Minutes

SCers: Amy W, Alex P, Ashik S, Renée P, Aron A (YDSA), Evan C (YDSA)
Ex officio: Cara T, John L, Maria S, Glenn R, Chris KC
Absent: 
Chair: Megan R
Minute takers: Evan, Ahmed, Luisa, Kristin, Sam

Meeting called to order at 8:05 pm ET. The meeting was quorate.

1. Adoption of Agenda

   MOTION by Ashik to approve the Agenda. All in favor. Motion passes.

2. Executive Session

   MOTION by Ashik, seconded by Cara, to enter Executive Session. Motion passed.

   Entered executive session at 8:07 pm ET.

End Time: 9:27 pm ET

Respectfully submitted,
Cara Tobe,
Secretary
Meeting Notes

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Entered executive session at 8:49 pm ET.

1. Kristina's Resignation
   a. Evan: Kristina, is there any additional information you can give us on how we ended up here, what's going on, things you think people should know? This caught everyone by surprise.
   b. Kristina: I think what I said was sufficient. I fought repeatedly for confidentiality to be granted to employees because it is a legal best practice and in my opinion a moral one. I would not allow mine to be violated without consequence and so I resign.
   c. Renée: Thank you for your service at DSA, thank you for putting your health at risk to stay with us as long as you did. I'm not surprised, I'm shocked by your resignation, but I'm not surprised. The way that staff have been treated and you in particular over the course of the last few weeks in the public sphere has been disgusting. We are, as the board of this organization, the boss of every employee. You can have a political objection to staff without running them down and talking about particular people and really being gleeful about your article about layoffs getting picked up by the right wing press. I understand we have a political disagreement over the role of staff. I joined DSA 6 years ago after a lifetime of thinking I couldn't be on the socialist left because it was so impractical. This week
has basically destroyed my faith in DSA as a practical organization. The way people conduct themselves on this body is frankly reprehensible in terms of the way we are treating our employees. If you think that we should have a non-staffed organization and instead be entirely member-run, I have no problem with you advocating for that political position in the public sphere, but the way it has been done, it just turns my stomach. And I don't have anything more to say than that right now.

d. **Colleen:** I similarly am not surprised, I see a clear cause and effect from the past couple of weeks and the actions taken by quite frankly, the Bread and Roses folks the last couple of days to attack Kristina after this plan was in place. This has been a constant theme for this leadership body on this term of, No, we don't need to sign good governance documents, this is ridiculous, no we don't need to have a collective communication plan, we can all just operate willy-nilly as individuals. No, you know we can like put out letters and spread lies to members about what is happening with their dues money willingly, knowingly, and just like fuck with our organization. Like this is so... I joined DSA because I saw a historic responsibility. To all the leftists in this world who have put their lives on the line to get us to where we are now. And the fact is that this organization is in such a fragile state that it's very real that we may not make it through the next 6 months. The gravity of this is very serious and it's been really concerning to me that it's been clear that this is the path we have been on for a while and some people in leadership just don't seem to recognize that. I don't know how many times we need to hear from staff over and over and over again like getting called to the carpet, like when I taught elementary school to my third graders. Like with the union on Monday, where they had to call out some of the completely unethical behavior that leaders, the bosses of this organization like some of you all. Like, what are we doing here? I am so angry, I'm so angry. I do want to put forward a next step, which I think we absolutely should have a meeting with all staff, not just the union, with all management, with everyone that's on the team with us on the NPC to come up with the collective plan to get out of it, and to get out of this situation because that's the only way that we're going to do that. If we truly believe that like workers have power, we have to respect and trust the workers who have built this organization. Every single day under extremely antagonistic circumstances for pay where, like, when I worked at a union with 9,000 members, the leadership of that union got paid more than the leadership of this organization which had at one point 90,000 members. So, yeah, I just want to put forward that all staff, all NPC meeting is the next step.

e. **Ashik:** Thanks Alex for getting on stack, I was just going to challenge you to say anything facing the people you want to lay off. And if you could speak without
checking your phone for directions from the hivemind, that'd be great. I just want to hear what you think.

f. Alex: Yeah, so, I thought I’d have another second to collect my thoughts. First of all, Ashik, I kind of take offense to that comment. I don’t know what you mean “from the hivemind”. I think that’s a pretty uncomradely thing to say and am pretty disappointed to hear that coming from a co-chair. I cannot speak to what individual B&R members who have tweeted on their own accord, I do not think that B&R as a caucus has ever personally attacked a staff member. Um, yeah, that's clear to me. I think there's a big difference between questioning the performance of staff versus personally attacking them. I think in an organization where dues are paying staff members, their personal performance is something that can be discussed by the people who are paying their salary. I do feel this is a bit of a “dogpile” on B&R, as if somehow B&R has directly caused this, which I don’t think is true. And Kristina, you said before that what you said, your resignation letter was sufficient. I personally am still confused and you know of course as much as you feel comfortable sharing but I would appreciate it if you can maybe elaborate more if that's something you'd be wanting to do.

g. Kristina: I don't, I said what I said.

h. Megan: If at any point, Kristina, you want to get on stack to say more please feel free.

i. [Sam joins the Zoom]

j. John: I will be fairly limited tonight, maybe tomorrow a little bit. The only thing I just wanted to say in relation to this is that, like, it’s absolutely important just since we are on limited time and since we lost, and are losing, like a humongous amount of internal organizational knowledge and the day-to-day knowledge of how this organization operates. Everything that's coming next, we have to be locked in, we need to be locked in and 10 toes down. The key key part is that in spite of anything else, it's just we have to be very very careful with next steps that we're going to do.

k. Cara: Yeah, Alex, you’re right in the sense that it is not a dogpile on you or on Bread and Roses specifically, because also other caucuses who have supported the statements that Bread and Roses put forward. However, you yourself posted the resolutions that you sent to the NPC, almost at the same time as you sent them to the NPC, on the discussion board. So we're not talking about Twitter, we're talking about our forums. There are multiple ways that members organize and have conversations with each other in this organization. And yes, you did, personally, yourself, put them onto the forum and then your fellow comrades, some of whom are currently on this call as well, did comment on that same thread. So this isn't coming from like one person, or like an attack on a single caucus, this is an entire ideology here that like to Colleen's point, or Renée's point earlier, is this how you believe then it is your right to believe that politically. However, what it does not
give you is the right to treat other comrades and comrades who, yes, are staff members, but they’re comrades first and foremost because they are in this movement just as much as anyone else on this call or in this organization. They put their blood, sweat, and tears into this shit just as much as any of us do, and if not, more than that because they spend 60-80-100 hours a week making sure that we can do enough shit and everyone on this NPC who gets a stipend can get paid and get their own shit. So, like it isn't coming from that specific point, but you can't say you don't know where this comes from. Realistically, you, and not just you but like Bread and Roses and this mentality that like there shouldn't be staff or it should be member-run and member-driven as if we aren't already member-run and member-driven. Like every one of these members on staff are members of DSA, and some have actually been members of DSA before they even joined staff. So like, that mentality is just, ideologically incorrect and incoherent. So what is happening here, it is very clear that these resolutions, the constant undermining and frankly gaslighting, this is gaslighting, this is treating other comrades and other people with disrespect. And creating a hostile work environment. We need to make clear and acknowledge the fact that the NPC is management. And there is currently a segment of management that is actively creating an unwelcoming, hostile work environment. That is a fact. It is not about anything else other than that.

1. [Kristin and Laura are joining the Zoom]

m. **Alex:** Well, first of all, to the point regarding the forum post Cara, the proposals were about a) meeting with the DSA staff union and b) releasing the minutes taken in an executive session. Neither of those in any way are a personal attack or creating a toxic workplace. I don’t know how it can be interpreted as that. I will say we did express a disagreement with the way that Maria resigned. Something that was said during that executive session but to be clear that was a disagreement with a decision that she made. No way was that attacking her as a person, an individual, or even as a leader. Rather, it was about one particular decision that she made. And I personally think we made a good argument for how that impacted the search for an interim National Director. I think that we, as a democratic organization and an organization where staff are funded by dues, the issue of staff is a political one. Their performance is a political one, and I think talking about that and debating that, is in no way creating a hostile working environment. So I really resent that characterization. I don’t think that is accurate at all. And I really don’t know what more there is to say. The idea that Bread and Roses is somehow the cause of this, which I think was said pretty explicitly is, I don’t know what else to say other than it’s not true to the point regarding the alleged unethical behavior. I mean, you know, I personally work for a union. I’m running for shop steward of my staff union. In no way would we ever do that. I think that people have different interpretations of
CBAs all the time, ours may be different, but to assume that that difference of interpretation is unethical is deeply, deeply bad faith.

n. **Frances:** First off, I want to say thank you Kristina for your service to the organization, thank you to all the directors on the call for your continued service to the organization. Second off, I want to say, of course it makes sense to think about performance of staff as you’re managing staff but we are doing that in public. We all have to consider that we are doing that in public in front of all of their co-workers, but we’re doing that in public in front of all members of the organization in a way that is not helpful and incredibly toxic and does create a hostile work environment. And you know, of course “there’s different interpretations of the CBA,” well you know who has different interpretations of the CBA, are often the workers who are working under it, and the bosses interpreting it. I think we need to take that kind of thing into consideration. I feel the way this whole debate has played out in public in such profoundly unthoughtful ways. The staff who work at DSA and the directors are our comrades, and they’re cadre socialist organizers and we should treat them as such. And we should hold ourselves just to higher expectations. We’ve created this organization where staff are kind of paralyzed, like we can’t make political decisions within the organization because of how we’ve structured this socialist organization. And it’s paralyzed the staff and puts us all collectively in this really awful position. I think we just need to do better.

o. **Rose:** I want to say two things. The first is that I don’t think it really matters that our interpretation of if we’re creating a hostile work environment matters. Because we’re the bosses. And so what we think doesn’t matter at all. When we have staff people going on the forum and talking about how uncomfortable they are with people discussing their jobs and all that in public and how that makes them feel bad. We should be listening to them instead of being like, oh we’re not doing it because that’s ridiculous. The second thing I want to say is that I think that our organization is on the fucking edge of a cliff and I don’t think people are taking it goddamn seriously. We’ve lost two members of staff now and I’m sure probably more are thinking of going. If this is the start of a domino effect, we are fucked because the administrative functions of our org are going to collapse, and we need to start really taking that seriously, and start to figure out how we can work with our staff to make them feel better so more resignations don’t come. If we aren’t going to do that, if we’re not going to step up as leaders, then we might as well fucking go home because I’m not gonna waste my goddamn time with all this effort, energy, and stress if we’re just going to blow up the org. And if that’s what you want to do, then you’re doing a good job. So we need to figure out how to work together to make sure that people want to keep working for DSA. It’s not going to be good if suddenly half of the staff go to other jobs. If I was them, I would be.
p. **Amy:** There’s things I could say that are, uh, anyway. I do want to echo, I know that I’ve had a lot of complaints and am certainly at times probably part of the making them uncomfortable. I do want to echo that I appreciate your time and effort and it will be a big challenge not having you here. I agree, I think, one thing we need to work on, fully agree, is understanding how we work alongside staff and membership more broadly. At the root of it, whether, in whatever regard whether it is through resignations or layoffs is staff capacity has contracted and is probably going to contract somewhat. I agree that it’s a big thing to do. Another big thing I want to try and encourage comrades to remember is that we’re all trying to do what we believe is best. Even when we have sometimes some fundamental disagreements on what they may be.

q. **Renée:** I want to respond to Alex’s feigned not knowing what Ashik is referring to, you know very well what Ashik was talking about, it’s what people have called “the Gilman rule,” which is to say that Bread and Roses’s internal caucus rules require you guys to follow the caucuses’ leadership votes, which is, you know, your right. But let’s not pretend we don’t have a long history with one another and know things about one another which have brought us all to this point. Which briefly to my broader point, which is, Alex, the feigned innocence is more of the same gaslighting we’ve experienced from you guys for the last few weeks. I understand we have a political disagreement and that’s fine to fight about, but the disinformation you guys have been pushing out around first the labor solidarity fund, and then this idea that like, I don’t know, I killed a kid on camera and I hate young people and that’s why I want to do a hiring freeze that includes the YDSA organizers. Own your shit, right? Like you guys have thought staff has been in the tank for like SMC and Groundwork for months, for years. We’ve heard it from people in your caucus, we have the Big Red emails, it’s all out there. Let’s not pretend when we’re in this executive session that we don’t know what’s happening. What I would say to you is, whatever your future vision of DSA, if you have one, you will not be able to build something out of the wreckage that is left if we continue on the path we’re on in terms of fighting the shit out in public and in terms of treating our staff like shit. Because there is a certain minimum level beyond which you will not be able to build it back up into the member-run org of your dreams. And so I would just say to you and Laura and Kristin, this is one last thing I’ll say, is that in the NPC election that brought us all here, in the run up to it I was listening in on a panel where Laura said that our electoral strategy was set by staff. And I was like, that is a lie, I was in the NEC for many years, I have been involved with the drafting of every strategy we’ve passed from the beginning, and it has all been member-driven. But I haven’t said anything or followed up on it because what can I do? I can send a tweet and say that is not true, I don't know if it's because you haven't been involved with electoral work nationally and didn't
know that or if someone in your caucus told you, but it’s not true. But it just drifted right away, right? It was something that I was enraged about and just let go because what am I going to do about it?
And it’s that kind of shit that makes me really, it makes it hard to be lectured to by you about assuming good faith or about how we’re going to conduct ourselves in these discussions because again, I understand political disagreement, and that’s fine. But the way you have waged this political disagreement has brought us to this point. And if you would just acknowledge that in any degree and express any degree of remorse, I would feel so much better about trying to figure out a solution to this problem with all of you.

r. **Ahmed**: First, Kristina, thank you for your time with DSA, you’ve done a lot of work over the years. And Maria, you as well. The org would look very different without both of you and the work you all put in. The way the budget conversation has shaped up, it sucks. It’s not productive, it’s not constructive. We’re not having real political debate. We are dragging each other through the mud on social media and the right wing media is very happily eating it up. I was trying to take a light week this week despite 10 hours of meeting with y’all, as much as I like meeting with y’all, I needed a break. But stuff kept percolating up through the filters and I see B&R tweets, I see the discussion board, I see like very uncomradely things from all sides. Like I think yesterday SMC you all put out charts and people were like having some shit flinging around that, but like, none of it matters. Whether I agree or disagree, we have the forums. The tone this has taken is not very good. Right now I hope we take a breath and figure out what we’re going to do. We need to find a path forward having just lost Maria and Kristina. We need to figure out how to transition and if we’re going to have discussion about political vision, in this political scenario, then I don’t see a happy resolution to figure out political agreement. Maybe we can shift gears and focus on what we can actually do from this position, and please less yelling.

s. **Laura**: The criticism that has been brought up so far that I’ve seen brought up in public spaces towards staff on the director level has been, I think mild in comparison to what could have been said, and totally within the bounds of acceptable discourse in a democratic organization. It’s something that I would defend in my union. And I’m proud that our org matured to the point where we can discuss openly what direction we want to have and the role that directors play in setting the direction of our organization. And for those of you who disagree with that you’re going to have to learn to co-exist with members who believe that, like me. We are also elected leaders and it is inappropriate to say that we are not allowed to criticize or question the actions of people who have immense power in our organization. So, that isn’t really going to change and I want to have a dialogue with people on how to mitigate the downsides of that, but fundamentally that is a
democratic right. It's incredibly inappropriate the way the tone and content of this meeting has developed. I'm really disappointed in both of our national co-chairs for not stepping in and taking the opportunity to de-escalate and maybe try to lead with more magnanimity or at least understanding that my actions, or Alex's actions or Kristin's actions or anyone's actions who has the audacity to criticize someone in power the outcomes of this meeting is not inappropriate, or at least it's debatable. I'm really disappointed with the outcome of this meeting and I don't think this is a productive discussion anymore and I don't really think there's any point in continuing this meeting.

t. **Kristin:** I'm going to second everything that Laura said and I'm also not interested in getting into a back and forth about who's meaner online because I think no one in this meeting is not guilty of being mean online, or in person, or talking behind people's backs, etc. But you're using this opportunity of crisis to do what you've always wanted to do, which is to get into a meeting and scold B&R and raise your voice and say nasty things about us saying all the things we know that you say behind our backs in a meeting and it's wildly inappropriate. Our political positions have a base in this organization. When you yell at us, you're saying the same thing to every single person who holds our position and it's not just people in our caucus, we have a broad base among membership. We were elected to carry out a vision of the organization as a membership-led organization as a democratic organization and when we take meetings behind closed doors to scold the people who hold those positions, who dare to say maybe the director level staff has a little too much power in the organization, that is not inappropriate. This meeting has been building for years because we have again and again and again criticized the structure of this organization where the elected leaders are treated like children who go play in a sandbox while every director level staff makes decisions and keep information from us because we can't be trusted to make decisions. We know what has happened on past NPCs because we have a continuity and a historical memory of it. We have tons of receipts that we have not put out because we are worried about what would happen if we put those out. We in fact have had a massive amount of restraint in the things that we have said and put out publicly. And you can talk to anyone on the last NPC or the NPC before that. And so, blaming one particular caucus or part of the organization for the crisis that we are in and taking no responsibility of your own when your caucuses are the ones who had a ruling majority before we were in a position to have this level of influence at all is really just completely irresponsible. This is not a productive meeting, there's no way this meeting is going to be productive because it's very clear that the interest here is to one up and say all the mean and nasty things that you've always wanted to say. There's really no purpose in us to stay on this meeting if the rest of this stack is just
going to be people raising their voice and scolding us because you’re not our parents and you're not our bosses and don't get to talk to us like that.

**Maria:** I just want to remind you that it’s not just humanity 101, it's also supervision 101, you don't give negative feedback to someone in front of their peers, let alone 90,000 people. I don't know if you've been in jobs where you've been publicly humiliated by your boss, but that happens all the time in DSA to practically everyone on staff and I put up with it for 12 years and it's gotten worse and worse. And I finally said, you know what, I don't want to be blamed for structural problems in this organization. Now the structural problems I think are different from what you guys in Bread and Roses think, I think every caucus has their own critiques and I honestly used to be the person who thought that every caucus had like a really legitimate argument. And we could build a political synthesis and something new on the American left, that every caucus brought something important to the table that was worth engaging with. But my point is, that's not how you manage staff because it gets you bad results. It is about being nice people and treating each other like comrades but it’s also even about the results for the organization. Public humiliation does not get anything out of workers, okay? I used to be a union organizer, I am very familiar with this. I tried to organize my first workplace out of college and anyway, this is just insane. That is the first thing I wanted to say. The second thing is that you guys characterize this as public debate when this is a very practical conversation about what works, and this is not how you talk about staff/members. You guys have a $5 million organization, you have a staff of like, 33 now at this point. People expect to be treated with dignity and if you don't treat people with dignity, they're not going to give you the results that you want. It just doesn't work. It's not how the world works, it's not how humans work, and it's not how you can run a national organization. That's my opinion and that is my analysis of what just happened in this organization. And there's a reason why I didn't write a screed when I resigned because that's not what members need. They need stability and political leadership. You guys are the political leaders. I was trying to make space for you to be political leaders. People are terrified of Trump, of climate change, they’re terrified of the future. And we're fighting over this bullshit. I mean, i'm not even going to talk about the stability we could have had, it's passed, we've lost that opportunity. But you guys, the members need political vision. It’s frankly something I told the last NPCs, you guys need to have a more political leadership role with the membership. They need political leadership. You need to decide what you can agree on, you need to focus on that, you need to organize members, you need to be talking to every chapter. And treating your staff like this, it's not going to get you the results and it's going to alienate members and it's time that you've not spent being political leaders.
v. [while Maria was speaking, Alex, Kristin, and Laura left; Alex typed in the chat: “This meeting is no longer in good faith and I will be leaving”]

w. **Luisa**: Say this as someone who doesn't have a caucus, so I don't have as much insight in the past and not here to protect any group of people. Other than political differences, which are fine to have, this is a group of folks who have a hard time letting go of grudges. This is a middle class thing, I've never seen it, it's just something I've noticed, this is something we need to work on as a group more than anything. We can have debates, that's good, but making a good faith effort to let go of the past is something from an outside perspective is what's clear to me. I've been reaching out to Frances for us to do at the February NPC meeting strategies on how to work together but in a marriage perspective, which is funny, but you can't hold grudges in marriage. That's one way of approaching it. Embedding into these meetings, we can fight, but can we at least do some social-emotional skill building? If you guys are open to it, again, I'm happy to approach these to try novel approaches because we just have to figure out how to let shit go. It's every meeting. I'm just like Ahmed, I'm not on twitter I dont give a shit about twitter, when I hear about it it's because someone else told me. Try hard to let go of the past and be open to utilizing tools. I know the B&R folks also need to hear this and I would ask folks who have relationships with them to please ask them to just give it a college try for the February meeting if they end up coming because I don't talk to them. But again, for those of you who do, I know you all have voted as a bloc, we've voted with you, that could be at least one step towards trying to make this a group who can work collaboratively. So that's all I wanted to say.

x. **Cara**: I really appreciate what Maria and Luisa said. I thought back to when all of us first applied to even run for NPC and we had that massive questionnaire that, I don't know if you all stayed up until the very last moment to submit it but I definitely did, but there was one question in particular that I think is probably the most important question that we all had to fill out, which asked us about our view of collective leadership and what does that mean. And this is a question we all answered, or at least someone helped us write it, but we put words on paper and they were submitted and members saw it. We all answered that question. But one thing I haven't seen, and a lot of us have tried! A lot of us have tried! Like I know I tried really hard to get a couple of comms proposals pushed through that encouraged us coming together as an NPC to figure out like, okay, there's groups who have been left out of the comms conversation before, how do we bring them in? How do we make sure that we can have strong political leadership that we can give direction to lead outwardly and inwardly to our members as well. And there were lots of disagreements and that's fine and that's normal. Right? Like, I think every single one of us have our own opinions, even those of us in caucuses, we all have our own thoughts and our own variations, we're not the Borg. But I think that...
is one thing, and Luisa you hit the nail on the head, there are grudges that had not been let go of. But I do think there is still fundamentally, it takes all of us to work towards that. But, there are grudges that are not just grudges. These are arguments that are pushed forward as political conversations that are actually deeply personal and deeply, deeply impacting everyone's existence in this org. I know members of B&R have talked shit about me but haven't talked to me directly. Laura posted a tweet about me personally, and I know there are members of my own chapter who are in side chats talking about me. There is a serious problem with folks who like to think that politics and personal differences are entirely separate, but I think when they are so conveniently blurred, that it makes it really hard to then say well, this is how i'm feeling because your actions are impacting me this way, that all of a sudden that becomes a political disagreement and you just have to deal with it. That is not a political disagreement, that is a personal disagreement that is masked as political. But grudges are one part, there is also history there that has led us to this point where we're at. A lot of us are Marxists, and we do have to look through and say, history is what gets us to where we are now. You can't ignore decisions that have been made in the past, they compound upon each other and that is where we are right now. We are at an inflection point. Like Rose said earlier, we're looking at over a million dollar deficit. There are serious questions at hand that are going to be deeply impactful and painful for every single one of us. We have a responsibility as leaders to treat each other with respect, that includes staff, unit, director, management, everyone.

y. Megan: Can people who have already spoken keep it to two min?

z. Renée: Motion is to finish stack for people who have not spoken yet, then consider next steps, then adjourn.
   i. Colleen second.

aa. Sam: Are there rules for this meeting?

bb. Megan: There are no rules. We can't vote on organizational stuff. Only procedural stuff. I dunno. I haven't had a day off since Christmas break.

cc. Evan: Can we refer the parliamentary question to a meeting less heated? Maybe just close out stack and end.

dd. Megan: Let's do that with no objections.

e. Renée: The vote right now that I am proposing, and I'm happy to withdraw if the folks don't want to do this at this point. It would make sense for us to close this meeting, then to have a meeting with all staff as soon as possible. My understanding is that tomorrow would not be a good day as many of the staff are taking a mental health day, which is something I wish our comrades in Bread and Roses were here to hear, but I think next week would make sense.

ff. Megan: Gonna go with what Renée said about closing the stack about hearing from those who haven't spoken.
gg. Evan: This meeting was a lot to walk into. I feel like as someone kinda not involved in any of the major formations here, like I obviously saw a lot of the tensions, I didn't see the forum post mentioned here, but I do wish we could have handled this in a clearer way, with outcomes. Obviously Kristina I understand where you're coming from. At least to me, I wish we could have come into this aiming for outcomes. I think whatever you think about other folks on this body, this didn't feel productive. I'd also say I'm really sorry if my actions online have upset people. I know I'm not always the best at it. I try to tow the line between political debate like I think a lot of us do. I also know some members in many factions and sections of this organization definitely got carried away with the things they said and said things to people on this body disagree with. I think it's a difficult thing, but yeah, I apologize. I really do respect all of you as organizers and as people. I haven't been in this org for long enough to know the deep lore and a lot of these debates that brought us here but I still have a lot of hope for where we can go. I think we're going to figure this out and I think we're in a position where we have to act that way, even if we feel deeply about other people on this body. We're going to need to proceed with them. I don't have a horse in this race, but I don't imagine this bodes well for the things we have to do if we can't simply feel this way about people in private and move forward with straight deliberative points.

hh. Ashik: We're past the hour. Thank you all for staying past this time. I just want to say over the past term that we've had so far. I think I've had lots of conversations with each one of you, including ones who I have like pretty obvious disagreements with, but work on at any given moment. That's the spirit in which we have to work together. I know this is something I've spoken with Megan about as we have factions who have people who just like hate each other, and we're just respecting each other enough in our organization to try to lead by example and get it through this period where we're coming into this budget crisis, all these major things happening in an election year. We're going to face the full repressive apparatus of the state and that's what we need to get through together. I planned this meeting to be talking about how we fundraise a cool million dollars to fund our shit. A lot of you got things in the budget that we now have to pay for. And I've talked to many of you about that. Like, Evan, we talked about how after you posted your tweet thread putting me and others on blast for voting against your thing, how I'm going to help do that. I'm fine with losing votes and I hope I've demonstrated to many of you that I will help follow through on things that are the collective will of the body, you know, and that's the spirit in which we have to demonstrate collective leadership. This is about more than any individual one of us, I'm sad that our comrades in Bread and Roses left early so they couldn't help us follow through on this. I'll honestly just say there's a reason why I'm the only one who stayed from the old NPC. There's a lot I could say about our last term, especially in relation to questions
around elected leadership and what we do, what members do, what staff do that’s very relevant to how we move forward in this period that I want us to make space to talk about. And, whoever left early said something about receipts, honestly there are lots of receipts from the last term that were not shared that I think we would benefit from talking about—in an executive session—because frankly, there’s a lot that I and others could have said from previous terms that we didn’t publicly or even to members, because we don’t want that leaked directly to the right wing like the NY Post or Fox News, unlike some folks on this body. That’s all stuff I’m saying not in the interest of airing grudges, but because there are disagreements that are taking the form of political disagreements, that are actually based on other weird shit that, at least to the rest of you as leaders on this body I would share the minutes and recordings that have happened, that I think a lot of former members of NPC from various factions probably have not shared with the members of this body of those factions. Those of you who genuinely in good faith want the members to do more, I think you’re going to need help from staff, any who are remaining and willing to stick around after this shit, because there’s a lot of institutional knowledge that you’re going to need to figure out how to distribute things better. So that’s what we need to figure out together. Like, I’ll do whatever I can in this period, but I just gotta say I talked to Megan about this and like we’re here to be the hype people for DSA, we’re not going to get bogged down in all this administrative stuff, which frankly the Bread and Roses members don’t seem to understand, repeatedly, what it actually takes to run an organization, and I’ll say that to them, I’ll say it publicly. So whatever format you all think we need to have these conversations in let’s do it. As members of this org, we really need to level with each other.

ii. **Sam:** One thing we do need to reconcile that some people agree with a lot of what B&R was saying. I think there’s questions about the organizational structure that leads you to approach it in a particular way but I think that’s a political reality that we have to acknowledge and coexist and create collective cultures of how to operate under those political analyses that are like, correct and productive, and I think this week was a moment where I don't think that happened. I want to remind everyone that we have to make some big decisions very quickly, it seems like we did not make them tonight. But I think people need to be thinking like what is the very short-term question before us with respect to national staff leadership and then what is the medium or longer term? Are they the same? Are they different? We need to actually reckon with the choices we have to make, we need to have ideas, we need to talk about them with the org and we need to talk about them with each other about what the next steps are.

jj. **Megan:** Ashik and I will try, a couple of people have called on us for leadership, and we will do our damndest. I will tell you right now that the possible worst use of me
in this organization is a staff manager. There are a million things that I could do better than looking through spreadsheets and seeing who did their timecards. That is not something I personally would have run for as co-chair. We're supposed to be out there growing our work and developing our org and getting people excited to be in our org. If you wanna use me on time sheets, all right, but it's going to take me six hours to do that would take Kristina 15 minutes to do. I know a few people have been like “Megan and Ashik, you could fill in Maria's job!” – I would not recommend that pathway forward. Reality is, we have all seen the budget numbers. Staff knows, when we met with the unit the other night, that layoffs are likely on the table, it is not a mystery. There are ways to do it with dignity and respect and with kindness and with including our comrade staffers in the decisions that are being made. And there are ways to alienate them and everyone else at the same time and I'm not sure if we have threaded that particular needle and I would like to see us try. We don't have to pretend things aren't true that are true, it's not wishcasting an org we're not in. We're running out of money but it doesn't mean we treat people badly.

kk.

End Time: 9:27 pm ET