

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

April 18-19, 1964

AGENDA

1. Financial Report - Mrs. Miles and Mrs. Johnson
2. Personnel Committee Report -  
Ruby Doris Robinson, Administrative Secy.  
Worth Long, Staff Coordinator
3. Project Director Reports -  
Don Harris  
Bill Hansen  
Sam Shirah  
Bob Moses
4. Atlanta Office Staff Reports -  
Communications - Julian Bond  
Southern Campus Coordinator - Billy Stafford  
Northern Coordinator - Dinky Romilly
5. Proposal of Southern White Students
6. Summer Projects
7. Special Projects

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MINUTES

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

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April 18-19, 1964

Atlanta, Georgia

Those in attendance included:

|                    |                    |                  |
|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Ella Baker         | Betty Garman       | Jack Minnis      |
| Joyce Barrett      | Ben Grinnage       | William Porter   |
| Marion Barry       | Prathia Hall       | Judy Richardson  |
| Julian Bond        | Don Harris         | Gwen Robinson    |
| Stokely Carmichael | Shesslonia Johnson | Aven Rollins     |
| Butch Conn         | Mary King          | Ruby Doris Smith |
| Courtland Cox      | John Lewis         | Billy Stefford   |
| Ann Darden         | Lester McKinnis    | Walter Tillow    |
| Mildred Forman     | Sheila Michaels    | Marian Wright    |
| Mic ael Sayer      | Betty Miles        | Howard Zinn      |

Meeting was called to order at 12:45 pm by Chairman John Lewis.

Finance

Meeting began with financial report from Mrs. Miles. Projected SNCC budget for next year (minus contingencies) is \$551,000. The question of incorporation was tabled.

Cox: would like reimbursement sheets to be revised to facilitate filling them out.

Miles: many times money is given without a report by the project on its use. Furthermore, if bank accounts in the projects are operated under SNCC's name, we should have some authority over them and receive some report from them. All exec. comm. members should be familiar with the financial books.

Johnson: close to 160 people presently on payroll.

Conn: move that SNCC hire a full-time bookkeeper.

Motion never voted on.

Baker: what happened to SNCC's former pay scale?

Hall: pay is dependant upon place of residence.

Barry: should have monthly breakdown of all project expenses according to project and individual expenses within the project.

Miles: each project should have a projected budget and then charge their future expenses back against their budget. We have to have a bank statement before we can make financial report but because of bank's inefficiency, statement doesn't arrive on scheduled day (3rd working day of the following month).

Baker: exec. comm. should schedule its meetings to coincide with receipt of bank statements.

Miles: someone from SNCC should call Mr. Huston of Citizen's Trust about this.

Baker: question amount listed under "churches and other organizations" in contribution breakdown.

Johnson: greatest amount received from "other group", mostly of ad hoc variety.

Baker: perhaps report should read only "other organizations" then.

Miles: another problem: people from the field suddenly pop up in Atlanta with no warning and no money with which to get back.

Should be definite purpose for field worker to travel outside his project and this purpose should be made known to Atlanta ahead of time. Another problem: lack of a system in financial matters.

Cox: when Forman's away, who has financial responsibility? (was told that Shossie, as treasurer, did) People should receive salaries of \$20.00 a week with rent paid or \$25.00 a week with rent not paid.

Barry: Shossie may not know particular staff members and their particular financial needs.

Smith: should Forman have to take all the financial responsibility?

\*Miles: recommend that finance committee be established composed of: Ruby, Betty, Shossie, Miss Baker, Marion, Dinky, John and Julie Prettyman. Lines of authority extremely important in finance. Must spend money through more systemized channels.

Baker: must have some structure through which consensus can be obtained for purchase of office equipment.

Smith: Forman takes responsibility for such purchases because no one else does.

Baker: executive staff sets climate in which exec. comm. functions. Information about jamor purchases should be given to all exec. comm. members. Perhaps greater regularity to exec. meetings would facilitate this.

Zinn: when responsibility isn't fixed in any one person, either job isn't done or one person takes all responsibility. Exec. comm. should approve any long-range expenses. Smaller group of two or three should be set up for consultation before office purchases made.

Baker: financial comm. should have chairman who could call meetings and be called upon for financial decisions.

Conn: move we hire full-time bookkeeper

Again a vote failed to be taken.

Miles: SNCC needs more than a bookkeeper per se. Needs someone who would be purchasing agent, too. Logical chairman for the financial comm. is Shossie. She has done excellent job of decision making in Forman's absence. (In answer to Moses' question) All major expenses should first be cleared through Atlanta isn't it usual to make a cut-off point below which individual project directors could make own decision?

Moses: against this. Makes no difference whether we spend \$500. foolishly or \$100. foolishly five times.

Moses: who determines priority of financial requests?

Smith: staff coordinator could not have this responsibility since not always here.

Zinn: logical choice for this position is exec. secretary. He is one with most knowledge of organization and its needs. Purpose of daily sub-committee would be consultation.

Baker: someone should convene larger financial comm. and this comm. would make other recommendations and decide composition and chairman of daily sub-committee.

Miles: function of daily sub-comm. would be to review all bills and expenditures and audit petty cash.

Baker: first draft of budget should be done by financial comm. and submitted to exec. comm. for approval.

Zinn: financial comm. should be responsible to exec. comm.

M. Forman: since much money is spent by press dept., Julian should be on sub-committee.

\*Miles: if no objection, composition of sub-committee will be: Ruby, Julian and Shossie.

No objection was voiced.

Smith: (answer to question) function of sub-committee will be determined by the need.

Moses: still question who makes decision as to amount of money a project receives and when it is sent.

Lewis: larger financial comm. will meet and make report at next exec. comm. meeting. Sub-committee will function meantime in the office.

Zinn: one or two more people should be added to larger committee who might be able to come to financial meetings more easily than some of those presently on it.

Baker: I have commitments for summer project which would make it difficult to attend meetings on short notice. Feel Mississippi project should be represented on finance comm.

Smith: each project should have one clerical person to handle book-keeping. These persons should be represented on financial comm.

Miles: against this. Is essential that each project have person competent to handle finance. But this person may not know best the project's needs.

Hall: project directors should simply consult with their bookkeepers before financial meetings. Wouldn't like to see financial comm. become overloaded in membership.

Baker: since Bob may be too busy during beginning financial comm. meetings, someone from Mississippi could represent him.

Miles: all contributions should come through Atlanta. All money raised by staff should come directly to Atlanta.

Johnson: there should be two people in each office who open the "non-person" mail, as is done in Atlanta.

Hall: this would prevent checks from getting lost. What about checks enclosed in "personal" letters?

Miles: not all our financial problems can be solved but can recommend solutions to most outstanding ones.

Barry: people on tour should not carry money with them -- should send it directly to Atlanta.

Johnson: (answer to question) person handling finances for Freedom Singers is Matthew Jones. He sends money directly to Atlanta.

Barrett: perhaps memo should be sent to support groups asking them to make all checks out to SNCC and send directly to Atlanta.

Miles: sometimes 4 or 5 people in a project send individual expense reports. From now on, will accept no expense reports unless sent by the one appointed person in each project. Don't have to use prepared forms -- but use something. Intra-projects financing has to stop. Projects who give money to workers from other projects will have this money charged back against their budget. SNCC now has \$200. in savings account and about \$20. in another. Air travel expenses haven't been listed due to hold up there. Change from general fund to payroll made to facilitate tax paying.

Johnson: all taxes paid for this year. Phone bills have been decreasing and all have been paid.

Miles: since auditor has audited the books, many irregularities allowed us before because of our ignorance, will no longer be permitted. As yet, have no record of Mississippi's debts.

Moses: Mississippi has asked for help with books but has no money to hire anyone.

Miles: financial comm. should consider possibility of investment to insure continuing financial support. Comm. would need special counsel on this matter.



Barry: move exec. comm. commend Mrs. Milos and Mrs. Johnson for the extensive financial report they prepared.  
 Motion was seconded and passed by consensus.  
 Betty: will be able to accept position of full-time bookkeeper but not until June (currently under contract at Morris Brown).  
 Moved and seconded to pass the financial report as submitted and refer approved report to financial comm. Motion passed unanimously. Meeting recessed for lunch.

Meeting reconvened at 4:15 pm. by Chairman John Lewis.

### Fund-raising

Meeting began with discussion of Gregory tour.

Barry: one of the functions of financial comm. should be to check into fund-raising with intention of stabilizing it.  
 Moses: financial committee's members were chosen on basis of one specific function. Would have to change committee's composition if expand its function.  
 Cox: Dinky, Julie Prettymen should constitute another sub-committee to fulfill function which Marion suggested.  
 Baker: this sub-committee might also include Prathia.  
 Discussion was tabled until Dinky's arrival as it was felt more information was needed.

### Northern Activities

Cox: Alsop's articles; "Unhappy Secret" and "Practicality v. Emotion" which appeared in the Washington Post, inject communist scare into civil rights movement. Claims SCLC and SNCC haven't been as successful in combatting communist infiltration as have the Urban League and NAACP. Washington Post claimed John opposes the stall-in but N.Y. Times said he supported it. New civil rights group is being formed under the name of ACF. Lawrence Landry is chairman.  
 Conn: SNCC should develop policy concerning statements made in regard to other civil rights groups and their activities.  
 Lewis: never actually signed name to statement issued by Council of United Civil Rights Leadership on a stall-in. Name was signed by another in the Council. Afterwards I reconsidered statement and had my name removed from the statement; then issued another.  
 Baker: an attempt is being made to draw line between "responsible" and "irresponsible" leadership through this issue. SNCC must consider the real issues involved.  
 Zinn: SNCC should follow pragmatic approach: join with groups we agree with and play an independent role otherwise. Shouldn't be afraid of confronting more powerful civil rights groups. Our strength lies with the mass base we have in Negro community. We are at times closer to the rank and file of other civil rights groups in the principles and actions we support than are their leaders.  
 Ruby: policy statement should be issued to clarify the freedom of association rights of every group. SNCC will have to decide whether it intends to relinquish these rights for other gains.  
 Baker: have not had enough discussion on this subject to be able to issue statement which supposedly represents feeling of entire exec. comm. Would oppose any alliance with black nationalist movement because they're working toward different goals. Must have some dialogue on civil disobedience, black nationalism, etc.

Barry: agree. Public isn't educated by one statement of goals. Will base its opinion on our actions.

Smith: public already confused due to varying opinions of our staff and statements it makes.

Zinn: have to constantly redefine your position through action. Implicit in the philosophy of freedom of association is the freedom not to associate.

### Northern Affiliates

Hall: should consider policies and associations of our Friends of SNCC groups.

Conn: are our northern groups bound by our decisions and, should we do anything about groups which make statements we don't agree with

Baker: question should be tackled at 2 levels: means of checking staff statements and means of checking affiliates' statements.

Cox: regarding civil disobedience statements: should be remembered that this technique is means to an end and should be used to construct the society we're working toward.

Smith: what criteria is used to judge a tactic's usefulness?

Hall: can't consider isolated tactics since useful tactics can sometimes be used in destructive way.

Zinn: particularly important that SNCC redefine its philosophy and tactics since our operation in Mississippi will put them to their most extreme test.

Smith: line between violence and non-violence not clear cut.

Bond: there's a difference between a man arming his self and his neighbors and SNCC person doing same. SNCC still nonviolent.

Moses: if you do nothing to change violent beliefs of people with whom you work, then you're inconsistent with those beliefs.

Lewis: do we have the right to tell people what they can do in terms of protecting themselves and their families?

Barry: consider 3 policies: 1) actions of residents in areas we work: Have nothing to say about means person uses to protect self. 2) actions of SNCC workers: Should be committed to non-violence 3) mass demonstrations: Must decide whether our purpose is better served by participation of greatest number or by small group committed to non-violence completely.

Moses: people in Mississippi now forming terrorist groups. Distinction can also be made between aggressive and defensive violence. Fault of non-violence proponents that they have been unable to convey their philosophy to the people.

Hall: reason we fail to reach many people: our non-violent philosophy is related to them out of context of reality. Also, people on demonstrations don't need non-violent workshops so much as leadership discipline.

Pollins: almost impossible to control total actions of mass demonstration with or without non-violent climate.

Cox: comes down to basic beliefs of SNCC concerning non-violence. If we do believe in it, we must make this known to the community by our behavior.

Pollins: still unsure what I would do if found myself alone and about to be beaten by Klan. Natural impulse to defend myself.

Moses: those on a demonstration know position of their leadership on non-violence. Will adjust to climate set by them.

Baker: small committee should be formed to expand on John's second statement on stall-ins (See attached sheet) This positive

statement should be sent to all field staff and should be used as a guideline for future actions and statements by them. Should also consider need for staff retreat.

Consensus that our policy in regard to Friends of SNCC would not be included in this statement.

Hall: should come to some conclusion about participation by staff in other organizations.

Zinn: can't make any clear cut policy on this matter. People should be given as much freedom of association as possible. Any situations created by random statements made by the staff can be met without too much difficulty.

Hall: SNCC people would probably appreciate some guidelines regarding our policy on this matter.

Conn: when any SNCC affiliate commits their group to a particular program lying outside their normal functions, they should first contact SNCC.

Barrett: all press statements should be issued from Atlanta or with the approval of our communications department.

Baker: SNCC must also recognize certain autonomous rights of affiliate

Smith: SNCC should consider revising its constitution regarding role of affiliates. Constitution now says they're completely autonomous.

Lewis: committee already set up to study revision of constitution in other areas as well: Don Harris, Prathia Hall, Julian Bond.

Baker: Friends groups have certain individual rights and at same time are asked to divorce selves from leadership roles in civil rights activities of their area.

Cox: move we appoint committee to work on Miss Baker's suggestion that we consider our policy in regard to civil disobedience, supportive action and press releases.

Another motion lost on the floor.

King: before statements are made by SNCC leaders they should inform the communications department so that it will be aware of the statement and be able to comment on it to press.

Hall: completely unnecessary to issue opposition statements against other civil rights groups and their activities.

Moses: we should develop some means of publicizing good points of various civil rights groups and their programs. Country must be shown that the birth of these many civil rights groups is direct result of the injustices and inhumane treatment which minority groups suffer in this country.

Lewis: committee to study this idea: Courtland, Julian and Marion.

Garman: important to institute policy for Friends groups. They will be doing more in direct action as summer progresses. Must consider what direct action by Friends group means in terms of: 1) their fund-raising capacity and 2) effect it has on our total possibilities in that area.

Betty then gave a report on previous direct action activities of various Friends groups. In almost all cases it was shown that direct action resulted in an almost total stoppage of their fund-raising.

Garman: unfortunately, Friends groups often feel it incumbent upon them to do direct action in their own areas because of their association with SNCC. They are constantly challenged by, "Why concentrate your activities on the southern racial scene when the North is no better?"

Barrett: must also remember that our support comes many times from people who support us because of our image regarding southern dis-



crimination but who wouldn't support us if we carried on these same activities in their own communities.

Baker: Chicago is preparing financial proposal whereby certain amount of money raised would go toward own project and rest would come to SNCC. Friends groups should have financial goal with understanding that part of money raised would go to own program.

Hall: northern groups often need field worker around whom they can raise money. Also, wonder if we have any right to ask Friends groups not to participate in local action. Chicago needs a full-time person oriented to the South and its needs for fund-raising.

Smith: should be at least one person in Chicago to coordinate fund-raising. Person doesn't have to be from South. Problem with Chicago now is that no one there really wants to do fund-raising.

Moses: someone might also go to N.Y. office to analyze how it, the Friends group and the fund-raisers might work better together. Fund-raisers group, such as one in N.Y. might be organized in Chicago. When SNCC concerts are successful, usually just luck since most of our northern offices know little about complicated techniques involved.

Bond: fund-raising coordinator for all fund-raising activities ~~needed~~ necessary

Garman: don't fool actions of Friends groups in their areas is great contributor to our present financial crisis.

Baker: how has campus support held up?

Garman: as Friends groups developed, campus friends declined: 1) they need to know much in advance of a need for particular action, and 2) SNCC didn't cultivate them. Only 18 active campuses and have key contacts on 50 campuses. Dotty Zollner has suggested that each campus be asked to commit themselves to contribute \$2,000. each year.

Moses: contacts should be made with students while they're in Miss. this summer.

Barry: how are new groups developed on and off campus?

Garman: haven't made any real effort to develop Friends groups where no contacts exist. These contacts are usually made through conferences and groups like Hattiesburg ministers.

Barrett: there are interested people and students in many places who can fund-raise on sustained basis. Must pay people to handle this in each SNCC office.

Barry: techniques of successful fund-raising should be drawn up for other Friends groups.

Garman: memos being developed on various aspects of fund-raising. Will ask for reports from each Friends group so each can see how other work.

Zinn: exec. comm. should recommend to personnel committee that they find permanent full-time fund-raiser in Atlanta.

King: SNCC should begin to think in terms of continuous fund-raising and not just crisis fund-raising.

Garman: in crisis situation it's sometimes more effective for fund appeal to come directly from the field. Any such appeal should be made known to Friends group in area where appeal being made.

Moses: oftentimes have to combat wish of some contributors to personalize the contribution by making check out to individual field worker.

Smith: northern coordinator should notify field speaker and host group that all money is to be made out to SNCC and sent to Atlanta.



- Barrett: what can we do about people who claim they work for SNCC who don't.
- Lewis: will handle this problem if notified of it.
- Bond: do we have bank account under name of Mississippi Freedom Summer
- Ruby: no. Supposed to be set up but never was.
- Bond: if one were set up, SNCC fund-raisers could raise for summer project under that name.
- Garman: status of fund-raising: Gregory tour should make \$100,000. clear. Jimmy Belton's been keeping record of all contributions and their sources for past week. Contributions have been decreasing. Reason: absence of Student Voice. When is published shouldn't be allowed to lie around SNCC offices. Much fund-raising being done around Mississippi summer project. All energies of Friends groups being diverted toward Gregory tour. Artists should be contacted -- many are as yet untapped. Core of artists should be asked to contribute proceeds of one concert a year to SNCC. Artists should also be contacted to make appearances in field areas -- would help project and could make the artist more deeply committed.
- Lewis: what is status of Danny Lyon's book?
- King: will be out in Fall. All contributors are providing their photo free. Book being done by Simon & Schuster more as contributor to Movement than as business venture. Book will have access to usual promotion outlets.
- Garman: will come out first in hard cover, later in soft.
- Michaels: suggest Freedom Theater tour following the summer as means of fund-raising.
- M. Erman: (in answer) Freedom Singers have made about \$3,000. since East
- Garman: Becker film is just about completed. Film centers around Ivanhoe and is narrated by him. We will receive 20 copies. Film will also be shown in movie houses. Contains about 2hrs. and is in sound.
- Smith: someone should go to N.Y. and try to make film into several shorter films which could also be distributed.
- Moses: particularly while Forman's away, someone should be selected to pick up all loose ends in fund-raising. What is status of fund-raising letter coming out of N.Y.?
- Bond: has already been approved by Standard and Grant.

### Personnel Comm. Report

- \* Job descriptions passed out. Several recommendations from the personnel comm.: 1) within 10 days after adjournment of exec. meeting, all project directors submit report including job descriptions of all workers and report on future needs and plans of staff. 2) more clerical help with stenographic skills must be hired. 3) legal staff be set up to keep track of bonds and those in jail. (At present may not even have a SNCC lawyer in Howard Moore since he is being paid directly by NAACP Legal Defense Fund) Hunter Morley will handle clerical end of legal matters for all of Mississippi. 4) stop hiring until we review functions of those already on staff. 5) all staff should be reviewed by personnel comm. at least once a year. Personnel comm. composed of: Lewis, Forman, Long and Smith. (Report given by Ruby).
- Barry: should discuss personnel comm.'s composition. In some cases we're wasting potential and even money because of personnel comm. policies. Should consider adding to the committee.

- Long: exec. comm. now serves as board of review for personnel comm. Personnel comm. now functioning much better than before.
- Cox: those presently on personnel comm. those most informed about the staff and workings of the organization.
- Baker: perhaps personnel comm. should not be composed solely of staff. Must have objective yard stick for hiring and firing. Personnel manual should be written to clarify some issues regarding the staff. Grievance procedure should be set up.
- Smith: procedure for grievances already established: from personnel comm. to exec. comm.
- Cox: don't think more members should be added to personnel comm. Comm. Personnel comm. and other exec. members should tonight lay out broad outline which member of personnel comm. can follow as presently composed, personnel comm. made up of people who might at any time go to the field leaving the committee non-existent or seriously incapacitated.
- Barry: members of personnel comm. should be composed according to staff position and not according to the persons themselves.
- Smith: feel personnel problems worthy of consideration by entire exec. comm. Personnel problems can be solved either by exec. comm. or through committee set up by exec. comm.
- Baker: personnel comm. could meet and make reports to exec. comm. four times a year.
- Barry: non-staff people on personnel comm. would take pressure off Rubin and Worth who are staff themselves.
- Long: recommend small group from exec. comm. could review quarterly the work of daily personnel comm. and report back to exec. comm.
- Smith: smaller comm. could meet two weeks prior to each exec. meeting with the personnel comm.
- Lewis: smaller committee can be appointed later.
- Long: would like to return to school this summer, but will be available in the fall. There is great need for trained person to help Forman in administrative capacity. SNCC also needs people who can fill speaking engagements. We should hire personnel according to qualifications and not availability.
- Smith: personnel comm. felt Worth should stay in South but should go if felt he had to. Another matter: Forman felt he should have an exec. assistant to visit projects, fill speaking engagements and be in the office in his absence. Suggested Prathia.
- Baker: SNCC should guard against becoming bogged down with titles. If have coordinator and administrative secretary, shouldn't need another position. Either of these two people should be able to handle such situations. Our structure should not be governed by crisis periods.
- Smith: (ans. question) Worth feels that as staff coordinator, he should be out in field more. My job mostly matter of paper work.
- Baker: ask exec. comm. to accept recommendation of Prathia as exec. assistant, but personnel comm. should discuss this in long-range terms.

Recommendation accepted by consensus.

At this time closed session was held to discuss Sheila Michaels case. Both Sheila and Marion Barry were allowed to remain in the room during the discussion thus setting a precedent for future cases. Other personnel problems were later discussed with only exec. members present. Meeting then continued in open session. Mississippi project reports circulated. Adjourned 11:20 pm.

Meeting reconvened on April 19th at about 10:15 pm.

Political Aspects of Mississippi Summer Project

Meeting began with discussion of means by which federal government could be made to give protection during summer in Mississippi.

Moses: sent following letter:

Memo to: "Friends of Freedom in Mississippi"

Roy Wilkins, James Farmer, Martin Luther King, James Forman, L. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin, John Lewis, Harry Belafonte, James Baldwin, Dick Gregory, Ossie Davis, Marlon Brando, Aaron Henry, Ed King, Robert Spill, Jesse Gray, Larry Landry, Clyde Ferguson, Noel Day, Ella Baker

From: Bob Moses

Re: Mississippi Freedom Summer

Dear Sirs:

I am writing on request of the Executive Committee of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and in my function as Program Director of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO)

You are all aware of the summer program COFO is sponsoring in Mississippi this summer. We expect to field over two thousand worker in Freedom Schools, community centers, voter registration drives in every county, and projects in selected white communities. We anticipate up to one thousand volunteers from across the country to join us in this program, including ministers, teachers, lawyers and students.

We have learned through bitter experience in the past three years that the judicial, legislative and executive bodies of Mississippi form a wall of absolute resistance to granting civil rights to Negroes. It is our conviction that only a massive effort by the country backed by the full power of the President can offer some hope for even minimal change in Mississippi.

We have already been accused of launching this project to incite violence and chaos in Mississippi this summer. We have two answers to this charge. For one, violence is prevalent throughout the state, at least six Negroes have been killed by whites in the past three months. And, more important, the responsibility for maintaining law and guaranteeing, at the same time, the right to peaceful protest, must rest, in the final analysis, in the case of Mississippi, with the President of the United States.

The President must be made to understand that this responsibility rests with him, and him alone, and that neither he nor the American people can afford to jeopardize the lives of the people who will be working in Mississippi this summer by failing to take the necessary precautions before the summer begins.

We are writing this letter now to you, to join together as the "Friends of Freedom in Mississippi" to seek a meeting with President Johnson to ask him to do the following things to insure peaceful change in Mississippi this summer:

President Johnson should:



1. Meet in early May with Governor Johnson of Mississippi and extract from Governor Johnson the pledge that he will call together all state and local law enforcement leaders and lay down certain ground rules for the summer. Under these rules the following activities will not only be permitted, but will be protected: peaceful orderly picketing; voter registration; freedom of inter-racial groups to live in the Negro communities and to move around the state without molestation.
2. President Johnson will inform the governor that these are clearly established constitutional rights which the federal government, will before the summer, establish at key points throughout the state constellations of federal marshalls who will be ready on call to protect these rights by preventive action, including on-the-spot arrests; and that the full power of the federal government stands behind these marshalls. If the governor agrees, but then there is an obvious breaking of the agreement, these marshalls will be immediately moved into Mississippi.
3. President Johnson pledge to the committee in advance that he will take these actions if the governor refuses.

We are asking those who join the Friends of Freedom in Mississippi Committee to agree to the following:

1. Sign a letter to President Johnson requesting a meeting with him at the earliest possible date.
2. When and if the President agrees to meet with the Committee, release of the letter to the Press so that the country may know, in advance, the reason for the meeting.
3. Hold a joint press conference after the meeting to discuss fully the results of the meeting.
4. To carry the entire question to the country in the event the President does not agree to the above proposals.
5. To send four dates and places where you can meet with other members of the committee before April 18th. Please write to: Bob Moses, 1017 Lynch Street, Jackson, Mississippi.

Zinn: if consultation has not yet been had with all those involved should do so now by phone rather than letter: time of the utmost.

Cox: Mississippi people (e.g. Moses and Dennis) should make presentation of the demands to the President and have other members of the delegation as background.

Zinn: should also be few people there with knowledge of constitutional powers to support us in our request for positive presidential action in this area. Follow-up should be demonstration in D.C. in order to create pressure and focus on need for



presidential protection.

Baker: basis of negotiation with President should be proposal set forth in letter even if we don't have the support of other civil rights leaders.

Minnis: its a mistake to underestimate political power of people like Noel Day and Gray. Must consider their influence on N.Y. politics and the following they have in the Negro community.

Baker: must decide whether the act of seeing President or conditions on which we see him is the more important. More important to be refused audience on basis of proposal than being granted audience with less meaningful proposal.

Zinn: delegation should be formed around a nucleus composed of Bob, King, local Mississippians and legal support. Must appoint someone today to work with Bob on D.C. plans.

Smith: if we can clarify issues for public and explain reason for request for Presidential audience, then doesn't matter who states demands to the President. President will refuse audience on basis of demands and not on basis of person presenting them.

Minnis: President will only provide protection if we force him to. Regardless of whether he sees us, we must force him to give us protection through demonstration in D.C.

Tillow: if you assume that with or without audience President won't do anything positive, publicity becomes very important part of plans.

Baker: Mississippi people should go themselves to ask for protection for themselves and their families. Must also consider that President's refusal to see these people has greater adverse publicity. The Negro communities in all big cities have Mississippi ties -- should try and draw northern Negroes into this.

Zinn: should consider possibility of assembling as many of students coming to Mississippi for summer as possible. Most will be coming through D.C. anyway on their way down.

Cox: May 15th could be day for D.C. demonstration. On leadership: must consider that operating from top down without any base from below would necessitate compromising our position.

Lewis: SCLC also considering mass demonstration in D.C. first week of May.

Barry: might use Republicans to oppose Democrats and as threat to them.

Baker: would not like to see Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party or COFO become involved in the partisan politics struggle. (to Moses) Do we have authority to take up topics now being discussed or should they be handled in COFO exec. meeting?

Moses: since SNCC has greatest representation on COFO exec. board.

Smith: must set date for demonstration and Presidential audience. Should consider college exam schedule.

Baker: should consider who from Atlanta could help coordinate these plans.

Moses: NSM might be able to send someone down to Atlanta to help with this.

Zinn: in considering people for the coordinator position, should take most capable and not most available. Coordinator should have contacts with Mississippi and Washington groups. Should contact northern students about coming down.

- Baker: whether coordinator is in Atlanta or not, there should be at least one knowledgeable person in Atlanta to handle it from that end. Perhaps Julian? Ho's head of communications and could handle releases and info to press).
- Zinn: who has ultimate responsibility for this?
- Sayer: Tillow might handle total administration for this. Duck would stop with him. He could operate between Atlanta, D.C. and possibly N.Y. Julian could handle the mechanics of operation
- Moses: focus for operation must be on Mississippi and so impetus must come from there. Against having central news originating from outside South. Suggest that Mitchell from Detroit might coordinate it.
- Baker: D.C. might be best place from which to coordinate this plan.
- Zinn: coordinator could work in Atlanta until time for demonstration and then move to D.C.
- Smith: Julian could go to D.C. week before demonstration. Would have to give his communications responsibilities to others in the department until this is over.
- Baker: Walter will work with Julian on this plan. Julian will have ultimate responsibility for it, however.
- Cox: request for audience with President should be sent to him prior to day of demonstration.
- Zinn: my first proposal was that we use demonstration only after denied presidential audience. Now feel it should come off anyway and that delegation to President should come from those demonstrating.
- Moses: there should be a gathering of select people to hold press conference to explain purposes of demonstration.
- Tillow: demonstration might point up results of Mississippi's June 2 primary. Therefore demonstration should be scheduled to occur after this date.
- Minnis: must remember that on weekend material gets buried in press. Demonstration therefore should be scheduled for middle of week.
- \* Lewis: hearing will be held on June 9; demonstration on June 10.
- Baker: should consider what we do if President will see us on 8th.
- Zinn: will see him on 8th, but will still hold 10th demonstration.
- Moses: who should sponsor demonstration?
- Cox: the Mississippi people.
- Tillow: COFO.
- Moses: feels exec. comm. of COFO would agree to sponsor. Friends of Freedom in Mississippi might in case COFO doesn't.
- Bond: letter requesting audience should come from Mississippi.
- Minnis: research for hearing can be done by Atlanta research dept.
- Zinn: at hearing should also have people who can state legal basis for our demands for presidential protection.
- Moses: someone must take responsibility for gathering together the legal witnesses, the lawyers on the panel who will hear their testimony and that of the Mississippians.
- Zinn: should invite Civil Rights Commission since they never seem able to get to Mississippi.
- Baker:- should have only 4 or 5 people on panel.
- Barrott: should have enough people in the audience to give wide-range of representation and publicity.
- Zinn: legal panel should issue statement following hearing.
- Sayer: perhaps African dignitaries should be invited to serve on panel.
- Tillow: African students might also be invited to attend.
- Zinn: necessary to keep members of panel small but many others can

be asked to attend as part of the audience.

Some discussion then took place on auditorium; nothing decided.

Baker: hearing might last about 2 or 3 hours. Witnesses should be selected according to the variety of experiences. Not all witnesses would have to testify.

Tillow: some witnesses will have to testify behind screen in order to prevent reprisals.

Moses: Clyde Ferguson should serve as interrogator.

Barrett: might use proceedings' transcript for pamphlet.

\* Zinn: I will be responsible for legal witnesses and panel. Julian will serve as administrator and will handle all other arrangements with Walter's assistance.

Moses: COFO's political campaigns include plan for holding picnics at Federal lakes. First one to be held on April 25 at Sardis Lake. Several entertainers have promised to come.

Carmichael: Susan Goodwilly from National Council of Negro Women said she would bring some women down every Wednesday during summer.

Moses: last weekend in May will be crucial one for will be preparing for primary day (June 2) demonstrations and be in midst of political campaign. Need staff for this.

Baker: I will work on lining up support in N.Y. for Freedom delegation. Tillow will man the office there. A lawyer now in process of researching Democratic Party and its structure.

Wright: will work on getting grant for this research.

Moses: has been proposed that we file suit in N.J. federal district court against Democratic Party if Freedom delegations isn't seated.

Minnis: Lon Holt suggested that we enjoin the Democrats from seating the Mississippi delegation if we aren't seated.

Moses: On lining up support: can either concentrate on top people or can work across the board. (ans. question) Some work now being done to line up support on credentials committee. Miss Baker and Tillow might use help of NAG and Frank Smith to gain support from Washington contacts and unions.

Some discussion on matter of funds for this project. No decision.

Moses: will need money for transportation to Atlantic City and housing after our arrival.

Wright: projected budget for convention program should be drawn up to facilitate fund-raising for it.

### Education Plans for Mississippi

Mentioned that National Council of Churches has agreed to accept tax-exempt money for the Freedom Schools.

Wright: bill presently before Mississippi legislature to control education. Will look into this. Aimed at Freedom Schools.

Stafford and Moses are attempting to secure funds for salaries of graduate students who will work with SNCC staff on educational institute project.

Moses: New World Foundation might give money for salaries of educational staff coordinator. They might also pay for counselors to help SNCC staff and other southern students find "the college of their choice". Carol Morritt might coordinate it, having worked with NSSFNS

Baker: Paul Potter might be good person for educational staff.

Tillow: do we have educational coordinator yet? (was told that Stafford had been handling all details thus far.)



- Moses: Roosevelt Foundation may give awards to professors and grad students who could work with the educational staff. Sinclair Drake, Charles Hamilton and Dr. Zinn were some of those mentioned as possible recipients of award.
- Wright: Roosevelt Foundation banquet mentioned our educational proposal as one of its main projects for the future.
- Moses: Dr. Harold Taylor might be able to help out in financing educational program with help of Roosevelt Foundation.
- Marian Wright said she would look into this.
- Moses: (ans. question) still have not decided fields we want represented on educational staff. (ans. quest.) interested in qualified people; not necessary that they hold degrees.
- Baker: should also remember that we hope to establish program whose standing will be recognized.
- Zinn: since many professors already committed to teach next fall, may have to go outside academic community for educational staff.
- Moses: Roosevelt Foundation may match salaries of the two professors on educational staff. I would like some assurance that the staff will support educational program.
- Smith: most of staff feel need to get further education. Hope educational project will have same status as any other SNCC project.
- \*Zinn: move that exec. comm. give Moses and Stafford as much support as possible with this program, and that final program and staff composition as agreed upon by them be submitted to exec. comm. for final approval.
- Motion was seconded and passed unanimously.

### S S O C

At this point in the meeting, Ed Hamlet, Sam Shirah, Jim Williams, Sue Thrasher and other members of Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) entered to participate in the discussion of their group and its relationship with SNCC. Jim began with description of Nashville conference which was held April 3 thru 4th. Approximately 45 southern white students attended. Jim read the exec. comm. the six-point program formulated by the Continuations Committee appointed by SSOC at the conference.

- Williams: student representatives at the meeting varied in degree of commitment to Movement; all felt isolated from it. Since the conference, SSOC has felt lack of response to requests for help from Atlanta office. Wanted to combat false image southern white students were being given of SNCC's work but had nothing with which to work.
- Hamlet: like to see more work done on both white and Negro southern campuses.
- Sue Thrasher then read the statement which came out of the Nashville conference, "We Take Our Stand".
- Barrett: are SSOC members on SNCC's coordinating committee?
- Williams: no. No one has thus far contacted us.
- Baker: should consider how we can help you now to implement program read us.
- Barrett: if SSOC affiliated with SNCC would this hinder its progress in educating and involving southern white students?
- Williams: suppose this might cause some people to reject SSOC.
- Cox: SNCC should begin to think of expanding its program to deal



with the white student and white community. Does SSOC have any plans for working in white community?

- Williams: this has been considered. However, if SNCC feels it can meet needs which SSOC set up to meet, then there's no need for SSOC.
- Shirah: issue is whether SNCC can service SSOC not vice versa.
- Cox: can be approached on two levels: 1) SNCC can assume SSOC's project completely or 2) SSOC can operate as an affiliate.
- Barry: issue is that SSOC needs a program whether affiliated or not.
- Smith: all technicalities of relationship between SNCC and SSOC cannot be solved at this time, but we can alleviate some of the short-term problems. The long-term structure for relationship (such as establishment of person in administrative position in Atlanta office to act as coordinator for project) can be worked out at some later time; other short-range plans can be implemented now.
- Baker: has SSOC any framework through which to implement its proposal regarding relationship with SNCC?
- Hamlet: this is something we wanted to work out with SNCC.
- Smith: you should consider trying to get working relationship with already organized Negro colleges to facilitate organization of white campuses and to enable white and Negro colleges to work together in an area.
- Barry: SNCC should decide first whether it feels it can meet needs of SSOC and then work out structure. I feel we should expand in this direction.
- Moses: should not discuss program now. SNCC already thought about means through which to implement such a program. Question now is whether we should include in our program a staff concerned with organization of white community and all that program entails. Don't agree with Ann Braden's memo stating that SSOC should remain autonomous. It should not be established separate from SNCC. Right now SSOC is white group with some Negroes and SNCC is Negro group with some whites. SSOC must become part of SNCC and have representation in SNCC.
- Barry: this project should be a project with same status as any other SNCC project. It should be part of our total program.
- Shirah: SSOC will have to combat severe problems: apathy on Negro campuses; red-baiting on white.
- Negro student: problem on Negro campus not only one of apathy but also of rejection of "over-all image" which Movement has. Negro student, like white student, should be given alternative to direct action.
- Moses: SNCC has to cut across color lines. In Mississippi we must begin to think about opening up white communities. Should be able to call on SSOC for work in white community but will not be able to work together as successfully unless SSOC is apart of SNCC and its program.
- Carmichael: SNCC was not set up to service needs of another organization. SSOC must decide if it is willing to alienate white moderates by affiliating with SNCC.
- Rollins: SNCC has never developed idea of organizing the campuses. This group might service this need.
- Shirah: is SNCC ready to take the step into white organization? The campus movement is ready to take some type of social action. Movement has shifted from Negro to white campus. Meetings between Negro and white students will not affect that much. White students need a project of their own. White student

still sees only the "Negro problem" and fails to see similarity between it and "white problem". White student also has to deal with problems other than civil rights.

Cox: Sam is wrong in feeling SNCC deals solely with civil rights. Deal also with economic and political issues as they affect all people. If white movement to be successful, it must use same tactics of civil disobedience for white rights. Similarity of injustices must be shown to both sides. SSOC as an affiliate could travel southern campuses and bring up issues of civil rights and other social, political and economic issues.

Conn: even if we do unite, problem of personnel and financing remains. White project (SSOC) should use Sam's proposed white community project as training grounds for SSOC staff.

Smith: we must recognize present gap between the Movement and the white community and students. Propose following: 1) that SSOC affiliate with SNCC and continue to organize white campuses. 2) that SNCC (as part of its responsibility to southern students) set up administrative person to service those travelling the campuses. Alternate proposal: SSOC should dissolve itself into SNCC and be serviced by it.

Williams: wrong to speak of SSOC-SNCC relationship in structured framework since SSOC now is a paper organization. It could never implement its proposals because has no organization through which to work. Propose that SNCC put two more people on its campus staff to develop campus program. Am not interested in setting up bunch of moderate groups. SSOC will play same role on white campus as SNCC does on Negro campus. Conference will be set up for interested southern students on May 9th. Summer training sessions at Berea might possibly include sessions on organizing in white community. Workshops can be set up dealing with this aspect (even white moderates will come to workshops). SSOC can begin to supply staff. But need help from SNCC with southern student newsletter. Money needed for this. SSOC could also supply speakers to campuses and for SDS and LFSC programs. Travelling money needed. Would names of SNCC contacts since SSOC has none at all.

Stafford: feel all exec. comm. members agree with your goals. However, no one in SNCC presently knows enough about white campuses to accomplish anything concrete. Need concrete proposals from you on how to organize white campuses.

Hamlet: wanted from SNCC only an approval now of SSOC program and indication of how much support SSOC can expect from SNCC. Newspaper is most concrete proposal have now. If supporting it means that SNCC will have to cut back on another less important project than feel this should be done.

Barry: recommend to SSOC following: 1) should dissolve and SNCC should set up program within its structure to fulfill the needs which SSOC was formed to meet, 2) it should write up proposals for organizing southern campuses, and 3) it should work toward publication of a newsletter.

Smith: SSOC should try to develop plans presented here and think in terms of implementing them in the fall. It should present budget to us for fall program so we can consider it and fund-raise for it.

Baker: once SSOC sets up structure separate from SNCC it will probably remain separate.

- Shirah: SSOC already has structure. SSOC has become white southern student project. Rather than dissolve, SSOC should become basis of white student project. Propose: have 10 campus travellers set up in teams of two to work 5 areas. Cost would be approximately \$25,000. SSOC should also consider expanding its project to include project in white community. At first thought place for this pilot project should be Appalachia but have since changed my views and now feel that Mississippi would be best place for this project.
- Barry: if we recognize need for program they present and feel can meet the need, there is no reason for their organization to remain separate while carrying it out.
- Smith: unfair to force them to dissolve into us. SSOC should have its own program because it has programs it would like to implement on its own. This was the reason SNCC would not dissolve into SCLC during early days of SNCC.
- Austin, Student: SSOC should not remain separate from SNCC simply in order to pacify moderate whites on southern campuses. SDS projects can service their needs.
- Zinn: we're seeing a very historical occurrence here in the birth of an organization like SSOC. Most important they not be stifled but be allowed to develop on their own. All they want from us is a verbal statement of our approval which has thus far gone unstated.
- Moses: one reason for some black-white tensions in SNCC is that whites in the Movement always work in Negro communities. SNCC needs whites who will work in white community and show that same dangers are faced there as are faced in Negro community. Close cooperation which is needed here cannot be obtained through two parallel organizations.
- Cox: Negroes in SNCC must be made to see similarities between the problems faced by white and Negro communities. They will be able to understand this better through white workers who are facing same dangers they are, but in white communities. This project could have profound impact on the Movement.
- Staughton: Members of SSOC and SNCC should work together in an area because if they are geographically separated, they will become separated in other ways.
- Lynd
- Baker: would SSOC be able to send people into Mississippi white community.
- Hamlet: don't know anyone who's willing to remain in white community. We will work more in terms of summer project. After that a few others and myself will work as campus travellers. Now need support for things we are able to do like newsletter, money for campus travellers and conference. SSOC will base its reaction of SNCC upon the actions of SNCC.
- Tonn: move that small committee be formed to draft statement to SSOC, assuring them of our support.
- Thrasher: (ans. quest.) feel that \$300. would support the projects which SSOC had proposed.
- Baker: this is too small an amount and the project is too important to deny them the requested funds.
- \*It was consensus of exec. comm. that SNCC grant SSOC \$300. before their May 9th conference.
- Cox: 3 people from SSOC and 3 from SNCC should form committee to work out plans to implement programs set forth by SSOC.
- Smith: can SNCC people come to May 9th conference?



- Hamlet: very definitely. We need the assistance of SNCC people at conference.
- Moses: should take this matter up with staff during staff retreat. Meanwhile, we should service SSOC in as many ways as we can.
- Cox: unless a working relationship is developed between SNCC and SSOC staffs, all the resolutions in the world couldn't help. We need to implement a close relationship between the two staffs.
- Smith: our actions between now and then will be proof of our intentions more than any resolutions.
- Thrasher: ~~statement~~ not needed now that SSOC has had chance to see how SNCC exec. comm. feels about it and its proposals.
- Moses: a work-study project could be initiated by SSOC on white campuses.
- \*Lewis: Julian and Ruby will be among the members of a committee to work out plans for implementation of a cooperative relationship between SNCC and SSOC.
- Conn: this committee should present its proposals concerning the relationship between two groups to the May 9th conference.
- Shirah: SNCC exec. comm. does not speak for entire staff. Think whole discussion should be tabled until SNCC has staff retreat to find out thinking of entire staff. This retreat should be held before May 9th conference.
- Barry: committee of which Julian and Ruby are members will be a pro temp one until permanent machinery can be set up.
- Zinn: we're asking this small committee to work out relationship as if it had consensus on which to base its work. SNCC should simply agree to give SSOC as much help as possible. The SSOC people here today can convey this feeling to other SSOC members.
- Cox: committee should be set up to follow up on 1) money, 2) helping Julian with newsletter, and 3) helping Billy with organization of campus travellers to white campuses.
- Shirah: if staff really the determining factor in decisions, how can exec. comm. make this kind of decision?
- Smith: first, it should be established that as a representative body of SNCC, exec. comm. has power to make certain decisions. However, it is true that this should be discussed among the staff.
- Baker: move that we submit to SSOC a statement saying that exec. comm. of SNCC agrees with basic programs proposed by SSOC both in their depth and scope; that SNCC has already begun to respond to some of the issues raised and is challenged by others. That we feel we can respond to SSOC's request on three levels: 1) by supplying funds, 2) by making possible the issuance of a SSOC newsletter and 3) by setting up a committee to work on a temporary relationship until we deal with the issue of a specified relationship.

Motion seconded and passed by consensus.

\*The following section recorded and transcribed by Mary King\*

lawyers for Mississippi Summer Project

discussed Sunday, April 19, afternoon



Freedom Summer in relation to NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund.

Background: A letter from Bob Moses to Jack Greenburg stated that it was the position of the SNCC Exec. Comm. and of the COFO that we would work with any lawyers in the Mississippi Freedom Summer. In the meantime the National Lawyers Guild has made preparations for project participation (there are to be 60 "lawyer weeks" to put client in touch with law firm and be followed up). There were many repercussions in the North.

Marion Wright presented the position of Greenburg, noting that her personal opinions were not involved. Greenburg had written strong letter to Moses in which he states that some groups will not work "on any basis" with Guild members. Greenburg states that the decision is Bob's and that if we decide to work with the Guild, the Inc. Fund will pull out of Mississippi. Since then Greenburg has decided that if we choose to work with the Guild, the Inc. Fund will go to Baton Rouge, conduct training institutes, have two Memphis lawyers available to the Delta, possibly move John Dow and Howard Moore over for the summer, but will not work with the Guild lawyers. However, Greenburg plans to present their position at Baton Rouge and offer each worker the choice between retaining a Guild or Inc. Fund lawyer. Further, the Inc. Fund will not represent any SNCC staff persons. Marion indicated that the reason could be given in terms of the record of inefficiency of certain Guild members.

Two questions were raised here: 1) if two workers are arrested at the same place for the same thing but choose counsel differently, what would happen? (Bond) Marion stated that the Inc. Fund simply would not cooperate in any way with the Guild lawyer. 2) the affiliation of a worker -- is he either SNCC or COFO? (Conn) Bob mentioned that this had been raised before for different reasons, and that it had been decided then that affiliation would be with SNCC. That point was not clarified.

The problem of being left in Mississippi this summer without any body to initiate offensive and aggressive suits was brought up. (Cox) Marion said that she thought pressure could be brought to bear on Greenburg to bring more offensive suits. Greenburg claims they have refused few criminal cases, Marion said, and that he promises more help there.

It was asked whether there had been any clarification, verbal or other, on the relation of the Inc. Fund and for example, the National Council of Churches. (Smith) Marion said the NCC would have 30-40 lawyers in Mississippi this summer, but that prime legal help would likely come from the Inc. Fund. The Guild has people but not money, she said, suggesting that this was mainly a question of principle versus practicality.

Dr. Zinn disagreed, saying that though there were times when adhering to principle means "death", this was not that serious a situation, and that principle probably wouldn't require sacrifice. "It is unlikely that the Inc. Fund will be able to say to the nation that it is staying out of Mississippi once things get going," he said. The principle here, Zinn said, is that the legal establishment is laying down the line on the basis of a dirty question which SNCC should not be associated with, and that the last Exec. meeting had expressed this point of view. Zinn said he was suspicious of the efficiency question, and that Guild members have to be evaluated as individual lawyers. Marion agreed here that Greenburg would concede it depended on individual lawyer from Guild. Courtland Cox reiterated these points saying he was affronted because neither Greenburg nor anyone else has the right to dictate.

When question of three present Inc. Fund-related lawyers in the state was raised, Moses suggested we avoid evaluating them, and referred

instead to the satisfaction of the staff with the lawyers from the firm of Waltzor and Smith in New Orleans, in terms of their attitudes and their permissiveness in allowing staff to make decisions. Bob then pointed out that Greenburg's delineations of the other groups was not that cut and dried: some opposing groups are associated with Guild lawyers. Marian added here that Greenburg was fearful of a concentration of Guild lawyers there who will end up running the legal situation.

Atty. Howard Moore stated that the whole discussion boiled down to the need of SNCC for its own staff lawyer. The Guild is irresistible in view of its philosophy, he said, but has no funds and lacks training in civil rights cases that the Inc. Fund has. The Louisiana Guild and ACLU is closest to SNCC geographically and is competent but can't bear it alone. Maybe there should be a short term rapprochement between the Inc. Fund and Louisiana people, he suggested. Moore also backed the point that the Fund would not be able to resist the pull of influential students who will be involved in the summer project as they had been unable to stay out of the sensational American cases. He said that he thought we should go ahead regardless of Greenburg's ultimatum. Marian reminded us that she was not speaking personally, and just wanted us to be wary of the risks. Moore said there was really no gamble, either you were represented by people sympathetic to your program or not. Whereupon Marian stated that Greenburg could always argue that they were involved in all southern states now and there was too much litigation now to embark on new cases. Marian's last point before she had to leave the meeting was that the restrictions on defending SNCC people referred only to Mississippi, but the issue of association with the Guild pertains everywhere.

Miss Baker asked if the NCC had been consulted about their views on association with the Guild. Bob briefly inserted the present plans for the Boreas orientation sessions: we have \$25,000. from the NCC for the first two week orientation session lasting from June 15 thru the end of June. He said he had had unofficial comments from two NCC lawyers who say there are problems but don't know if they will go further.

The issue of allowing Greenburg to present the Inc. Fund views before new workers at Boreas raised again, (Tillow, Conn and Stearns) especially since some of his statements would reflect on the competency of Guild lawyers against whom they would be asked to choose. Smith suggested it would be unethical.

Bob said that when he was last in NYC it was suggested that there was no point in his approaching Greenburg. The suggestion of dividing the state into portions for the Guild and portions for the Inc. Fund was vetoed since they go before the same judges.

Lewis asked if SNCC's open door position was accepted by any other groups. Bob said Dave Dennis did.

Smith brought up the implications of these questions for SNCC's lack of long-range legal staff with clerical workers.

There was no real decision made by Exec. Comm. as to rejection or acceptance of Greenburg's proposal, but then, the issue had not been presented that way. After lengthy discussion in which general opinion was that we could not allow the legal establishment to make policy for us and that it was unwise to allow Greenburg to make Boreas a "stage" for his assertions, the discussion shifted to transfer of the nation-

Background: The September 6-9, 1963 meeting of the Exec. Comm. decided the Mississippi project would be SNCC's top priority for a variety of reasons including: Justice Department suits; presidential elections; need for immediate mobilization to get action by 1967; inability or lack of willingness of other groups to move there, and because it is in keeping with SNCC's historic record that we move on the most critical place first. Therefore, staff coordinator, North Long and executive director, Jim Forman, feel we should move to implement a shift of headquarters to Mississippi as soon as possible. A preliminary staff meeting with Atlanta staff has already taken place to begin discussion of this. (Long)

The proposal was again brought up with new ramifications and little review of why it had been voted down in September was deemed necessary because of events since the fall.

Moses presented the proposal as follows in summary: the unresolved tension regarding the summer project can only be resolved by increased involvement of Atlanta staff in Mississippi. Problem is that key experienced people are needed in the right positions as soon as the workers arrive. Key people are also needed in terms of projections from Mississippi. Further, due to focus which project is gathering around the country, move to Mississippi will create greater publicity. In this way we will also be able to get the news out with the proper interpretation. Example of improper interpretation: November mock ballot publicity where interpretation was gimmicky, i.e. focus on white students from North. SNCC already has a primary focus in Greenwood. The implications of the Delta to the nation are great, and are all concentrated in Greenwood where we have a base. For example: automation; an absolute Negro majority; movement to the slums in urban areas from rural South. One way to get focus on implications of Delta is to move national headquarters to Greenwood. Jackson would be more difficult for other reasons.

Smith said that she now sees merit of moving certain operations there, but that the question is what to move. For example, a large segment of communications ought to go and the staff coordinator should be there. Now supporting the move, although she was against it for a long time, Smith said before we even consider moving permanently as was suggested in the fall, it is now imperative to test it out with shifting for the summer.

Concern for the neglect of other projects was voiced by Don Harris and William Porter who stated fear of communication breakdown and lack of machinery so they could get through the summer without chaos.

Problems of mailings brought up by Nancy Stearns. Bulk mail has been held up throughout the South. If there are to be large mailings from Atlanta, the same functions, if not the same people will be needed. Other points raised:

- 1) Is Greenwood the most feasible place with bulk mail and other security problems. (Smith)
- 2) Are we being fair to S.W. Ga., Ark., La. The Chair should certainly be in Mississippi because it is symbolic. Garman should definitely be there with all the college contacts there. (Cox)
- 3) We don't actually know what to anticipate in Mississippi this summer. We should consider Memphis and New Orleans as communications bases, or at least their potential as news centers (Stafford)
- 4) While agreeing that the chairman, exec. secretary, administrative secretary, communications director, and other personnel should move they may not necessarily play the same role there. Can't think of real duplication of Atlanta functions in Miss. (Bo



- 5) Little more discussion needed. Many people all over country have the idea that it's a SNCC operation but there's ambivalence since other organizations involved. Not discounting proportion of funds and staff SNCC has put in, but to discuss as we are now is unrealistic (Moses).
- 6) Other projects will not be neglected because the crew kept in Atlanta will certainly be responsible (Smith). At this point the Chairman stated that though he would be spending as much time as possible in Mississippi, he has a moral obligation to the other projects which he won't ignore.
- 7) It is important that at the end of the summer Atlanta is not a ghost office (Cox).
- 8) There is no virtue as such in the staff coordinator or southern campus department moving to Mississippi. The exec. secretary should definitely be there, and one person from communications. Secretarial people are needed (Baker).

\* Miss Baker made a motion following this discussion which was intended to simplify the process of deciding who would move by giving the staff a mandate from the exec. comm. The motion read: it has been moved that there be a shift of office personnel including the exec. secretary; the chairman should give as much time as possible; there should be adequate personnel from communications; Betty Garmen and other adequate personnel should go. Motion discussed and voice vote indicated general agreement with Stafford strongly dissenting because felt enough time hadn't been given to considering New Orleans or Memphis as communications base.

Question of communications department shift received more attention. Moses maintained that it couldn't be handled from Atlanta and that the full-time director should be in Mississippi. Miss Baker suggested there were good grounds for debating Greenwood vs. Jackson as communications locations since minimum barriers to functioning should be present for that department. At this point Bob agreed that Jackson might be better site for news and mailing. He mentioned that local newspapers of participating northern workers would be more responsive to calls actually coming from inside the state. Bob then reiterated some of the reasons for proposed move: issues can be solidified better in Greenwood; it is crucial because of lack of skilled people that there be people in command posts who are more verbal than Mississippi people. If move is not made project will have to depend on people coming down and guess about their capability. Image will then be different as to who is providing direction for the project. One of the important things about SNCC is that we have developed a number of capable people and we should get legitimate mileage from this with veteran civil rights people in charge. This would be for summer, Bob restated.

Short discussion on finances brought no objection to having money go to Atlanta from Bob. There would not be that many problems since Mrs. Miles will be there travelling. (Smith) To specify that all money should go to Atlanta "for security reasons" would serve to reinforce the image of the state that we are trying to project (King).

Shifting the WATS line received more attention. Baker suggested that money problems might necessitate moving the line for 2 months, and that the Atlanta office, with discipline, could get along with regular use of long distance. Smith clarified question as to which office the Arkansas project would direct needs -- main office for all other project will still be Atlanta. King brought out that a WATS line is not static thing; there are ranges and areas with different costs: Mississippi

might need nation WATS line which would cost more than present \$1500., and Atlanta could always have line which only reached as far as Miss. Miss Baker then moved: WATS line be transferred from Atlanta to Mississippi for mid-June through August. Second: Smith Only 4 persons voted for the motion. Feeling was that many abstained because weren't sure of all variations. There was general consensus worded by the secretary and accepted by the body that Mississippi will have a wide-range WATS line and in the event only one line is available, Mississippi will get it.

Question of office machinery for Mississippi was disposed of with procedural motion by Cox that Chairman appoint a committee to make concrete recommendations about equipment for Mississippi, and that inventory as to what was needed be brought before next excc. meeting. Now purchases would be referred to finance comm. The body accepted motion by consensus. Following points were brought out in short discussion:

- 1) Need is temporary (Grinnego)
- 2) Some Atlanta equipment can be shifted but it's doubtful whether the office could be moved because of service needs to Greenwood. It could be serviced in Jackson as easily as Atlanta, though. Little offset wouldn't be much help because it's just a glorified mimeograph. Best thing might be to simply purchase several mimeo machines (Bond).
- 3) Communications should consult with Randy Blackwell who has offered tabloid size offset to us before. He bought it for \$700. and has had considerable experience in this type of printing. (Baker)

The presence of administrative personnel for Atlanta office during summer brought up by Miss Baker who asked if excc. comm. should discuss someone to be in charge in Atlanta and what recommendations there were for obtaining volunteer help. Carmichael suggested Cox come to Atlanta; Conn suggested Irathia Hall. Hall will be in school this summer as will Worth Long. No final decision; referred to personnel committee. These questions were asked, I believe because of the expressed concern of many present that there be a functioning office in Atlanta.

Brief report on applications for summer project to Jackson was called for by Chairman, who said there had been some questions raised about who was being accepted. Bond reported that last time he spoke with Jackson there were 280 applications and 80 acceptances. Moses said that there was a nationwide interviewing system to screen people. Jackson committee varies in make-up but includes Wendy Samstein, Ivanhoe Donaldson, Penny Patch, Donna Richards. Moses reserves right to make final decisions.

It was asked if those rejected by Mississippi might be used in another project (Baker). Perhaps they're unsuitable for Mississippi but would not have same liabilities elsewhere. Can others see applications. Harris expressed "Grave Concern" that S.W. Co. not be dumping ground for incompetents.

Two final points:

- 1) folk singers are being organized in N.Y.C. to do caravan tours for week-long periods in summer. (Moses)
- 2) we should make shifts to Mississippi in terms of being able to carry on our operation in case of widespread arrests. (Barrett)

### Selma Literacy Project

Mary Vahela presented short report on Selma Literacy Project. Primary purpose of project is to develop materials and to develop a program so that within a year SNCC staff will be able to request literacy materials

and staff people to teach -- funded from outside SNCC.

Overall budget of project now \$10,000. (\$3,500. from AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department; \$4,000. from Norman Family Fund; remainder from NCC, SNCC pays Mary's salary).

In first phase of project, which will end in August, will be 5 staff working with Mary in Selma beginning in June. Are presently getting preliminary experience in teaching in northern ghetto. At end of August 2 or 3 professional people will be brought in to evaluate materials.

In second phase, project will expand into year-long project where community people will be brought in and trained so staff can move out leaving trained personnel. Director of year's project will hopefully come from present staff. At end of year, SNCC project directors can request materials and staff, funded from outside as result of this summer's pilot project which was sponsored by SNCC, NSM and NSA.

Smith her moved that exec. comm. commend Mary for her work in getting project going. Applause indicated their approval.

Following were selected from exec. comm. to form exec. comm. personnel comm. which would review decisions of staff personnel: Conn, Batry, Cox, Gwon Robinson.

### ACT Meeting

Stokely Carmichael reported on meeting of newly formed ACT in D.C. April 17, 1964. ACT composed of Lawrence Landry (chairman), Gloria Richardson, Dick Gregory, Jesse Gray, Stanley Branch, Julius Hobson. ACT consultants include: Adam Clayton Powell and Malcolm X (in Africa at time of meeting).

Stokely first reported on meeting he attended in Cambridge, Ma. Gloria was sick and sent Stokely in her place. Her current plans for Cambridge include mass demonstration in Cambridge when Wallace comes to speak on May 11th at roller rink. Whites in Cambridge say roller rink is private since built with private subscriptions. CNAC says no since built on public property. Gloria plans to bring in Malcolm. Demonstrations will include lay-ins in street, blocking of Bay Bridge. ACT wants to endorse May 11th demonstration.

Stokely then reported on ACT meeting, stating that some of report would be subjective. Powell attacked every single civil rights group viciously from NAACP through CORE but stopped at SNCC. Among things discussed were: 1) ACT can act on the spot when called upon and 2) ACT's relation to Brooklyn stall-in.

Gregory followed Powell and attacked Uncle Toms. Grog said, "We must cut down all Uncle Toms because we can't start on white man yet." Atmosphere, Stokely said, was very exciting and group so mad to have brought own press--very good coverage.

Stokely said he didn't know Landry's position but that Landry began by calling for a boycott against California wines "because California wines endorsed vote for housing referendum". Landry then started on stall-in and censured all the groups for signing the statement against it. They were just getting around to censuring SNCC, when Stokely passed out Jehn's retraction statement. ACT wanted Mayor Wagner to call rent strike throughout NYC, and school board president to present an immediate plan for desegregation. Stokely said he made statement which neither supported nor condemned stall-in. Stokely then outlined plan for the stall-in.

A summary of Stokely's subjective comments follow:

ACT has grass roots support. People came from NYC, Chester, Pa. and even Detroit because they're disgusted with established leaders.



has stepped in to fill the leadership vacuum. There is a leadership vacuum in the northern ghetto, Stokely said, and SNCC has responsibility but we don't know where it lies. We can't afford to censure stall-ins because we can't pose any alternatives to them. Civil rights groups have never had to justify actions before because the white liberal community did it; now civil rights groups have to justify actions.

Moses spoke at this point saying that the gist of the discussion bothered him and that we were having to deal with all the questions in reaction to public opinion and the press. We should look at this in terms of principle. This position is similar to one we're regarding in Greenburg. He reminded group that the previous day it had been decided that we would go to their meetings and then issue statements about where we agree and disagree, trying to point out underlying factors and what this group means -- that Negroes in slums now have a vehicle, and that in large cities there have been no breakthroughs once the issues were presented just as there have been no breakthroughs in sight in the South with nonviolence.

Cox pointed out that Stokely had indicated the vacuum in his report and ACT's resultant potential to fill it. In taking any position, we must criticize the established northern civil rights leadership. There is need for a group that will take people on stall-in but who will also stay with them following it.

Smith stated that we should seek areas of common cooperation not areas of opposition. We have obligation to sit down with ACT and offer services in developing program, or we have an obligation not to deny them something with which they're identifying.

Stokely repeated several previously made points:

- leadership vacuum, must blame established leadership
- have no alternatives to propose therefore can't censure
- SNCC has responsibility and issuing statements is academic

Cox said we shouldn't attack stall-ins as bad tactic because we didn't know. SNCC has lesson to learn from this: i.e. to the extent there is no program; to extent there is leadership vacuum, leadership which acts out of frustration will evolve. He said what bothered him was that people would be brutalized and that we shouldn't react because all others were reacting.

Smith then proposed that we make no statements beyond that which the appointed committee to draw up the statement from the exec. comm. would make (said committee: Julian, Courtland, Bob); and that we're too busy working in the South to become involved. (see enclosed statement)

Moses stated that the tactic is probably a brilliant one and that if it were not tied up with lot of other issues it would have been possible to dramatize to the nation the Negro's complete alienation from hope. They have tried to create something around rent strikes and boycotts, but have received no response so they're trying to say that unless whole society comes to work on problems there's no hope.

Other points raised:

- 1) these problems will arise again and again and move into South (Carmichael)
- 2) don't need to eliminate stall-in but situation which created it (Smith)

The concern was repeated that people would be brutalized and that wouldn't have any effect.

Moses stated that no demonstration, no matter how badly planned or carried out, has had no effect. Point of stall-in is that the country can mobilize hundreds of thousands of dollars for world. Fair but Negroes can't get any money. Idea is badly projected but that's because of lack of leadership and that lack of leadership was created because white power structure decided to ask established civil rights leader-

ship to make comments and probably to put pressure on civil rights groups to denounce the action.

Miss Baker asked if there were any way that we could approach N.Y. group to begin dialogue to get them to verbalize things Bob voiced. Stokely said we have to help Gloria with the May 11 demonstration. It has been announced that John Lewis will be there.

Miss Baker: we can approach Gray.

Cox: we can talk with Ollie Leads and Arnie Goldwag.

Discussion continued with many of the same issues reemphasized by Smith Cox.

The final version of motion by Cox follows: The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee stands on the statement issued by our chairman John Lewis April 17 from Washington. In relation to ACT, SNCC people, wherever they are, will begin to start dialogue with individual members of ACT, voicing our concern as to lack of program; and wherever possible trying to encourage ACT to deal more directly with the problems of the urban ghetto. Second: Don Harris. Accepted by consensus.

Marion Barry raised question of what effect Landry's position in ACT would have on SNCC. He moved (with amendments by Moses) that Casoy write full report on Chicago situation for submission to next exec. meeting, with following special questions included:

- 1) how much does Landry plan to involve CAFSNCC in ACT program?
- 2) what has been the reaction of CAFSNCC and Chicago to new program?
- 3) how will ACT affect CAFSNCC?

Smith and Gorman were asked to request this report from Casoy.

### Student Voice

Report presented by Bond (see mimeo report for details).

- 1) if we were charging regular rates, below even union rates, we would gross \$120,000. a year.
- 2) beginning April 27 and every Monday following Voice will be issued regularly. (ans. to Hansen that irregularity hampers distribution).
- 3) two problems facing Voice: a) in some places mail has been held up for as long as two weeks and b) some offices let Voice pile up and do not distribute it effectively.
- 4) cooperative criticism from staff is solicited regarding Voice. checks for printing costs should be made out to The Student Voice Inc. (The Student Voice, Inc. is an incorporation which has thus far lent SNCC \$3,000.)

Bon Grinnage asked Bond to provide staff with listing of rates and time schedule for printing. (Rates are determined individually. At least 8 days from time order gets to Atlanta is required, including shipping if by bus company doesn't take more than 24 hrs. Mail is unpredictable because it's often intentionally held up).

(ans. ques.) Bobbi Yancy responsible for setting up regional state conferences and is now working with Mrs. Boynton and her campaign (Stafford).

Last exec. comm. meeting mandated Harris and Hansen to present reports on their projects. Harris reported first:

Last exec. comm. wanted projects to draw up concrete plan for political organization long-term basis. Since then C.E. King has announced candidacy for Congress. This is ideal vehicle to work with. Since 1961 project has been just about immobile and maintained a small scale. SCLC in last year or so has made tremendous strides in attempts to organize whole state. When Rev. Wells was fired from Air Force job, he was immediately hired by SCLC to do research for South Ga. plan, analogous to some 24 counties in Southeast.

gous to Moses Williams' project in Savannah. Williams is now working some 32 counties in Southeast Ga. and has some following in Albany.

Proposal: to work entire 2nd District (22 counties) for summer. This will involve voter registration primarily, centering around the fact that a Negro is running for Congress. Whole operation can hinge on this. King made first effort Friday, April 17 in Randolph County. Result was more than expected; five counties surrounding Randolph were represented.

18.2% of voting age Negroes are registered. This indicates that with resources and personnel, significant gains can be made. In some urban areas from 50 - 75 - 100 can register a week and this is not an optimistic estimate. At end of summer we would be in strong position to maintain project. We could then move into 3rd district where Columbus located. Labor people have already approached us about opening up 3rd District; maybe some sort of COFO deal can be worked out.

Proposal calls for definite things though, mainly: people. We need at most 30 competent people who can go with experienced personnel into new areas. Question is: in light of emphasis on Mississippi, how much will SNCC commit itself to S.W. Ga. project? Would our 30 workers go to Mississippi if crisis developed?

Other questions: 1) there are some local people in S.W. Ga. that we could use. What is SNCC's policy about taking on local people? 2) we need at least 2 cars and definite budget commitment. 3) we are under VEP grant in 3 areas. This causes great deal of frustration with new people. VEP grant runs out May 2nd. 4) 2 staff persons there now will be leaving May 2nd, leaving 6 staff. How will they be serviced?

Miss Baker asked what qualifications were stipulated for staff. Harris referred exec. comm. to his mimeographed report. Stated that it should be interracial but not ever loaded with whites, need more than half Negro. Would be extremely difficult to send whites into new areas. Four of the total staff of 30 should be local people. New staff would go with experienced people. Miss Baker reacted by saying that she was pleased to see this growth of indigenous leadership.

Smith asked what composition of Albany Student group was and how they might be used. Porter said they were supposed to have sent in a report; that they were too young to take a county but could work with an experienced person.

Smith, in commenting on Don's list of needs, said that two cars were okay, and that after checking with Ivanhoe she was certain of at least one. Item with which she took exception was \$500. WATS line to cover Ga. which would depend on our budget. She also raised questions about motorcycle. Harris said that idea of pulling car out of an area so he could get around was bad. Plan calls for team of 2 or 3 people to work a four-county area. Therefore, pulling car out means tying up 4 counties. Mobility for Harris would be more feasible with motorcycle, he said. Smith questioned safety of motorcycle. Clifford Vaughn then volunteered use of his motorcycle, provided SNCC would insure it.

Harris directed question to Moses about possibilities for cooperative recruitment. Moses said that all recruitment from southern campuses was being done through Atlanta, so there was no hitch with those applicants. Further, orientation at Dorca is being planned for all projects: sessions on "voter registration in the rural hill country" are designed to train staff for any project.

Harris said that they are planning to document as much as possible so they can make challenge to Democratic Party at state level. Might be possible demonstration at state level convention which will be here in Atlanta and this might serve as preliminary for approaching Atlantic



City -- there were still questions though as to whether an attempt at national level would help or hinder attempts by other states. Moses reported that there had been discussion of delegations from Alabama & Louisiana, and that there were various theories about the advantages and disadvantages. Question of how Johnson feels about South and which southern states he'll lose enters into it. Harris said there was no question of a state-wide challenge because they don't have state-wide program. Moses said he thought district could challenge at the national. Cox suggested that S. I. G. people try to organize at precinct level, then county, then district levels. That they should try to document subtle economic intimidation which was problem in that area so that pattern of economic intimidation could be shown as result of trying to vote. There is possibility that district could go to state convention and say they'll challenge district representation and then state. Miss Baker said there was no way we could stop other delegations, but it would be better for us to concentrate on Mississippi because of symbolism of that state; and because of practical questions involved in getting at least some results. Georgia is a different setting because they do claim some kinship with national party which Mississippi Democratic Party does not. Georgia might better concentrate on lower levels. She suggested contact be made with group in NYC called "Sons and Daughters of Georgia" in which Dr. Joanne Noble is influential, for support.

Questions of funds and VEP money went unanswered. It was suggested project directors meet with treasurer to work something out. Registration in Georgia ends May 2nd as does VEP money.

Finally Long stated that it was reflection of Don's leadership that S.W. Ga. had gotten VEP money.

\*Following section of minutes resumed by Judy Richardson\*

### Arkansas Project Report

Hansen: since Congress made poll tax illegal in federal elections, state law passed making it mandatory to pay poll tax of \$1.00 to vote in local and state elections. Have until Oct. 1 to register for state and local elections and within 40 days to register for federal elections. Instead of running Negroes in primaries, project is concentrating on actual elections. Committee for Voter Registration (white organization) is asking that law be passed appointing county clerk registrar instead of sheriff. They will need 50,000 votes to propose it as an amendment. Project is now concentrating on voter registration. Between 10 and 25 Negroes will run for state and local offices. 13 counties and 5 senatorial districts are organized. One-half of the Negroes live within this area. Arkansas project will need 22 people for its projected program; four in office and 18 in field. Its budget will total \$37,000. (\$1040. a month excluding salaries). Only 21% of all Negroes over 21 are presently registered. A liberal white member of Little Rock School Board will be running for McClellan's seat next year. The Negro vote could provide the balance vote. NAACP and SNCC are only 2 organizations in the state and the NAACP works only in Little Rock. If SNCC will pay them I can find the staff. Any new personnel would submit their applications to Atlanta. Will need staff for summer and beyond if possible. There are presently 7 people on staff but only 5 of these are on salary.

Baker: do you have enough experienced personnel to train 15 more

people to work the whole project area?

Hansen: yes. Campaigns will need staff. There are 5 people running in just one county. Some of the counties have no whites or so few that they pose no threat politically. In those places there is good chance that a Negro could get elected. However in 6 or 7 of those counties political foul play could defeat them (e.g. ballot box stealing).

Smith: Bill is strongly against whites working the rural areas outside of Pine Bluff. He prefers males also. These restrictions cut down on recruitment possibilities.

Hansen: can find half of needed people myself.

Long: hope main recruitment will be done among local citizens.

Hansen: yes. Only people presently on staff who aren't local residents are myself, Iris Greenburg and Cliff Vaughn.

Long: amount of personnel in all the projects will be determined necessarily by budget. Will go over the budget with Shessie tomorrow.

Smith: move that we accept Bill's and Don's projected plans for their respective projects (with understanding that Hansen will submit a written plan concerning his proposal to exec. comm. within 5 days), and that their proposals be referred to the personnel and finance committees for consideration.

Motion seconded and passed unanimously.

Hansen: Winthrop Rockefeller will run against Faubus this year in the gubernatorial race.

Other matters of finance were subsequently discussed. Then moved on to Joyce's report on the women's groups. She referred exec. comm. to her written report.

### Report on Women's Groups

Barrett: areas where women's groups could be used most profitably are the following: police brutality -- education of public and visiting the wives of those inflicting brutality. Mrs. Cabbody presently attempting to introduce bill making cattle prods illegal. 2) to generate feeling around bills like Mississippi sterilization bill. 3) to visit jails and educate women on conditions there. 4) financial. 6) community service -- work on s or-term (2 months) special projects (e.g. nurses, librarians, clerical help, bookkeepers, etc.) 7) publicity. Would like requests from project directors as to the needs which might be fulfilled through this project. The women would come in only with approval of project director.

Cox: the women should also be made aware of the general poverty of the South and should be asked to help alleviate this, too.

Barrett: this is understood. This report takes up other avenues we might explore.

Shirah: should push idea of Women's Strike for Freedom. Bring these women into troubled areas for participation in demonstrations.

Barrett: don't think we should become identified with any one group but should take advantage of them all.

Barry: are you contacting just one area of women's groups (e.g. church

Barrett: presently working mainly with church groups but will expand.

Cox: Dr. Crockett in Detroit might be good contact for this project.

Barrett: any names of contacts should be sent to me. If you receive any requests to speak before women's groups please inform me. Am presently looking into women's club and alumnae association affiliation of SNCC women.

## Union Funds

Stafford: AFL-CIO interested in trade unions in the South. SNCC is now asking for grant to gather together people who could be organized into unions. <sup>More</sup> money could be obtained after original grant. Are there any objections to this?

No objections were voiced.

Tillow: spoke to someone who represents Teamsters and some AFL-CIO unions about this. He would be willing to present plan to the unions concerning a proposed involvement with SNCC on this.

## Staff Retreat

Long: when should our staff retreat be held?

Tillow: retreat could be funded through the Central Conference of Teamsters. They might also let us have one of their places for the retreat.

Long: move that SNCC schedule staff retreat some time between June 10 and June 15th if we have funds for it and can find a place to hold it. I will work on this.

Another motion never voted on.

## Bolton Proposal for Press Aide for Lewis

Lewis: Jimmy's written proposal will be submitted to the finance comm. for consideration.

Baker: in considering this proposal, the committee should also consider the matter of SNCC's image. Probably the best protection for any SNCC speaker is plain sound thinking.

Lewis: next meeting of exec. comm. will be on May 9th-10th in Atlanta.

Meeting finally adjourned at 11:00 pm.

Respectfully submitted,

Judy Richardson  
Mary King