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OF

MASS PRESSURE

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FORWORD

In preparation of the discussion at the Youth Conference in Richmond November 17-18-19, it seemed to me that any discussion of techniques of mass pressure should be prefaced by a glossary of most commonly used terms.

Accordingly this bulletin has been prepared with the hope that the delegates will read through the material presented and be prepared to ask questions as well as discuss use of techniques and activities herein suggested.

Most of the "tools" presented in this bulletin become effective with use. It is our hope that some day mass pressure campaigns will not be needed, but until all people are willing to grant to 13,000,000 Americans their constitutional rights, such campaigns and other techniques of attaining democratic ends will be necessary.

I The Issue

Mass Pressure is the technique of applying force through cooperative action to change/^{public} policy or decisions adversely affecting citizens. Such pressure is generally applied through an organization or groups of organizations allied together in common support of, or against policy which is in controversy.

An issue is public policy declared by an official, agency, organization, public or private enterprise, thought to be contrary to the best interests of a group. The most common issue in minority group strategy is discrimination.

There are three phases of applying mass pressure; (1) the issue; (2) the campaign, and (3) the follow-through.

EXAMPLE OF A MAJOR ISSUE

I

Suppose the Federal Government builds a war housing project. The site selected is in a mixed neighborhood, that is, a neighborhood in which Negro and white families are living in adjacent areas, or perhaps, side by side. The land is condemned, or contracted for. The project begun. Then the local housing authority decides that the project shall be occupied by white people only. The Federal Government disclaims responsibility for the decision on the grounds that the local housing authority is the agent of the Federal Government, and in this case, makes the decision relative to occupancy. YOU or your organization consider this policy discriminatory. You want to change

it for a more democratic policy of opening the project to Negroes and whites who qualify. This constitutes an issue.

II THE CAMPAIGN

To change the policy of discrimination through mass pressure calls for a campaign. A campaign must be carefully planned, adroitly executed. All possibilities must be taken into account. Just like a military battle, techniques, strategy, moves and counter-moves, must be planned reasonably far in advance. In the planning stages there are certain techniques in outlining strategy and executing plans which come from knowledge of tried methods.

First step in planning is to call a meeting of key persons representing organizations interested in the over-all issue under protest. Such organizations are usually strong & liberal AFL and CIO unions, the Urban League, youth groups like the Committee on Racial Equality (CORE), American Youth for Democracy (AYD), Young Socialists (YSL), or kindred groups. Liberal groups and individuals vary according to the community or campus. You must have a working knowledge of potential allies to be called on in support of any fight against discrimination, injustice or other protests.

Second step, form a broad Citizens' Committee. This is a committee of representatives of allied or key organizations who will work with you in the struggle. From this group elect a chairman, vice chairman, secretary, treasurer; form a steering committee to develop strategy and prepare plans for adoption by the broader group. Try to bring into the citizens' committee as large and broad a representation as possible of interested persons and organizations.

Break the citizens' committee down into smaller committees. Three, beside the steering committee are enough: education & publicity, strategy and techniques (steering committee), finance.

At the first meeting of the broad committee, the temporary chairman presents an agenda. The first meeting should be prepared for in advance by the group or initiating committee who send out a call. A call may be written, or on short notice telephoned. The agenda is the plan of the meeting. Generally, the agenda states (1) why the meeting was called (2) action proposed (3) appointment of necessary committees, and other action or discussion is provided for.

The matter in controversy, or rather, the matter you are protesting, is presented by someone previously selected. The person giving the outline of your case, should be possessed of all the facts, or as many as make a good statement of the issue. Discussion should be provided for in the agenda to allow for "clearing the air" or answering all questions and meeting as many objections as possible. Sometimes there may be "obstructionists" but this bulletin does not deal with them. If you know parliamentary procedure and your program has been well outlined, you needn't worry about such people. Take care of them in a democratic fashion.

After general discussion and pooling of ideas, the group will probably come to this conclusion: "Yes, there is an issue of discrimination. We want to protest and do something about. What is our next step?"

A tentative outline of action should be presented at this point. Suppose, we say, the committee decided that all organizations represented should issue statements or resolutions condemning the action of the local housing authority. This, obviously, is not enough. Next step might be to send a delegation to the Housing Commission or Authority. This, probably, won't win your case either. Then what? Suggest a formal hearing at which time you and your representatives can present the facts in your case, a petition praying for the satisfactory remedy, in this case, opening of the project to all who

qualify both white and black.

The hearing is held. The housing authority voted "No." Their decision will stand. Do you lose heart? No. The fight has just begun. After all, we've not run out of techniques to use. There are still leaflet statements, press releases, bulletins, leaflets, picket lines, tire delegations, postcard campaigns, telegram campaigns, action letters, newspaper and radio, speaker's bureau, soap-boxing, and millions of techniques which are effective.

Use of these isolated techniques will not be enough. They must be put together in sequence to gain the next objective--Community Education.

Community Education

An, this is a tough one! The community is sometimes hard to educate. The public is a tough nut to crack, especially if the channels of communication, the press, radio, etc., are unsympathetic. Your job is to make the sympathetic. Sometimes Herculean, oftentimes possible.

Generally the public is apathetic. The Negro public, from accepting conditions so long, will sometimes take a "defeatist" attitude and feel that what good relations there are in the community are being endangered by a militant campaign. On this score you will probably have more trouble with the satisfied Negro, the old entrenched politician who always sold you out for your vote, the conservative preacher of the "old school"; the wise person who says "son, if you want to get ahead in this town, you won't truck with no protestin' foolishness."

The white public, thinking that Negroes are satisfied with their lot, and not having been told any differently by the so-called "representative Negro" and feeling that government has given more than the Negro deserved by even thinking of Negroes in the same breath

with housing, will also accept the majority decision.

Your job is to change them both. The public can be educated. How? By use of the press through intelligently written releases. Thru the radio on bought and free time. Through Action Letters to large mailings and organizations. Through dramatic demonstrations, parades, picket lines, etc.

This is what is called "bringing the public an issue" on the problem. If the case has been intelligently presented through pamphlets, leaflets, brochures, radio, speeches, and the newspapers, considerable pressure or public opinion will be formed to force the officials either to recede from their position of denial, or assume a position of adamancy which brings the case even more to issue because then you will have an impasse which can either be resolved in your favor or against you. Your task is to resolve the situation in your favor.

Use of Propaganda

Let's discuss propaganda and its use in a campaign. Dr. Alvin Lee, professor at Wayne University, says that propaganda is "use of words, symbols, ideas, and the like, with intent of attacking or opposing the ideas of others."

Basic procedure includes (a) selecting the issue -- in this case discrimination against Negroes in a housing project (b) case-making--which is simply gathering the facts in favor of your proposition (c) simplification.

The art of simplification or technique, will aid your cause immeasurably. Slogans, phrases, "name-calling" and other means of driving your program home and identifying your fight as justifiable are needed in a campaign of protest. Here are samples: "The jim-crowed Housing Commission." "Negroes fight for democracy--can't get housing."

Strategy Important

Once again, strategy is important. Reflect on what has not been done. Anticipate the opposition. Inform your allies of further plans. Continue to meet with the steering committee and Citizens' Committee striving for perfect execution and timing of plans. By clever moves, the opposition may be placed on the defensive and the issue resolved in your favor.

III THE FOLLOW-THROUGH

The follow-through is the most important phase of the campaign. Those who believe in "jim-crow" or discrimination policies, usually anticipate some opposition. If, they expect to draw the fight out indefinitely until YOU get tired.

The strategy of follow-through is to be prepared for delay or any eventuality. If a decision is pending, don't wait until a decision is forthcoming before planning your next move, or doing anything. Keep active. There is considerable interim activity that can be carried on such as picketing, operation of a speaker's bureau, parties and other financial activity for funds, conducting a survey for additional facts, or compiling additional bulletins of information. Gather more facts for additional information. Case-making should never stop. New facts are generally always available if you look for them. Keep your group together by regular meetings. Bring them up to date by neatly prepared and "spicy" bulletins.

Don't stop because you are successful, or if unsuccessful. There is no end to discrimination until all of its ugly offsprings are wiped out. If the Housing Authority should decide that Negroes can live in the project, then see to it that nothing happens when they move in. Once your project is successfully terminated, thank all groups who cooperated, give them a final report of activities, finance, etc.,

DICTIONARY OF TERMS AND TECHNIQUES

A dictionary of terms and techniques is always helpful. So are illustrations of what other organizations have used. Study these and improve on them in your own activity.

DICTIONARY OF TERMS, TECHNIQUES, ILLUSTRATIONS

Agenda The plan of a meeting. A sample agenda includes:

| | | | |
|-----|---|----|--------------------------|
| I | Call to Order | IV | Appointment of Committee |
| II | Minutes | V | New Business |
| III | Reports of action taken --Committees, Officers | VI | Adjournment |

Brief A concise statement of an issue with supporting evidence. Contains an introduction and logically placed headings and sub-headings. Ends with an appeal for alleviation of the situation under protest. In drawing up a brief use legal paper. Mimeograph copies for every member of a commission or authority to whom presented, and additional copies for the press and for those present at a hearing or public gathering where the brief is presented. The material in the brief should be double-spaced.

(SAMPLE UAW-CIO BRIEF)

UAW-CIO STATEMENT ON HOUSING AT WILLOW RUN

Submitted to the Truman Committee
By George F. Addes,
International Secretary-Treasurer
UAW-CIO
and
Director of the UAW-CIO War Policy
Division.

While American bomber pilots are using the Consolidated B-24D "Liberators" in air attacks over the coast of Europe, ferry pilots are waiting at eastern ports of America to fly new bombers over England for the increased air offensive. But the new bombers which are expected to come at the rate of 260 a month from the vast sixty-million dollar Willow Run bomber plant are not arriving. (*1)

Upwards of 30,000 workers are now employed at the Ford bomber plant, but production is not even beginning to fulfill the expectations and demands of the Army Air Forces.

The outline of the UAW CIO brief used as illustration is as follows:

INTRODUCTION

Part 1 - NEED FOR HOUSING

Part 2 - WHY THERE IS A LACK OF HOUSING
TODAY AT WILLOW RUN

Sub-Headings:

UAW Plans for Willow Run

Ford Motor Company Opposition

Testimony of Capizzi Against Willow Run Housing

The 'Ghost City' Rationalization

Real Reason for Ford Opposition

UAW-CIO Statements Supporting Housing Program

Where the Blame Lies

Housing Demand and Supply in Willow Run

Decentralization Needed

An Expanded Housing Program

Map showing area

Brochure A compilation of material which keeps members of your committee or organization up to date on resolutions passed, action letters, maps, graphs and other data. Usually helpful when you want to bring the press up to date or distribute to persons seeking information about your cause. The brochure should be printed, photolithed or mimeographed. Maps should be photostated from original, if mimeographing or other form of duplication is inexpedient.

A brochure used by the Civil Rights Federation during the sojourner Truth housing fight in Detroit in 1942 looked like this:

Title Page THE SOJOURNER TRUTH
 DEFENSE HOMES

Some Pertinent Facts

Published By
CIVIL RIGHTS FEDERATION
530 Insurance Exchange Bldg.. Tel: CA 6278
for the
SOJOURNER TRUTH CITIZENS COMMITTEE
446 E. Warren - Telephone-TE 1-3609

The outline of the sample brochure contained:

CONTENTS

1. Introduction
 2. It is NOT a "white" Neighborhood -- description of the area
 3. Map of Area
 4. Letter from Mayor Edward Jeffries to Federal Housing Authorities
 5. Detroit Housing Commission Resolution
 6. Letter from Federal Works Agency to MICHIGAN CHRONICLE
 7. Statement on Sojourner Truth Housing Project signed by prominent individuals
 8. Resolution adopted by Greater Detroit and Wayne County Industrial Union Council, C.I.O.
 9. Resolution adopted by City-Wide Conference on Safeguarding our Children.
 10. Telegram from William Green, President A.F.L., to Frank Martel, President Detroit Federation of Labor
 11. Letter from Ford Division and Ford Local Union, UAW-CIO to Detroit Common Council
 12. Letter from National Federation for Constitutional Liberties to Defense Housing Coordinator.
 13. Letter from Delta Sigma Theta Sorority to Detroit Housing Commission
 14. Editorial NEW YORK POST
 15. Article from PM, New York newspaper
 16. Article from DETROIT NEWS

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Anyone who secured a copy of that brochure, was able at a glance to tell why, the fight started, what the facts were, and pertinent opinion.

Bulletin A mimeographed sheet, (or printed or photolithed) which serves as "pep talk" information sheet, newspaper when the press is against you, and has dozens of uses. If your committee is meeting daily or weekly, a bulletin should be prepared for each meeting giving up to the minute facts and outline of additional procedure.

Citizen's Committee A Committee of representative people drawn together to support or fight an issue. Usually representative of various groups in city or on campus.

Call for Conference or meeting A brief statement sent out to individuals and groups outlining the purpose of a conference or meeting.

and signed by several persons initiating the call.

Conference A broad meeting called by initiating group of individuals or organizations for the purpose of discussion, and formulation of a program of action. A conference may last one or two days or merely an afternoon or luncheon session. Needs a chairman, group leaders, resource people, committee for resolutions, etc.

Delegations A group of people selected to confer with officials on the issue under protest. Sometimes the delegation may go to Washington, or to your State Capitol or City Hall, or to the College President. If conferences and delegations go to Washington or out of town, make reservations in advance, use the Washington Bureau of the NAACP at 100, Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.

Try to see as many people in Washington or the State Capitol concerned with the issue as possible. Split your delegation and see your Congressmen, press representatives from your home-town. Two can see Congressmen, two can see the newspapers, two can see heads of organizations interested in your fight. The entire delegation should see the main authorities importuned.

Meet somewhere in Washington and outline your strategy. Know who is to do what, say what, when and where. Review your accomplishments at the end of the delegation's conferences when all reconvene before train-time, or confer on the train re accomplishments.

Delegations should be publicized, especially those that go out of town on an issue.

Demonstration Similar to a parade. (See parade) Sometimes called a large ticket line. Mere change of wording achieves greater interest and publicity value. In mass demonstrations be sure to secure the cooperation of large numbers of groups, see your lawyers about

Door to Door Canvass Just what the name implies. A house to house method of soliciting funds or acquainting people with the issue in controversy. A good way to form public opinion.

Editorial Opinion of the editors of a newspaper. Generally on the editorial page. A good medium for getting across to readers of newspapers the official opinion of the newspaper. Supply the editor with facts, not opinions, and urge an editorial. Visit the editors of newspapers and give them your side. They may see eye to eye with you and support your cause.

Hearing There are two kinds of hearings: formal and informal. A formal hearing is before a Board or Commission of some government agency or private agency and must be requested through written communication stating purpose of such hearing, who will appear, etc.

An informal hearing can be secured easily if the body importuned meets regularly and the petitioners come before it on a scheduled meeting day.

Generally, it is better to ask for a formal hearing. Prepare your case well and chose your speakers to represent broad groups and for capability of making effective presentations. Have statements reduced to writing and available to press representatives who may be present. (Make sure they are present by notifying press in advance).

Issue Public policy in controversy. Policy under protest by organization or group of organizations. Most common issue, discrimination.

Letters One of the most effective protest methods. When an issue is first created, a letter from the protesting organization should go forth asking for statement of policy. After receipt of policy statement and ascertainment of veracity of knowledge of the matter at issue, sets forth the views of your organization succinctly in letter from to the

Mayor is the guy you're aiming at, picket the city hall. A good picket line consists of at least ten people. Be prepared to keep it going for hours and days. Notify the police. Know the local laws governing picketing. Hand out leaflets to the people who pass by so they will know WHY you are picketing.

Post Card Camraign A very effective method is to flood the mails with postcards to officials, politicians, etc., stating the issue and requesting that something be done. Postcards can be sold or passed out at mass meetings. Gives everyone something they can do individually. Have sample messages prepared and postcards mimeographed for meetings, etc.

Publicity Simply telling your story to the public through press releases, leaflets, handbills, bulletins, the radio, sound cars, motion picture trailers, speaker's bureau, etc.

Make up a publicity schedule:

"One of the simplest and most practical ways to do this is to go through the following motions:

1. Set down separately each kind of publicity you will use.
 2. Under each of those heads set down in chronological order the various steps to be taken.
 3. Under each step set down the chronological order the various items necessary in completing that step.
 4. Opposite each item set down the date when it should be accomplished.
 5. Now take a separate sheet and note down every date covered by your campaign.
 6. Under each date set down each item to be done that day."
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Monday, September 1

Copy due on "Current Expense" pamphlet
Secure promise of cooperation from motion picture owners
Get interview from Mayor Higginbotham

Copy due for Sunday story on "How More Street Lamps Will Increase Population."

First General Letter to be mailed.

Workers' handbook to go to printer.

Forms of copy used in publicity are typewriting, "duplica-
matter--photolithed, mimeographed, printing, mats, pictures, photo-
graphs, engravings, etc. You will need a mailing list of publica-
tions. These can be secured from the public library. The yellow
section of the telephone book is also a good medium. Get to know
editors, columnists, feature writers.

For illustrated reports use pictographs--secured from the
Pictograph Corporation, 142 Lexington Avenue, N.Y. You've seen
pictographs in those public affairs pamphlets showing men and half
men for statistical info. People not accustomed to reading statistics
can get an idea what you are talking about through use of pictographs.

Press Release An article or statement released to the press. Should
be on 8½x11 paper, one side only. Use double spacing. Heading in
upper middle of paper should state name of organization, address,
telephone, and officer directly concerned with the publicity. The
editor may want to reach you for clarification, so include some
telephone where you can be reached.

Upper left hand corner should state release date or time.
Release should be clear, concise, and for metropolitan daily papers,
very short. You have a better chance getting a short release in the
papers than a long one. In the first paragraph tell who, what/^{when}, where,
why. The rest of the story should be paragraphed in descending im-
portance. Tell as much of the story in the first paragraph as possi-
ble.

EXAMPLE OF A RELEASE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

CITY BOYS EARN PRAISE
AS FOREST FIRE GUARDS

For Release
Saturday, October 21, 1944

Cleared and Issued
Through Facilities of the
Office of War Information

(Continued)

The Forest Service, United States Department of Agriculture today paid tribute to about 3,500 high school boys from all parts of the country who, during July, August and September, helped the service combat forest fires in the big timber States of the Northwest.

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Resolution. A series of "whereas" and "resolves" setting up through inductive reasoning the issue and through the "resolves" outlining the relief sought.

EXAMPLE OF RESOLUTION

RESOLUTION - Contents of telegrams to be sent to Senators Arthur H. Vandenberg and Homer Ferguson, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.--To give publicity to the sending of such telegrams. (This is merely instruction)

WHEREAS: We, citizens and voters of the State of Michigan, in meeting this day assembled are unanimously convinced that discontinuance of subsidies will result in immediate price sky-rocketing and uncontrollable inflation; that the income of the consuming public will not keep pace with the soaring cost of living; that inflation will multiply the already tremendous cost of prosecuting the war; and that this endless spiral of inflation must lead to economic disaster,

We therefore strenuously urge upon you that it is your solemn responsibility to protect the economic and personal security of our people and your duty, as our duly elected representative, to vote to continue the anti-inflation subsidy program and to use your good offices to persuade your colleagues to follow the same course of action.

Sound Truck An automobile or truck with sound equipment. The equipment can be rented and placed on your automobile. Sound trucks can cover an entire block and you reach into people's homes without

Steering Committee An interim committee appointed or elected by a group to "steer" the work during an active campaign for or against an issue. This committee reports back periodically and makes recommendations for action to the larger body. It then accepts responsibility for executing the action approved by the over-all body.

Telegram Campaign Use of telegrams is a very effective method of convincing Congressmen and other public officials. Effective as follow-up action at mass meetings. Have Western Union boy at your meetings, sample messages prepared.

Press telegrams should be so marked. Rush press releases may be telegraphed in to daily papers. This is good strategy after a Sunday afternoon mass meeting and you desire to catch the deadline of the early Monday morning papers.

Telephone Campaign A good campaign technique when attempting to get a large group out to a hearing on short notice. Can be used to remind people of meetings or acquaint them with the issue. Chain telephonin; is done by having ten previously appointed persons to telephone ten others, who telephone ten others, and so on ad in-