pire electric associations been questioned, nor are the large corporations in the area eager for a change in their sources of power. San Miguel has depositions from United States Vanadium Corporation and the Vanadium Corporation of America, with large uranium mills at Uravan and Naturita, Colorado, calling its service "excellent." Empire received citations, under oath, of "pretty swell," and "very, very excellent," from the Diamond Match Company and the president of the Colorado Milling Association. Other impressive depositions were also collected, but the Utah Power Commission refused to let them be read at the hearing. At the same time, it spared utilities-company witnesses cross-examination when they testified that a "dependable power supply" was needed.

But everyone is entitled to his day in court, and there will be a reckoning. The old cry of socialization of power does not ring true when the president of the invader admits no confidence in the area, lets the people remain in darkness but for R. E. A., and then undertakes to seize the lush loads. A large Utah Power and Light stockholder, whose home had gone without power until San Miguel came in, testified: "It doesn't seem quite fair for a fellow to pioneer a country and then have some other company come in and cross his lines to go over to some mines. I think the fellow that is there now is entitled to the load that might be there."

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**RESPECTABLE RACISM**

**Dixie's Citizens Councils** . . . by Dan Wakefield

Jackson, Mississippi.

THEIR SHIRTS aren't red and they don't wear sheets—after all, times have changed, and this is 1955. The Citizens Councils that have grown up in the South since the United States Supreme Court decision on school integration are composed of "respectable" gentlemen and ladies (there is now an auxiliary) who are dedicated to depriving the Negro of his civil rights by means of the latest, most up-to-date methods.

The movement, born in Mississippi and copied in Louisiana, Alabama, Texas, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina (with similar but differently named organizations in Missouri, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia) is a proud, flag-waving challenge to what one council leader labelled the "socialistic doctrine" passed on May 17, 1954. And it is an answer to the call of United States Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, who, shortly after the Supreme Court decision was rendered, declared: "We are about to embark on a great crusade. A crusade to restore Americanism, and return the control of our government to the people. . . . Generations of Southerners yet unborn will cherish our memory because they will realize that the fight we now wage will have preserved for them their untainted racial heritage, their culture, and the institutions of the Anglo-Saxon race. We of the South have seen the tides rise before. We know what it is to fight. We will carry the fight to victory."

IN THE FACE of the rising tides, fourteen men met together in Sunflower county, Mississippi, in July, 1954, and formed the first Citizens Council. One of those original crusaders, a thirty-two-year-old, red-headed planter from Indiana, Mississippi, who had fought the good fight as captain of Mississippi State's football team not too many years before, is now executive secretary of the state council. The zeal of this man, Robert D. "Tut" Patterson, has been rewarded with a mushrooming of Mississippi membership to more than 60,000. When recently asked what he thought about Mississippi Governor Hugh White's estimate that integration was 100 years away, Mr. Patterson promptly replied, "I say 6,000 years."

"This isn't just a delaying action," he said. "There won't be any integration in Mississippi. Not now, not 100 years from now, maybe not 6,000 years from now—maybe never."

Attorneys, bankers, planters, mayors, former local chamber of commerce presidents, and assorted school officials are among the civic leaders who have joined to help "Tut" Patterson hold back the flood. Just how they are going about it is rather vague, at least in official council announcements. It was first reported that the councils, although definitely opposed to violence, would keep the land pure by "economic pressure." The idea of "economic pressure" drew many bad press clippings, however, and now "Tut" Patterson says there is no such thing.

"We do not recommend economic pressure," he said. "That's false propaganda from the press. But of course, we don't denounce 'freedom of choice' in business arrangements. If employers fire their help, that's their business." When asked what methods are used in the "crusade" if violence and economic pressure are not council weapons, Mr. Patterson laughed and said "Would Montgomery Ward tell Sears Roebuck how he operates?"

One tool used by the Jackson, Mississippi, council is a mimeographed "confidential communiqué" mailed to members. "Confidential Communiqué No. 14," dated August 22, gave information about a Negro named Arrington High who publishes a newspaper urging integration. The "communique" did not suggest any action, but merely reported the situation. Soon after that, Arrington High was asked to remove his money from a local
bank, and windows were smashed in his home.

The councilmen assume no responsibility. They grind out the letters on the mimeograph and hope that hate and fear will do the rest. They talk a great deal about the difference between their organization and the Ku Klux Klan, and yet the difference is slight. The klansmen hid their faces with sheets and paraded their deeds in the open. The councilmen hide many of their deeds, or at least many of the deeds their words inspire, behind memos and mimeographs and parade their faces in the open. But whether the means be a memo or a fiery cross, the end is the same—a climate of distrust and fear that breeds unsolved murders and threats of more.

Phone calls threatening death are common to the Mississippi Negro leaders, and one National Association for the Advancement of Colored People official in Jackson said shots have been fired into his house.

IT CAN never, of course, be established just which of the incidents that have occurred since the growth of the councils are results, direct or indirect, of council actions. The white front is so united in many Southern towns that the law and civic leaders are often dedicated first to their racial commitments and second to the duties of office. As the Mississippi Citizens Councils' Annual Report puts it in reviewing the year's accomplishments: 'The idea of solid and unified backing of circuit clerks, sheriffs, and local and state officials in the proper discharge of their sworn duties was worked out.'

This racial priority was evidenced at Sumner, Mississippi, when the prosecutors in the Emmett Till murder case sent state police to search a county jail for a missing prosecution witness. It was seen by a Southern reporter who went to Belzoni, Mississippi, this May to investigate the murder of George Wesley Lee, a Negro minister who had committed the error of trying to vote. The reporter was given the names of four Negro witnesses. When he tried to find them he learned they were all in jail. The sheriff explained they were booked on charges of 'stealing' although what they had stolen was strangely unknown.

But all this seems far removed from the chaste room in the Hotel Walthall in downtown Jackson, where much of the business of the Jackson Council and the state Association of Councils is carried on. There a tall, mustachioed man of thirty-nine sits at a long metal office desk with a two-volume "works" of Thomas Jefferson on it and a wrinkled map of Mississippi scotch-taped to the wall above. The man is W. J. "Bill" Simmons, who prepared for the task ahead with a B mass at Millsaps College and graduate study at Toule, France, and the Sorbonne. He, like "Tut" Patterson and three office helpers, is a full-time council worker. Recently he volunteered to shoulder another new burden for the cause—editorship of a proposed Citizens Council newspaper that will hopefully "grow into the official organ of all Citizens Councils in the nation."

The office in Room 203 of the Walthall where this and other major plans of strategy are hatched is said to be a rent-free donation from hotel owner E. O. Spencer. Ironically enough, Mr. Spencer is a personal and political friend of Herbert Brownell, and the Attorney General supposedly uses him to dole out what Republican patrotage there is in the state of Mississippi. It is a strange connection indeed that joins a patron of the councils with a man who must bear his share of responsibility for the integration decision.

The office in Jackson like the one in Winona where Patterson himself holds forth, does not hope to bind the hundreds of councils into any hierarchy or strictly defined organization. On the contrary, the looser the network the less the responsibility the leaders need to take. Mr. Simmons emphasized that the state office has no jurisdiction over what local councils may do to help the cause in their own community.

This approach allows the leaders formally to disclaim responsibility for any group's actions—allows, for instance, "Tut" Patterson to say the councils don't use economic pressure, while at Yazoo City, fifty-three Negro signers of a petition for school integration were refused the purchase of food supplies, lost their jobs, and had their credit cut off until all but two of the original petitioners removed their names. Petitions for school integration were filed late this summer in four other Mississippi cities—Clarksdale, Vicksburg, Jackson, and Natchez. Legal technicalities that nullified the petitions were claimed by the school boards, and names of the petitioners were published in local newspapers. No list remains with all of its original signers.

AS UNWELCOME as the petitions are, however, the councils have found that they serve to awaken the whites to the "danger of mongrelization" (a favorite term of council propaganda.)

"Our Jackson council started in April with only sixty members," Bill Simmons said, "and by mid-July we had 300. But after the N. A. C. P. petition was ailed in late-July we went over 1,000 in two weeks' time."

There are, of course, many sections of the South where the process of desegregation is advancing with harmony. In West Virginia, Oklahoma, Maryland, Kentucky, and Delaware, where Negroes have already started to schools with whites in one or more cities, the Association of Citizens Councils claims no foothold. It is areas such as these, proceeding "aimly with integration" that are most disturbing to the councils. Wherever they can, council leaders try to monkeywrench this kind of progress. Speakers and organizers from Mississippi councils have traveled through nine other Southern states to promote their cause, and it was council pressure from Mississippi that helped slow the school integration at Hoxie, Arkansas, which had progressed without incident until white-supremacy crusaders came in with propaganda and meetings. These finally culminated in threats to the school super-
intendent and an early closing of the school’s summer term.

Senator Eastland—who jumps to the call of segregation like Pavlov’s dog, to the sound of a bell—was one of the speakers at a meeting where men from Hoxie were asked to come for council enlightenment. This was the same enterprising Eastland who led a violent one-man Senate internal-security subcommittee investigation of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which happened to be the only interracial group in the South pressing for desegregation.

Senator Eastland hit another high point in May when he delivered a speech to the Senate “exposing” the Supreme Court decision as a Marxist plot to destroy the government. The court, he said, had been brainwashed by left-wing pressure groups who are “part and parcel of the Communist conspiracy to destroy our country.”

Senator Eastland

The integration issue has submerged other political questions in the Deep South, and in many places election campaigns have been turned into contests among the candidates to surpass one another in promises of maintaining segregation. In last year’s gubernatorial election in Georgia, platform planks included pledges to go to jail if the schools were mixed, and suggestions that a state board of psychiatrists examine any white people who wanted their children to go to school with Negroes.

The “crusade” is on, sometimes attached to the name of the councils, sometimes not—but the mimeograph machines are rolling, and new “confidential communiques” are on the way. Racial suppression has been made respectable, and those who doubt it have only to ask how one may join the councils. A recent advertisement in a Clarkdale, Mississippi, newspaper urged all the whites of the county to go to “your nearest local bank” and enlist in the cause.

MOROCCO AND THE U. S.

A Time to Intercede … by Alexander Werth

Paris, October 14

IN THE view of many observers, a solemn Anglo-American declaration urging France to adopt and execute a liberal policy toward North Africa is the most useful step that could be taken at this critical juncture in France’s empire affairs. It is pointed out that the United States especially, with its important vested military interest in Morocco, is in a strategic position to demand that the present chaos be brought to an end.

The French Assembly debate on Algeria, still in progress as this is written, emphasizes Premier Faure’s need for backbone. The Socialists have proposed a vote of non-confidence which is driving the Premier, who wants to hold on to his job, to seek the support of the enemies of the liberal policy he is supposed to represent. Unless the government

acquires the courage to get rough with the die-hard imperialists, the situation in neither Algeria nor Morocco is likely to improve. And most observers agree that it will be easier for Faure to get rough if he knows that he has the active support of his Western allies. Although the French die-hards in North Africa depend ultimately on Paris for their financial and military support, they persist in ignoring the will of Parliament.

The name on the lips of everybody who knows anything about Moroccan wirepulling is Emile Roche, Emile Roche, an old Radical-Socialist, and for many years the alter ego of Joseph Caillaux, is the honorary president of Radical Federations of Morocco, a pillar of the North African lobby, and the man most closely associated with the French Moroccans’ organization, Presence Francaise. And it is they who appeared to have won over the new Resident-General, General Boyer de La Tour, who subscribed to the astonishing plan of the puppet sultan, Ben Arafa, handing the seals of his office to an obscure cousin instead of to a Crown Council, as agreed upon at the Aix-les-Bains Conference at the end of August. Great embarrassment in Paris, contradictory statements by cabinet ministers and press officers, an attempt by Figaro to persuade its readers that what happened was perfectly normal, and that the regency council will be “the next step.” At the same time a message from President Coty to Arafa assuring him that neither the exiled Sultan Ben Yussef nor any of his sons can possibly succeed Arafa on the Moroccan throne, whatever happens.

What it all amounts to is what could already be foreseen in Morocco a long time ago: a kind of “French separatism”—the rule of Morocco by the French settlers there, independently of Paris—has been in swing. General de Latour has ob-

ALEXANDER WERTH is a staff contributor to The Nation.

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