

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

Place; Holly Springs, Mississippi

April 12th thru the 14th.

Chairman: Cleve Sellers

Ruby Dorris gives a short run-down on the SNCC personnel and where they are now working to her knowledge. She states that some of these people just float and don't do any work.

Foreman - Who are those people that don't do any work?

Ruby doesn't feel that they should be named but handled by the Personnel Committee.

Silas - We should discuss this here and now, because this problem of floaters and why they aren't working is becoming a very big problem.

Foreman - I feel names should be called. We can't discuss people or the problems concerning them without knowing their names. Besides, this organization has a right to know what I'm doing or anyone else.

Ruby - I'm not saying they aren't working, it's just that the problem isn't only that. The problem is larger concerning people who are supposed to be stationary.

Cleve - The chair is now open to proposals on how we should proceed.

Foreman - Atlanta should be notified first when people move from project to project so that we will know the whereabouts of them at all times. Someone should have a record of everyone's whereabouts. We've talked about it before, but now something has to be done.

Silas Norman - One of our problems is that a lot of people on the Alabama Staff seem to like Atlanta and our cars are always there. We had a staff meeting and I told people that the cars shouldn't be taken out of Alabama. Someone said we couldn't tell people what to do. Well I'm telling them. The cars do not belong to any one person and it's about time a lot of people realized this little fact.

Ruby - Maybe we could take out a lease on the cars being in a certain state and they must have permission to take the car out of the state.

It also seems simple that people could call Selma and explain they have to leave the state and to leave an address where they could be contacted.

Jim Jones - I do not agree that the lease be gotten, because the person it is leased to might possibly be the trouble maker.

Foreman - I'd like to bring this discussion back to the point. In Mississippi there is a very serious problem of leadership or project directors, poor morale and no programs.

Mississippi just had a 3-day meeting and there was a lack of programming. First of all, Mississippi should meet on the District Level because the state meeting is too large.

Secondly, In this meeting a lot of people said that their project directors couldn't tell them what to do and if their checks were cut off, it wouldn't matter. Now, how do you deal with this?

Muriel - You have a rift between project programs and state oriented programs. When Moses left, there was a vacuum. People use to be able to go to him about their problems, now they have no one.

Stokeley - I personally know a lot of people who are floating now, but have worked very hard in the past, in Mississippi. This is because there are no programs. That is what happened in the SNCC, SCLC thing in Montgomery. SNCC had no programs.

Muriel - How can you say that when we have 82 counties that need to be worked.

Stokeley - There have been no new programs. You can't expect people to go out and talk FDP each and every day.

I'm at the point where I feel we need discipline concerning programs. You see, how can we question others when people like Moses and Cox get away with a lot of things and are never questioned about them.

Foreman - We have a staff which is oriented to breaking ground, mobilizing people and getting them to think they should move on issues.

Breaking ground used to be a program. Now it is no longer needed in Georgia or Mississippi. We don't have the same problem in Alabama that is happening in Mississippi because it is Virgin territory.

The whole civil rights movement is entering a new phase. We've never addressed ourselves to the Poverty Program. This should have been on the agenda.

Another thing is the Civil Rights Bill. We should discuss this because it will be important to a lot of people that we work with.

Stokeley - We've always talked about Staff Education. When people ask us how to get their streets paved, we say "go down to the courthouse". When they want street lights, we say "go down to the courthouse". We have no knowledge of how to get these things done because we don't have that information.

Featherstone - That not true Carmichael because I know how to get the streets paved.

Foreman - Maybe you do Featherstone, but the field staff doesn't know these things or have that type of information.

Marion Berry - I think our problem is that we no longer mobilize around Direct Action.

Cleve - We seem to have gotten away from our first point of talking about personnel and the problems of such.

Ruby - We should ask Frank Smith to work on programs that he can carry to the field. Those programs are very expensive when we have to send people to D. C. and he could come to the state of Alabama and present them. Or Mississippi. He could then hold workshops in these various states and it would cost less than sending the people to Washington.

Ralph Featherstone - How do you decide about who's producing or who's not producing? Then what do you do after you decide this?

Muriel - What do you do after you finish demonstrating? You stand in front of a hamburger stand for 3 weeks, but when you get in, you don't have fifteen cents to buy the hamburger.

My premise is that Negroes are going to have to fight for everything they get. We'll just have to find a way to keep people producing.

Federal Programs aren't going to do anything and you know this before you start out.

The staff of Mississippi is tired. They just don't have the energy to start over knocking on doors.

Jim Jones - I tend to agree with Muriel. How do we plan programs and start over to inflict them on people.

Foreman - How is it you can live in a community and can't plan programs for that community. You know the problems of that community and in this way you can plan.

Marion Berry - The Civil Rights Movement is becoming very complex. I think you can plan some programs. Freedom Houses are bad and should be done away with; move into the community. This way you could get a better idea of peoples problems and be in closer contact with them.

John Lewis relieve Cleve Sellers as Chairman

Betty Gorman - Recommendation - The staff mailings have mounted greatly and we'd like to know what these mailings have to do with organizing. I would like to state here and now that people who do mailing should be told to mail out more information on what is pertinent instead of so much junk.

Muriel - We need to get rid of the middleman. How do you deal with people who tell you they're going to shoot you if you take away their cars?

Ben G. of Arkansas - I think we should start talking about individuals and if it takes firing most of the staff, we should do it. We should pull cars and checks by whatever means it takes.

Cynthia Washington - Ruby sent someone to pick up the truck and when Lee Bankhead found out why he was there, she put him on a plane and sent him off.

Ben - I wish someone would speak out about this type of thing happening so we can talk to it.

Marion - I don't see why we can't fire people.

Fay Bellamy - Where on earth did the idea come from of being able to hire but not fire?

Foreman - That isn't the whole issue. We have been caught up in a lot of the Mississippi problems.

Bill Hansen - People can stay around any town they want to forever, but they don't have to be financed by SNCC.

Tom Brown relieves John Lewis as Chairman

Marion - Doug, why do you feel you can't fire people.

Doug - Because there was a girl on staff in Hattiesburg and she said "I can't be fired and I'm not leaving town". Her name is Johnnie Winchester.

Staff - So what did she do?

Doug - She did eventually leave town.

Foreman - We should have some program where people can come to a certain group of people and say "I have a problem and need some help".

Lewis - I'm strongly for people shaping up or shipping out. If it means that this committee has to send out letters saying "your services are no longer needed", then we should do this.

Ruby - We should set up rules on people leaving their project areas and all the other problems that different projects have with their people so that we'll have something to go by.

Bill Hall - We should set up Personnel Committee travelers who can visit projects and see what's going on on the other projects. I came here personally to whitewash a project. I went to this project and was thoroughly disgusted.

It was later stated that Bill was speaking of the Cambridge Project.

Marion - I think the first thing is to get an effective and working Coordinating Committee and also an effective Personnel Committee that will work and will also sit down and discuss, with personnel, their problems and try to help where they can do so.

Bill Hansen - I don't see how we can have any one or two persons go into any area and evaluate within two or three days what the project is about.

Foreman - We should talk for a change about Alabama, Arkansas and S. W. Georgia because most of these problems we're discussing are only in Mississippi at the present time. Maybe we can learn something.

Tom Brown supports this. There is general consensus among the Executive Committee members.

Foreman - Suggests that Ruby go down list of people on staff and take some sort of action on them.

Muriel - Ruby, who is on the Personnel Committee?

Ruby - Personnel Committee consists of myself, Cleve Sellers, Jessie Harrison, Amanda Purdue and Wilson Brown.

WE NOW PROCEED TO GO DOWN LIST OF NAMES OF STAFF PEOPLE - Ruby will start off.

Emmabelle - Foreman's secretary. Also helps around office with other work when Foreman is away.

James Bond - Audio Visual Aid and Communications ----Right now he is sort of lax. As far as I know, he's not doing too much of anything right now.

Silas Norman - What is he doing now? What is he available to do.

Ruby - One reason he's not doing too much is because of a lack of equipment and is waiting on a soundproof room so that he can prepare tapes.

Bill Hansen - I don't think we're going about this in the right way, going down the list....

THE E. C. COMMITTEE DISAGREE WITH BILL ON THIS.....

Julian Bond - Charge of Communications. He is now running for office.

Foreman - Also, we need 3 more people in communications.

Barbara Brandt - Communications and WATS Line.

Tom Brown - Campus Coordinator - works in office sometimes and travels other times.

Muriel - What are Campus Travelers doing or are they settling down on projects in Alabama such as Bill Wallace.

Someone asked who the Campus Travelers were.

Tom Brown - They are Bill Hall - Alabama

Stanley Wise - Virginia
Eugene Rouse - North Carolina
Bill Wallace - Alabama
Joyce Brown - Georgia
Enoc Johnson - North Carolina

Muriel - How many cars do you have?

Tom - We have four cars.

Foreman - Silas did not know Bill Wallace had quit campus traveling and was going to work in Alabama, permanently. Now we want to know what your function is as campus coordinator.

Betty Garman - How close in touch are you with the C. T.? For instance Joyce Brown, who is in Atlanta most of the time. I mean there is Savannah State which she has never been. Why hasn't she been there?

Tom - The biggest problem is that there hasn't been enough follow ups. We're trying to cover this up.

Carol Merritt - Couldn't the C. T. spend more time on the campuses? Say for two or three weeks.

Tom - One thing you have to remember that I don't have full control of the C. T.

Foreman - I remember the meeting where the Campus Travelers said they would give you full authority in every situation.

Tom - People seem to do what they want to do.

Wilson Brown - operates printing press and work in the Atlanta Print Shop.

Ruby - The people in the print shop really don't have enough help.

Terry DeMuth - Lays out prints, writes free lance for SNCC. He pays for his car and his car insurance.

Mildred Foreman - coordinates "Freedom Singers" - Does not work full-time. The Freedom Singers need a person to go on the road with them. Chico Hamilton is doing the road work at the present time.

Jessie Harrison - he is on the Personnel Committee, did work in Montgomery and is now in Washington. He informed me he was going to see a doctor. We should check into this. Featherstone says he is in St. Louis.

Muriel - He seems to be on the same road he was on before.

Foreman - I think he should stay in Atlanta. He's on parole in Atlanta.

Ruby - He ought to be where we can keep an eye on him. He came to me and said he wanted to stay in Atlanta.

After some discussion on this, there was general agreement on the part of everyone present that the Personnel Committee take care of assigning Jessie to the Atlanta Office.

Shessie Green - Bookkeeper

LaVerne Lily - Atlanta Office - Writes checks, takes care of payroll and writes airline tickets. There has been a question raised as to the hours she stays in the office and also about her handling of the Airline Tickets.

There was a question raised as to, who does the flying?

Cleve Sellers - C. Cox flew to D. C.

Ruby - LaVerne handles air travel tickets and she has to have a signature before she does this.

Muriel - Is LaVerne necessary in the office now?

Ruby - Yes, because Shessie was doing LaVerne's work and many other things before. Also because Shessie has moved into bookkeeping and that's a full-time job.

Foreman - Since new people are just coming in, it should be explained to them what we are now discussing. Also, Travel Cards: Who has them and why certain people have them.

Ruby - Betty Garman and I can authorize air travel if LaVerne is not around.

Muriel - Who flies?

Ruby - The largest group who fly is the Northern Speakers such as Lafayette Surney, Prathia Hall, Stokeley Carmichael, Ivanhoe Donaldson and he also does a lot of driving, James Foreman and John Lewis. Also, the Freedom Singers, sometimes.

Erin Sims - Can't people leave in time to take the train or bus instead of flying at the last minute.

Here there began a long discussion on why the Freedom Singers would have to fly anywhere, because they usually know their assignments well in advance and could either drive or take the bus.

At this point someone asked how much the singers were paid weekly.

Ruby - They make \$45.00 per week.

Muriel - I don't understand why they have to have \$45.00 for traveling expenses when people usually take care of them when they're on the road.

Ruby - The original Freedom Singers used to get \$60 but it was cut to \$45.00 and I personally feel that they need \$45.00 for various purposes. There are times when they have to have hotel rooms and money if they get stranded.

Staff - Let's get back to Air Travel Cards.

Foreman - It was an easier system to have Air Travel Cards. I have a Q. Card and am responsible for signing payment slips. Persons who have or did have these cards are: John Lewis, Bob Moses, C. Cox, Ivanhoe Donaldson, Cleve Sellers, Don Harris and Prathia Hall.

Courtland's card has been asked for but he hasn't turned it in yet. We've taken up about four of these cards. Some of these flights are reimbursed by the people who ask for a speaker.

The question was asked of Betty, How often is this expense report reviewed?

Betty - Every couple of months.

Ruby - Betty, we should review this expense report each month.

Marion - We should get the cards back or cancel the numbers.

Silas Norman - I make a motion that only the 3 Secretariat have Air Travel Cards, and that the other cards be gotten from the people who still have them.

The motion was seconded and there was general agreement with the exception of Stokeley.

Willie McCray - Atlanta Office - He's in charge of shipping operations and office coordinator. He works in conjunction with Jessie Harrison. He's really a very good worker and is willing to take on responsibility.

Foreman - I have encouraged him to go into the field.

Carolyn Merritt - Co-Ordinator of the Education Program

- Judy Walborn has been sending out a lot of material which has not been authorized and a lot of it is a waste of paper and just plain garbage.

Carol - I don't feel that there should be a censor type board set up for out-going material. I do feel that some of this material could be read over and a little discretion used.

Marion - We must remember that no one is going to read all that junk and some of the wrong people will get it and look at it as representing SNCC and not just the individual who wrote it up and signed it.

Everyone seems to agree that there should be some guidelines for outgoing material.

Foreman - Some of the guidelines should be I. We should state that "This material is not for publication but for staff only and not to be sent to everyone.

II. When a person has written a paper or article which criticizes a particular action or person, it should be noted that it is individual and not a SNCC criticism.

III. You and I will have to make a decision as to who will be sending this material out.

There should be at least 3 people on a committee to decide what goes out on the mailing list.

Ruby - Take the "Life With Lyndon" paper. How can we say that this is just Jack Minnis when he is head of the "Research Department" and he spends most of his time doing it or the research for the paper.

Carol - What is the official publication of SNCC?

Some people said the Student Voice was.

Eric Morton - Student Voice - authographer - Lithographer - Was in New York buying equipment. Equipment is now in Atlanta and is supposed to come back to Atlanta to work. At the present time he is supposed to be on a speaking engagement in upper New York State. When he returns, he will be working in the Printing Department.

John Purdue - Research Department - Full time

William Porter - Conference Coordinator - is in Washington now. Seems to be doing a good job.

Featherstone - Porter did a good job of housing in Washington.

Bill Hall - Ruby, is Porter on subsistence?

Ruby - Yes

Cliff Robinson Jr. - Grafotype. Handles the mailing list and machine that runs off mimos.

Ruby D. S. Robinson - Atlanta Office - Bookkeeping Department.

Erin Sims - Heads Photography Department and the equipment.

Girl from Arkansas - What do you do when someone requests a photographer well in advance of a situation and he arrives four or five hours late and after everything is over.

Erin - They are told when they have assignments but they seem to always hang around until the last minute and there is nothing I can do about it.

Sandy Stoveall - Secretary to John Lewis

Question - Is that a full-time job and what are your hours.

Ruby - Sandy often works at home answering John's letters. Sometimes she has 30 to 35 letters that have to be answered at once and there is no need for her to come into the office to do this since she has a typewriter at her home.

Also she helps me a lot around the office when I need it.

Mark Suttles - Spelling may be wrong.....

He works in communications. He is in Arkansas now but should be back in Atlanta by this evening.

Jerry Tecklin - Research Department - in Arkansas now doing research.

James Travis - Research Department - Filing - Clipping newspapers - Does a lot of the midnight shifts in the office. Seems to be doing a really good job.

Foreman - Now would be a good time to discuss people asking for certain services, getting that service and then not continuing with it.

Marion - Travis came to New York, and we helped him to contact people who might be able to help him. Then he decides he doesn't want to stay in New York and leaves for Atlanta.

Carol - I don't think you can force a person to have medical attention when he feels the need to work. His work in the office is very good.

Ruby - I agree with Carol about Travis.

James R. Bevins - from Atlanta - works in garage for Sojourner Motors. He is temporary and not on staff. His job is to set up a garage for SNCC cars. We might have to hire a mechanic full-time on full salary under contract after he gets the garage set up and we are convinced that it can work to our advantage.

Foreman - Is Steve Friendly on our staff?

Ruby - No

5:20 Dinnertime

6:30 Well, here we are again

Grady Little - S. W. Georgia - He has been on his project for 2 months and is alone but seems to be learning fast.

Herman Kitchens - Moultrie, Georgia - Working on boycott - Trying to get local people to run for school board - Boycott is very successful.

Sammy Holmes - Americus, Georgia - started organizing youth. Is alone and has a Chevy.

Roy Shields - Works 3 counties which include

Baker

Worth and Mitchell. Project Dir. in this area.

Foremon - What are your problems in South West, Ga.?

Roy Shields - problems of discipline. Two guys in Moultrie and one of them should move out. There are also two in Cordele and one of them should move out.

Isaac Simpkins has become attached to Herman and won't leave to work another area.

Beacuse the boycott is successfull people have been building their egos.

Fred Anderson - from Greenville, Miss. Really working hard.

Rev. Eulysses Fulworth - just started working again. Don't have a car but he and Fred push each other and they're working on a Maids Union and school integration.

Romona Lockett - working in Cordele

Joyce Barrett - 3 weeks on massive transfer plan. She succeeded in getting 200 kids to register at an all white school.

Charlie Cobb - Central Ga. - I don't know what he is organizing, but he is organizing. He never comes to staff meetings. He's interested in organizing in an urban area.

Randy Battle - working on physical arrangement for nursery school and worked as a scout this summer around "King for Congress". Expressed desire to work on Audip-Vision.

Roy - I received a letter from Randy in which he said he could no longer work within the framework.

John Washington - Ocilla, Ga. In jail for carrying three pistols. Colie was picked up on a report that he held a gun on a local Negro teenager. Three guns were found in his car and two white boys were with him. \$1,000 and 12 months on a chain gang if he is convicted. He was also charged with burglary. They won't let us in to talk to him.

John L. - Do you encourage or discourage people carrying guns.

Roy - I don't do either. I feel people have a right to defend themselves.

Marion - I fell this is very serious and that if staff is carrying guns, this could be very bad for the organization.

Bill Hall - Since Roy didn't discourage him, we should take care of lawyers for the case.

Ben - We should discuss this and I don't believe that any of us should carry guns for any reason.

Jessie - If a person has a permit, they can carry a gun. I would never be in an organization that would tell me not to protect myself.

Stokely - We are not King or SCLC. They don't do the kind of work we do nor do they live in the areas we live in. They don't ride the highways at night. To King and SCLC nonviolence is everything. To us, we use it as a form of tactic and in demonstrations we are nonviolent.

Bill Hansen - If everyone knows they have to have a permit, why don't they get one.

Stokeley - Be reasonable. Can you imagine us going to the local communities for a permit. Be realistic.

Marion - In terms of your house, that's different or on the highway or walking along a street, we must differentiate between them.

Bill Hall - Since Roy didn't discourage him, we should take care of lawyers for the case.

Roy - I should discuss this and I don't believe that any of us should carry guns for any reason.

Bill - I can see carrying guns in a car or a house.

Jesse - Motion - we can't deal with the matter of carrying guns because we are not lawyers or judges and people will carry the pistols if they if they wish to do so, so we should drop the subject.

Ruby - we should have training in judo and karate and gun firing.

There is now a lot of repetition so I won't take notes.
We are back to discussing getting Coolie out of jail.

Fay B. - I feel that if we can spend \$6,000 in Mont. on sleeping bags, water canteens and helmets, we should be able to get this man out of jail and hire a lawyer for him.

Arkansas Personnel -- 5 people

Ben Grinage - Pine Bluff - area of 4 counties works alone

Arlene Wilborn - state secretary - works out of state office

Jerry Caselin - Forrest - organizing

Bill Hansen - education around unions - paper work, etc.

James Jones - State Project Director - stays in close contact with rest of area

John Love - organizing in South Carolina

Marion - What is he doing in S.C.?

Cleve - He's doing research and getting a general idea of the black belt area in S.C. He couldn't get the college conference organized because he can't drive and he couldn't get a driver.

Tom - He came to me and said he would try to set up a project there.

Bill H. - How can the Program Sec. assign a man to work a new project in a state where we don't have any programs.

Also, why is it Cleve only thought he was doing a certain thing and Tom Brown knows one thing about what John Love is suppose to be doing.

Stokeley defended the organizers right to organize a workable program where the program he was sent to organize will not work. Marion disagreed.

Tom B. - State conference is aimed at getting students to set up a project in their state. John Love found that there wasn't time for that.

Bill Hall - Mistake to send John Love as a Campus Traveler anywhere.

Maribel - We don't know what is required of a Campus Traveler.

Fay - Disagrees with John's particular project, but reminds us that John did go to someone to talk about the other project.

Foremon - People should say what's on their minds. Tom should have said he didn't want John Love with the Campus Travelers.

Tom B. - Talked to John L. after his first experience on campus, tried to discourage him from going.

Cleve - If John has been in there 2 days and has organized the community (sic'y note: he hasn't) then we should give him alot of communities to organize.

Alabama

Only about 17 people "on staff" about 33 people in all. No contact with Bob Parris and Dona Richards. People in 7 counties in some no paid staff. Thinks people who are not working, have no work to do. Two kinds of organizing. People working in Ala. because the operation there is b "breaking and opening".

Sumpter County: C. Washington, Stu House, Fay Bellamy, Alvery Williams, Chris Wiley.

Alabama can't

Silas Norman - Selma - State Project Director
Larry Fox - Montgomery - Legal Coordinator
Terry Shaw - was working Perry Co. - is sick now
Judy Richardson - on leave to Atlanta to work on Julians campaign
Stokeley Carmichael - Lowdes Co.

Question of how Judy was called to Atlanta. She was called, she spoke to Stokeley, who told her to speak to Silas. Question of whether she asked Silas or told him. Ivanhoe called Judy. Did she have the authority?

Silas wants staff orientation and workshop April 21-23

Doug Smith ques. Scott Smith - Stokeley says they put him off on foot in a county. He organized it in a spectacular manner. His problem is he wants to go fundraising. But keep him in the county and he's great.

Jesse Harris - How long has Silas been in Ala?

Silas - Since June, '64

Jesse: How many people came from Mississippi?

Silas: There were three of us. I don't know where all of them came from.

Jesse: Comment on people who came from Mississippi

Silas: March 7, about 50-60 people from Miss. appeared in Ala. This and other groups have caused trouble. Muriel has called to get people back to Miss. I was not in town when the call went out for people to come to Selma. Many people responded. But later people came for no reason at all.

Featherstone: (Gives history of SNCC's decision to go into Ala.

Silas: Only about six people committed themselves; only three of these ever came.

Jesse: Did you call for people to come from Miss?

Silas: I was not in town.

Fay B.: Atlanta called for radio cars for an emergency. At end of the emergency Miss. staff was suppose to return.

Doug S. : found that people from Miss. were willing to leave their projects, thought they should stay.

Muriel people call for about a week wanting to go to Ala. Silas has asked no more people to come. Muriel tried to dissuade them.

Foreman: I called Cleve. Also chartered a plane to Montgomery. We had previously committed radio cars and doctors. Discovered King not there, etc. knew people would get hurt. Asked people to go (called Cleve)

Silas : Not trying to focus on people who are running in and out but on those who are staying. Thinks people came because of frustration on their projects.

Jesse: What Selma did to Miss. staff, people who had responsibility in Miss. left the state, this hurt Mississippi. Bill Ware was one of the few who realized his responsibility to Belzoni.

Ruby: Bill went to Selma out of frustration in Belzoni.

Bill Ware had already left Belzoni to give Ed Brown a chance to straighten out the staff there.

John L. How did Bob and Dona get to Birmingham?

Silas: I will not look for them. They must contact me. I understand they are in Birmingham.

Ruby: Bob says he just wants to see what it is like to be organized in a city. She suggested that he contact Silas. He said he would. Someone should find out what they are doing. They can't say their work is irrelevant to SNCC.

Marion: If it was anybody else, we'd be raising hell.

Doug S.: Suggests Exec. Comm. mandate Personnel Committee to look into situation of the floaters.

Bill Hall: should include all floaters. Foreman or all 3 Administrators should contact them and ask what they are doing and where they are working. They must be told that they have to do a specific job.

Moves that this be done and that they must work within the discipline of the state project. Seconded by Doug Smith

Ruby : Questions such a motion. We have no program in Birmingham. Also Charlie Cobb wanted to work in an urban area. Ask that the motion be sensitive to this.

Bill H.: People don't have the right to arbitrarily decide to work in an area. If there are no programs, maybe there's a reason for it.

Stokeley: Bob and Dona were among those who committed themselves to work in Ala. Bob expressed a desire to work B'ham. Also objects to attitude toward Bob expressed in motion and discussion.

Marion: Ala. staff should know what is going on in B'ham. Bob and Dona should go to staff meetings, etc.

Foremon: Objects to motion. Silas says state staff meeting Apr. 21-23, let it deal with this to. Also do we have a Personnel Committee? Motion is premature in regards to "floaters". We must deal with programs.

Cynthia: People who went to Selma on March 8, were the "storm troopers". Stokeley speaks of respect for Bob. All these people had so much respect that the Selma staff had no voice until they left.

Ruby: Bob seems to resent her questions about their plans for B'ham. It is true that we would be up in arms about anyone else. Intends to write them a letter asking for information; didn't because they are now in Washington, D.C.

Fay: Try to contact Bob re: staff meetings. We must start somewhere.

Foremon: to Silas - Do you think this motion is the best way for us to deal with this. Silas doesn't think it is his responsibility to find people. All should be subject to discipline. If Bob is above discipline, he should be project director.

Arlene: Personnel Committee should deal with this.

Bill: Would withdraw motion if it is understood that we will come up with a list of problem people for the Personnel Committee.
Motion withdrawn.

Foremon: Objects to term "floaters"

Stokeley: People here are incapable of dealing with the real problem, which is lack of programs. That is why people float. Dealing with floaters deals with symptoms rather than the cause.

Bill Hall: Stokeley is wrong. We have programs.

Stokeley: I'm talking about the radicalism that is suppose to run through SNCC. We are suppose to work outside the structure. FDP is the only real program and that's why we have "floaters"

Muriel: Cites areas where there are programs in the local areas.

Stokeley: We have no radical programs.

Ruby: (back to the list) -- The "Floaters"

Casey -- took photography training, then decided to look into organizing white people. Wants to travel around the country to talk to people for about 3 weeks; then return to report on possibilities. If not accepted, she will work on one of the projects. Ruby OK'd

Marion: Thinks that's the problem. She should get on a project or resign.

John Lewis: Some people want to do what they want and go where they want. They want to experiment with personal freedom.

Stokeley: Casey worked. There must be some reason for her present confusion. Many people who complain about "floaters" stick to projects without knowing why. People came to SNCC because of radical programs - all now lost. Voting bill will squash a lot of SNCC work. What then?

Foremon: Do we get back to discussion of personnel.
(Ruby decided to let Casey explore)

Muriel: Casey talked too me and I supported her too.

Featherstone: Agrees with Stokeley. Voter registration didn't make much sense to him, but thought people were thinking radically. He

Has a program, but doesn't want to talk about it here.

Ruby:

Francis Mitchell - Photographer - At the last E.G. meeting, I was supposed to find out what he was doing. I personally felt it was Julian's responsibility, but since Julian didn't handle it, I talked to him on the phone a few times, but was never able to get any definite information.

Betty: Francis said he was going off to write a book.

Foreman: What happens to his checks?

Ruby: We hold them in Atlanta until he hollers for them.

Cleve: Well, he should holler long and loud the next time.

Ruby: We received a phone call that Mitch's car is in Memphis and is to be picked up and taken to Atlanta.

Ralph: We should think about whether or not we want to keep him on the payroll while he writes this book.

Foreman: My recommendation is that we write a strong letter to Mitch and inform him that until we hear from him and know what he is doing, that he will be temporarily suspended from the staff.

Richard Manning - Don't know where he is or what he's doing.

Muriel: He's in Jackson, living at Mike Sayers apartment.

Cleve: made suggestion that letter be written to Mike also.

Ruth Howard - in Washington, D.C. - says she is tired and is leaving for awhile.

Muriel: Are people's checks being suspended in cases such as this.

Ruby: Yes. She was written a letter stating this fact and the reasons why.

Joe Harrison - formerly worked in McComb, Miss - now in Ann Arbor, Mich. Raising money for the PBX system.

Betty: Ann Arbor and Detroit offices are very concerned about this fellow raising money and the contacts he is making. Student activities Building - He and students have opened an office in this building. Maybe he's helping there I don't know, but I don't know if we should be paying a person a salary to work in Ann Arbor, Mich.

Jesse Harrison - He was asked by the staff to leave, because he seemed to have a lot of personal problems. He was a very good worker. So we asked him to leave and take care of his problems and whenever he felt fit, he would be welcomed back on the Miss. staff.

Foreman: I told him to go and raise the \$40,000 for a PBX system. It didn't occur to me to call Ruby or Betty to inform them of the (this) meeting.

Cleve: My recommendation is that Ruby write to him and find out what he is doing.

Betty: This is a problem we can solve without a letter, because of the contacts in Michigan.

Ed Hamlett - SNCC Campus Traveler - SSOC

Ruby: I think he's doing a great job and that we save his name until we talk about SSOC.

Emma Schrader - Photo. Dept.

Lafayette Surney - Member of the Exec. Committee - Don't know where he is.

Muriel: He ran up a bill of \$300 on phone calls which were not paid. It hasn't. I recommend that his check be garnished.

Betty: When John was hurt in Selma on March 7, Lafayette wanted to take up John's speaking engagements in Canada. So he and Praithia went. Later he went to Chicago on a speaking engagement. Chicago was upset because Surney was sent and only \$19.00 was raised at this meeting.

Carol Rogoff in New York called and said she wants Surney for a week of speaking engagements. I don't think that he did more than one or two small speaking engagements.

Cleve: I think we should have a speakers bureau.

Muriel: This is already taken care of.

Betty: This recommendation is also in my report.

John: I can't take responsibility for Surney's activities and I won't.

Foreman: I think, a lot of times you get hung up in the North.

Betty: He came back from N.Y. and arrived in Atlanta and began to badger people in the office about a plane ticket to return to New York to see a doctor.

Recommendation -- That John and Jim speak to him.

Nancy Cooper - Atlanta - was working on Freedom School Poems Book

Courtland Cox - was supposed to work in Ala.. He returned to Atlanta and did research because Ala "was working in the blind". Also that Ala. didn't know what it was doing. I don't know what he plans to do. Maintaining place of business in Atlanta.

Muriel: C. Cox is not a field worker. He never stayed in the field more than 3 days.

Ralph: C. Cox is working on the conference - the thrust of the conference is real good. I'll talk about conference later.

Ruby: The conference will be over this weekend.

Betty: He should be sent a formal letter so we know what he plans to do.

Cordell Reagan: - one of the Freedom Voices (also James Peacock and Will Harris) 2nd group of singers to be organized. Had a hard time getting started.

Cleve: I recommend !

Betty: Since the group was organized, we have received about \$500 in funds in a period of 4 months.

Ruby: They receive salaries of \$45 and \$75.

Marion: We need a second group, but not that group. James Peacock should not be this group because he is too sick and this kind of running around will only wear him down more.

Ruby: I don't know if the doctors released him and that Liz Southernland encouraged him to rejoin the group. He is traveling with the group.

Betty: There is no schedule for this group. We never know where they are, or what they're doing.

Staff: Are they flying.

Ruby: They flew to Washington but it was an emergency because the car was in bad shape and I didn't want them to use it.

Foreman: I hope the kind of concern and consideration we have exercised today will continue. This is the first time in this organization that we have sat down and done some constructive work on the individual level.

Marion: Freedom Voices have been invited to the Youth Festival in Algiers. They have been raising money for this trip. There should be an attempt to make him stay in New York. With some encouragement and a decent place to stay he may be better.

Walt Tillo - Isn't working - Needs a place to work.

Cleve a letter should be sent to him concerning his need for a place to work. Jack Minnis can't talk to him.

April 13, 1965
Holly Springs, Miss.
11:00 A.M.

Ivanhoe Donaldson -

Foremon: After the last staff meeting I asked Ivanhoe what he would be doing. There was some discussion as to whether or not there should be a staff for the secretariat to help him do some work. But since that meeting nothing was done about assigning him to any certain job.

Ruby: At the present time he is working as campaign manager for Julian Bond. When the campaign is over in May, he wants to take a rest for about two weeks.

Betty: We all know Ivanhoe works, so there is no need for further discussion.

Silas and Foremon: We should know what he's doing at all times and any other individual.

Bill Hansen: I make a motion that Ivanhoe work as Campaign Manager, take a rest and that his assignment be the responsibility of the Personnel Committee. (after the rest)

Muriel: I would like to request that Ivanhoe come back to Mississippi.
Jesse Harrison: He doesn't want to return.

Cleve Sellers - Program Secretary - worked in South West, Ga., Ala., and Miss. Setting up programs for conferences and also in Cambridge, Md. I need help in all these places. One problem is that most of the field people do not come to me with their problems.

Bill Hall: I suggest that when a new person is elected into office, that the old officer remain in office for maybe 6 months to help the newly elected official over the hurdles.

Ruby: There should be one person in the Atlanta office at all times who can work with you directly and can handle some of the problems people want to discuss when you're not there. I just have too much to do to handle this along with all the other problems.

Bill Hansen: I agree with Ruby that this extra person in the office is necessary.

Tom Brown: This person could be a lot of help in keeping up with the conference dates and to take this unnecessary load off Ruby.

Foremon: The Chairman, at the last staff was put in charge of the office. Cleve was not assigned to be the head of the office.

Arlene: Cleve, did you find that the places you visited, that the problems are any closer to being solved because they talked to you.

Cleve: Ruby is a bureaucratic hang-up in the office because she authorizes people to:

1. Receive money
2. Deal with cars
3. Deal with personnel

Ben Grinage takes chair

John Lewis - I've spent over 1/2 of my time in Ala., mostly in Selma (on the march and outside on speaking engagements. Made a trip to N.Y., West Coast, S.W., Ga., Chicago, Detroit, Baltimore. I haven't been in Atlanta but 2 or 3 days. When there, I would call a n office staff meeting, to find out what was going on.

In South West, Ga. they were having a few problems, but they were very resentful about Cleve and I coming down.

Chair: Any questions?

John Lewis: One of the things I was responsible for is the Atlanta office but in Ala. that half of the off. of got hung up in Ala. One of the problems is that half of the office personnel is in the new building and half in the old building.

Bill Ha: If the chair's responsibility is to run the Atlanta office why was it necessary for the chair to travel to all these other places?

Ruby: My understanding after the last staff meeting was that the chair was responsible to choose a staff that would answer to him when he's not there.

Tom: Do you see a change in your program that would allow you to be responsible for the Atlanta office and still be away so much?

John: I do think it's possible. As Ruby said we do need a staff in a responsible capacity.

James Foreman -: I'm not sure where I stand, because at the last meeting it was stated that my work would deal with the north. I don't know if this means that I work only in the north, because if it does, I can't go along with this. As far as I'm concerned, there is no dividing line between the north and the south. I've also been in Ala and understand a lot of questions have been raised about my role in Montgomery.

Recently I've been in Miss.. There has to be some one responsible for the office in Atlanta, because it is unrealistic to think John Lewis will stay there all the time.

Also, there is no reason that the 3 Secretaries be stationed in Atlanta. They can be based in other places and still be responsible to and for the Atlanta office.

Betty: I'm not against Jim's being in the south. This is important because to interpret to the north what is going on in the south you have to have contact. But my problem is that I need help in handling the northern offices and fundraising.

Silas: What should the relationship be in terms of projects and also what is their role as Executives (chair)? Should I question this now?

Chair: Proceed.

Silas: First I had written the Mont. thing off because I didn't know what was going on and it had no connection with anything we were doing in Ala. Ivanhoe became Marshall of the march even though he was against it. Lafayette became a spokesman for SNCC in Ala. John being a chief executive of SNCC can do as he pleases. What is their role and do we have anything to do with it.

Silas and I disagree on a few things but I thought I was following the line and the role the E.C. outlined at the last staff meeting.

Chair: We should proceed as outlined at the beginning of the meeting and then go from there.

Tom: Jim, just answer yes or no - Do you feel it was necessary for you to be in Ala and play the role you did in Montgomery.

Jim: I can't answer yes or no to that, but I'll answer you and clarify it later.

Stokeley: You can't isolate Ala. This concerns Cleve's role, Cynthia's role, Silas' and my role, etc. It should be the concern of the E.C. to make sure that this doesn't happen again. What happened is that when a crisis arose 15 strong people (strong in SNCC) came in and took over.

Tom: That march hurt the people of Selma. Since Silas was against what was going on, these strong people came in, were recognized and proceeded to take over.

Mrs. Palmer (FDP): I'd like to talk about Selma and Miss. I was sent a telegram by M.L.King. I went to represent the MFDP. When I saw what was going on, I couldn't participate. I heard local people saying "we should have gone across that bridge." What should Foreman and Lewis have done, wait and sit down with a committee what they should do each step of the way?

2:00 P.M.

Stokeley: What is a floater? Why do we call people floaters who want to work and have no jobs assigned to them? Why does Casey feel she has to try photo, then want to work in the area of the white citizens project.

Tom: There are many programs we can have, such as stop lights, or paved roads, or how much money is spent in Viet Nam. The FDP should be broader and encompass all of the states.

Muriel: I think the FDP was a radical idea but not a radical party.

John Lewis: Mr. Chairman, this is an important discussion but we should table

this and go on with the Ala. Situation.

Chair: OK

Ruby: When the secretariat or any staff enters a state, they should do as the staff the already dictates.

Marion: An extension to that is that even temporary staff be given a vote and be able to help in the decision making.

Muriel: This shouldn't be because they can't come in and be temporary and decide what should happen there, leave and the people left to live in the area have to carry out these decisions.

Fredson: I feel people should have closed meetings if they desire. This is their right. Sometimes they don't want to expose their problems to everyone.

Paul: One of the problems is that some people aren't able to take sub-

Silas: People should not be moving around as they have been in the past.

Chair: Do you feel staff should have the right to call in people from the outside if they need special help on a problem?

Silas: Well, yes.

Chair: Ruby, make your proposal again.

Ruby: Well I said that concerning movement of the staff to another area, a request should come from the project area if they want the people in there. If a crisis arose in a project and the secretariat felt there was a need for more people in there, the Secretariat should make a request to the project that these people come in.

Staff: There is a consensus that this does not mean the secretariat.

Ruby: Sec. be responsible for getting and administrator for the Atlanta office. Prathia Hall - She speaks and does most of the speaking in the north and sometimes in the south.

Betty: Prathia was in Canada for 10 days, Washington for 1 day and one other place but I don't know where she has spoken for the past month.

Ruby: She took a lot of Jim's engagements.

Muriel: To my understanding, Prathia's job was as Administrator for the Atlanta office. I would suggest she be immobile and stick to that job.

Betty: I don't think I know of any engagements that she is committed to between now and next year. There are many engagements open but I don't know where to contact her.

Ruby: Prathia is planning to get married in a few months and she wants to take a few weeks off. The Personnel Committee will take that up with her.

There is a need for one person to go to New York to be trained as a professional fund-raiser. They also need about 3 more people to work in the office there and on speaking engagements. Since Tina and Doug left, there is a need for their position to be filled.

New York --

Reggie Robinson - Fundraising

Coretta and Bobbi Yancey Jones - Fundraising

Charlotte Carter - Bookkeeper

Carol Rogoff - works with the H.S. studnets - they raise about \$5, \$7, and \$8,000 per month

Mary Brittain - Receptionist, appointments, speaking engagements,

General office supply type of things. Also housing & medical.

Marion Barry:- Press officer - Handles all Northern support demonstrations. Speaking engagements.

Chicago - still floundering

Washington, D.C. - Floundering

Princeton --

Lucia Hatch - on full time staff - raised quite a bit of money over

the summer.

Income -- \$3800 - 6 months

Salary -- \$1300

Lucia is leaving this summer. We shouldn't hire anyone to take her place unless??

Philadelphia --

Mrs. Wilson

Income -- \$3,526 - 6 months

Salary -- \$1300

One of the weakest fundraising areas in the country. No personnel problems. The problem seems to be with Mrs. Wilson, who is sort of slow and fails to keep people around her active. That was the one city which did not pull off a demonstration around the Selma crisis. This should be remembered that 96% of the offices pulled off demonstrations immediately., that were well organized. Phil. waited until the NAACP organized one.

Recommendation -- That she be asked to resign.

Baltimore --

Granville Witman - did a good job on fundraising on voluntary poll tax drive.

Income -- \$1300 - 6 months - Nov. 3

\$900 to 1000

Gran said he is no longer interested in fundraising and wants to come south.

Recommendation -- He should go through process of filling out and application because he was required to do a certain job.

Question -- What do you do with new people who are hired to do a specific job in the north and 3 months later want to come south?

Canada --

Diane Burrows - \$30.00 per week

She is planning to move out of Montreal into Ontario to extend her activities.

She is an excellent organizer. Their demonstrations were the most exciting of all.

There is another fellow recommended by Diane to work in Canada for \$30.00 pw

Income -- 10,000 - 3 months

San Francisco -- 2 staff people

Salary -- \$2600

6 mo. -- \$23000

15 to 20 Friends of SNCC groups

Good, well run group there, good money raising potential.

Washington, D.C. --

Lucia is going to work there

3 staff people

Income -- \$2800

Salary -- \$3770

They have paid out air travel for FDP. They should be doing better.

Tina Smith - receptionist, secretary - will remain

Sandy Leigh - will become admin. director of the office there.

Jim and Lenore Monsonis are leaving

Sandy plans to raise money for the World Youth Festival as well as for SNCC.

I think this would be a mistake since this office is so important to us and Washington is so political minded.

Muriel: Is there anyone who would want to work there? Marion is leaving New York and has expressed a desire to work in Washington.

Chicago --

Income -- \$2000

" -- \$18000 - night of Oct. 3rd

Jimmy Bolton was working there but he resigned.

Ralph Rapaport - It is impossible to get a description of his job.

Recommendation - He resign from Chi office and come south or leave SNCC staff
Monroe Sharpe

Silas: We should demand a financial report from the Chicago office.

Betty: I've been trying to get one for 6 months, but have not been able to.

Fannie Rushing -

Ruby: Who signs checks up there?

Betty: Jimmy does.

Ruby: I recommend that we close their accounts and not receive any money until we receive a financial report.

Betty: I suggested to Fannie that they close the office for a month and get their finances straight, also their mailing list.

Muriel: The Chicago office should be closed by the Executive Committee.

Ruby: Mr. Foreman should be mandated to go there and help clean this up as soon as possible.

Marion: I don't think he should go because he helped set it up and is too close to the personnel there.

Betty: She tried but was unable to do so because of being close to this office. I've seen Mr. Cox, Reggie Robinson and others have been there but were unable to change the situation.

Bill: Suspend all operations in Chicago until we get a person (professional) to fund raise up there.

Ruby: Can we refer this to the Personnel Committee to take care of this.

Chair: It has been suggested.....

John Buffington (from Chi.) Fannie Rushing hasn't been good. There has been a drop off in direct action and there are no professional fund raisers there. I also think the Chicago office should come to Executive Committee meeting.

Washington --

1. Fundraising for SNCC
 2. Fundraising for Youth Festival
- Sandy Leigh

Jim Foreman: No one should engage in dual fund raising.

It should be investigated as to whether or not dual fundraising is actually being done (for political reasons)

Ralph: Disagree with Jim. Sandy has said that fund raising for Youth Festival would not interfere with SNCC program.

Ruby spoke to that.

Foreman: Added that this should exclude FDP.

Personnel Committee will deal with other problems.

Suggest these projects support projects or help support projects.

Ruby: Any money given to project by local people should and can be excepted.

Foreman: Committee can be asked for report on fund raising in project area and will prepare memorandum.

Barbara: Projects be instructed to inform SNCC of speaking engagements.

John Baptiste - Cambridge, Md.

Ruby: Request personnel. Sent volunteers who were suppose to support themselves. Cambridge said volunteers are a problem - stifle community growth.

Foreman: Suggest someone take matter up with John B. and investigate all problems and spend time doing work on this matter. Person suggested to work on this was Cleve Sellers.

Frank Smith -- Workshops -- Washington, D.C.

Ruby: Have People come to south for workshops -- Convenience for local people. Supply more (full) information on workshops to staff.

Frank raises funds for workshops expenses -- Contact Carol for funds from foundations and Institutions.

Mike Thelwell -- Washington, D.C. -- FDP

Mary Virella

Bob Weil

Lawrence Guyot

Send letter

Theresa Del Pozzo

Personnel Committee ---

Wilson Brown
Jesse Harrison

Cleve Sellers
Ruby Doris Robinson

Caroll suggest that a full time person be appointed Secretary to deal with problems in Atlanta. (Tom Brown appointed for temporary service)

Erin Sims - Official Administrator of Photo Dept. (appointed by Exec. Comm.)
1. Secretary work, orders, repairs, supplies, cameras, funds, etc.
Bob in Atlanta - Also works for Jet (SNCC gets money)
Doug Harris - on staff- will probably be based in Ala. or Miss.
Training program in Jackson
Exhibit in New York -- Betty Brown
Training in Atlant

Personnel Committee write strong letter(s) to recover supplies (cameras, etc.) that were bought by SNCC

Silas: I would like to talk about who makes decisions for SNCC. I'm speaking mainly, for example, about a girl who just came into SNCC a few weeks ago and was assigned to duties as a Campus Traveler, by whom I don't know. I think C.T. are as much a speaker for SNCC as the speaker who travel in the north and cover formal engagements are.

Marion: This is a very bad thing because it afflicts us in the North that some people make very bad statements in public and the press picks it up and it becomes a "SNCC statement".

Foremon: This is a serious problem and we have to have some policy for accreditation of a Friends of SNCC group. For example, kids in Nova Scotia wanted to start a F. of SNCC group to settle Nova Scotia's problems.

Tom: Any individual should have experience in the field before he or she takes on the role of a Campus Traveler. Year or 6 months or whatever.

Bill - I agree but I wouldn't limit the time in the field.

Marion: I don't know about the field people part of it, but I think that maybe you can set up a program for training before they're sent out.

Betty: I think the office people know as much about the field as those working there.

Tom: I think the office is field work also.

Muriel: I feel we should put some faith in the Campus Coordinator and leave it up to his discretion, because if he can't do this then we don't need a Campus Coordinator.

Chair

Chair: Some training of Campus Travelers before they're sent out and this will be decided on by the Campus Coordinator.

Foremon: I don't think a lot of people understand how successful the Campus Travelers program has been. This year it has been at its best. Tom should have told us he's leaving in June.

PROGRAMS ----

Ralph Featherstone - Supposed to work in Wash. organizing the 2,000 students for lobbying and possible demonstrations around FDP Challenge.

Cox, Moses' and Cobb - possibility of conference on voting bill (during Vietnam March) (Courtland)

SNCC just against people in Mississippi this summer - except for FDP program

Foremon: Suggestion: 1. People in Washington around challenge and free elections
2. People in Sunflower Co. (Massive voter registration drive in light of the court injunction)

Featherstone: Reevaluate what we're going to do this summer. Pick day for demonstrations around this issue of free elections.

Betty: Unless we clarify the program in 2 weeks, I can't recruit students. We must change because of ----

1. SCOPE
2. New Voting Bill
3. Democratic Party, labor anxious to register Negroes in Dem. Party.

SCOPE ---

Stokeley: Southern Community Organizing and Political Education
500 to 2000 students

Marion: Colleges committed to forming (or joining) SCOPE, selecting project directors, etc. Get colleges or groups to adopt a SCOPE project.
Get money tax-exempt through churches.

John: Work in 75 (?) counties.

Jesse: What about community organization, developing the local leadership

Marion: They will have voter education classes at night.

Silas: re: situation in Selma - SCLC executives are gone and have left the flunkies. Mainly white Northern students left there. We're stuck with what they started. If this is going to be increased ????????????

Doug Smith: NAACP Is doing the same kind of thing.

Tom B.: We ought to have a summer program too. The Alabama students are ready and Virginia has students. We should use students this summer.

Silas: It is impossible to work with the situation (SCOPE). It would be ridiculous.

Marion: There are several ways of getting around it. If we have a dynamic program, it would attract a majority of the students and they (SCOPE) could not carry on. SCOPE unit functioning next year would effect our financial and political support from the campuses.

Stokeley: We can't ignore SCLC, they're there let's subvert them. You can't ignore them and set up a different program to compete with them. We go and work the counties and we control their program.

Featherstone: How do you present that in terms of a program.

Stokeley: Talked about SNCC in Selma

Featherstone: How do we communicate this to people this summer.

Stokeley: We should not recruit for SCOPE.

- Marion: Propose --
1. Find out how agreeable (?) SCLC is to working with SNCC
 2. Use June and early July for Washington lobby, bring students south.
 3. In the south use southern students to lay ground work to bring people south to take advantage of voting bill (must be prior agreement.).
 4. FDP should tell us how many people they want.

Note from typist: The minutes at this point have become very difficult to read, so I must start just summarizing them.

Roberta Geller now has about 100 applications to process. Guyot asked that Mississippians be given priority in applying for FDP summer program. FDP has asked SNCC to help recruit for the program through our northern offices.

Betty: We have a program for June -- students going to Washington to lobby. We will screen and orientate those coming (for FDP or what ever).

Marion: We can't recruit students for summer on these vagaries.

Foremon: We need to talk about what happens in Sept. after summer. Must have a significant number in Washington.

B

Betty: Northern offices felt that these recruited would have to do more than get to Washington. Most of them will think they'll get to go south if they go to Washington.

Bill Hall: Why not recruit black students. Have southern regional conferences for African and Southern Negro students.

Marion: We musn't underestimate northern economic and political support.

Jesse: What are the objective in getting Northerners. No organization is recruiting southern Negroes and we're going to end up having to do that anyway.

Betty: We must begin to interpret to northern students why they can't come.

Silas: If we concentrate on recruiting black southern students as we do for northern whites -- we'll have more than we can handle.

Marion: We need people to organize around the voting bill.

Jesse H.: We have more people in the south that we can use to organize; therefore we don't need to get more people from the south

John Buffington: If you want political support for the challenge, you bring people down, wake them up and make them aware. Therefore you need as many people.

Cynthia: White folks intimidate Negroes from doing there work. You can get lots of Negro students to do the work.

John Lewis: You should get as many people as possible involved in the movement. We have to raise larger questions -- whether or not we want to have Negro people place their names on the registration book.

Ben G. : We just don't want their names on the books, but we want to educate the people -- white people can't do as much good as Negro students because the can't relate to people as well. We can't use 100 white volunteers this summer.

Fay: Why don't you just organize the sons of senators and congress men, since all you just use white kids to help bring pressure.

Foremon: Priority should be given to southern Negroes and southern whites. Last summer we had to make the country aware of the Miss. situation. Therefore, you broucht the whites. Then came the challenge and we learned from the challenge that you couldn't just try to condemn southern congressmen, you had to get the support of norther congressmen.. Therefore you use northern whites. We went outside the United States and got Canadian support for Selma. We have to ask how to build a broad movement in US. You do this by involving everyone, white or black. What we say tactically is just give us your money and leave us alone.

Marion: Let's go back to what John said - Do we want to get people registered or is it just an organizing tool. We have to have broad support to bring about the change we want. The voting bill will not work and the way to show the country it doesn't work is to have people go down there and mess with it and if you have northern kids down there and they will bring protection for the Negroes and help get better laws.

John Buffington: SNNCC is racist. They think just black people should do everthing. How in the hell can you have a national issue without involving the nation? I'm sick of "Black " and "White".

Ben G.: We aren't communicating. Marion is talking about mobilizing white folks. I'm no racist.

Bill Hall: I ain't no racist. But Jimmy Lee Jackson was killed and no one said anything. Let it stand that way, when white folks get killed everybody jumps. White folks have political power. Let them deal with politics and let Negroes work in the south.

Jimmy G: The vote ain't the answer. People can vote in Harlem but its controlled who they can vote for.

Marion: I don't want the vote controlled in Mississippi. We've got to get political education.. How to avoid the corrupt politician (black or white) from getting there, so we register them and educate them, hoping they don't get captured by corrupt politicians. In the month of June you have 30 days to get some good political education with those white kids. Further more, what makes you think the Negro students who are middle class will organize better than the whites.

John Lewis: Lots of SNCCpeople will be running pretty soon. Julian Bond is now running in Atlanta. He ahs a good chance of winning according to Cleve Sellers who got the information from "Ivanhoe" SNCC folks should go and establish residence and run for office.

Lee Bankhead: We have people running next year and we will have to vote for them. Therefore we will have to register.

Jimmy Garret: The same people will run the Democratic and Republican Parties. Voting shouldn't be the end.

Fay: First problem - do we just want to get people to vote - Therefore we c an work with L.B.J.

Marion: People must be educated politically.

Ralph: Let's get deeper. I think SNCC should pick up a new motto: "One man - Three Squares". We are as radical as we can be. I think we should talk about economics therefore people have diverted us to politics. Food is more important than politics.

Foremon: In the discussion of economics, I just hope that we do this some people in this organization won't say why do we have to get people fed. Because some people will say that people in the D lta should stay poor. We must also include politics, however.

Hansen: The reason we want political po wer is to change things economically.

Ralph: That's Bullshit! Economics controlls politics.

Fay: We've just been talking about the vote, vote, vote,.

Marion: We all agree that we should have a staff meeting in May.

Muriel: Districts and states may not want additional people, therefore the program can't be rigid.

Jim: We can't talk about programs beyond just dealing with the summer project.

Lee Bankhead: What kind of education has the staff received up to his point? Many staff people thalk of personal freedom and what they will and won't do. How can these confused staff people wrk in the communities? We should associate the right to vote with economics - broaden voter registration - talk about the MFDP.

Muriel: There are amany inconsistencies in SNCC and what we say and stand for - we really are concerned with the society - we're too absorbed with time limits.

Mrs: Palmer: The FDP is still stressing Freedom registration, because we realize that it will be a long time before real registration means anything. There's plenty of time to work and await.

Muriel: We've all been in organizations which have tried to for years. I don't think we can organize freedom. We'll get tied down in perpetuating the organization and lose sight of the idea.

Foremon: I'm calling for a staff meeting because we need to evaluate programatically in view of what is happening in the country.

Marion: What are we going to do in terms of recruiting?

Ralph: We agreed already about what we'll do.

Marion: We have to sharpen the focus on the D.C. lobby. Many

moves were made to adjourn. It's 11:30 and people are tired and losing interest.

April 14, 1965
Holly Spring, Miss.
Executive Committee Meeting

John Lewis: I don't feel we should criticize any Civil Rights organization openly and in the public eye. We have to realize that it's a waste of time and energy to answer to the charges made by different staff in different parts of the country.

Marion: We have to realize that there are forces in this country who would like to see SNCC, SCLC & CORE split, because they know that if we ever work full together, we would push the NAACP and the Urban League and others out. This is a pact that should be strengthened. There could be a forum for criticizing SCLC or anyone else, but not in public. What we have to do is try to radicalize King. Those of us who have been around for awhile can see the great change in King and there are members of SCLC who are pushing for the same thing.. As to who speaks for SNCC, we can make it known to the press that only the Executive Committee speaks for the SNCC. In this way you can attack a lot of the crap that is said by individuals.

HJohn Buffington: The only thing about a discussion such as this is that it never gets discussed in the field projects. We know it, but no one else does.

Ivanhoe: SNCC is different from SCLC. That's why we're two organizations. We think and operate different. The question is where do you concentrate your fight. You see, I just don't think the organization should lambast SCLC. I don't know about CORE, but people look on SNCC & SCLC as the moving force in the south. In terms of the public, within our organization we should have a refinement of our programs, because the press has no continuity of what our programs are supposed to be. I just feel there has to be a policy in SNCC that we are different from SCLC & CORE and go ahead and work out our program.

Mariel: There should be some fostering of a closer relationship between the staffs of / organizations that have to work together. Such as in La. with CORE wanting to have more contact with the Mississippi staff. If we are to work together then we have to understand each other.

Marion: We do need coalition with SNCC-SCLC-CORE-SNCC. We do need to meet and understand that what happened 6 months ago in this country is no longer happening and that changes are happening fast. We've got to understand that we can't stand still.

Ralph: Are you going to talk about playing politics? If so, then I think we can really get down to business.

I think John is right not to criticize other organizations.

Fay: We should realize that to the press we are not individuals but SNCC and a body or group should be designated as spokesman for sncc.

Bill Ware: I don't think this should be done unless we intend to hold workshops for the staff to notify them of this.

Foremon: We have representatives from each area here and they can relate this. Also, I'm going to the 5th district and the 3rd and can relate this to the staff there.

Fay: This could be put on a separate sheet and sent out with the minutes.

L.A. office --

Jimmy Garrett --staff
Liza Kaye Nathanielson
Mary Anderson

There will be a typed report by Betty Garman on L.A. and Hollywood.

L.A. office --

Income -- \$6,832.05
Expenses-- \$5,663.22
Salaries-- \$2,925.00

Total Net Raised - \$1,168.83
Sent to Atlanta -- \$ 900.00

Betty: I feel that Jimmy Garrett should speak because he probably has more information since he works out there.

It appears that Cliff Vaughn is fund raising in Calif.

Ed Wilson - office mgr.

Nickey Vernon - Answers the phone and never knows where the staff is.

Jimmy Garrett - Out organizing

We are never able to contact them or get any reports from them except expense reports.

Jimmy: Let me talk about L.A. first (Long Beach, San Diego, Santa Barbara, Bakersfield). I decided to work where I could because of the shit in L.A. and the kind of image they have.

Levi Kingston was running this office when I got there because of the way it was set up. I came here to find out --- I didn't come here to make a report.

I know the people and areas I worked with and in and that a lot of money is sent down to Atlanta. I raised hell with the Atlanta office and came down there last time to resign because I couldn't work out of the L.A. office. I'm working on college campuses and in small areas to organize Friends of SNCC groups and the small areas to raise small amounts of money.

Betty: I stated that all F. of SNCC groups should work in direct contact with the Atlanta office.

Jimmy: There were no SNCC demonstrations in L.A. The United Civil Rights Comm. called a rally which turned into a demonstration. Later CORE got involved in one. The Federal Building was closed because of the first demonstration and the people sat down in front of the tracks.

Ralph: I received a call from Nancy Cooper that the people in Washington, D.C. said that "we were down where undercutting the Washington conference" and we were trying to cut the money down among other things. I don't know how that came about. So I asked her who they were and she said Courtland Cox and Dona Richards said this. They weren't even here at the meeting at any time. This is just an example of how rumours get started.

Ivanhoe: There was a clipping from the LA Times quoting Jimmy Garrett and part of it was quoted in Time (Mag., I think) "I don't give a damn about SNCC, all I care about is Jimmy Garrett!" The other statement was something about Communists being in the organization and "we infiltrate them".

Jimmy: First of all I didn't make those statements. The Calif. papers took this out of context. Also we have a clarification of these statements and intend to send a copy of it to the Atlanta office.

Ivanhoe: We all know this is done and should try and be a little more careful of statements we make.

Marion: First of all if we receive a call from the reporters we don't have to talk to them. Refer them to the Atlanta office. Secondly; they (reporters) shouldn't be in on our meetings. Ask them out.

Jimmy: Carl Fleming, a reporter, did interview me concerning the communist thing for Newsweek and did take the article out of context. Now I have the tape of the interview and Newsweek is going to print a clarification of this article.

Betty: So what do we do in a case such as this. Most Northern offices are in contact with the newspapers. Do we discontinue this or what?

Jim: (Foreman) I don't think we can discontinue this because the northern offices have to have this contact. We have to correct the disorganization within the organization.

This is why the communications dept. has to be built up. Also, the thing with SCLC has to be discussed.. We have to realize that we have to have closer contact with the Atlanta Communications Dept. and let them know what is happening. Also, we used to write Field Reports. Now that no longer happens. Many things that are going on in the projects, we don't know anything about. We need a set of writers in the organization who can set up the facts.

Tom Brown: I'd like to emphasize the importance of Field Reports This covers a lot of situations and advance proecess releases can be typed up. Records are very important and the handling of them by the communications Dept.

Ivanhoe: Communications Dept. can't operate any better than this organization and the field projects reports are not at the base of this. We do have some writers but we never utilize them (ie Francis Mitchell and Jerry DeMuth)

Also Eric Morton never stay in Atlanta ever 9 straight days. We have Jack Morton, who is a very good writer, layout man, etc. who has been coming to the Atlant office since last Sept., but we have nothing for him or any of the others to do or no way of utilizing them because there is no one the hold them together.

Jim: I still say we should have a central place for information to be given out.

Marion: We have to maintain contacts with the press. We should maintain contacts in many areas. We have to have a basic policy so that there will be some co-ordination among SNCC in order that we do speak to the press, the statemnts will be similar.

Betty: When we have Speakers Bureau workshop and Communications workshop, this will be a way in which to avoid some of the past boners in talking to press and also, people who are used as speakers.

E.C.-- Cleve will take care of programing for setting up this workshop.

Marion: Back to L.A. We should clear up the financial situation there. Also, Jimmy, do you want to be a fund raiser or an organizer.

Jimmy: I'm organizing Friends of SNCC groups. I was told to organize Friends of SNCC groups to raise money. This is what I'm doing. Also, when I ask for supplies, I'm never able to get them.

Betty: The reson you didn't get a lot of supplies is because we were broke and could not pay for it.

Cairman: Reads a letter dated March 5th, 1965 from Jimmy Garret to Cleveland Sellers.

Marion: Most of the people haere don't realize how crucial the situation is in L.A. They (staff) seem to be "Freedom High" and I don't k feel we can operate in that way.

Cliffi Vaughs is working on raising large sums of money in L.A.

Attempt to discuss letter from Jimmy to Cleveland. (Sellers)

Foremon: Who works in the office full time?

Jimmy: Ed Wilson and Cliff Vaughs.

Foremon: I'm going out to L.A. to see what's going on. Is Levell on our staff?

Jimmy: She's not working, but she's on our staff. She should be dropped. Chico Neblett says he came out there for a rest. Not doing anything. Ron Bridgforth resigned 4 weeks ago.

Cliff is working. Ed Wilson--\$30.00 out of petty cash per week.

Betty: Cliff is working out of a house in L.A. Nickey is the only one there when I call. To contact Jimmy, I had to call his house office, Levell, etc. and never reach hi,. Anits Whitney says Ed works out of his house.

Ivanhoe: I don't feel that we can afford to run an office that can't bring in 100,00 dollars per year. You have an office mgr. that will take care of business and handling the fund raising. He can't do it by working in the field.

Tom: I think that Jimmy is not interested in being an officer mgr. Jimmy do you want to be office manger to handle the office, mass fundraising, dealing with a mass of people and being responsible for all this?

Bill Hansen: Foremon, when are you going to L.A. and how long can you stay?

Foremon: I have to go out there on May 4th and can stay about 4days.

Bill: I would suggest that the Exec. Comm. mandate Foremon to go there and stay until the situation is cleared up. That he be given the authority to clear up this matter and put someone in as office manager (directo).

Foremon: I'll go.

Stokeley: I suggest that Ivanhoe go along with Foremon.

Ivanhoe is working on the campaign.

Foremon: I'd like to have a written report from Marion Barry. Ivan has to go out there on the 23rd and Betty Garman.

Stokeley: The Campaign is over on May 5th and Ivan can meet him. We're always putting Foremon in a box to do things alone. Then when he does it, we yell and scream. There is a consensus of the group that Jimm and Ivanhoe be mandated and given the authority to hire, fire, and to clear up the situation in L.A.

Foremon: I ask that Betty: Garman go with me to L.A. She does have information that is pertinent to the operation.

PROGRAMS --

Ivanhoe: Regarding Julian's campaign and soliciting SNCC's help. Funds already appropriated - \$500.00 (personally borrowed by Ivan for qualifying fees. Another loan of \$100.00 for the payment on the office and telephone. Some funds were solicited from the business community. Can SNCC endorse \$1,100 for the campaign. Maybe some of it can be paid back.

Bill Hansen: I move we endorse it.
Bill Ware: Why?

Ivanhoe: The issues he stands for good for the Atlanta Community. Good for his kind of candiddate (young, black and radical) To get a Negro from this district it will be the first time since reconstruction.

Featherstone: What will Julian do if he loses.

Ivanhoe: I don't know.

Ruby: Regarding resources, Julian can get help from the Atlanta community and not ask for as much help from SNCC as we have put into other campaigns (C.B. King, etc.)

Ware: Julian as an individual can't corrupt the organization. Others were reflections of SNCC's program.

Foremon: 1. Responsibility of organizing districts in campaigning is to make community financially support it.
2. Campaign should be given national publicity.
3. Some staff (Ga.) and local people to come last few

days to do work in the area.

4. Would urge Julian to set up Ga. Young People's Party, or whatever - since they can vote at 18. Should use office to organize young political student union along congressional district lines. Should have counter force to Ga. Voters League.

Ruby: We should write off the \$500 qualifying fee.

Ware: Let's just give everything as a loan indefinitely. We can decide what to write off later.

Ivanhoe: Will be using campus students too

WASHINGTON CONFERENCE --

Featherstone: Courtland, Cobb, Bob Parris and Dona Richards - To have a lot of students in Washington for conference (2 days)

1. Orientation on FDP challenge
2. New/Free Elections
3. Possibilities of violence when legal barriers fall
4. Voting Bill - What it means

Friday - Ask students what action can be taken around

MFDP

Saturday - Summer Program - Coming to Wash. & going south.

Muriel: Who's running the conference.

Featherstone: Higgs, Guyot, Cobb, Featherstone, Bob, Dona, Cox

Foremon: People's conferences are good but practically impossible to be held in time; Arkansas has announced its summer program. People shouldn't feel hung up about program if people's conferences are not held.

Ivanhoe: What is SNCC's summer project?

Foremon: Have students in Washington in behalf of challenge. Some will be selected to go south. Southerners also asked to go to D.C. We will support FDP's program and Arkansas'. Ala. and Ga. are not worked out.

We should hold people's conferences before the summer, but rather late to wait until then before making any plans.

All policies must be made clear and recruitment should be done through the northern Friends of SNCC offices.

Betty: I had thought of northern area conferences before Wash. Courtland had planned Chicago conference - student wide. Contacts were made with SDS, NSM (Tom Hayden, Dave Dennis) to meet in Atlanta and talk about Chi. conference. Place was changed to Washington (conference).

When students meet in Washington they may constitute a coordinating committee for Washington activity this summer. It is hoped that the Friends of SNCC can cooperate within that and that there won't be

Tom Brown: Can the E.C. endorse the So. Regional conference to discuss new programs.

Muriel: What about massive black belt congress in July as follow up to challenge.

Foremon: Muriel: should prepare a paper on how to jump outside society. Many Southern Negroes will be going to Wash. Exec. Comm. should suggest to Bill Hall to get together with kids about summer-distribute applications.

We must find out why South Carolina conference didn't come off. Betty should be at the conference as should many in the room.

Featherstone: I understand the FDP is going to have applications. FDP is asserting independence. I was sent to Washington be the Executive Committee to work in the community; Jan Goodman told me Willie Johnson was doing that.

Silas: What about April 24th conference. (Free Elections)

Betty: FDP called meeting for northerners re: lobbying, etc. to

boost northern lobbying around challenge. Want 1,000

Feather: Problem between FDP and SNCC at Washington conference. We can't tell people what to do.

Ruby: is anything written? What should we tell people. What specifically will they be doing.

Feather: That's not available now. You have to wait until this weekend.

Ruby: Assignment should be made before they come to Washington.

Ivan: What's the program in area outside of Miss. other than V.R.

Ware: Could we assist under Miss. program in relationship to FDP program and that this action is operated or initiated from Wash.

Ivan: I don't see how this can happen.

Jim: FDP WAS GOT to be made to function because it does not hang us up. If they want to have demonstrations in Miss. this summer, we're just going to support them. If they want people to come into Miss. we'll just have to help. We're going to have to push for a Washington lobby. There's a very serious problem in Miss. -staff v. volunteers. We're trying to correct the staff problems by holding district meetings, COFO, FDP This should bring about an understanding of what is going on.

Ivanhoe: If we're not going to work with the FDP we should pull out of Miss. for the summer.

Chair: Let's talk about May 10th staff meeting.

Cleve: We plan to hold workshops on SCLC- speaker from this organization--also programs, etc.

It should be held in the context of an institute.

Chair: I want to talk about SNCC staff meetings. Concerning who can come and remain in the meeting.

Jim: We ought to establish who's responsible for Call Committee to reestablish who may come to Staff meeting (coordinating committee) and enforce this.

Fay: The Call Committee should write people who are to come to this certain meeting and make it explicit that they aren't to bring anyone that the meeting will be closed.

Foremon: One of the things you can do is call the people who receive checks staff and put people such as Fay on the payroll. to resolve this problem.

Ivanhoe: We ought to have a staff list and a Freedom Voice list of all personnel.

Chair: Who is on the Call Committee?

Foremon: Let's choose one.

Muriel: The call comm. will be responsible for finding a place for the meeting.

Chair: Who will take responsible of setting up program Foremon outlined.

Carol Merritt takes responsibility.

Bill Ware: Couldn't there be a small meeting set up between SCLC and SNCC to make plain our ideas and to make clear how we can work together?

Jim: Belafonte is concerned about the split between the two groups to discuss openly our relationships on the 20th in Atlant. I've asked Silas and we need four other people. I feel this meeting should be held.

Staff Education - Carol Merritt

We sent out 100 questionnaires to staff on what they would be interested in doing. (I received 30 back and most of them want to learn typing and reading and writing. A business school in Atlanta is going to train persons (free of charge) for two weeks. The off of education has made available \$3500 for a staff workshop. Does anyone have any idea what kinds of program we should set up?

Jim: State Projects ought to have some sort of reference librarys so that people on staff will have their basic information on hand. The research Dept. can handle the overall research. I'd like to see an education program around "how to keep records". Each project should have a list of all registered voters, who in the community owns cars, how many Negroes and whites are h there in a district. Staff should know how to do reseach in their areas.

Carol: I think some one should be assigned to work on education full time. Judy Walborn helps out now.

Marion: If there is anything to be done in the north on education I could probably handle it.

Foremon: What is the nature of prejudice?

What is Caste?

What is a Ghetto?

Maybe Marion could help you on questions and issues such as these. For instance, there is a new book out, "Dark Ghetto", which I really think we should discuss.

We should develope a staff dictionary. When we use a lot of terms only a few know what they mean. We should also go into terms such as the difference between tenant and sharecropper.

Tom: Should be workshop on Negro History.

Muriel: Dr. Elsie Lewis should be gotten down hwere and she jnows southern history backwards and forewards. Also, I would like to see Carol make the first workshop strictly experimental. I would also think the staff should learn to train staff.

Foremon: All of these workshops should be decentralized. This makes for better cohesion and unity.

Silas: What is the discipline on workstudy people? I want to know what procedure, for instance Gladys Freeman. If a person on work study doesn't work out on a project, what do you do about them.

Foremon: I think we have to make use of the local talent resource. For example, in Mont. we found some people with certain skills out of work. Also need to develope program dealing with jobs.

I think we should talk about staff rotation. People get stagnant in the same place. But also in terms of rewards - very few in SNCC- one we have is new experience.

Carol: office/field experience important too (rotation).

Tom: What about apprenticeship type programs, partly rotating but working along with skilled persons.

Marion: Should start thinking about program for rotation involving northern offices. Think Carol and Betty should work together on this.

Ivan: Agrees if it is a coordinated program and doesn't allow people to drop in at random.

Foremon: Ivanhoe has a report. I think we should hear it.

Carol: One more education point. Scholarship program - 30-35 people on scholarship. At least 8 people have left school after a semester or less. Don't get money back from school. Also, we don't (or haven't gotten the letterswere sent out) get the expense money back. William Porter and Sandy Stovall fall into this category.

Muriel: Talked to Charlie; we have scholarships to schools we can't readjust to - Negro Middle Class, etc. Want to raise validity of whole scholarship program.

Foremon: Person in education has to talk to staff people
1) about request for funds and 2) possibility of going to school-
while raising question of responsibility to stick out the
semester in terms of saving the money.

Tom: Sometimes people drop out because they get caught up. Do
we require information about grades?

Why does it make a difference?

Ruby: Yes, because people who consistently don't make school into
a good experience shouldn't be able to come again and again for
money.

Marion: Some basic academic skills are necessary. Think Carol
should find a way to encourage people to go back to school.

Carol: Students who drop out are southern Negroes who got to
southern schools. Maybe it was because they were close to the
crux of the problem. The ones who attend Northern schools seem
to remain in school.

Foremon: I think we should start thinking below the college
level. There are many who can get skill without going to
college, even if we have to set it up ourselves.

Muriel: I maintain that we keep the scholarship program.

Foremon: The nature of SNCC has to change and we have to realize
this. We have to broaden our ideas and ways of thinking.

POSITIONS ----

Marion: Oppose the HUAC investigation of the KKK

Staff: Why?

Stokeley: You oppose the HUAC because it is unAmerican.

Ivanhoe is going to write up a report on why we oppose HUAC.

Viet Nam --

Silas: Logical extension of American Imperialism.

John: We have to take a position on the March to End the War
in Viet Nam.

Consensus that we endorse the march. We have people taking an
active part in the march and we have helped get students (from
the south) for it.

John: We have to take a position on Viet Nam also. America should
withdraw.

Staff: We just state to the press that we support SDS fully in
their march on April 17, 1965.

Marion: Have Ivanhoe and John Lewis draw up a statement for the press.

Red-baiting

John: Sometimes we leave ourselves too open by the company we
keep.

Ivan: I think we should be very naive on this issue. I think
we should come with a very simple statement based on the first
amendment.

How do you answer a reporter if he asks you are there Communists
in SNCC?

Stokeley: John Doar gave the best answer I've heard of. He said
that "Communists usually pick out the problems in a country
and work around that issue. The problems that caused the C.R.
movement to begin is one of those problems. Therefore, they try
to work in the movement (groups). Now if anyone wants to get
rid of the Communists in the C.R. movement then everyone
should work as hard as hell to rid the country of the problems
that caused the movement to begin."

Stokeley: 1. We stand on the 1st amendment.

2. The country thinks we're a bunch of naive kids who don't know what they're doing. Now we should take advantage of this and be naive about the subject.

Ivanhoe: -- REPORT

I felt that we didn't know what communists were. We can take a very naive position. If you mean totalitarianism, this is impossible because we believe and work for democracy. Our programs stand high in speaking for what we believe in.

Silas: It seems to me that the last 6 months I have been coming to meeting, everyone always leaves before we get around to discussing programs. I'm going to go back to Ala. and when we have the Ala. staff meeting, we'll make up our programs and just carry them out.

Stokeley: I'm afraid that after I've organized Lowndes County, what will I do after this. So they're organized and the local register greets the with "we're going to register you" type stuff. When people were laughing and talking while Featherstone was saying we should organize around "One Vote and 3 Squares" that it really made me angry. Ralph really had a good issue but no one listened to that. It was too abstract to work on within the framework in which we're now existing.

Silas: A lot of the stuff we're talking about now is going to be lost or ignored by the staff because there is no one here to carry it back to the different areas. Now for instance the Hammermill Boycott, we stated that we would endorse it and the statement was released to that effect. It turned out that the Ala. staff and SCLC staff didn't do this. They (SCLC) planned the boycott outside of the state and we know about it.

Ivanhoe: That is partially my fault because Betty Garman did attend the planning committee meeting on the boycott with SCLC and a report was never sent to you.

Typed by Sherron Jackson

finding the issues April 27, 1965

creating the situation of conflict

sustaining a movement

1. accumulate resources energy

2. change people

W