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STAFF REPORT BY THE NATIONAL DIRECTOR

Rarely has any organization in the nation's history experienced, in one brief year, such mushrooming growth and impact as has CORE in the year 1961. Just keeping on top of that growth and expansion is a major task. Assimilating the new growth has become a staggering job. Controlling and directing it into constructive and creative channels requires the patience of Job and the wisdom of Solomon, which none of us possesses.

And that is why we are here. This is not for any of us a vacation. It is a working council meeting. Your national office and staff need the benefit of your thinking, and your collective wisdom and insight on the vexing problems that confront us all in order to perform with effectiveness the duties with which you have entrusted them.

There are more than problems facing us. There are also challenges. Your efforts in the past year -- in the Freedom Rides and in your own local activities, have helped to create a climate wherein segregation can be battered down with greater speed than ever before, and bias brought to heel. To fail to plan with foresight and vigor at this stage in our struggle would be criminal. The necessary planning cannot be done by your staff in a vacuum. We must have your thoughtful deliberations.

The CORE staff, both in the national office and in the field, has worked with diligence and dedication, and, without exception has done a highly creditable job. Since the last convention, that team has remained in tact with two exceptions. James R. Robinson, Membership Director, resigned in October to assume the post of Assistant Director of the American Committee on Africa, and Edward Blankenheim, field secretary resigned in January for family reasons. Five persons have been added to the field staff: Norman Hill of Chicago, Dave Dennis and Jerome Smith of Louisiana, Mary Hamilton of California and Frank Robinson of South Carolina. None of these persons are new to CORE activities, and their addition to the staff should greatly strengthen our nonviolent striking power. They join a team of field secretaries who have been tried by fire, and whose effective and often heroic services to CORE have helped to give non-violent direct action its present dominant role in the civil rights struggle. "1961", observes Gordon Carey "will be recorded as the year in which CORE moved into the deepest South." The report of the Field Department which has been headed by Gordon Carey with Fredericka Teer as the assistant follows:

Field Report

Prior to last year, New Orleans and Tallahassee were the only CORE groups in the most resistant South. It was CORE's Freedom Ride which brought the non-violent struggle into the States of Alabama and Mississippi. It was this ride that paved the way for the first court ordered desegregation in the State of Mississippi and it was this ride that brought about the major ruling of the Interstate Commerce Commission which implemented the Supreme Court decision outlawing bus terminal segregation. Since the Freedom Ride, we have seen nonviolent direct action campaigns carried out in many deep southern cities -- not only by CORE, but by other organizations as well. Shortly over a year ago most observers felt that Mississippi and Alabama were not yet ripe for direct action. But at the 1961 council meeting CORE authorized the staff to undertake the Freedom Ride. Now, the state that brought violence to the Freedom Riders and the state that has outlawed the NAACP for many years has two active CORE chapters and others in formation. The technique of nonviolent direct action has become firmly imbedded in the framework of the civil rights movement.

The North has also seen change. Where only a year ago CORE was talking about housing campaigns, we have today many chapters actively engaged in effective housing projects. Boston CORE, New York CORE, Brooklyn CORE, Chicago CORE, and others have experimented with the housing sit-in. It has proven effective. In Denver our new CORE chapter is engaging in direct action against residential segregation. Much of the energy that was expended in the North to bring Woolworth to its knees has been channeled into action projects within the local community.

And in the Upper South, Freedom Rides on Route 40, sit-ins and picketing have brought integration nearer in Maryland; and Lexington, Covington and Richmond CORE continue battering down the barriers in Kentucky in public places and employment.

In the past year, the number of CORE chapters has expanded phenomenally. Following the council meeting a year ago, there were 39 affiliated chapters. Today there are 64. This represents increase in one year of over 60%. Many of these 25 new chapters have been in the South. We now have our first chapter in the State of North Carolina and have organized chapters in Alabama as well. Other chapters have been organized in states that are new to us or states where CORE has not been active for many years. New Jersey, Colorado and the State of Washington all represent areas of important growth for CORE. During the past two years, chapters have been organized at the rate of almost 2 a month. It appears that this growth will continue.

The field staff has also gained in number and stability during 1961. A year ago CORE had 5 field secretaries. During 1961 it reached a peak of 10 field staff members. In addition to organizing new chapters, the field staff has been able during the past year to provide more servicing for CORE chapters than ever before. Five branch offices are established. One of them (New York) is already in operation and others are under way in New Orleans; Sumter; South Carolina; St. Louis; and California.

Last summer, CORE's training program expanded dramatically. For the first time, a training institute was held on nonviolent techniques in fighting housing discrimination. This Institute was held in Boston under the direction of Marvin Rich. The Action Institute trained 30 people from across the nation in the techniques of nonviolent direct action. Out of this Institute grew Alexandria CORE. In the coming year CORE hopes to expand the Housing Institute into a three week program that would deal with housing and employment as well.

One of the current challenges that the organization faces is the utilization of college students within our branches. The staff makes the following recommendations in regard to college chapters:

CORE will encourage college students to work first toward the development of community-wide CORE chapters. When this seems impractical or when a community chapter already exists, we will consider affiliation of autonomous campus chapters. It is generally agreed that staff should work toward increased activities on college campuses both North and South. We should investigate the possibility of employing a student secretary who would concentrate on college program. It is also suggested that we develop a student advisory committee made up of student leaders. The student advisory committee's function would be to advise CORE staff on utilization and involvement of college students. It is also deemed desirable to hold

student conferences on either a nation-wide or regional basis. Consideration should be given to devoting one day of the National Convention to students.

Involvement of high school students in CORE activities presents another and more serious problem. The staff generally recommends that high school students may be used in local projects depending on local circumstances. It is suggested that persons under 18 years of age not be used on regional projects or activities that involve interstate travel. It is further suggested that CORE, as a matter of policy, not affiliate high school groups to the national body. However, there are three circumstances in which high school groups might be associated with CORE:

1. Organizations that are primarily, but not exclusively made up of high school students may apply for affiliation on the same basis as any other chapter.
2. High school branches may be organized by already existing chapters. In this case, the high school group would become a part of the older CORE chapter and would not affiliate with the national organization. Certain specifications or suggestions would have to be worked out for the relationship between the high school chapter and the community CORE group.
3. Other high school groups which want to work with CORE can call themselves student committees in support of CORE or by some similar name and cooperate with national and local CORE without affiliation.

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All of us have helped to build CORE, and have propelled ourselves and many others into nonviolent action. But how have we related to the larger community?

"During the past year we have been eminently successful in the attempt to establish in the public mind the image of CORE as a major race relations organization", reports Marvin Rich. The community relations department which Marvin heads with William Larkins as the assistant, reports as follows:

Community Relations Report

We have achieved the stature of a major contributor in the struggle for equal rights in America today. We have also been able to identify CORE as an action organization operating on a national level.

These identifications have benefited the national organization and the local groups as well. Because of the tremendous interest in the Freedom Rides and the general CORE program local groups have been able to increase their membership and the effectiveness of their program.

Yet a good deal still remains to be done. As our groups increase in number and as existing groups grow in size it is important that we continue to educate our own members. As we reach into new communities it is also important that we reach the minds of the largely indifferent public and of the segregationists themselves. We must continue to emphasize that CORE is an interracial organization from top to bottom; among its officers, its staff, its groups and its associate members. We must continue to emphasize that CORE is a national

organization; that discrimination exists in every portion of the nation and that CORE groups in every portion of the nation are using direct nonviolent action methods to root it out. We must continue to emphasize and develop our nonviolent philosophy.

The basis for the CORE community relations program is of course the action program of national and local CORE. No mass media is interested in our philosophy apart from the way in which we put the philosophy into practice. We have been increasingly successful in persuading magazines to publish articles of interpretive reporting of CORE and of the nonviolent direct action struggle today.

We have been less successful in achieving this with the major television and panel shows. However, the special events programs have been concerned and we hope to be more successful in the months to come.

During the past year we have investigated pretty thoroughly the possibility of establishing a magazine on nonviolence. It appears that the publication cost per copy on the basis of the circulation of 2,000 copies would be 45 cents. If we could be assured of a circulation of 5,000 then the cost per copy would be reduced to approximately 30 cents. The first price seems high and the second estimate of circulation seems greater than we can hope for at once. We are discussing with several foundations the possibility of their support during an initial one or two year trial period.

Fund-raising - Both special fund-raising and direct mail fund-raising are very intimately related to the entire program of educating and informing the general public. As we secure wider acceptance from the community, it is easier to secure financial support for our program. Speaking tours of student leaders from the South have helped to increase support for the action program and the financial base which is so necessary. During the past fiscal year (since June 1, 1961) special fund-raising has totaled \$200,000. During the same period last year, special fund-raising totaled \$27,000. Special fund-raising now represents more than 50% of our income. Two years ago special fund-raising represented far less than 5% of our income. During the coming year we will have to spend a great deal of effort to build up the direct mail so that our members will contribute more than half of our income once again.

Literature production - The CORElator, under Jim Peck's editing, has expanded both in number of issues and in distribution. We now publish 50,000 copies of the CORElator nine times a year. It is one of our most important tools in telling the story of CORE action throughout the country. We want to include a story of the activities of each group in the CORElator. Please send us reports and pictures of your activities.

We will be glad to place one member of each group on the mailing list to receive our press releases. In this way you will be apprised of activities throughout the country very rapidly.

During the past year we have published 35,000 copies of Jailed-In, the report of the nine CORE members who spent thirty days on the road gang in Rock Hill, South Carolina. In addition we have published 10,000 copies of Sit-In Songs and have revised and enlarged Cracking The Color Line. 25,000 copies of the new edition have been ordered. We have also reprinted two articles from the Amherst Alumni bulletin in the form of a pamphlet The Freedom Riders. The CORE Way, originally published in 1946, has been reprinted. This will provide some historical perspective for the thousands of people who write and ask about CORE's early years. We also reprinted an article by Joseph Barry on the

meaning of jail and Jim Farmer's article in the Progressive on the experiences in Parchman Penitentiary. A three-page reprint summarizing the reports of the United States Commission on Civil Rights is now available. Jim Peck's new book Freedom Ride has been just published by Simon and Schuster. It should be very widely distributed since it tells the story of both the 1961 and the 1947 Journey of Reconciliation as well as many of the CORE action projects in the years between.

Pending projects in this field include a manual on the use of the socio-drama, a lesson outline on nonviolence for the use of CORE groups, and a mimeograph history of CORE.

Film - The Social Action Commission of the African Methodist Episcopal Church has had a film on the Freedom Rides produced. This film was done under our supervision; it is narrated by Jim Farmer and uses much of the television footage taken at the time. The distribution of the film is being handled by the Lockhart Agency. It is our hope that the film will be very widely shown before civic and fraternal associations, college groups and others. This is an opportunity to tell the story of CORE action before a vastly expanded audience. It is also hoped that the film will bring a significant financial return, thus helping to pay the cost of the Freedom Rides themselves.

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In any fast growing young organization, the danger always exists that the national headquarters, which should be a fountainhead, may, because of the huge burdens and increasing demands put upon it, become a bottleneck. This we intend to avoid. The problems, succinctly, are: 1. functional machinery and 2. program.

To begin the process of evaluating our functional machinery, we started with the national office. In the fall of 1961 we engaged efficiency experts, the voluntary organization management department of our auditing firm Apfel and Englander, to make a study of our operation with a view to operational efficiency and sound procedures. In January we received their other comprehensive report, making numerous valuable suggestions regarding membership maintainance, mail and cash control, office management, additional clerical staff, new equipment and office layout. Most of their recommendations will be put into effect as soon as practicable, and re-evaluated after a reasonable period of time.

In addition, the efficiency experts recommended that the membership procurement function of the membership department be assumed by the community relations department, inasmuch as direct mail fund-raising and special fund-raising logically go together, and that the membership maintainance function of the membership department be assumed by the office management department. This change has already been instituted on a de facto basis as an interim measure. To make this structural change permanent, no doubt, a constitutional change will be required. I suggest that this national council recommend such a constitutional change to the forthcoming convention.

There are, of course, problems of functional machinery which no outside specialists, could grasp in a few weeks time. One such problem is the enormous increase in the responsibilities placed upon our Field Department. Its tasks are: organizing, servicing, program (and national projects) and training -- the planning, supervising and execution of any one of which is more than a man-sized job. Combined, they are simply beyond the power of any one man to control.

Therefore, on the recommendation of the Field Director, I have, effective February 1, 1962 and on the approval of the National Action Committee on January 26, divided

the field department into two departments -- a Department of Organization (and Servicing) and a Department of Program (and training). The former Field Director, Gordon Carey, is now Program Director; and James McCain, the former Senior Field Secretary, has accepted the post of Director of Organization. Their respective assistants are Norman Hill and Fredericka Teer.

Former Field Secretary Richard Haley has accepted the position of Assistant to the National Director, also effective February 1, 1962. It is expected that this will free the National Director for closer participation in the deliberations and actions of the Community Relations, Program and Organization Departments -- in other words, better co-ordination of the work of CORE. It will also give the National Office the benefit of the proven abilities and unique talents of James McCain and Richard Haley. This does not mean that they are lost to the Field: both intend to do a good deal of travelling, as do other members of the national office staff, to maintain close communication with our battle fronts.

On behalf of the new Director of Organization, I wish to announce that Genevieve Hughes will be assigned to the West Coast regional office, and a new field secretary, Frank Robinson of South Carolina, former regional representative, has been assigned to the South Carolina office to replace McCain. Announcements of staffing of other regional offices and assignments of other field staff members will be made shortly.

Another peril in our rapid growth which requires an adjustment in our functional machinery is the danger that in our increasing size we may lose a measure of membership participation in the affairs of the national organization. No one desires more passionately than your national staff that this not occur. The necessary steps to prevent it must be pondered by this council and its recommendations made to the next convention. It is expected that the national officers will have a suggestion for your consideration at this council meeting in that regard.

Program

The new Program Department would like suggestions and approval for a limited number of CORE projects which are to be carried out by the national office. It is understood that these national projects do not supplant or replace local projects carried out at local initiative. The Program Department would like to submit four major and four minor projects to be undertaken by the national organization with cooperation from the chapters. The four major projects would be: Follow-up on Freedom Ride, Freedom Highways, Retail Chainstore employment and employment of non-white actors in the theatre and movie industries.

Less important, but still vital projects, are continued efforts at employment of Negro flight crew by U.S. Airlines, library desegregation, desegregation of YMCA's and YWCA's, and continued efforts to desegregate lunch counters throughout the South. A number of special projects will be undertaken as well. Among these special projects would be helping to develop a cooperative industry in Haywood County, Tennessee. Another may be direct action against segregation in State Legislatures, Courts, etc.

The Program Department will also work to help local chapters and develop projects in the areas of housing, schools and voter registration. These three fields cannot be attacked by a national project or project as such in that the solutions would vary from community to community and there is no central organization or corporation as the target for nationwide demonstration. Segregated schools, segregated housing and denial of equal access to the ballot box are considered to be areas of prime importance for CORE activity. During 1962 we will attempt to develop programmatic ideas and literature (including

"How to Do It" tracts) which can be sent to the chapters as an aid in working in these fields.

Training - It is suggested that CORE's training program should be geared to attain 3 primary objectives. First, the training program would be aimed at developing new techniques for tackling problems North and South. Second, it would be geared toward imbuing in the organization a deeper concept of what CORE means by interracialism and the development of an interracial society. Thirdly, we would seek to give deeper understanding in the philosophy of nonviolence. Some of CORE's activities in our recent history have emphasized direct action to the exclusion of a conception of basic goals. A major dilemma facing CORE is that in practice we have not resolved the conflict of jail vs bail. Training of our own membership and staff is considered basic to the growth in depth, as well as in size, of the nonviolent struggle.

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I have tried in this brief staff report to give as objective a look as possible at our beloved organization -- its progress and a few of its problems. We have taken great strides in the past year. We have also made mistakes. Who hasn't? But the difference between animal habit and human intelligence is the difference between repeating mistakes automatically on the one hand, and trying to correct them in the present and prevent them in the future on the other.

CORE must never succumb to the tyranny of habit, but must ever maintain the freshness of thinking and creativity of action which has made it significant. We must be conscious of the responsibility which our prominence in the struggle places upon us. As we accelerate our demolition work, the toppling of barriers, -- and accelerate we must, we must not lose sight of our architectural duties, the building of bridges. For our objective is not a fractured and barren land of hostile men and fallen walls. It is, rather, an open society where free men dwell -- race having lost its power to poison, to cripple and to divide.