

Dr King

MINUTES

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
SEPTEMBER 4, 1964

SNCC  
8 L/2 RAYMOND  
ATLANTA, GA.

FRIDAY A. M.

In attendance: Moses, Forman, Lewis, Cox, Robinson, Bond, Porter, Garman, Wheeler, Howard, Ed Brown, Tom Brown, Barry, Herbert Brown, Don Harris, Dona Moses, Gwen, Robinson, Lafayette.

Discussion of agenda

Forman: want resume of direction of fall program and discussion of summer program 1965 (following project reports)

Added to the agenda were discussions of: Cars, health insurance, It was moved that discussion of personnel should follow proj. reports. Following that should be discussion of N.Y. office (led by Garman) and discussion of people, functions, and salaries.

Forman: there should be report of professional F.R. and Carita B. Discuss it in terms of development from beginning and the need for a person responsible to the fund raisers.

Robinson: need to reevaluate salary system and the basis on which they are fixed and their range. There are morale problems in N.Y. office because of inconsistency of salaries.

Cox: how much have professional F.R. raised?

Forman: \$30,000 on 2 parties. We are using salary question as wedge for other criticisms.

Barry: don't object to salary. Would like more than circumstantial evidence about any other criticisms.

Forman: moving office downtown should solve some of the problems.

Garman: should have reevaluation of N.Y. office in 2 months.

Forman: I think it should also be mentioned that it was Carita who was mainly responsible for holding the Belafonte parties together.

Cox: Jim should chair reevaluation committee.

Members of the committee were decided upon as: Betty Garman, Courtland Cox, Mike Standard, Joanne Grant, Julie Prettyman, and Miss Baker. These people will get a letter asking them to serve on Reevaluation committee. A report from this committee should be ready by 1st week in December. Marion should indicate to the staff by the beginning of September that this will be done.

Garman: Projected salary budget is \$30,000.

Forman: we have right to insist that they raise 90% more than budget, i.e. budget is 10% of what they raise. The Sept. '64-Sept. '65 budget is \$500,000. Therefore net of funds for SNCC will have to be 9 times this figure.

Barry: question feasibility of Forman's statement if projection is \$75,000. For expenses--can N.Y. raise \$750,000?

Forman: think it needs to be the goal. Some feel we haven't really scratched the surface yet.

Moses: there is such a thing called "year-end money" which is money that people have to get rid of for tax purposes. We should first investigate this.

Garman: recommend also to other FOS that 10% of net should go to expenses.

Forman: where are we on the agenda? N.Y.?

Lewis: if there are no other questions we can go on to next topic on the agenda.

Moses: who is in charge of N.Y. Friends of SNCC (reply-Mike Standard. Who is in charge of exec. comm.? (reply-no exec. comm. but exec. of steering comm)).

To the question of the relationship of steering comm. to N.Y. SNCC and of these 2 to N.Y. FOS the reply was that relationship was very indefinite.

Forman: by next exec. comm. Marion should have a report on N.Y. steering comm., the office, FOS, and their relationships.

Barry: will increasingly become a problem in other cities. Think we should add other cities to this report. Betty should do this report.

Forman: must postulate policy that northern offices are basically responsible to SNCC. All FOS should have an office committee which serves as review board to evaluate staff and functions and which would make periodic reports to Northern Coordinator.

Barry: what is our policy regarding FOS?

Cox: there should be some better way of evaluating other offices. Does job of northern coordinator preclude travelling? (reply-no, for short periods.)

Moses asked how many northern offices we had and was told that there were 9: San Francisco, L.A., Chicago, Detroit, D.C., Boston, Philadelphia, and N.Y. Staff in these offices were named.

Forman: all northern staff should be responsible to northern

coordinator.

Cox: there is more potential in these areas than we're taking advantage of. Someone should be assigned to travel. Either get an assistant northern coordinator or someone from N.Y. or Atlanta.

Forman: the person to be responsible for northern staff should be the first question discussed. The potential in the north can be related to the discussion of F. R. project.

Cox: let's delay the discussion until fall program can be discussed.

Forman: perhaps we should affix responsibility with Betty?

Moses: what does that mean?

Forman: responsibility for reports, asking questions, getting evaluations, etc., daily phone contact.

Moses: problem is deeper than that. What is our responsibility to FOS?

Barry: broad policy must be worked out.

Moses: there are hang-ups in FOS relating to Atlanta

Garman: servicing FOS and training organizers is important.

Moses: need someone in Atlanta who can service them, who has weight, and can get materials to FOS, etc.

Forman: think that a good formulation, i.e. that northern coordinator be responsible to FOS as well as being responsible for them.

Moses: will such office committees, as in N.Y. be sufficient?

Garman: depends on the city.

Lewis: move that we appoint a committee of Jim, Betty, and Marion to work out the problem.

Barry: think this can be handled tonight--we already have good enough ideas of what is happening in each city.

Cox: think we need person to get to groups and be responsible to them.

Lewis: can this committee report tonight?

Moses: Marion, do you think a broad policy can be worked out?

Barry: yes, on the basis of experience. Maybe we can formulate

policy that can work for awhile until better machinery can be formulated.

Garman: I disagree. There are many nuances which warrant a longer discussion.

Moses: think as much time as possible should be given to the question of FOS. It can't be left over and unsettled. Should do as much discussing and policy making as possible now.

Cox: but we can't begin to know the FOS now, in this short time.

Forman: in assigning reports, we neglected to ask Marion for one on Chicago and L.A. There should also be report on N.Y F.R. We should develop a national fund raising program. Have groups in major cities which concentrate on special gifts and get fund-raisers to operate. Need someone to coordinate this very badly (even \$18,000 worth) But this might be bad for morale. Met with Julie, Betty, and others on this question. It was suggested that Marion Barry do this. But he later decided he didn't want to do it. Maybe Reggie would do it. In actuality there should be a seminar in N.Y. on F.R. I suggest that the staff people in northern cities attend it as well as staff people who do fund raising. National Fund raiser could also help criticize functioning of groups.

Moses: initial contacts in this would be crucial. The person doing it shouldn't be there on a trial basis.

Forman: move that we accept concept of developing these programs in other cities.

Motion carried.

Lewis: should we draft someone to do this?

Moses: organization is at the point where people need to be buttonheld to do things in terms of the organization's needs and not in terms of their own needs.

Forman: let's discuss whether we should have someone from own ranks or hire someone for lots of money. This person should have "internal drive", should be someone who feels that fund raising is very important, who is willing to learn, who can move into cities and move the people there, who will attend to details, who will travel, who won't dump the program because of a commitment to be in the South. Ivanhoe could do this.

Some discussion on the person to fill this job. T. Brown asked if it had to be a male and suggested Prathia. Lewis suggested we refer the names to a committee but Forman thought it was too important a question to be referred to a committee. Forman



mentioned that a male would be better since job involved living virtually out of a suitcase.

Robinson: it is implied that the person should be available for awhile since he would have to be trained.

Harris: (in reply to suggestion that he take the position) would probably be able to handle it although I don't have much knowledge of FOS groups and for this reason have reservations about taking the position.

Barry: Marler and Schwarzer feel that N.Y. should be base for the National Fund raiser.

some more discussion of individuals to fill the position.

Forman: discussed with F. raisers the possibility for exposing the staff to these skills.

T. Brown: 2 or 3 other staff people should be added on a NOT-so-permanent basis so will have a cadre of fund raisers.

Further discussion of individuals suggested to fill position.

Forman: concept of coordinator of national fund raisers is erroneous if looked at as new. Things are already going on in FOS groups, etc.

Barry: could put 2 people in training and have one emerge as coordinator.

Moses: if coordinator of national F.R. is vacuous concept, we shouldn't use it. We're really talking about someone to work along with the F.R.

Garman: don't need 2 people for this.

Cox: 3 or 4 people should be designated to consider the names and make a report tomorrow along with Marion's report.

Lewis: the chair would like to see Jim, Betty, and Marion do this.

Garman: decline. Would prefer that someone who knew all of those suggested and their capabilities serve on the committee.

Moses: we're not doing this right. Since it is so crucial the time can be taken to go over all the people available and to make a decision (not necessarily by tomorrow). Person needs to have different skills, e.g. must also coordinate FOS and staff people.

Cox: need some time limit on reaching decision.

Moses: Jim has been responsible for F.R. Is he going to turn this job over to someone else or will this someone be part of a complicated network. Only Jim could make the decision. He should question whether this person could function in both roles: i.e. raising money and coordinating all the various northern groups. Jim should make a report on this.

Forman: can make a report tomorrow. Bob raises question of what "table of organization" is for SNCC (e.g. priorities.) There are conflicts within the setup as it is.

Garman: can imagine that the F.R. wouldn't be compatible with program in the South, which is critical.

Forman: we must recognize that the program in South and F.R. are inseparable. Don't think that the money aspect will be overburdened.

Garman: fund raisers now need a program projection for the fall.

Cox: we're talking about two things: program for fall and structure of SNCC.

Lewis: Let's set up a machinery for solving problem of national F.R.

Moses: are we going to have someone directly responsible, full-time, for all F.R.? This is aside from problem of setting up these groups. Don't think one person could do both these things.

Garman: can see real problems in other cities involving SNCC's perspective, and its relation to the fund raisers. Its taken the N.Y. F.R. a year to understand SNCC, e.g. the problem of where the coordinator should come from. At least in the initial stages, one of the N.Y. F.R. should go along with the coordinator.

Forman: I don't think they want to go along. Would like to put on agenda work sessions so can, e.g. draw up "table of organization" for SNCC. Suggest that we continue with agenda and tonight break and have a work session.

Cox: let's have work sessions on fiance today and fall program work sessions tomorrow. Before we go on with the agenda, i.e. project reports, we should have Bill and John here.

Marion then gave reports on Chicago, L.A., San Diego, San Francisco, and Sacramento. (Reports available to those who wish them)

Cox: would like to raise question of the Freedom Center in Chicago.

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Garman: problems in Chicago are that the Freedom Center is conceived of as a direct action center and that there are no capable F.R. oriented staff people there.

Barry: problem is lack of F.R. operation.

Forman: no, main problem is how much direct action will be allowed in the North.

Moses: if Mrs. Montgomery is planning a big fund raising event, why is there no one there to work with her, except when Stokely goes for the week.

Problem of D.A. was discussed.

Moses: will there be someone in Chicago to help on Oct. 3rd event? Someone should be there to capitalize on contacts and to work with Mrs. Montgomery.

Cox: question is, what are we prepared to do about this?

Forman: Bolton expressed an interest in going North--preferably Chicago.

Lewis: do we want to finish reports or go on to Chicago?

Moses: in light of the Chicago situation and the need for professional F.R. how long would one need to stay in Chicago?

Forman: impression is that Lucy is doing it all alone.

Moses: then there are 3 groups in Chicago--i.e. Montgomery, CAF-SNCC, and professional F.R. group.

Barry: professional F.R.'s came in at end of planning and gave new contacts.

Cox: need to have person in every city who will polish golden nuggets on full-time basis.

Garman: problem was not anticipating need for new personnel in Chicago early enough.

Moses: who developed contacts for party?

Barry: Bobbie Yancey, Jerry?, and Carita Bernsohn.

Moses: Mrs. Montgomery's F.R. event on Oct. 3rd will be a dinner with 100 tables, each seating 10 people and at \$10 a plate. We don't know if she's in touch with professional F.R.'s

Barry: possibility of Bobbi's shifting over for a month for this event but we're going around in circles.

Forman: no, part of the trouble is that we should have staff set up to move into such situation.

Moses: someone to go in with Mrs. Montgomery to stay and follow through as a responsibility. A lot of benefit which can be gained from talking to these people individually.

Forman: we must do the following things: a) call Lucy and raise certain questions, e.g. whether or not she is in touch with professional F.R.'s, and her assessment of the need for professional F.R.'s.

Garman: Stokely is going to firms for advance gifts.

Moses: I'd emphasize just this point.---it's not important that Stokely go but that someone from the North go who could follow up on the contacts.

Barry: need someone to do this immediately and need someone from Chicago office.

Moses: Mrs. Montgomery needs some help from SNCC.

Cox: is Bolton being considered?

Forman: yes, but we cannot evade our responsibility to deal with this question of direct action. We need F.R. and office manager in Chicago.

Cox: let's deal with financial question first. Who does F.R., etc, consolidating of contacts, etc. Then, second, let's deal with the d.a. question.

Forman: will call Lucy, Bobbi, and Bolton.

Cox: who else?

Forman: can't talk about needs of Chicago office without considering d.a.----must discuss it.

Barry: problem was that we made a unilateral decision and told Chicago not to act--can't discuss problem without northern people here.

Garman: I disagree. Chicago is only FOS with this acute a problem--other groups have settled on northern direct action.

Robinson: what are the fatal consequences?

Garman: there are none---there is just a growth in the functions of the FOS.

T. Brown: problems: owe FOS courtesy of talking to them



about the problem. Shouldn't be discussed without their presence. Question is, can we tell them what or what not to do in their community if we don't know the problems they face there.

Barry: we should take a minute or two to discuss whether or not they should be involved in da.

Garman: impractical. Impossible to disassociate their action from SNCC action and must question their authority to determine what will in actuality be seen as SNCC policy for their city. We need policy statement now to combat such problems.

T. Brown: disagree. The people are ready to move; they want to be involved in d.a.

Forman: can't ignore request of CAF-SNCC to be involved in discussion. We do have policy--that FOS is basically a F.R. group but that it can take action in cooperation with other organizations. Problem comes when FOS wants to initiate action. Northern people should be invited to next exec. comm. meeting and discussion should also be held about this at tentative FOS meeting in Oct. in N.Y. Should also go back to question of CAF-SNCC staff--one F.R.+ an office manager.

Barry: ther overall psychological effect of bringing people together is important. Northern people want a way to identify with us. There is an undercurrent of feeling for direct action in our northern groups.

Forman: should consider possibility for v.r. in northern cities.

Garman: this is already being done in some cities.

Barry: we should reaffirm our policy on d.a. by FOS and set up machinery which would bring people from the North together. Puopose that a memo go out regarding this reaffirmation.

This was agreed upon by general consensus.

It was also decided that the northern coordinator would be responsible for setting up a meeting of the FOS groups; that a person should go in as F.R. coordinator. Discussed the possibility of persuading Jerry to work and the possibility that someone could be found in Chicago.

It was moved and carried that Barry and Garman prepare a report on this subject and to be presented tomorrow. (9/5)

Barry gave a report on L.A., S.F., Sacramento situation. Mentioned need to pull things together there. Need another person to help Garrett. An initial out-lay of money is needed to get office off the ground. They also want to set up Freedom Center.

San Francisco and Bary Area: have office in S.F. staffed by Mike Miller. Have office in East Bay. Neither office is in serious trouble.

Sacramento: office housed in residence. Composed of small group. Had rocky start but getting better. Started summer support for specific area people but will go on to general support work.

Again took up question of agenda. T. Brown asked that S.W. Ga. be considered today. Courtland felt question should be taken up tomorrow with project reports. Discussed question of staff and cars which might be expected to be in S.W. Ga.

FRIDAY P.M. Guinean Trip

Forman: Miss Baker and Mrs. Hamer not going; John, Ruby, Julian, Prathia, and possibly Jim going. Would be leaving Sept. 12. Important to leave at that time because Belafonte would be there then and because that is Toure's preference of dates. Has been some discussion of Matthew Jone's going.

Barry: how much is trip costing SNCC? (reply \$1,000 per person)

Forman: trip will be mainly an exploratory one and an attempt to strengthen bonds between American Negroes and their brothers in Africa. Toure was interested in relating more closely with American Negroes and Belafonte suggested SNCC as a means.

Dona M: what was criteria in selecting people to take trip?

Forman: tried to get broad representation of leadership.

Bob and Dona: might go with own money but would not go as part of group. This must be made clear to the staff if we do go.

Wheeler: suggest Mrs. Devine from Canton as person to go on trip.

Forman: realize the whole question of the trip should have been raised sooner, but would like to discuss it now. Think there are serious political problems involved concerning the question of means by which people were selected for trip.

D. Harris: if those taking the trip are supposed to represent SNCC leadership, how can Forman not go?

T. Brown: its human nature that such problems will result from a situation such as this---feel Forman should go.

Dona M: can think of those people key to the organization who should go on the trip.

Lewis: had discussion at Tougaloo on question of who made the decision and selection. At that time, the staff came to the conclusion that John, Jim, and Courtland should make the ultimate decision. At the same time, giving serious consideration to the people from different projects.

T. Brown: talked to George Greene about this. Both feel there are too many immature people in SNCC. Most of the people complaining about those chosen are not doing the job anyway.

Robinson: Jim, John, and Courtland goofed---they never met. Considering the preparations involved in going, can other people still qualify. Perhaps we should now center out discussion on the 5 people to go on the 2nd trip.

Wheeler: perhaps some people should go on the 2nd trip who don't necessarily have the same degree of sophistication as those who went on the first.

Barry: would also like to suggest that Matthew Jones be considered for trip as he could translate the movement into song while here and bring back African protest songs to American Negroes.

Moses: feel we have not fulfilled our obligation to Mrs. Hamer. Given the conditions existing in rural Ruleville and the complexities involved in preparing for a trip such as this. I don't think we gave much thought to fulfilling her needs in this regard.

Robinson: why was no one responsible for this?

Cox: don't see why she can't go over a week later if arrangements can be made.

Forman: yellow fever and small pox shots are critical. Suggest that we leave space for Miss Baker and Mrs. Hamer. We can't preempt all the spaces.

Cox: what is the committee responsible for?

Forman: unless there are objections, feel the committee should take up the matters discussed in lieu of trip and report back.