

To: Miss Ella Baker, 239 West Lake Rd., Atlanta
Mr. Len Holt, 250 Nicholson N.E., Washington 11, D.C.
Mr. William Higgs, 614 G Street, S.E., Washington, D.C.
Mr. Jack Minnis, P.O. Box 564, Atlanta
extra copy for Ella Baker for transfer to Jim Forman

Summary of meeting of Advisory Committee Feb. 9-10, 1964, Washington, D.C.
Present: Miss Ella Baker, Mr. William Higgs, Mr. Len Holt, Mr. Jack Minnis, Mr. Howard Zinn.

The following conclusions were reached, for transfer as suggestions to the Executive Committee of S.N.C.C. (It is understood that the work of this committee can only be suggestive):

1. Structure:

- a. Should make sure, for legal and historical purposes, that exact and detailed records are kept of all activities and all incidents. A travelling person from the Atlanta office might make sure of this, in going to places where special projects are going on; other than this, local people should be reminded constantly of this duty; someone in the Atlanta office should have this as one of his or her responsibilities.
- b. To avoid disorganization in the handling of demonstrative and other activities which may come up very quickly and require immediate decisions, to make sure that demonstrations and other work are done in a disciplined fashion, with some thought given to it in advance by several minds deliberating on it in a rational atmosphere: it is suggested that a national action committee be set up in the Atlanta office, consisting of five persons who will almost always be nearby, who will come together in any emergency situation for at least a brief session to plan how the emergency will be handled. Of course it is recognized that there are times when a momentary decision is needed, but many other times there can be a delay of fifteen minutes or a half hour or an hour, thus allowing time for at least some deliberative planning. A similar action committee of perhaps three persons should be constituted in each area of SNCC activity, for the same purpose. When there is a concentration of the whole organization on one locality, the local and national action committees can meet jointly to plan the work there. Jim Forman, John Lewis, and Ella Baker should form the core of the national action committee.

2. Training and education:

Three forms of training and education were discussed:

- a. Orientation session for new staff members. Starting with the present staff in April, and with new staff members starting in May, there should be a one-week period at some convenient center (utilizing Myles Horton's offer of Highlander, if possible) to give basic information on the structure and philosophy of SNCC, and practical information which will be useful in the field. How the organization functions in its various departments, the history and philosophy of SNCC,

different tactics used in day-to-day operations, legal information, field hygiene, first-aid techniques, how to keep records and make reports, and other matters as the leaders of the organization deem necessary (like physical security measures). This might be an opportunity also for physical and dental examinations.

b. Apprenticeship to experts both in and out of the organization: Young staff members - particularly from the Deep South - should be assigned as apprentices to learn skills which will be useful not only for their own personal development but for the organization: one or more staff members might be assigned to a labor organizer, or as an orderly in a hospital emergency ward, or to a lawyer, or a researcher, or a printer, and so on.

c. Continuing academic education for staff members: There was discussion and general approval of the education plan submitted to SNCC in January by Zinn. It was suggested in addition that someone who is oriented both to SNCC activity and to academic education (Betty Garman, for instance) might be assigned the sole job of supervising, from Atlanta, both the continuing education program, and the orientation training program. The continuing education program might be held (for those six-day sessions coming every three months or so) at a place like Frogmore, with Betty, or whoever else is in charge, organizing the operation, getting the instructors, the material, etc. The Education & Training Director might also serve as adviser to staff members on college applications and scholarships, since some members are always returning to school. Reading might be assigned before each six-day refueling session, to make the most of the discussions during that period. Students for a Democratic Society has pamphlets which might make good reading material. Paperbacks and periodicals would be good. Zinn and other teachers whom he could help to secure would function on a volunteer basis.

3. A Tax-exempt arm of SNCC:

The setting up of a legal and educational fund has already been initiated by Bob Moses and others. It is suggested that Miss Baker contact Bob to find out what has been done and what remains to be done. Len and Bill could help in the drafting of a charter and the securing of a board of directors.

4. Washington Lobby:

Bill Higgs suggests a group of eight or so law students working with him - preferably on a living-in arrangement to make for more efficient activity - this coming summer to do legal and legislative work following up the Civil Rights Bill and other matters. Several bright SNCC staff members (perhaps some from the Washington office: Stokely, Courtland, Mahoney), perhaps Billy Stafford, might join this group. Whoever is to be in this group should be interviewed by Bill in advance of the assignment.

5. Utilization of mass media for publicizing SNCC activities & ideas:

- a. Brief discussion of Zinn book on SNCC. SNCC can make money from distribution of this book: it will get one-half Zinn royalties; also, by ordering a specific number of copies in advance and by eliminating Zinn royalty it can get \$4.00 book for less than a dollar, and thus make \$3.00 or so on each book. In addition, without committing itself to a specific number, it can get books from Beacon Press at half-price and make \$2.00 on each book sold (\$2.40 with Zinn not taking royalty on these).
- b. Magazine articles: need, preferably in Atlanta, a kind of "agent-in-residence" who will stimulate the writing of articles, get commitments from magazinesxxpublishers, bring the writer and the magazine together. Large-circulation magazines are, of course, more desirable.
- c. SNCC should distribute its own newsletter, its own pamphlets and leaflets. It would be desirable to distribute the newsletter (The Student Voice) on a subscription basis (perhaps \$1 or \$2 a year) by mail to many thousands of peoplexx throughout the country who want up-to-date news from the deep South. This requires a new addressograph machine, apparently, which would be able to handle 25,000-50,000 names. Zinn agrees to get ideas on equipment. Also, a distribution system should be worked out (perhaps sending bulk by bus to various areas) to get simultaneous leaflet distribution all over the country on current issue (Mark Suckle perhaps should concentrate on such leaflets). Walter Pillow should be given the information on the addressograph and Zinn will relay this to him.
- d. Len suggested town criers in places where many people congregate, to communicate by voice latest information, etc.
- e. Radio and TV: Norris McNamara is working on radio news outlets; he should have apprentice, from Mississippi perhaps, working with him to learn audio techniques. Someone in N.Y., keeping in touch with NY SNCC office, with good connections in entertainment world, should have main responsibility for working out TV and other entertainment world publicity, appearances, etc. Zinn will contact person on this.

6. Health: Len will work out plan for physical and dental exams with Jim.

7. National Political Conventions:

Some plans already underway. Miss Baker will contact Bob Moses, and then inform Bill Higgs so that he can take next steps in connection with drawing up a plan for Mississippi delegation to convention.

8. Physical Security Problems:

Danger of death and injury discussed. Information needs to be acquired on security precautions, techniques. Then these have to be drawn up, the importance pressed on all staff members, the information distributed. Someone - perhaps Worth Long - should act as a kind of security officer, checking up constantly to make sure precautions are followed. He or someone else should tour all the centers of activity to make suggestions. A communications system should be set up to handle emergency situations in which people are placed in danger and need immediate aid. Jack agreed to take responsibility for following up on this.

9. Ties with labor movement:

Suggest someone like Walter Tillow should begin making contacts with labor organizations. ~~Further~~ Among other things, someone should be assigned as apprentice to a labor organizer.

10. Strategy for geographical distribution of SNCC personnel and activity

No discussion on this. Suggested that as a start, we get a picture from the Atlanta office of what the present concentration is.

11. Legal aid:

Suggestion for a full-time lawyer in Washington to handle government agencies and other matters was discussed; disagreement on advisability of full-time man for this. We do need, it was agreed, someone full-time in Atlanta (either an attorney like Howard Moore, or a recent law school graduate) who will coordinate the work of trial lawyers in various parts of the country, make sure they're doing their job, who will keep in constant touch with a lawyers advisory committee to SNCC which should be set up as soon as possible. The Legal Defense Fund can be used to get lawyers for defensive operations. But this advisory committee can make plans for short-range and long-range legal strategy, including offensive action. Len and Bill will go ahead in the formation of such a committee, after Miss Baker has cleared with Atlanta. When such a committee comes up with a set of proposals, members of committee should meet with SNCC leaders to coordinate legal and demonstrative activity.

A number of points, listed for possible discussion, were not reached:

- a. Economic activities and program for the deep South
- b. Work in the white communities of the South

For the present, it was agreed that the same group, plus Randolph Blackwe should constitute the Advisory Committee. We will meet again in three months, but earlier if there is an urgent need.

Note: Amendments, additions, corrections to this report should be sent to Howard Zinn, 45 Chapin Road, Newton Centre, Mass. where-upon he will transmit to the other members.