

CARTON 1.54

THE GUARDIAN

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY - AUG-NOV, 1967  
NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION, MCKISSICK  
PRESS CONFERENCE ON AFRICA TRIP, BYC CONFERENCE,  
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, NOTEBOOK

BROWN, RAP

2017/193  
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SDS - N8A Convention

McKissick Press Conf re Africa trip

Rup Brown Press Conf 8/18/67

BYC Conference (Baltimore?) NOV 1967

*Novick*

PARAMOUNT QUALITY

STENO-BOOK

SELECTED

*Smooth-writing*  
PAPER



NO \_\_\_\_\_

Guardian Notes 1967

STENOGRAPHER

FROM

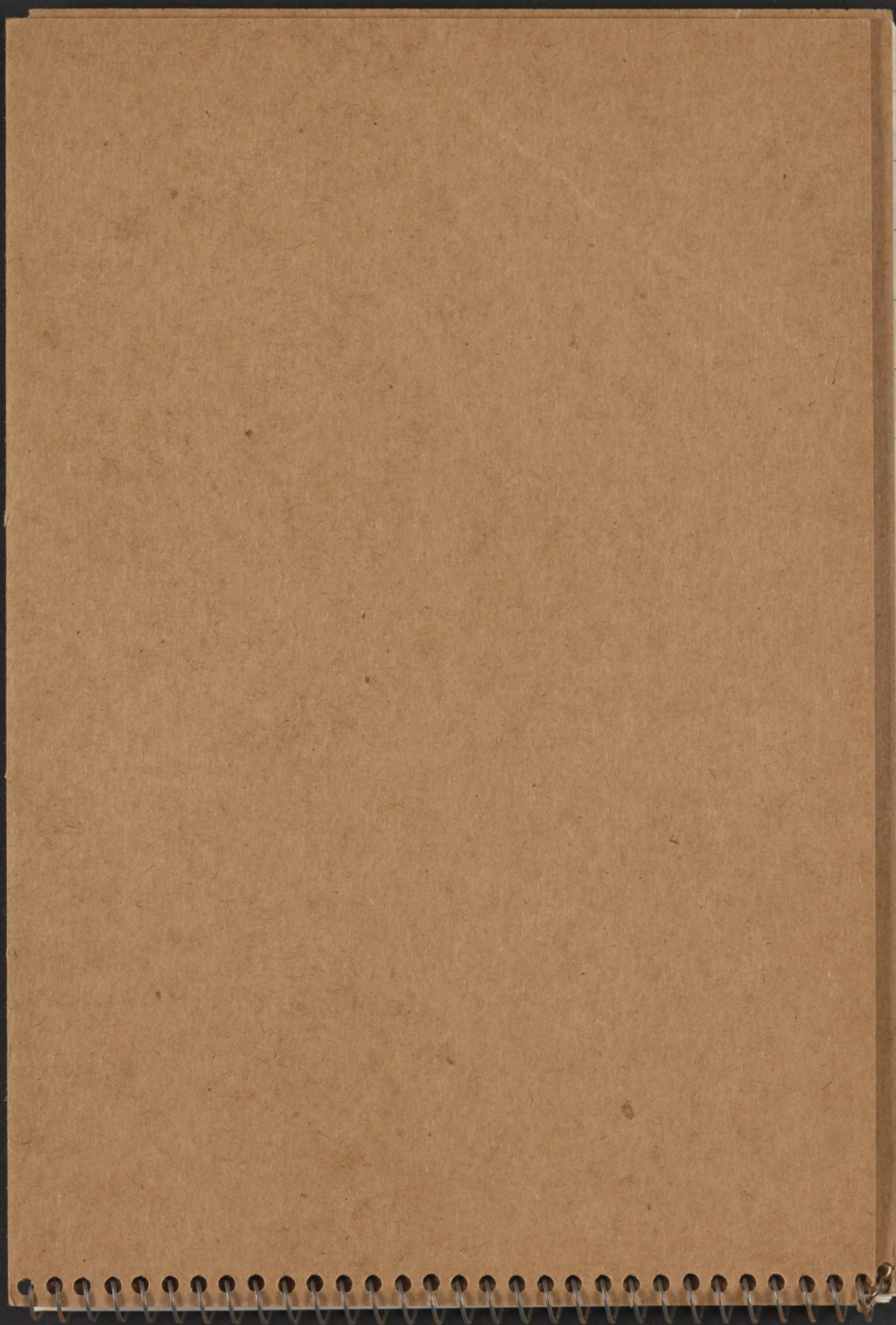
August, Nov

TO \_\_\_\_\_

No. P 29

PITMAN RULED







Jeff Jones 8/13/67

Delegate strength 25 people  
Stern, Hopkins, Ridgeway  
'Secrecy in a free society'  
first symposium he offers  
NSA of same name.

Put out one issue of  
SDS newsletter to be  
published every <sup>evening</sup> ~~day~~ during  
while SDS kids at convention  
~~convention~~ and contains schedule  
for next day's activities and  
"relevant articles that are  
written here <sup>(at the convention)</sup> on issues that  
come up at the debates that  
we're having" 200 at  
symposium 1,500 delegates

---

N.Y. area coordinator



"That doesn't speak well for  
our symposium except that  
people ~~were~~ listening at this one  
and the other one was held  
in sort of Democratic Party  
convention style with people  
walking around the floors  
and stuff like that. So we're  
very happy with the first  
night's activity.

Dick Gregory scheduled  
to make a presentation Monday  
even on CIA and students  
for SDS. C-C. our biggest event  
we're going to have.

Plan for rest of week  
is to continue meeting with



individuals delegates to deal  
with them about "the alternatives  
that exist to NSA."

4 more symposia scheduled  
"Crisis in Higher ed"  
"Civil rights and the ghetto  
revolts"

Next Tuesday night to have  
Staughton Lynd and Marcus  
Roshin speaking.

Others to inform events for  
NSA: Nick Eyberg. opened  
and to speak for SPS.

Oglesby, <sup>and</sup> Barth. refused.

Other speakers for SPS: Todd  
Aitlin, Carl Davidson, Richard  
Meisler, Antioch College prof.



Experimental College set up  
NSA Convention (2 wks)

plenary session Sunday  
motion introduced to discuss  
structure of organization but  
tabled indefinitely.

Probable resolution to  
dissolve org. today. May  
pass.

Radical caucus in NSA  
which wants to lead a  
mass withdrawal of student  
govts from NSA. Plan eventually  
to work toward national  
ind. student union and  
democratizing local student govts.  
in congress.



SDS supporting Rochford  
Caucus work but not directly  
involved

SDS delegation includes,  
Carlson, Davidson, Moore  
Steiner, Jones, John Fairst  
others from U. of Md.  
Chapman and N.Y.C. and  
Chicago.



MS Kissick ~~release~~ 8/17  
press conf..

Africa trip only (won't answer other  
questions) <sup>key</sup> Lums, Usery (also  
went to office) Evans <sup>1st</sup> Vice  
Chairman Cleveland, Ohio.

"knowledge of oneself, self  
image and identity" one aspect  
of black power. trip to  
improvement CORE conv. re. to  
such ties with Africa.

1. political power 2. economic

power main thing learned

"there's no question about our  
assoc. with Africa. I am an  
African" talk, learn and  
think the same.



position on King vs SNCC  
(arming of blacks). answer comes  
out of COKE's C get.

"I do not believe that  
nonviolent demonstration on the  
answer to the problem or else  
it would have been solved  
long ago." "We got to  
work in concentrated programs  
to solve the problem  
Violence is going to be  
with us as long as we  
have the system we have  
and the oppression." "The  
govt sets the pattern for  
violence (in Vietnam) not COKE  
or blacks."



want to bring blk people  
together in a solid political  
block.

In next seven years will be  
at least 10 cities where  
blks will be majority.

Wouldn't comment on SNCC  
anti-semitic position. would  
have later conf. comm. relations <sup>press sec.</sup> print  
Callie M. Brown, wouldn't  
let me answer such questions.

McK said CKE opposed to  
anti-semitism.

Said ~~to~~ philosophy and ideas  
of blacks and opinions the same.  
"I think that I'm a blk  
man first. I learned that I  
was a black man before I learned  
that I was an ass."



Ivana Hellinger, Floyd's  
Secretary



wants blk people to be  
able to "participate in the  
economic system of this country"  
thru <sup>business</sup> technical ~~consistent~~ assistance  
program for blks.

COKE has said "that  
rebellions will continue until  
some changes are made. There's  
no pt in trying to put  
Dr. King on the spot or me  
on the spot. These people  
(in ghettos) are going to act  
on the basis of what they feel"

Called for Swahili to  
be taught as "blk language."



Ray Brown press conf. 8/18/67

Julius Lester, Ralph Featherstone  
Stonby Wisc.

~~had state for all people holiday~~  
~~Stonby &~~  
return in "next couple of weeks"  
probably. Not true about Brent  
SNCC meeting about Stonby

"Victory should be obtained  
by any means necessary. The  
people should decide the tactics  
to be used" would support  
guerrilla tactics if this  
decided. Said Lynching  
Johnson and conditions  
determine response of all  
people. "We are nonviolent  
in the face of nonviolence"



Feather: how serious ~~not~~  
funds from Arabs

Anti-Zionist not anti-  
semitic position taken in  
speeches. Don't think  
Zionist has right to land  
in Palestine.

"We're not anti-Jew  
& we're not anti-semitic"

Feather: "Jewish stores  
in ghettos are exploiting  
the people"

Brown: "White man has  
a longer ~~history~~ history of  
anti-semitism than all  
America"

Feather: wanted to intensify  
struggle and come to UN.



"We want to control our communities. Doesn't have to be removed from rest of the country" Brown

"Blk people have realized that rebellion is a tactic" and have legitimized it as such.

Carmichael's statements. by SWCC view

What Carmichael is doing is "internationalizing ~~the~~ struggle" Lester: "Liberation is international" asked if anti-capitalist "I think, you could say that, yes" "I don't think it's any accident that every country that goes into rebellion struggles to liberate" Brown but



blk struggle not yet at  
stage of ~~change~~ "adjoining  
ourselves to a system"

"If you people ever become  
civilized possibly we could  
share the country" Brown.

Said Bikel not member  
of SNCC

When do you get your money?

"Well you see we own  
CBS" asked about winning  
Guerrilla war "We wouldn't  
understand it unless we thought  
we could win. The object  
is to win, 'vato' asked if  
get money from racist 'It's  
hard to tell. We get it  
in the mail and it's



all green. & they don't  
always sign their names."

Sid Goldwater a "1x carot  
fool"



~~6/17~~

BYC

~~6/10~~

NOV 25, 1967

Politics Workshop

Baltimore, Maryland

Government

Law

{ Principles  
Institutions  
process

Authority

Power

U.S. govt is based on white power  
and exploitation. i.e. "to work for  
black ind. politics move to work  
for a black ind. govt."

"Blk people are moving to the position  
of not recognizing the loss of the U.S.  
govt, which means we do not  
recognize the authority of this  
cracker to control our lives"



Power (a) ability to injure one's will  
on another (b) ability to equalize  
the force of another.

"When I talk about rebellion in  
a revolutionary context I'm talking  
about the ~~fact~~ the quickest means  
for the people to get their own  
govt, not how to maneuver  
in the courts" or work within  
the political system

However "until we are able to  
develop our ind govt we have to  
deal with U.S. govt" "We do this  
not because we believe in it but  
because it is a physical, practical  
every day thing which we have  
to learn to use."



# Political Philosophy

1. ideology, principles, institutions, processes
2. Ethic - Ideal / Values / Behavior
3. agency - <sup>organization</sup> objectives methods
4. Theory - man, society, history

ideal is to have a communal way of life within our ind. folk nation. We feel that communism is a better system than capitalism

"We want a nation inside the U.S."

3 requirements for nation of agriculture  
b) industry c) Trade - So logical place is in South in Mississippi where lines are already drawn. Must start migration of young black men back to South



Walter Lively opposed move to Miss. because it would perpetuate colonial status only now it would be external. Because Miss. is least developed state.

Leader said he didn't believe we can really control any industrial areas of U.S.

Another person said separation could come only after a revolution. Leader agreed with this (particularly guerrilla warfare)

Leader said hope we were beyond mere "letting" us do things. "We got to do something even if it's the wrong thing!"

Emphasized need for unity of organization



Bof argued for the ultimate goal of setting up a black political organization which can wield a balance of power and negotiate for black people.

Leader said ultimate goal should be to get a nation. Said when look at history the strongest nations were ~~born~~ <sup>because they had ultimate goal based upon</sup> notion of Islam. Objected that they haven't reached their goals.

DuBois called for socialist <sup>and unity of working class</sup> revolution. The only way you can bring change in this country is thru <sup>and union gun ban capitalism</sup> the working class and revolution.

Historical Spiralism — accepts Marx's dialectics but not possibility of utopian communist society.



Agreed the racism goes  
from capitalism because the  
white man sees his relation  
to capital in social terms.  
The white man is ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> born  
evil but he is born into  
a social system which breeds  
racism. There is not a  
person in this country who is  
not a racist. "We can't  
unite <sup>[with whites]</sup> along class lines because  
class has become race. All  
black people belong to the  
same class. So when you  
talk abt class unity you're  
talking abt black unity."  
You can't talk abt



socialism in this country with  
white people because if you  
do then you'll end up like  
all these other socialists:  
heartbroken."

Said black people all broadly  
in exploited class. "We ain't  
no bankers, we're just runners."

Said civil rights meant now and  
were moving toward nationalism  
(and socialism) and Dubois

"Communist" retorted back "you're  
right, brother, we're just using  
different terms") called for  
getting away from immediate  
demands and determine ultimate  
goals.



"The greatest deterrent to communism  
as Marx saw it is nationalism"  
and the reality must be dealt  
with.

(Had called for blk unity but  
said best we can do now is  
have conferences)

"Among the people in the  
blk power movement there is no  
clear agreement on ultimate  
goals" [Lively] called for  
agreement on intermediate and  
immediate goals. to alleviate  
division within group.

Another bro. said can't talk  
abt socialism without dealing  
with racism.



"Why don't whites set up  
liberation schools in the white  
communities to liberate them from  
racism".

Leads <sup>+ others</sup> exposed to distrust of  
white race who will become  
<sup>+ peace movement</sup>  
"shaky" when going gets rough  
as fascism increases.

Lively pushed for discussion of  
intermediate goals so that discussion  
could continue rather than back up  
on ultimate goals.

Lively said must moving toward  
parallel forms of organization in  
black & white community. organization  
of groups that struggle for several  
intermediate goals. this will



led to some separation of  
rows. "That struggle itself  
will help us understand our  
ultimate goals" A man who  
hasn't developed his experience  
and self-confidence in struggle  
is not apt to build a nation  
or socialism. Called for work  
to fight for local power  
in neighborhood organizing not as  
goal in itself but to gain  
experience and make possible  
achieving all ultimate goals.

Someone asked if blacks should participate  
in present system. Loving replied  
that blacks must build an  
"alternative system" — a independent  
community, state or nation



in which people control the  
means of production. Now  
I'm not sure abt the relation  
of the roots within that  
kind of system. So I must  
start immediate organizing which  
must in some sense be within  
the system: "you must get  
into a thing where guys who  
live on a block can conceive  
of controlling that block" over  
to extent of ~~of~~ throwing out  
cops. "We must first develop  
a sense of our territory within  
the system."

pushed off violence. Lively  
endowed selective terrorism, selective  
guerrilla warfare.



Leaders called for <sup>educators, politicians, etc</sup> overt and  
covert organization, latter would be <sup>(violent, such)</sup>  
in control of whole because "people  
in an overt org. tend to slip  
back into the system."

Lively said that when a black  
organization can show black people  
that they don't have to be <sup>totally</sup> dependent  
on whites (self-reliance) then  
can win people to national  
struggle. We're trying to develop  
the prerequisites for self-reliance  
at local level as means of  
building ~~national~~ nation-wide  
struggle. Suggested that blk  
revolutionaries might make deal with  
white revolutionaries to split country  
after revolution.



1/11/19

"white man stole the land  
from our brothers. i. we have  
a moral imperative to rescue  
the land from our oppressors."

"once we decide what our  
objective is then we can unite  
around that objective" In meetings  
can have operational unity on  
basis of opposition to common  
enemy.



Leader and nationalists should  
get together and work alliances  
with black socialist, etc.

Albert Kimani } "The working  
Class is  
reactionary"  
from Wash, D.C. } by back

Evening plenary session devoted  
to politics

Kerron "Never smash existing social order until you can develop an alternative."

Use it." attitude toward Staley & Hatcher? — 1) Kbdy suggest in return for benefits 2) Throsten violence makes relations grant certain concessions Both should be done at once.

Watson attached electoral politics  
as irrelevant, and ideology must be



"fused out of struggle". long with  
to write it out in chrome.

"Some people are talking abt black  
Korean and other people are talking abt  
revolutionary black power." John also  
spoke of internal class contradictions  
within black ~~comm~~ <sup>movement</sup>.

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Walter Lively  
1042 W. Broadway  
Baltimore, MD  
276-4005

USJW / ind. politics / ran for  
city council

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## Points

1. Goals many kinds

a) Nation    b) socialism    c) ind. black

pol. org.    d) goals must arise from struggle

2) Work within system?

~~3) Violence~~

4) class contradictions, white working class - racism.

The conf brought together diverse groups with differing ideologies. What binds them together, in the words of one delegate, is "generational unity". That is, common oppression and opposition to a common enemy, combined with the <sup>present</sup> ~~fact~~ that are <sup>presently</sup> ~~also~~ but <sup>potentially</sup> ~~potentially~~ equally compelling and more positive unity might be forged among black militants in the not-too-distant future.



