The meeting was called to order by the chairman, John Lewis, with remarks on the seriousness of the revolution in which SNCC is engaged and the basic decisions that must be made by SNCC.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Reports

The Executive Committee received reports to be acted on in the course of the meeting:

1. Worth Long: Office
   The move to new offices and attempts at standardizing procedures represent the move of SNCC to a full fledged organization. Questions of office functioning and staff will be taken up with personnel committee.

2. Julian Bond: Field Reports
   a. Gadsden: There has been little progress despite demonstrations. Decision must be made whether to keep staff in this project.
   b. Fayette County: Walter Tillow and other staff members have been working here. John Lewis spoke there, also. Demonstrations have been repulsed. Walter Tillow will be leaving.
   c. Americus: (Mike Bayer reported)
      Situation there is serious. 3 SNCC workers face death penalty with no bond plus $40,000 peace bond. Police brutality has been serious. FBI announced they found no brutality. The school is being boycotted. Press will not pick story up. C.B. King, lawyer from Albany, has suggested a march to Andersonville, 10 miles from Americus, in protest.
   d. Albany (Charles Sherrod reported):
      City Council still won't move. The indictment of the Albany 9 is serious. None of the civil rights organizations will take a moral stand. Jim Monsonis is to work on publicity for the case. Americus Sherrod suggested prayer pilgrimage to Americus to protest both Americus and Albany situations.

   Discussion on the Albany and Americus situations opened several suggestions: Mel Wolf of the ACLU has offered their services in indictments. A publication might be developed on the two towns with indictment of federal government for action in Albany and inaction in Americus. Thus far fact sheets have been prepared and the parents of the people in jail in Americus have written their congressmen. We should move more rapidly on legal situations: bring in lawyers if local man is too busy, ask immediately in situations like this for writ of habeas corpus. A press conference should be held in Atlanta for the students who have been jailed.

3. Cambridge: Reggie Robinson
   The agreement which was signed has not been implemented. He did not feel there was a need for a full-time field secretary there now. Suggested we set up fund-raising program around Cambridge. There was some discussion about whether to keep a SNCC person there, as some people felt there was much work to do. Personnel committee asked to decide.
4. Savannah: Bruce Gordon

Gordon reported on various difficulties encountered in Savannah: need for more rapid office action and longer hours, need for clearer directives on relationships with other groups, need for clearer lawyers advice, need for training of staff on how to relate to local movement. He made several suggestions for local work: asking AFL to send someone in, setting up fund raising programs in local communities, helping set up secretarial staff for lawyers, setting up bonding committee to work under lawyer. He also urged organizing now for 1964 and that someone in office be assigned to receive and acknowledge reports and give advice when it is asked for. He was asked to make a written report including his suggestions.

5. March on Washington: Eleanor Holmes

Eleanor asked that we continue our relation to the March Committee and attempt to keep the emphasis of the committee focused on the broad demands of the March. She was recommended by Courtland Cox to replace him as our representative on the Committee.


Jan. 1- July 31, 1963: Total receipts $142,208.03
Cash payments $116,518.73
Cash balance $25,689.30

Betty presented recommendations from the finance department in reference to field personnel. She added to that a memo was needed on maintenance of cars and transferring of titles. This task was assigned to Ivanhoe Donalson.

(See Recommendation #1 for report)

7. Southeast Atlanta: Debbie Amis

(See recommendation #2 for report)

8. Danville, Va.; Ivanhoe Donalson

SNCC moved into Danville in early June. From 500 demonstrators jailed and 63 hospitalized little has been gained. Today the issue is whether Negroes have the right to walk the streets. Since June, however, 800 people have registered to vote. Arrests have been made since after March but not right before.

Suggested program: Economic boycott of Dan River Mills.
Problems: people coming through when not expected; office should let field staff know when visitors are arriving. White field secretaries should work out programs within white community.

Farmville: Difficulties developed here with the NAACP and field staff moved out.

9. Friends of SNCC: Sandra Hayden

(see recommendations #3 for report)

Additional suggestions: Need to involve Negroes in support groups
Need to keep check on field secretaries going North and let Friends groups know in advance they are coming.

10. Jessie Harris: Jackson, Miss.

Action there proceeded well, but there were great conflicts with NAACP, including keeping SNCC personnel out of strategy meetings.

11. Mississippi: Bob Moses

(see recommendations #4)

12. Personnel Committee
Personnel Committee report was postponed until minutes of last meeting could be produced.

13. Discussion of Intergroup Relations #n/staff: Ruby Doris Smith (see Recommendation #5)

There is feeling within the staff that we have some field situations overloaded with white workers (i.e., Albany) and that this reflects a more general problem that we are not making a real effort to recruit Negroes. We need to define our goal and recruit and place staff in keeping with our goals.

Discussion:

We must remember that people know about the Atlanta office and will come down to work. There has been discussion in the office about the role of the white student. Students who come down to Atlanta should be put to work.

However, some students have been sent to the field just to get them out of the office.

Whites should be used in the white community where possible.

Whites must observe strict discipline while working.

Much of this must be solved by the personnel committee.

They must present plan for recruiting on Negro campuses and Friends groups, must be broadened to include Negro youth in the North.

It was moved and accepted by consensus that the recommendations of the Southern Campus Coordinator be accepted and broadened and that the personnel committee hire for next summer, giving priority to Negro applicants and filling jobs that are needed only.

(see Recommendation #6)

Proposals that have been accepted already to meet this need were discussed: 1. Work-study project: students from Miles and Tougaloo Colleges will work a year and have tuition maid to study for a year.

2. United Civil Rights Organization fund will furnish $15,000 on which SNCC people can draw for returning to school.

3. Tougaloo, Morehouse, and West Virginia state have money earmarked for scholarships. We can solicit money to be sent directly there on which students can draw to return to school. These projects will allow Negro students to take time from school and have funds available for returning to school.

It was moved and accepted by consensus that thoughts on the role of the white student should be brought in in writing for discussion in the next session.

New Proposals

Mississippi Project—See recommendation # 4

Rationale: The Justice Department is now arguing in a statewide suit that Mississippi Negroes need not take a literacy test in order to vote because the state has not given them an education. They are, in other words, prepared to argue for universal suffrage in Mississippi.

The civil rights organizations have argued that Mississippi is an iceburg and must be cracked from the outside.
SNCC has operated on the premise that the state must be cracked from the inside. The time for that is now.

Further, Mississippi dramatizes the problems of the entire nation. Economic problems there are bad but the whole country suffers from essentially the same problems.

Further, Mississippi is as bad as it is racially only because of the Negro-white ratio. The situation could be this bad anywhere this ratio prevailed.

The time is now for this move because of the
1) Justice Department suits
2) the Presidential election--the right to vote can be highlighted by that election
3) Must move now to get action by '67
4) By '67 if we are not ready Negroes will have left the state and the possibility of really cracking the state rather than losing it will have been lost. They are leaving now because of lack of money and general pattern of their lives.

The adoption of this program would mark a qualitative change in SNCC program in Mississippi. First people were taken down to see if they could register and then coached to be able to be literate enough to vote. Last winter the policy was changed and everyone was urged to go down even if they were not literate. Now SNCC in Miss. is telling people to prepare themselves for political take-over. The state will not crack without federal intervention: it will probably take troops to register voters in Mississippi. Proposal would force a breakdown so that the government is forced to move in and support court orders for registration.

Discussion on the recommendation was postponed until Bob Moses could present an outline of steps that would be needed for enactment of the program.

Economic Programming

Gloria Richardson reported on Manpower Retraining program to be set up on Eastern Shore. Discussion:

Bill Mahoney will be working full time in Washington on economic programming. His reports to be dealt with later on agenda.

Manpower Retraining does not deal with problems of illiterates. It will probably be necessary to set up demonstrations as a form of political leverage to secure programs really needed in the deep South.

SNCC staff should have workshops on economic programming and what is available. Jim Forman's report will deal with this later on agenda.

National Sharecropper's Fund conference at Frogmore, S.C. on September 27 should be attended.
Bob Moses reported on meeting with Sec. of Agriculture Freeman: Freeman was presented with the facts of how Negroes are cut out of federal programs. Also with the problem of food.

Freeman responded that nothing could be done about food except on a county by county basis. Jamie Whitten is chairman of subcommittee that funds Dept. of Agriculture. They Freeman did say they could provide food if agencies could be found to distribute it. The National Council of Churches should be approached by SNCC to do this. Generally the number of farmers id declining. This trend is being furthered by Dept. of Agriculture programs. The question is whether SNCC can stop this move, keep people in the South, and force the federal government to provide jobs. We must feed them during the transition period. Probably must also pressure Dept. of Agriculture, although Whitten controls them pretty well.

Continuation of Mississippi Discussion

Bob Moses presented further arguments for move:
1. Provides a platform for pressuring federal government
2. Offers SNCC an opportunity to move where noone else is willing to make an attack
3. Will feed workers to other projects and offer fund raising opportunities
4. Noone is obligated to Mississippi: they are politically isolated and cannot be morally defended
5. Must recognize the power of Whitten over the whole country and particularly the rest of the South
6. Projection would be around vote and jobs and food; not political unseating of Whitten and Eastland. Could show problems of whole South and effect them if successful.

Discussion:

The central problem was moving of the office.

Forman suggested various reasons for moving:
1. Despite Birmingham people are critical of one shot affairs
2. Must dramatize issues to the country. Will be having to feed people soon when cotton season is over.
3. We have an investment there which should be followed up.
4. Eastland axis had great power that should be dramatized and broken.

Suggestion that we move only main actors in office: Forman, Lewis, Worth. This was objected to: if we move the office should move whole office, not play it for propaganda purposes.

Why is office needed? Why can't priority be given to Mississippi without moving office? Bob Moses: attention in SNCC is given to problems at hand in the office and full attention is needed to Mississippi problems.

Could office survive there? No assurance that it can.
Can't neglect other projects and immediate crises and might be tempted to do that if office were moved from central location.

SNCC is southwide organization and should maintain central location.

Many problems of working out of Mississippi: where to keep financial records safely? How to maintain press contacts if move of press section is made from Atlanta where press is located?
Consensus:
1. Moses' proposal for long range focus on Mississippi was accepted.
2. Moses is to head committee to clarify what LS meant by the above.
3. We must deal with crises situations as they arise.
   Immediate need is to deal with Americus and Albany.
4. Sherrod to head committee to draw up proposals on Americus and Albany.
5. Sherrod's proposals to be presented later on agenda and acted on.

March on Washington Committee
Proposals: Presented by Eleanor Holmes
1. We should continue support of March Committee and demands.
2. Eleanor Holmes should represent SNCC
3. We should press for connecting local protests with March demands. Try to get support of March Committee for local action.
4. We should support the People's Congress proposed by the March Committee and use it to focus attention on South during filibuster.
5. Support 100 cities demonstrations

Discussion:
People's Congress is not useful. Why put time and energy into a program which has no real usefulness.
If we support it we should be free to do other things while in Washington: Demonstrate for One Man One Vote, pressure Dept. of Agriculture for food for winter, press for home rule for D.C.

Consensus:
1. We support proposals presented.
2. Our participation won't mean we don't initiate our own action.
3. After each meeting the representative will send a memo to the Executive Committee reporting actions taken.
4. Expenses to Washington for People's Congress: Our representative should attempt to get the March Committee to purchase buses for the trip and give the buses for use in the South afterwards.

Report of Executive Secretary

(See Recommendation #7)
Add comments on outlines:
1. October 5: Lena Horne and Frank Sinatra; not clear how proceeds to be divided
   Freedom Singers: should continue group although two of group plan to leave.
   Folk Singers: we have good connections with them and will be using them in fund raising.
   Volunteer fund raisers: Forman will meet with them in NY on 18th

   Tougaloo- Miles Work Study Project: These projects should be begun whenever possible. We can create network of colleges connected to our program across the South.
   UCCRO Grant: We became involved in UCCRO when fund raisers asked where we were. Bob had been working with Taconic group.
under committee headed by Greenberg. When Birmingham led to
action the Taconic group decided to raise funds immediately to
supply leadership instead of waiting until whole project they
were outlining could be completed. We were not officially connected
with first group but got invited to second.

It is important that SNCC meet with Currier and
others in this group with money since we are still seen as
a group of individuals and need to make personal impressions.

Money available for scholarships is being given to National
Council of Negro Women. We may help students who need scholarship
aid draw on it. The money is made available through the
Welfare, Education and Legal Defense Fund, which is the
tax exempt wing of the United Council of Civil Rights Organizations.

Student Aid Society: Directed by last Coordinating Committee
Meeting—is being drawn up.

3. Legal Aid
Howard Moore: his services are available to SNCC and he is
being paid by Legal Defense Fund
National Council of Churches: Commission of Religion and
Race has put lawyer on who we can use: Jack Pratt. We can call on
them through the Atlanta office for bonds.

4. Promotion and Publicity
Photographic Exhibits: Danny Lyon has done exhibits, we hope
to get them mass produced
Photographic book: Simon and Schuster is publishing this,
will use Danny's photos for many scenes, we will split profits with

Core
Stern Family Fund: will supply money for articles to
be written which need to be researched. Can be reached through
Harper's magazine. General need for more people to write about
movement was acknowledged.

5. VEP
Funds now going to Mississippi, Dallas Co., Arkansas,
and may be resumed in Southwest Georgia

6. $5000.00 grant from SCEF was accepted.

7. Self explanatory

8. Proposal for Fall Leadership Training Conference was accepted.
(see Recommendation #7)

9. Personnel Committee Findings
(see Recommendation #8)
Findings were accepted with the following additions:

1. Personnel policies section of report should be sent to
   field staff for their information.
2. The personnel committee should not hire someone for
   a specific project without consulting the project director.
3. Personnel committee should hold regular interviews and
   temporary workers should be interviewed then and hired on regular
   basis.
4. In the absence of the full committee the Executive Secretary,
   the Chairman, the Staff Coordinator, Miss Ella Baker and Willie
   Paul Berrien are responsible for hiring, subject to review when
the full committee meets. They shall consult the project directors when making assignments.

5) The staff coordinator shall send a list of workers within the next two weeks to the Executive Committee and the Project Directors. A final count of current staff will be compiled from responses.

6) Volunteer workers can be okayed by project directors and names sent to the staff coordinator.

7) The office should make a record of back pay owed staff when payroll is not met and send back pay to workers.

8) Checks made out to individuals on fund raising tours should be sent to SNCC.

Jobs Project

(see Recommendation #9)

Consensus:
1. A Washington office will be established.
2. This office will deal with employment and programs for areas where SNCC is at work
3. The office will also deal with SNCC news needs and other liaison needs in Washington.
4. Personnel Committee will fill this post.

Suggestions:
1. Special work should be done on establishing local committees once preliminary research is done.
2. A memo should be sent out on how to file complaints and what kind of rules apply.
3. The Washington office should compile list of our union contacts for use in local areas where we are working.

Danville and Boycott Project

Dan River Mills controls power structure to a large extent in Danville. Stanley Aronowitz has offered to help map boycott campaigning and to train someone in this kind of work—setting up product boycotts. Danville staff was instructed to draw up plan on these facts. To be considered later on agenda.

Americus and Albany, Georgia Protest Campaigns

(see Recommendation #10)

The report was accepted.

Responsibilities:
#4 Eleanor will ask Big 10 (Eleanor Holmes)
Atlanta will ask movie stars
#6 Eleanor and John Lewis
#8 Bill Mahoney
#10 Casey Hayden and Bobbi Yancey
#11 Eleanor Holmes to invite Youth Council
Forman to contact Pan African Student Association
#12 Student leaders will be asked to contact UN delegates to ask for statements from them
New York will be asked to contact UN and arrange UN protests
#13 Committee will decide on feasibility of pamphlet

The Committee will decide 1) where the March will be held and
make arrangements for holding of rally 2) call for pilgrimage

Move to Mississippi (continued discussion)

Discussion on moving S.N.C.C office to Mississippi

Arguments for moving:
1. Fund raising would be improved.
   Mississippi can no longer be defended and we would have
   national sympathy.
   Mississippi's isolation is complete politically and we
   could get protection.
   It is an argument for militancy: It is in keeping with
   S.N.C.C's image to move to not on this area.
   Move on Miss. should not be half-hearted.
   Personnel and decision makers should be moved for fast and
   thorough action.
   Miss. is best place to dramatize the need for the vote.
   Others will follow us.
   Now is the time: presidential year, JD suit.
   Other groups will be coming in when JD suit is completed.
   We should be there first and work is needed now if suit is to
   be implemented.

   Educational needs: We must develop educational programs
   and can contribute to American education; we should focus
   attention on federal inaction in this field; areas in need of
   educational programs are in S. and Southern congressmen won't
   address themselves to this need.

   Economic needs: We can focus on the technological changes
   of the whole country; the White Citizens council is trying to
   remove these marginal, unskilled people and is succeeding. The
   Federal Government is partner to this by inaction. Must force
   government to deal with these people and raise whole question
   of role of federal government in this kind of problem.
   Negroes are afraid: S.N.C.C can win their loyalty if it is
   clear we are there with them and willing to stay.

   Expansion of state: Mississippi kids can be recruited and
   used all over the South

   Question of urgency: We have to push the question of the
   urgency of the question of the vote. Miss. is the best place
   for that and we cannot do it without full access to quick action
   by leaders when they are in state.
   Other parts of the program can continue to function
   and call on office when they need help.
   Long range program means long range footwork: we must
   be willing to be committed for a long period of time and moving
   will assure that.

   Publicity: Communications media will take stories if
   they are stories; we could leave someone in Atlanta to handle
   news. DBS is not in New Orleans
First step is key step: Must concentrate to get right to vote by '64. This is huge undertaking which demands concentration of all forces in Mississippi. SNCC must operate where day to day work is.

Travel: There is an airport in Greenwood and fairly good connections

Problem of whites: Must be faced at some point and best time to move staff in is with protection of large force at work there and press that would accompany move.

Relation of SNCC to local groups: Can still maintain national office from Mississippi and work with other groups just as we do here.

Problem of files: Will just have to face possible confiscation; can get protection from press to some extent
Psychological impact on people in the state would be very important to program we want to establish.
Can face problems of feeding people better if we are there.
We would be going to the heart of the problem: We would be saying what the civil rights movement has not said—that the center of gravity should be at the center of tensions.
We have to stabilize ourselves there or there will be no Negroes there to work with.
The right to work in Mississippi has been worked for the last for 2 years and we could survive there now.
SNCC's attention is easily diverted and if we are to work on a long range basis with Mississippi as first priority then we must be where the work to be done is located.
Any problems met would increase pressure on federal government.

Arguments Against:
Too difficult to maintain communications out of Miss.
Shouldn't move files, especially financial files, to an area where they might be confiscated.
To move part of the office would divorce finance and communications section from the policy makers which is an unworkable means of operation.
Whites moving in would cause too many problems at this point.
Would increase opposition to SNCC in the state and would raise too many problems for the running of the organization as a whole. Needless strain, money tied up in bonds, etc.
Other parts of the program might suffer.
Moving the office would not really change what we do in Mississippi. The program will be what changes Mississippi.
John Lewis and Jim Forman could still spend time in the state and we could still focus on Miss. without moving office.
We need a central location if we are a Southwide organization.
It would be bad for the rest of the South if we were broken in Mississippi. Bad psychologically as well as bad for the organization.

Counter proposal:
Agree on program for vote by '64.
Take up slogan One Man One Vote
Add 10-15 field secretaries, 90 field workers, 100 volunteers
Provide new structure for project:
1-2 helpers in Greenwood
1-3 assistants for Bob (regional assistants)
Responsibilities for counties within regions be assigned...
Consensus:
1. SN C will launch one man one vote campaign in Mississippi
2. Sufficient personnel will be moved to implement this decision. As much as possible will be moved to Greenwood as soon as possible and see how this works out!
3. A coordinating committee meeting will be held as soon as possible in Mississippi.
4. A committee of Bob Moses, John Lewis, Jim Forman, Ella Baker will deal with implementation of these decisions. They will report their findings on the desirability and feasibility of moving the main office to Mississippi to the coordinating committee at its meeting there.

Danville Report
(Recommendation #11)
Accepted as stated.

Bus
A bus was sold by SNCC to Bob Moses for $10.00.

Gadsden
SNCC will continue to function in Gadsden. Claudia Rawles will be asked to continue work there. The executive secretary will decide on this after investigation.

Cambridge, Md.
Someone will be sent in when Gloria Richardson requests that they come.

SE Atlanta
A voter education project was approved for Southeast Atlanta. An attempt will be made to secure VEP funds.

Northern Coordinator Report
Accepted as stated.
Policy for Friends of SNCC groups:
There was consensus that Friends of SNCC should concentrate on support for SNCC and Southern action and that we did not have the resources to develop direct action in the North. The wording is to be positively stated so that we urge direct action in support of the South. The Executive Secretary will be given discretion to recognize Friends of SNCC as official SNCC groups.

Southern Coordinator Report
Accepted previously. The Personnel Committee will find personnel to fill positions and will help shape a program.

Communications Section Report
The press section was commended on press releases: SRC refers to them, newspapers have commented on them, and Margaret Long has given written praise of them.

The press releases should be codified by area and held on hand in Atlanta and sent to projects for their use.
More background and feature pieces are needed. The College News Service and other sources have asked for them.

Ways to publish writings by people in the movement need to be found.

Fayette County
Problems raised by the staff in Fayette led to the following personnel decisions:

1. New hiring policies must be strictly observed.
2. The office must take a firm position on checking staff being hired.
3. A written policy will be drawn up by project directors. If these policies are violated, the violator will serve his time if arrested. (driving without license, etc.)
4. SNCC is very personalized to the public still because it is not well known. Therefore people making fund raising trips often get money sent to them personally. This money should be sent on to Atlanta, if possible.
5. The SW Ga. staff must make up list of all staff and make a payroll list for the Atlanta office.
6. No money will be sent until written account of funds spent is received.
7. No checks should be sent to staff members without bookkeepers knowledge.

Policy on funds in relation to field staff will be drawn up by bookkeeper and supported by office and field staff.

Americus, Ga.
A policy for immediate action was developed and carried out by the Executive Committee the following day, to meet the need for further information revealed. Mike Sayer, Danny Lyon, and Alan Ribaack were dispatched to Americus to gather information and bring local people to Atlanta for a press conference.

Personnel
Kinds of
Several decisions were made during the personnel meeting:
1. Approval of Report on present staff
Worth Long reported on present staff members and their placement:

Atlanta
James Forman
Worth Long
Julian Bond
Sandra Hayden
Norma Colling
James Bolton
Betty Miles
Chessie Johnson
William Porter
Nancy Stearns
Danny Lyon
Bobbi Yancy

Mike Sayer
Ruby Doris Smith
Mary E. King
Constance "Romilly"
Walter Pillow
John Lewis
Mark "Suck"
Albany
Charles Sherrod
Joyce Barrett
Don Harris
John Perdue
Ralph Allen
Peter de Lissovoy
Phil Davis
Joni Richards
Robert Mants
David Bell
Volunteers:
James Daniels
Randy Battles
James Rudolph
Charles Brown
Vera Cridden

Mississippi
(rotating staff working in
Greenwood, Jackson, Greenville, Clarksdale, Hattiesburg, Holly Springs, Columbus)
Bob Moses
Sam Block
McArthur Cotton
Lawrence Guyot
Milton Hancock
Willie Peacock
Donald White
Ruby Wright
Richard Frey
James Peacock
Martha Prescod
Willie McGee
Mathew Hughes
Willie Blue
Lulu B. Johnson
Lee David
Emma Bell
Mary Lane
Oscar Chase
Doug Schaefer
Helen O'Neal
Jesse Harris
Bobby Talbert
James Jones
Charlie Cobb
Charles McLaurin
Carl Arnold
Dickie Flowers
John O'Neil
Gerry Bray
Frank Smith
Claude Weaver

Pine Bluff, Arkansas
William Hansen
Ruthie Buffington
James Jones
Ben Grinnage
Noah Washington
Bruce Jorgan
John Bradford

Tennessee
Sheila Kessler (to assist
Marion Berry)

Danville
Avon Rollins
Matthew Jones
Tom Holt hired for summer
Sam Giles possible permanant staff
Ivanhow Donaldson

Selma
Rev. Seborn Powell
Wilson Brown
Rev. Thomas Brown

Gadsden
Avery Williams
Eric Rainey
Pat McElderry
Claudia Rawles

New York
Julia Prettyman
Jim Moncons

Washington
Bill Mahoney

O6 Staff—Not permanently placed
Bruce Gordon
Sam Shirah
Mary King
Jane Stembridge

Freedom Singers: Cordell Reagen
Chuck Nebbitt
Bernice Reagen
Rutha Harris
&Bertha Gower
The report was accepted with shifts in personnel left to discretion of the interim personnel committee.

2. New Staff

New staff hired and possible assignments made were:
- Mary Varela--Selma (project with literacy with priest there)
- Wendy Mann--approved for SW Ga.
- Bobbi Yancy--Staff Southern Campus Coordinator
- Oscar Chase--Mississippi
- Thomas Brown--Selma
- Dona Richards--Mississippi
- Sam Giles--hired if he does not return to school
- David Bell--SW. Ga.
- Mandy Samstein--Atlanta (SE project)
- Debbie Amis--Atlanta
- John Bradford
- Carol Merritt--Mississippi
- Matthew Jones--Danville or with Freedom Singers

Staff applicants temporarily accepted and to be acted on finally and placed by interim personnel committee:
- Penny Bartlett
- Roassa Landers
- Thomas Hirsch
- Willie Thomas, Jr.
- Avery Williams
- John Wilson
- Bobby Talbert
- Mark Suckle

Applicants referred to staff coordinator and interim personnel committee for action:
- Betty Garman
- Iris Greenberg
- John Kifner

3. Scholarship Aid Applicants

Scholarship aid was granted to: Gladys Giles, Sam Giles, Tom Holt, Jimmy Travis, Bob Zellner, Freddie Green, Rochester Patterson, Stokely Carmichael, Courtland Cox, Joanna Everetts, Marion Berry, Ralph Moore, Charles McDew, Charles Jones, Max Bernard and Colia Lafayette, Mrs. Herbert Lee's daughter, Lafayette Surney, Curtis Hayds.

These people will be referred as applicants to the WELD fund grant to the National Council of Negro Women. The staff coordinator will be responsible for developing a scholarship form. Tuition money will be sent directly to the school, maintenance money will be pro-rated and sent to recipient of scholarship.

4. Directives for Staff
Additions to memos already planned to be sent to staff would include the following policies:

1) Calls made from the field should take advantage of the new after 9 PM rates. Atlanta should plan to receive calls then.

2) In situations where more than one organization is working in a local area, SNCC should seek to cooperate for the unity of the movement. If conflicts arise, a meeting should be sought with other leaders and a clear position stated. A letter confirming that position should then be sent to the other organization's field personnel in that area and a copy of the letter sent to Atlanta. We should not compete but should also refuse to be exploited or allow the local citizens to be exploited.

Courtland Cox was assigned the task of drawing up a statement to this effect and sending it to Staff Coordinator to be sent out to field staff.

3) Office answering service should be explained to field staff. Answering service should be given clearer directives from Atlanta.

5. Discussion on Expansion and Priorities

Consensus was achieved on the following as guidelines for choices in expanding SNCC's projects and program:

1. Do we have competent people to staff project?
2. We should have a clear idea of our reason for going in and for follow-up. Guiding question: What places will make for basic changes in the South? Where are strategic points where the structure can be broken and how will we do it?
3. SNCC must be responsive to requests for action. When we go in at request of local group and do not plan long term project, field staff must plan to have leaders take over the project and must work on leadership development. Therefore SNCC must develop travelling field crews for this short term work: mobile project staff, short term task force.

Consensus was achieved on the following as priorities for winter:

1. Mississippi Project
2. Recruitment of staff
3. Creating campus protest groups which will move out in their action programs

Mr. Randolph Blackwell of the Voter Education Project spoke to the Exec. Comm. on the possibility of a project in a North Carolina urban area as a means of increasing the numbers of voters SNCC could register (as a balance to work in hard core areas). Approval was given for the establishment of such a project.

A project for isolating Mississippi economically was also discussed with him. The project would utilize research to put pressure on Mississippi externally to accompany internal pressure. The Executive Secretary will continue to explore this project.
The Executive Secretary was authorized to investigate a VR project in East Texas working with the Liberal Democratic Coalition and the VR project in Eait Texas working with the Liberal Democratic Coalition running. Bruce Gordon was given permission to investigate further the possibilities of drawing union organizers into areas where SNCC is working. He will consult with Bill Mahoney. He was also authorized to discuss with the Northern Student Movement their plans for work in the South. He will gather information but not make final commitments for SNCC.

6. Decisions on Implementation of Priorities

1.) Mississippi

Since an office move would not take place for several months the decision was made to fill needs in the Atlanta office and fill immediate needs for faster work in Mississippi. Bob Moses requested someone to do press work in Mississippi (finding stories in events there now and getting press attention) and work with staff coordination in Mississippi.

2.) Recruitment and building of campus groups

(a) Attention should be given to the Work-Study Projects as a means recruiting staff for SNCC.

The work-study project at Miles and Tougaloo can form a model for setting up programs across the Black Belt. Field Foundation gave money for these, but other schools could apply to their own sources as well. This project should aim to produce college educated leaders who will associate themselves with the Negro people.

(1.) The Campus Coordinator should secure a copy of the prospectus for the program and circulate it to Coordinating Committee and staff along with memo explaining how to set up such programs.

(2.) Coordinating Committee members should attempt to establish program where they are and report in writing on their findings.

(3.) Campus travellers should work on setting up such a program.

(b) Four campus travellers should immediately be employed as outlined in Southern Campus Coordinator's proposal.

(c) Concentration of the recruitment and creation of campus groups should be in the Carolina's and Virginia since most schools are located there. The Danville and North Carolina VR projects can be centers for the work of the travellers in that area. Both of these projects should attempt to make contact with schools in their areas. Campus travellers can follow these contacts up.

7. Suggestions for Work with Campuses

1) Field staff should be responsible for making contact with campuses near them. In addition, Bobbi Yancy should work on Georgia campuses and one person each should be assigned to North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee.

2) The Campus Coordinator should secure a list of all schools in the South and map program for hitting them.
3) Careful attention should be given to who travels to campuses. Good people must be sent. Project directors should plan to do some travelling to recruit (to be coordinated with Campus Coordinator).

4) We should begin to look for college students who are in areas we are working now and will be staying there. We should think of helping them prepare to run for office.

5) SNCC people on campuses should organize groups and set up programs.

6) The person working on the SCEF grant (probably Sam Shirah) should concentrate on Carolinas and Virginia.

7) Specific assignments of other personnel:

Arkansas staff should make contact with Arkansas colleges.
Cathy Cade should be contacted for organizing in New Orleans.
Marion Berry should work contacting schools in East Tennessee.
Lester McKinnie should gather contacts for campus coordinator in West Tennessee.
Bill Mahoney should coordinate visits to schools as he travels through Campus Coordinator.

A group of about 4 people should be recruited from Mississippi by Bob Moses. These people will travel with Chico Nellit to campuses and talk about field work, sing songs, etc. Coordinated through field campus travellers and Campus Coordinator.

Other possibilities: Bruce Gordon to West Virginia State; Matthew Jones to South Carolina.
Miles College students to Selma. Stillman should be reached also.
Reggie Robinson might head up N.C. project and work with voter registration and campus travelling both.

Danville project should work to set up some kind of regional meeting for college students.

8) Campus Travellers Program:

--The campus travellers should see themselves as organizers of groups. They should treat campuses almost as Friends groups (that is, they should interpret SNCC work to the campus and SNCC approach to the role of the young Negro leader in the South).

--Campus travellers should feed back news about key contacts and information on groups and campuses to the campus coordinator. Reports should be written on each campus.

--Some concentration should be placed on academic freedom issues on the campus.

--The Campus Coordinator should organize a key Southern contact list from these reports.

--Emphasis should be placed on finding students and faculty or administrators willing to work on setting up a work study project for the school. Programs for the area can be developed as these projects are set up at more and more places.

--Campus travellers should take with them for organizing the following: SNCC film, records, applications for work with SNCC, pamphlets, exhibits of photographs, posters (to be developed by Danny Lyon), cars, cameras. Also two pamphlets should be developed: 1) The Struggle Needs You--Booklet on SNCC similar to one developed for the North but with emphasis on what students can do in the South rather than on fund raising 2) How to Organize for
Nonviolent Direct Action—we should reprint booklet Jim has. The first of these should be developed by the Campus Coordinator.

-- Travellers should set up regional, campus, and state workshops.

-- Travellers should always go to the administration and introduce themselves and explain SNCC's work. Visit should be as official and public as possible.

-- Travellers should not go to any campus cold. Should have introductions before reaching campus, preferably introductions should be sent to some faculty and administration people also.

-- Travellers should recruit people to attend fall and spring conferences.

-- Travellers should see newspaper editors of school paper and get them on the mailing list, get them interested in SNCC and see if they will do a feature story.

-- Travellers should meet people who have been active in the past and make sure they send in these names.

-- Try to arrange speaking engagements for chairman.

-- Educate students on situation on their state. If the travellers have opportunities to speak they should make the speech as educational as possible: go to professors on the campus and get figures on employment, political power of the state and area. Make students aware of what is happening around them.

-- The Atlanta office should organize a training course on SNCC for the travellers before they go out to acquaint them with SNCC and the above work they will be expected to do.