And here's this kid who was going to St. Patrick's Catholic School, who spoke a little differently, who talked about different things, and many of these older persons from the South, who had very little if any education, were fascinated by this young guy. "Where did you learn these things?" Or sometimes I would go to visit my friends and we'd go to leave and the old folks would say, "No, sit a while, because I want to hear what this kid has to say." Then I would hear people say, you know, "That kid sure can talk! He's going to be a preacher or a lawyer some day." Well, as a kid those are reinforcing, and very positive reinforcements, and I think that had some significant import in shaping my life. I certainly wasn't a perfect guy. I dropped the ball many times along the way.

Your uncle was also an influence on you. Tell us a little about him.

C. L. Dellums, as you know, joined with A. Philip Randolph. These were guys that came out of the twenties, these were the old left-wing guys in the twenties. They came together and organized the first African American trade union in the history of America, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. These were guys who placed a great premium on the spoken word as a way of organizing, to be impressive when they challenged people. You know, people thought A. Philip Randolph and C. L. Dellums and these guys were Harvard graduates, because they developed an affect that challenged the system to deal with them intellectually, at an eyeball-to-eyeball level.

Well, my uncle: here's this beautiful, erudite, incredibly well-groomed, impeccable person with extraordinary articulation who, on Seventh Street, had an office over the pool hall. So in my life with this magnificent success model, and wherever I went, people, when they'd hear my last name would say, "Is C.

L. Dellums your father?" And I'd say "No, my father is Verney Dellums, but C. L. Dellums is my uncle." But I immediately began to realize that C. L. was the man and that he commanded respect across the broad spectrum of people in the Bay Area. And going to his office, he had a staff person, he had an office, he smoked a pipe, he dressed elegantly. He was a fighter, he was strong, he was courageous. So this success model in my life was very important in shaping my life, because here I knew that you could succeed, that you could be successful. You did not have to be intimidated, and that you could be respected by people, because the politics of that community came through him: union activity, civil rights activity, et cetera. He was just this incredible, larger-than-life person who continued to push me to pursue my education.



One of the other things that people noticed about you as a young person, and I'm quoting here from your new book *Lying Down with the Lions*, they said, "Now that boy understands what we were saying." You learned to be a listener as a young person didn't you?

Yes. Sometimes it was overstatement; sometimes I didn't understand. But I knew that I wouldn't understand if I didn't listen.

So I did learn how to listen. I was around adults a great deal and that became important, the ability to hear the other person, to listen to people, to try to fully understand what the other person is trying to say. Both my mother and my father and my grandmother instilled that in me. Listen to hear. And when they realized that I was listening and that, at some point, I could engage them seriously they said, this guy is understanding. So that again was a positive reinforcement.

Any books that you read as a young person, or later when you matured into adulthood, that stand out now, that affected you?

There was one book that stood out. You know I've read a lot of books along the way because, as I said, part of my upbringing, when kids would go out for the summer, I couldn't go out to play until I had read a certain amount of books all the time, so that was a constant reinforcement, the reading and the use of the library. But as a young adult having actually come out of the university, I had a master's degree, and I met this wonderful, wonderful African American who was the first Ph.D. that I met to know that he was a Ph.D. He handed me a book one day and he said, "I want you to read this book." And the title of the book was *The Shoes of the Fisherman*. Very briefly, it's a story about a Catholic cardinal imprisoned in the Soviet Union, freed, goes back to the Vatican by a strange set of circumstances. He becomes the Pope, and it's the story of how this guy escapes the Vatican to go out and touch people and continue to feel life in a real way. And he said, "When you finish the book, come talk with me." [Later:] "Why do you think I gave you this book?" I had no real idea. He said, "Because it's a story about the loneliness of leadership and the need to continue to fight isolation as a leader. I see you as a young leader, and you need to prepare yourself for leadership." Overwhelming! Made me go back and read the book a second time with different eyes and a different view.

Next page: [Political Education](#)

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Electron yr issue My price