## ORGANIZATION REPORT

## by Cleveland Sellers

Box \$ 10 UCLA Folder XTIA July-August 1966

During the Mississippi Meredith March, James Meredith was gunned down outside of Coldwater, Mississippi on U. S. Highway 51. Stokely, in speaking of the Black American and his plight, made the statement which contained the phrase "Black Power." From that point on the March, the cry has echoed across the land in Black communities. It has been more intensely the rallying cry in areas where Blacks are in revolt against the system that oppresses them.

The press, our former chairman and other civil rights leaders who are "responsible" have misinterpreted "Black Power." If we start from several basic facts about the Black man and this country, we can very easily define the concept.

The first point is that this country is built on racism. Secondly, the Blacks within the boundaries of the United States are powerless and propertyless group. Politics in America is for the White and middle-class only! That politics is the interaction of self-interested groups in an effort to determine the distribution of social benefits. And the fifth point is that a people's history and their awareness of it, shapes their contemporary culture. (Culture is a peoples' acknowledgement of their legitimacy -- Black peoples' culture is invisible because Black is illigitimate in America.

With these facts, Stokely has defined "Black Power" as an independent force within the political system to have people speak their needs. Using this as a stepping stone, we can get economic power --- the crucial problem. Aside from the political and economic power, "Black Power" means instilling with Black people a determination to make their own decisions --- on any phase of their existence. Moreover, it means creating a positive of identity with the Colored Peoples of the world -- especially Africa.

I, on the other hand define "Black Power" as the move by Blacks to own and control their communities, politically, economically and socially. We basically agree, there are probably differences only in semantics. Therefore, it is obvious that in order that in order to remain consistent in developing in developing the term "Black Power", it is necessary for us to periodically have discussions.

There arises a question in my mind about the communication between us and the community that we speak of. How then do we convey the term to them.

While in Washington, D. C., during the week of July 26th, Representative Adam C. Powell requested a meeting with Stokely. Ralph Featherstone, Stanley Wise, Sandy Leigh and I also attended the conference in his office. The discussion was basically between Powell and Stokely. The discussion centered around the void or vacuum between civil rights leaders, Black community leaders and the Black communities. He was concerned with bringing these leaders together, under the banner of "Black Power" to discuss the term 's meaning and its impli mentation ... thereby filling the void.

We agreed to make the effort. Powell gave us full use of his office staff (56 persons), office stationary, stamps and a desk. Ralph was suggested by Stokely and myself as the person to head up this operation. The date of the the Conference was set for the Labor Day weekend in Washington. It will be held in an auditorium to be secured by Powell. The people invited range in philosophy from Mr. Muhammad to Rev. Jackson of the National Baptist Convention. We intend to work out more specific details later. This conference will certainly give us an even larger area in which to discuss "Black Power."

Very briefly, I would like to discuss some programs that will effect SNCC and ask this committee to give me the sanction to finalize them. The first is a joint project with SDS against Apartheid in South Africa. No details of this have been worked out, but it will include civil disobedience. If there are some suggested guidelines, please write them down and give them to me during the break. Organization Report Page Two

The other is an educational program. After we called twice and wrote the people who were suggested by the Central Committee to help develop an education program, I pulled together a meeting in New York with the help of Ivanhoe. The people who attended were Stokely, Rap Brown, Stanley, George Ware, Ivanhoe, Miss Baker and Chuck Hamilton. The three topics we established were: 1) the program, 2) personnel to direct the program and 3) scholarships.

The program consists of staff education (an academic study of politics, economics and philosophy), a broad history program bringing in the names of DuBois and Garvey and the revolutions attempted by slaves and Black freed men, and the setting up of a continuous institute for Black people. Chuck said that there was a possiblity of getting the program funded from foundation resources. The proposal outlining this idea must be presented by September 1, 1966. After a fruitfull discussion, we decided to let the Central Committee give some guidelines. We plan to have another meeting to draw up the proposals.

We are in a critical need of an educational program because of the complexity of the jobs we must do and the seemingly lack of interest of the staff to fulfill this duty. It was obvious at the Mississippi staff meeting that we need to have an institute workshop once or twice a month. The staff lacks direction in most areas.

### MISSISSIPPI

It is obvious to me that Guyot will not be present at this meeting. Therefore, I would like to suggest that we leave out the discussion around Guyot and the FDP. We should request his presense at the next meeting.

There was a meeting of the Mississippi staff called by the attendance was bad. I hope that we can reschedule this meeting in September and have the entire staff present.

Election Time-table for 66-67:

7/8/66	last day for registering for Nov. 8 election
9/29/66	last day an independent candidate can qualify for Nov. 11, 1966 elections
11/11/66	General election of U.S. Senators, Congressmen and Federal Judges
7/7/67	last day to register to vote in Nov. 7 election
8/8/67	Primary election
9/28/67	last day for independent for Nov. 7 elections
11/7/67	general election for governor and other state and county officials
11///0/	

Organization Report Page Three

There are Federal Registrars in 22 counties -- Benton, Carroll, Claiborne, Coahoms, Desoto, Hinds, Holmes, Humphreys, Jasper, Jefferson, Jeff Davis, Jones, LeFlore, Madison, Neshoba, Newton, Noxubee, Rankin, Simpson, Walthall, Warren and Winston.

There was a very lengthy meeting held in Holly Springs. There was a discussion around programs, attitude and relationship between those and SNCC. After extensive thought and consideration, I took it upon myself to close down that project. Before making this decision, I consulted with other staff in Mississippi as well as local people in and around Holly Springs. I recommend that the people on that staff be given a hearing by this Central Committee but that until then, if then, the decision is reversed, Sid Walker and Rita Walker shoulnot be considered staff and the office closed.

I am also removing from staff Willie McGhee, Doug Smith, Georgia Martin and Charles Glenn. They should also be granted a hearing if they request one.

There is another development in Mississippi which I feel this Committee should make themselves familiar. The issue is General Electric (G. E.) and CDGM's major involvement. The history of G. E. is (1) Price fixing which has resulted in several convictions and even jail terms for top G. E. officials, (2) International racism -- G. E.'s involvement in the apartheid conditions of South Africa is due to its huge operation the re, (3) Anti-unionism -- G. E. is notoriously opposed to the very right of working people to organize. Goon squads, etc. have typified their history. Right now, the National Labor Relations Board has a G. E. Board member. Stephens, in court over labor abuses. The G. E. people

G. E. Board member, Stephens, in court over labor abuses. The G. E. people assigned to C. D. G. M. have also expressed their anti-unionism. For CDGM to join hands with anti-unionism in Mississippi is certainly not to step for progress, (4) G. E. has a history of heavy support and involvement with the right wing. A G. E. Board member, Gilbert Humphrey, was the top money raiser for Goldwater. Hunter Morey, CDGM Central Staff member, suggested that the Board of CDGM call before it the panel of GE. people that John Mudd, Director, proposes to hire, and raise the point of racism, anti-unionism, price-fixing and right-wingism or Goldwater, with them.

The C. D. G. M. is a basically Black organization and despite all of its shortcomings, given the fact that it does exist and will be around, it might be to some benefit to our organizing independent political organizations in that state. Hunter suggested that the relationship between CDGM and G. E. can only be seen as we struggle with any power structure group. We should keep a close eye on this development.

# ARKANSAS

They are hanging on as best they can. They have been able to raise a little money and the salary checks will help. In spite of the fact that their staff is so small and Myrtle is still out of the state, they have been able to keep things going. Up until now it has been a holding action. They have been able to make some contacts in Little Rock and it looks like they will have someting going by September.

Vince o'Connor informed me that he is resigning from SNCC staff, effective immediately. The last field report really upset him. I think he was especially upset by Mahoney's report from New Jersey. It seems they feel that reports like this  $\neg$  often substitute words for action. He would rather defend the action than have to go to war with some liberal shithead over some words. (See attached for rest of Arkansas field report).

#### \*\*\*\*\*\*

It is very unrealistic to believe that I alone can do 1000 things throughout the organization. I request the hiring of additional staff to assist me in deeloping the Program area. In addition, I would like to request funds to have an automobile to ravel to project areas.

It is also a joke to believe that I can do an effective job when in fact everyone on the staff is an individual and has a parochial attitude. I hope that we really understand where we are and really begin to consider whether or not we can move ahead.