

On this day we are gathered together only two months short of one year to once again develop new programs, tactics, techniques and review experiences. We must very honestly examine this week three basic areas: 1) problems, 2) internal problems and 3) programatic directions.

It is a fact that this country is prepared to use whatever force necessary to destroy SNCC. We should look at the Philadelphia situation arrests, the Atlanta riots, the draft and the Internal Revenue investigation the beginning of war against SNCC. If anyone is not familiar with any of these situations, he should get all the information possible before he leaves this meeting.

What is the main projection around each event? Each event try to discredit and confuse the public about what SNCC is trying to do, causing SNCC to become ~~increasingly~~ isolated from its support bases across the country.

Let us examine two of those situations and see if we can find out why we were able, fortunately, to contain the community. In Philadelphia a case of dynamite being planted in order to try to destroy our momentum. In Atlanta we find that a demonstration of frustration and ~~discontent~~ ^{discontent} against existing conditions, police brutality, as an indictment of SNCC for causing the riots.

In both instances, the communications (or public relations) move the community in order to get the support of the Black community. Mass meetings, leafleting throughout the city and just talking with the folks were employed in order to develop a closer relationship between the community and SNCC to prevent it from becoming isolated and to help the people understand what SNCC was trying to do.

These tactics and techniques are good when developed, to the point where they are very seldom used aggressively. Our energies in public relations are going to be defensive rather than the offensive. We should be using our skills to

Congress on his behalf.

They support the rebellion of the black people in Atlanta and revolutionary movements struggling against oppression and racism around the world. SNCCSANA condemn the United States War of Aggression in Vietnam and express solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam." (Sept. 8, 1966)

There should be discussion of alliances with other groups like NSM and ways they can become political bases we can relate to in terms of projects etc.

Basic Programs:

The campus has developed as our key political base because of political implications around having large numbers of Black youth together to develop political attitudes.

SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning ~~February~~ February 1, 1960. The Conference at Raleigh, N.C., together many of the demonstrating southern Black students in a loose non-militant Black youths. Back in 1962, only two years after our inception organization had to deal constructively with the problem of how to relate to campuses. We decided to send two people as campus organizers to the southern Negro campuses. Bill Hansen went to Arkansas and then started the Arkansas thus losing contact with the colleges. Bernard Lafayette was supposed to be another organizer but he went back to school.

/ 8 campus organizers

In 1964, we had a campus program which consisted of four cars, and was exclusively for developing and holding state college conferences. We had four conferences. One was instrumental in setting up the VSCR (Virginia Student Civil Rights) and the Tuskegee students organization TIAL but unfortunately a large amount of funds allocated to the conferences was misappropriated.

All of these campus organizer quit or became disqualified. SNCC never developed a relationship to VSCR with the exception of myself. There was a large reservoir of interested, active students that had developed from the conferences that just withered away. In our effort to be constructive and productive we began to concentrate directly on the community organizers moving farther away from our own roots - the college experiences.

Now we have ^{reached} ~~reached~~ the cross roads again and must decide whether or not the Black campuses are important and if so, the extent of their importance. There are many Black students that are looking forward to SNCC to share its theory, concept and philosophy with them. They are isolated on all the campuses because the predominant attitude there is that of the emofus middle class. The southern Negro college is still ~~unimproved~~ over-crowded, patterned after the Ivy League and ~~slanted~~ slanted toward middle class utopia.

George Ware will present a report which I know will capably ~~gax~~ handle the content, philosophy and theories that we plan to implement this college year. We should have a campus magazine published immediately and four (4) additional campus travelers to work under the direction of Campus Coordinator, George Ware. We should polarize around the death of Sammy Younge during the entire month of January. Stokely should spend the balance of time during that month on college campuses. During this month, we should try to raise all of the questions possible about the war, democracy, Blackness, the third world and Black Power relating it to Sammy Younge's death. We should also prepare for a large student conference during the spring. The primary program for college should be around academic freedom, black consciousness, the anti-Vietnam program and development of the Black Power concept.

Northern programs

From traveling to Chicago, Washington and Boston, I want to give just a brief analysis of these situations, the Chicago situation probably being the quickest to deal with. I think there is not a program in terms of the community in this area. What we should do is keep in our own minds that the office operates in relation to SNCC rather than the community. Little has been done in terms of organizing.

Washington, D.C. in relation to the FREE D.C. MOVEMENT should be brought up again in terms of organizing. From my brief visit to Washington I found that the Free D.C. Movement was at its ^{lowest} ~~highest~~ point and that there was general hostility in some communities towards the Washington office because of the lack of program.

After spending some four to six days in Boston I found that there exists in this area a large number of community organizations. A problem that arises there is the failure of these groups to deal with the basic problems of the Black community.

One group that might be key to developing a movement in this area is the Afro-Americans. Bob and Joanne Eubanks are the key people in this group. The group plans to develop ~~and~~ an anti-draft program. I think that Bob is a capable and experienced person who would develop into a good organizer in the Roxbury community. There is a need to also send two other male SNCC organizer in to work with him.

With the election of Brooks and his nonresponse to the Roxbury community and because the entire ~~the Black community~~ Black community is aware of the Italian history in Boston, I see the immediate need for them coming together in an effort to develop the power necessary to alleviate the system and structures that oppresses them.

~~There are also three people who previously worked with NSM (Northern Student Movement) who received a grant of some 25 thousand dollars from a church group in that area to do organizing. I think that their orientation would be different from ours because of lack of SNCC experiences. One is a very good organizer. They proceed from the concept that they must develop a sense of identity from being in the~~

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black community and that there should be positive material gains from any programs they develop. I think, if handled properly, this could be the beginning of an alliance with the partially defunct NSM.

CDGM

The Child Development Group of Mississippi, the largest single Head Start program in the country, is currently requesting funds from the Federal Government for another year of operations. Since its inception in the spring of 1965, the Child Development Group has grown to the point where it now serves 12,000 children and their parents in 121 communities and employs more than 2300 poor Mississippians at all levels of planning, policy making and implementation.

The last grant expired on September 30, 1966 and most of the centers stopped receiving funds in the early weeks of the month. On August 25, 1966, CDGM submitted a proposal to OEO for funding an additional year's operation. That proposal requests 20.3 million to serve the state.

The following are relevant facts about CDGM's current program.

Basic data:

Size of last grant - \$5,644.343 for 6 months of operation

Number of children served: 12,145 (as of June 3, 1966)

Geographical coverage - 121 centers in 28 counties across the state

Who works for CDGM:

Number of employees - 2,272 on payroll -- 2112 are on local center staffs, 80 work in 15 area offices and 62 work in central offices.

Composition - 98.9% of CDGM's employees are local Mississippians (99% in the local centers, 100% in the area offices, 80% in the central office).

Training:

Training of area social service coordinators

" of area administrators by central staff and outside consultant

" of area staff in systematic problem solving by Transolve

" through workshops and consultant for area and local teachers

OEO sponsored teacher training course in colleges and universities.

Senator John Stennis, a CDGM critic (voted against the poverty program at every opportunity) said, "I have been working toward turning this project over to local responsible citizens where it should have been at all times. Progress at this time is satisfactory and I have been assured that a very significant ~~announcement~~ ^{announcement} will be made very shortly."

This announcement concerned the replacement of CDGM by MAP (Mississippi Action for Progress). The Board of the new group is really controlled by Owen Cooper of the Mississippi Chemical Co., LeRoy Percy, plantation owner and Hodding Carter III. These people at their discretion can add any new members on the "oard.

Other members are: Rev. R.L.T. Smith; Negro minister and businessman, Dr. W.P. Davis, white minister, Oliver Emmerich, Newspaper publisher; Charles Young, businessman and president of Mississippi Democratic Conference; Oscar Carr, plantation owner; George Owen, president of Tougaloo; Rev. M.W. ~~xxx~~ Lindsey, Negro minister; and James Gilliam, Negro Masonic leader.

Several points to be remembered about the MAP are not always stressed publicly. In Article 4 of the Charter, three men, ^{all} ~~xxx~~ white Mississippians, are the only ones listed as incorporators of the group (Owen Cooper, LeRoy Percy, and Hodding III. The charter says that three white men have the power to pick who they choose to be on the Board of MAP. Aaron Henry's name does not appear on the charter and he does not legally have the right to appoint members to the Board. He is being used.

Article 6, directly says that this newly formed group will coordinate its activities with the Governor of Mississippi. Now this means Paul Johnson; it 1967 it may mean Ross Barnett.

This charter breezed through official steps all in one day. Some Negro groups in the state, including Tougaloo College, have been trying for more than a year to get their charters approved.

Article 7 of the charter says that Mississippi Action for Progress shall not have to make public its charter. This is unlawful for any group expecting

poverty funds according to OEO.

This Board is an attempt not only to rebuild the Democratic Party in Miss. but reinstate old line Democrats, businessmen, planters and newspaper editors -- coupled with a few Negroes to give it an air of integration. Given the current political trends in the South, Negroes will not serve on the board after six months.

I think that C.D.G.M. was the best organizing effort in Mississippi since Reconstruction. One of the reasons for that was the extensive role ex-SNCC people played in lending SNCC attitudes and concepts to the program.

I think also in the discussion of Mississippi we must ~~remember~~ consider the role of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty (CCAP). Walter Reuther heads this group which is funded by Kennedy and recently granted \$250,000 from the Ford Foundation headed by George McBundy. This has been a political effort to hire people involved in the Movement as well as an effort to establish a liberal democratic party across the country utilizing the black and poverty ridden communities.

What we should learn from the CDG's experience is that we should begin to develop a more positive relationship with the organizers of that nature and that we should at ~~maximum~~ this point consider the FDP in terms of the 1967 elections

Education Program education

The ~~education~~ program that SNCC has been considering will go into effect as funds can be obtained. Chuck Hamilton is currently trying to obtain a grant in order that the program can begin working. This program of staff education will be a key factor in organizing both in the North and South.

A Southern Institute can be established using the Houston Street house as headquarters. At this time there are many problems involved and these must be solved before any program can be started.

Internal discipline

It becomes evident as StCC expands its programs into new areas that the need for internal discipline becomes more and more necessary. We cannot really expect to further our ~~xxxxxx~~ goals and implement our programs until we can discipline ourselves. This discipline includes responsibility to the organization and the areas in which we work. This also includes the need to use resources wisely and and to their full capacity. This discipline means that people cannot operate solely as individuals but must adhere to the programs and goals of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.

I have attempted to give a very brief description of some of the programs which concern S CC. Individuals working on specific ~~xxxx~~ programs and areas will discuss in detail just what they are doing and how this relates to SNCC.

As we meet here this week and after we leave, we should keep in mind the basic goals we have established and continue to develop and establish program which implement these ~~xxxx~~ goals.