

MINUTES OF SNCC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING  
September 6-9, 1963 Atlanta, Georgia

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 a 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 Sayer reported)

Situation there is serious. 3 SNCC workers face death penalty with no bond plus \$40,000 peace bonds. 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 Monson is to work on publicity for the case.

Americus

Sherrod suggested prayer pilgrimage to ~~AMERICAN~~ 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.

6. Financial Report: Betty Miles

Jan. 1- July 31, 1963:	Total receipts	142,208.03
	Cash payments	116,518.73
	Cash balance	26,333.00

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 ~~with~~ 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 <sup>the</sup> ~~in~~/staff: Ruby Doris Smith (see Recommendation #5)

There is feeling within the staff that we have some field situations overloaded with white workers (ie, 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 goal.

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 ~~from existing~~ 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 paid 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 # 7

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 iceberg and must be cracked from the outside.





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 is 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 no one else is willing to make an attack
3. Will feed workers to other projects and offer fund raising opportunities
4. No one 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 ~~xxxxxx~~ 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 ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ 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 he 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. SWe 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 outline:

1. October 5: Lena Horne and Frank Sinatra; not clear how proceeds to be divided

2x 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

2. Tougaloo- Miles Work Study Project: These projects should be begun wherever possible. We can create network of colleges connected to our program across the South.

3. UCCRO Grant: We became involved in UCCRO when fund raisers asked where we were. Bob had been working with Taconic group

Moses

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~~ 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: Danyy 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

Stearn 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. 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)

C  
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 liason 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 campaign 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. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~.

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 decidel) where the March will be held and make arrangements for holding of rally 2) call for pilgrimage  
at

Move to Mississippi (continued discussion)

Discussion on moving S<sup>INC</sup>C office to Mississippi.

\*RkxkkKxprrgkxiixakukpkkakxprksknkadxxkxk

~~ARGUMENTS~~ Arguments for moving:

7. Fund raising would be improved.

Mississippi can no longer be defended and we would have national sympathy.

Mississippi's isolation is complete politicall y and we could get protection.

It is an argument for militancy: It is in keeping with SNCC'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 forced government to deal with these people and raise whole question of role of federal government in this kind of problem.

Negroes are afraid: SNCC 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 ~~xxxx~~ operates 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 ~~xxxxxxx~~ 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 there 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 ~~xxx~~ 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 ~~in~~ by the Executive Committee the following day/ to meet the need further information ~~was~~ revealed. Mike Sayer, Danny Lyon, and Alan Ribback 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  
Constancia Romilly  
Walter Tillow?  
John Lewis  
MARK Suckel

Ulysses Prince



Albany

Charles Sherrod  
Joyce Barrett  
Don Harris  
John ~~Purdue~~ *Perdue*  
Ralph Allen  
Peter de Lissovoy  
Phil Davis  
Joni Ribbards  
Robert Mahts  
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 Schearer  
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  
Hi

Pine Bluff, Arkansas

William Hansen  
Ruthie Buffington  
James Jones  
Ben Grinnage  
Noah Washington  
Bruce ~~Wxxxx~~ Jorgan  
John Bradford

Tennessee

Sheila Kessler (to assist  
Marion Berry)

Danville

Avon Rollins  
Matthew Jones  
Tom Holt } hired for summer  
Sam Giles } possible permanent staff  
Ivanhoe Donalson

Selma

Rev. Seborn Powell  
Wilson Brown  
Rev. Thomas Brown

Gadsden

Avery Williams  
Eric Rainey  
Pat McElderry  
Claudia Rawles

New York

Julia Prettyman  
Jim Monsonis

Washington

Bill Mahoney

On Staff--Not permanently placed

Bruce Gordon  
Sam Shirah  
Mary King — *AKA...*  
Jane Stenbridge  
Freedom Singers: Cordell Reagon  
Chuck Neblitt  
Bernice Reagon  
Rutha Harris  
Bertha Guber

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 liberacy 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 Lander  
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, Stokeley Carmichael, Courtland Cox, Joanna Everetts, Marion Berry, Ralph Moore, Charles McDew, Charles Jones, ~~Kafa~~ 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 V

Bruce Gordon was given permission to investigate further the possibilities of drawing ~~un~~ionorganizers 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 Impelmentation 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 ~~needs~~ immediate needs for faster work in Mississippi. Bob Moses requested someone to do press work in Mississippi (finding ~~xxx~~ 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 ~~of~~ 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~~ 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 Neblitt 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 ~~SNCC~~ 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 organized 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), car, cameras. Also two pamphlets should be developed:

1) The Struggle Needs You--Booklet on SNCC similar to one developed for the North but with emphasas 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 th 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, preferable 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.