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June 14, 2019

MR. JOHN GREENEWALD JR.  
SUITE 1203  
27305 WEST LIVE OAK ROAD  
CASTAIC, CA 91384

FOIPA Request No.: 1435172-000  
Subject: The Citizens' Councils  
(1953 – April 29, 2019)

Dear Mr. Greenewald:

The enclosed 18 pages of records were determined to be responsive to your subject and were previously processed and released pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). Please see the selected paragraphs below for relevant information specific to your request as well as the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for standard responses applicable to all requests.

- In an effort to provide you with responsive records as expeditiously as possible, we are releasing documents from previous requests regarding your subject. We consider your request fulfilled. Since we relied on previous results, additional records potentially responsive to your subject may exist. If this release of previously processed material does not satisfy your request, you may request an additional search for records. Submit your request by mail or fax to – Work Process Unit, 170 Marcel Drive, Winchester, VA 22602, fax number (540) 868-4997. Please cite the FOIPA Request Number in your correspondence.
- Please be advised that additional records responsive to your subject exist. If this release of previously processed material does not satisfy your request, you must advise us that you want the additional records processed. Please submit your response within thirty (30) days by mail or fax to—Work Processing Unit, 170 Marcel Drive, Winchester, VA 22602, fax number (540) 868-4997. Please cite the FOIPA Request Number in your correspondence. **If we do not receive your decision within thirty (30) days of the date of this notification, your request will be closed.**
- One or more of the enclosed records were transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). Although we retained a version of the records previously processed pursuant to the FOIA, the original records are no longer in our possession.

If this release of the previously processed material does not satisfy your request, you may make a request to NARA at the following address:

National Archives and Records Administration  
8601 Adelphi Road  
College Park, MD 20740-6001

Reference file number 105-HQ-46604 in your correspondence.

- Records potentially responsive to your request were transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), and they were not previously processed pursuant to the FOIA. You may file a request with NARA using the address above.
- One or more of the enclosed records were destroyed. Although we retained a version of the records previously processed pursuant to the FOIA, the original records are no longer

in our possession. Record retention and disposal is carried out under supervision of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) , Title 44, United States Code, Section 3301 as implemented by Title 36, Code of Federal Regulations, Part 1228; Title 44, United States Code, Section 3310 as implemented by Title 36, Code of Federal Regulations, Part 1229.10.

- Records potentially responsive to your request were destroyed. Since this material could not be reviewed, it is not known if it was responsive to your request. Record retention and disposal is carried out under supervision of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) according to Title 44 United States Code Section 3301, Title 36 Code of Federal Regulations (CFR) Chapter 12 Sub-chapter B Part 1228, and 36 CFR 1229.10.
- Documents or information referred to other Government agencies were not included in this release.

Please refer to the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for additional standard responses applicable to your request. **“Part 1”** of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. **“Part 2”** includes additional standard responses that apply to all requests for records on individuals. **“Part 3”** includes general information about FBI records that you may find useful. Also enclosed is our Explanation of Exemptions.

For questions regarding our determinations, visit the [www.fbi.gov/foia](http://www.fbi.gov/foia) website under “Contact Us.” The FOIPA Request Number listed above has been assigned to your request. Please use this number in all correspondence concerning your request.

You may file an appeal by writing to the Director, Office of Information Policy (OIP), United States Department of Justice, Suite 11050, 1425 New York Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20530-0001, or you may submit an appeal through OIP's FOIA online portal by creating an account on the following web site: <https://www.foiaonline.gov/foiaonline/action/public/home>. Your appeal must be postmarked or electronically transmitted within ninety (90) days from the date of this letter in order to be considered timely. If you submit your appeal by mail, both the letter and the envelope should be clearly marked “Freedom of Information Act Appeal.” Please cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.

You may seek dispute resolution services by contacting the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS) at 877-684-6448, or by emailing [ogis@nara.gov](mailto:ogis@nara.gov). Alternatively, you may contact the FBI's FOIA Public Liaison by emailing [foipaquestions@fbi.gov](mailto:foipaquestions@fbi.gov). If you submit your dispute resolution correspondence by email, the subject heading should clearly state “Dispute Resolution Services.” Please also cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.

Sincerely,



David M. Hardy  
Section Chief,  
Record/Information  
Dissemination Section  
Information Management Division

Enclosure(s)

## FBI FOIPA Addendum

As referenced in our letter responding to your Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request, the FBI FOIPA Addendum includes information applicable to your request. Part 1 of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. Part 2 includes additional standard responses that apply to all requests for records on individuals. Part 3 includes general information about FBI records. For questions regarding Parts 1, 2, or 3, visit the [www.fbi.gov/foia](http://www.fbi.gov/foia) website under “Contact Us.” Previously mentioned appeal and dispute resolution services are also available at the web address.

### Part 1: The standard responses below apply to all requests:

- (i) **5 U.S.C. § 552(c).** Congress excluded three categories of law enforcement and national security records from the requirements of the FOIA [5 U.S.C. § 552(c) (2006 & Supp. IV (2010))]. FBI responses are limited to those records subject to the requirements of the FOIA. Additional information about the FBI and the FOIPA can be found on the [www.fbi.gov/foia](http://www.fbi.gov/foia) website.
- (ii) **National Security/Intelligence Records.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of national security and foreign intelligence records pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(1), (b)(3), and PA exemption (j)(2) as applicable to requests for records about individuals [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(1), (b)(3), and (j)(2); 50 U.S.C § 3024(i)(1)]. The mere acknowledgment of the existence or nonexistence of such records is itself a classified fact protected by FOIA exemption (b)(1) and/or would reveal intelligence sources, methods, or activities protected by exemption (b)(3) [50 USC § 3024(i)(1)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that national security or foreign intelligence records do or do not exist.

### Part 2: The standard responses below apply to all requests for records on individuals:

- (i) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Watch Lists.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of any individual’s name on a watch list pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(7)(E) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that watch list records do or do not exist.
- (ii) **Requests for Records for Incarcerated Individuals.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records which could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any incarcerated individual pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(7)(E), (b)(7)(F), and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (b)(7)(F), and (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that such records do or do not exist.

### Part 3: General Information:

- (i) **Record Searches.** The Record/Information Dissemination Section (RIDS) searches for reasonably described records by searching those systems or locations where responsive records would reasonably be found. Most requests are satisfied by searching the Central Records System (CRS), an extensive system of records consisting of applicant, investigative, intelligence, personnel, administrative, and general files compiled and maintained by the FBI in the course of fulfilling its dual law enforcement and intelligence mission as well as the performance of agency administrative and personnel functions. The CRS spans the entire FBI organization and encompasses the records of FBI Headquarters (FBIHQ), FBI Field Offices, and FBI Legal Attaché Offices (Legats) worldwide. A CRS search includes Electronic Surveillance (ELSUR) records.
- (ii) **FBI Records.** Founded in 1908, the FBI carries out a dual law enforcement and national security mission. As part of this dual mission, the FBI creates and maintains records on various subjects; however, the FBI does not maintain records on every person, subject, or entity.
- (iii) **Requests for Criminal History Records or Rap Sheets.** The Criminal Justice Information Services (CJIS) Division provides Identity History Summary Checks – often referred to as a criminal history record or rap sheets. These criminal history records are not the same as material in an investigative “FBI file.” An Identity History Summary Check is a listing of information taken from fingerprint cards and documents submitted to the FBI in connection with arrests, federal employment, naturalization, or military service. For a fee, individuals can request a copy of their Identity History Summary Check. Forms and directions can be accessed at [www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/identity-history-summary-checks](http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/identity-history-summary-checks). Additionally, requests can be submitted electronically at [www.edo.cjis.gov](http://www.edo.cjis.gov). For additional information, please contact CJIS directly at (304) 625-5590.
- (iv) **The National Name Check Program (NNCP).** The mission of NNCP is to analyze and report information in response to name check requests received from federal agencies, for the purpose of protecting the United States from foreign and domestic threats to national security. Please be advised that this is a service provided to other federal agencies. Private citizens cannot request a name check.

## EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

### SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

- (b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;
- (b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;
- (b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;
- (b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;
- (b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;
- (b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;
- (b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information ( A ) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, ( B ) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, ( C ) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, ( D ) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, ( E ) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or ( F ) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;
- (b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or
- (b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

### SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a

- (d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;
- (j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;
- (k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;
- (k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;
- (k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;
- (k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;
- (k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.

AUTOMATIC RELEASE 8:00 P.M. EST

MONDAY, APRIL 22, 1963

address by

PAUL B. JOHNSON, JR.  
Lieutenant Governor of Mississippi

To a Meeting of the

FLORENCE COUNTY CITIZENS' COUNCIL  
Florence, South Carolina

My Dear Friends and Fellow Americans:

I deeply appreciate the signal honor your invitation accorded me, to come to South Carolina and appear before the patriots assembled here. The Citizens' Council members of Florence County and throughout South Carolina are men and women dedicated to the principle of racial integrity, knowing our peoples' adherence to this great principle did move this nation to the highest pinnacle of any in the history of civilization, and has proven to be the path of sanity and progress for both the black and white races.

(Beginning in Rooseveltian days, the Communist party has missed no opportunity to create friction and to attempt to pit labor and management, Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, Negro and White, haves and have nots against each other realizing that a division of these great groups will subvert the very foundation pillars upon which this Government was established) and upon which it has prospered. (Since the second great war, the efforts of communistic front organizations have stepped up these activities, sometimes moving under the banner of socialism which is the ditto of communism.) Under catch phrases and false cliches such as "reflections of poor images for other sections in the world," "a need for greater tolerance," "To bring shame upon a state," "a people who need enlightenment," the agitators, periodicals, and minority blocks, who are the purveyors of this type of propaganda, are the very ones who are preparing our country for an easy overthrow.. They preach but do not practice the sound principles of Jeffersonian Government. They rejoice to see great religious bodies in verbal conflict, they travel under the guise of peace and provoke violence, create chaos and suddenly as the Arabs they break tent and steal away from the scene. Our national leadership, whether knowingly, or unknowingly, has not only encouraged but actually has aided and abetted these trouble makers. Many who surround the national government and influence national policy have either knowingly or unknowingly caused this nation's position..in the eyes of the world to be reduced to low tide. The time for action is now.

In traveling over the Southern states, I am impressed and encouraged by the breadth of view and sense of proportion which I find in all quarters of the Southern states. Here in South Carolina in these

memorable days I find an olympian fortitude is only the mask of an inflexible purpose and the proof of a sure, well grounded confidence in your state's future. I find here, as in Mississippi, an utter contempt for the quislings whom the agitators have suborned. The highest compliment I can pay you is to say that you are more like the citizens of my native state, Mississippi, than anywhere else I have been.

There is little need to lambast and verbally abuse. The national administration is not harmed by words, when a kept segment of the national information media grinds out its slanted story, half-truths and prejudiced propaganda, to protect and justify administration policy and to keep from the public eye the actual facts on matters critical to the nation's welfare. Events in recent months and efforts to justify flagrant abuses of federal power have brought fear, intimidation and a sense of terror to the hearts of people throughout the country, and yet these events have caused the adversaries of Constitutional government to become bold enough to pull back the veil, and the man in the street can now see the obvious plan to subvert the foundation pillars of this great government.

But there comes a time when deeds make words needless. This is such a time. As you all know, your national organization, the Citizens' Councils of America, with its birthplace in Mississippi has adopted a five point action program which I want to repeat for you here to emphasize what I will say later.

#### FIVE-POINT ACTION PROGRAM

1. Prevent Race-Mixing. Racial integrity is essential to civilization and liberty. The fate of the white man (and woman) in the Congo and other new African nations is a stern warning!
2. Avoid Violence. Experience has proved that where integration occurs, violence becomes inevitable. Peaceful operation of segregated schools in the South proves that social separation of the races is best for all concerned.
3. Maintain and Restore Legal Segregation. As growing disorder in Washington, D. C., shows, if segregation



breaks down the social structure; breaks down. The Communists hope to achieve disintegration through integration in America!

4. Defend States' Rights. The states are the source of all governmental power, local and Federal. Under the Tenth Amendment, the states have the reserved power to decide questions of segregation. Federal usurpation of any such power is a violation of the Constitution.

5. Reverse the "Black Monday" Decision. The Supreme Court's school integration decision of May 17, 1954 is a patent perversion of the Constitution, based on false "science." If it stands, social segregation and laws against racial intermarriage will be subject to judicial condemnation. Such a prospect is intolerable!

JOIN THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL

Organization is the Key to Victory!

WORK...HOPE...PRAY FOR WHITE MONDAY!

The night is past and the dawn has come only when all men realize that integration and its sidekick, socialism, carries the twin seeds of destruction for both black and white. This fact is a present fury that rages throughout the earth and is daily fanned by the communist blower of hate. The stakes for which the NAACP have decided to play are mortal and our people must surely know it.

There is quiet grim resolution among the people here, that bodes ill for the agitator and all who conspire and collaborate to murder Southern peace and harmony.

Americans should be clear on this point. What is convulsing the world today is not merely an old fashioned war, it is a counter revolution against our ideals and ideas, against our sense of justice and our human values.

These systems today compete for world domination. Socialism, communism and democracy are struggling for social, economic and political world control. As the conflict sharpens, it becomes clear that socialism

and communism are merging into one. They have one common enemy, democracy and America, its stately home.

This is why this is no ordinary crisis in which we are involved. This is a desperate struggle for the minds of men. In this conflict of ideas and loyalties we who believe in constitutional government must do two things: 1. We must unite the conservative forces to form one great vote-block. 2. We must offer a clear program to freedom loving people throughout this nation. Southerners, midwesterners, mountain state people, and westerners who love liberty under the law must organize and tighten their ranks for heroic resistance against bureaucratic tyranny and vote hungry politicians who play the minorities as one plays a fine musical instrument. The Ghengis Khans come and go, the Attilas come and go, would be dictators flash and sputter out, and this has been and will continue to be the home of the free.

The present suicidal path the administration follows of being a party to agitation among the races for political gain in strategic areas must be blocked. The battle is in its crucial stages. We must greet with raucous laughter the corroding arguments of the appeaser and soft-thinker who says a little integration can't hurt. This attitude is the Achilles heel for all Americans.

All of the false appearance, the half-truths, the feigned cries of brutality and intolerance are a part of the great backdrop of making government interference appear as a great humanitarian effort in behalf of the weak and the poor and the down-trodden. The masses of the people recognize a political maneuver when they see one.

The new frontier often referred to as the "great wave of the future" is but the slimy backwash of socialist experiment in essence attempted in other countries and found to be a deterrent to greatness and incentive. This carefully pickled tripe has some people running like scared chickens, ready to hang crepe on the doors of southern tradition, idealism and growing strength.

With calculated malice the appeaser cries for tolerance when he provokes the sense of intolerance, he screams for protection when there is no reason for protection, he claims brutality of police when officers arrest him for unlawfulness. When the television camera, the reporter and

all news media disappears his little show is over, for without publicity there is no agitation, and no false image.

Americans, in fear of further foreign appeasement, alarmed at growing unemployment, disgusted with mistaken judgment in the State Department, amazed over complete disregard of constitutional authority, and sickened by farm programs and welfare doles that shackle future generations with debt, are anxious for a change in Washington.

There is great hope in the hearts of men when we realize fully that the President was elected by a hair's breadth and his losses in big states like New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan bring the electoral division so close between Democrats and Republicans. Our hope lies in creating a big minority block in the Southern states through favorite son candidates in presidential primaries to be held before the general election in 1964. Is this possible? Follow me closely.

From history you recall the first time that the House of Representatives was called in to settle the election of a president was in 1800 when Aaron Burr attempted to steal it from Thomas Jefferson. Now, this was because of the way the Constitution was originally written and the man who received the second largest number would be vice president. Well, since those people who wanted Jefferson president also wanted Burr vice president, inevitably it came out equal - 74 votes apiece. And this threw it into the House of Representatives where Hamilton used his influence to cast the vote to the man later on intended to be president - Jefferson. The 12th Amendment changed the Constitution so that it said that there shall be a separate vote for president and separate vote for vice president. And it says further, if the electoral college is unable or does not cast a majority for any single person, the election shall be decided by the House of Representatives and they shall decide with the states voting as units, each state having one vote. They shall vote for the three men who receive the top or greatest number of electoral college votes. They will vote for only one of these men. The vice-presidency, by the same token, is decided by the United State Senate and the Senate voting as individuals. Consequently, there are 50 votes to decide the presidency and 100 to decide the vice-presidency. Now, over the years there have been any number of close elections. Literally and completely

the House has only settled two elections -- the one in 1800 I referred to, and the one in 1824 when John Quincy Adams was elected by the House. There was the one in 1876 - the Hayes thing - but irrevocably you could say it was settled by the Supreme Court, actually, but in any event it was there. Now, in recent years, as we all heard, our country has been swinging pretty much to the top, not only in our regular elections but in our statewide and national elections. The total vote has been pretty much "even steven." I shall point out to you that in the long history of the Democratic Party it has never been able to elect a president of the United States without the support of the South except on two extraordinary occasions. In 1916 Wilson went in and could have gone in without the Southern support, simply because the Republicans were split down the middle. FDR could have been elected without the South all four times that he ran. Except for these two extraordinary situations, the Democrats have never been able to muster enough votes to elect a president without even a substantial number of the Southern States. So it follows then, that if enough, or a substantial number of the Southern States will withhold their electoral college votes from the Democratic National nominee, he could not muster the needed majority to elect him. In 1948 when a number of leaders were engaged in a most laudible effort for Senator Thurmond, six Southern States made it possible so that their electors out of hand do not have to vote for the National Democratic nominee. Now, that all of them did not withhold their vote in 1960 is a tragedy. I understand Louisiana was locked there by a 51-49 vote for their State Central Committee. The 57 votes could have been freed to be withheld from the National Democratic nominee had they followed through. I say that this was a tragedy and for this reason. As a matter of fact, Kennedy received 303 electoral college votes, and in 1960 it took 269 to win. 14 Democrats refused to vote for him, and one wild card from Oklahoma, God bless him, wouldn't vote for Nixon either, and he said he just couldn't take it -- and all 15 of them voted for Harry Byrd. Now, had these others - the 43 Democrats -- who could have been free not to have voted for Kennedy -- he would not have received his majority, and as the thing was, Harry Byrd would have been one of the three people the House of Representatives could have voted for in 1960 -- the other two, of course, being Kennedy and Nixon.

If the Southern Democrats withdraw their support, then the Democratic Party becomes a minority party - the same as the Republican Party. In this event, you have in the House of Representatives these three candidates from which one man must be chosen. The question then comes -- Which man will it be?

There can't be any doubt, there can't be any substitutions - the Constitution says ... that it must be from these three people. Now, if as the probabilities are under the Constitution, the nominees in 1964 of the major parties are to be Kennedy and Rockefeller, this thing is going to be a most interesting situation. Now as Harry Byrd has said, Rockefeller cannot carry a Southern state. Therefore, if the South does nothing, Kennedy wins the election by default ... and no one can stop him .. and he carries every Southern State. The best way to insure Kennedy's reelection is for the South to do nothing. I don't think there's any way that Rockefeller can be elected. He can't win - he can't get the votes, electoral college votes, that's what counts. He'll carry New York but he won't carry California. Kennedy will carry California but he won't carry New York. The reason why I say that Rockefeller won't carry California is the same reason that Nixon didn't carry it. There are three or four hundred thousand hard nose Conservatives in California that won't vote for the likes of Nixon or Rockefeller. They will vote for a man like Rafferty, the Superintendent of Public Education who stood right foursquare as a Conservative. This man went in big and Nixon was defeated. In any event, Kennedy and Rockefeller are going to be the major party nominees. Now, that being so, and neither of them being the least bit acceptable to the South, the question resolves then, what are we prepared to do about it? I have a suggestion that I want to offer for your consideration. In the first place, I would issue just a word of warning. If we attempt to field a third force in November, we'll only destroy ourselves. We'll not only be ineffective as a presidential force, but we can eat up others, we'll eat up the likes of Strom Thurmond. If we force them into a situation where there's divided interest in November - (there's no need of going into detail on this unless some of you want to talk about it). And so it seems to me the logical way to approach this thing is for each of the Southern States to determine

within the confines of its political structure how best to take these people foursquare into what would amount to a primary. The big job is to pass enabling legislation in those states or to change the rules of the State Central Committee or however this is done in each state so it will be foursquare as to what amounts to a primary. Are more Democrats for Kennedy than oppose him? If we can get this question out and face it foursquarely, and we get a good shot at him, we'll beat him every time. Specifically, I would suggest that if it was, and let us assume for a moment we could have a primary, I would suggest that in the State of South Carolina there be two slates of electoral college candidates, placed on the ballot. One will be headed by a nominal favorite son candidate, Strom Thurmond, and another one would be headed by the President, John F. Kennedy. In Mississippi, a favorite son at the head of one and Kennedy at the head of the other ... and so on down the line -- Governor Wallace of Alabama vs. Kennedy. This is an intra-party fight and should be kept there. First, the Democrats of Alabama can decide whom they prefer, Wallace or Kennedy. In Mississippi, the same applies. In Virginia, you line up Byrd as the head of a slate of candidates. We'll beat them three to one. And you will find that if you have your six states I believe Virginia will be the seventh. If you have your 57 plus Virginia's 12, then you have 69 votes. You would have the future of your country in the hands of these favorite sons. In an effort to throw this thing into the House of Representatives, we should not institute a third party, this could be the most disastrous thing we could do. This is the thing that will grow - you'll be the dominant force. But if we can set up enabling legislation to put two slates of electoral college candidates on what would amount to a primary ballot in each of these states, we would have one headed by a favorite son candidate and another by the president. And let the people of each state decide which they would prefer - would they prefer their favorite son candidate or would they prefer Kennedy? We will defeat him in every state and I have gone to some pains to show that this man can't win without the South. The Democratic Party could never win without us. The Democratic Party is a minority party just like the Republican Party is a minority party. It cannot win without the South. If we can get

these two slates of candidates out in the primary, long before the Republicans ever grow concerned. Or you can even tell the Republicans - "come and help us now." And in the event that we aren't successful in the primary, we'll help you in November but come help us now. Rising strength of the Republicans in the South is not due to Republican strength but due to the unhappiness with the National Democratic Party. What is Republicanism in the South?

It's usually a dissatisfied Democrat. He is sick and fed to the gills with the Democratic Party. He is sick of seeing the Democratic Party taken over and he's walked out. Give him a place to walk back to and he'll show you he's the same thing he's always been - he's an old line Jeffersonian Democrat. If we can do this thing, we'll come out of it with the balance of power. We just can't miss. If we had stuck together in '60, if there had been any early leadership and planning, we would have held the balance of power then and this man would not have been elected. Fortunately, now I think we have waked up. Now, let's assume for a moment between election day and the day that the electoral college actually casts its ballots that these electors meet in one of their respective capitols. Let us assume that the six favorite sons gather "round the table and say "Gentlemen, what should we do?" Who should get our vote? Remember that what you have to do in the House of Representatives is to garner 26 votes. There are three possibilities in this case.

1. Either the Republicans and the Northern Democrats get together (which in the farthest reaches of my mind I can't imagine), or 2. There could be a remarriage of the Northern Democrats and the Southern Democrats and even less can I imagine that it has come to this point. The third possibility is the coalition - and I used that word rather than amalgamation - for you should never amalgamate with them. A coalition between the Republicans and the Southern Democrats. Let us assume that the Republicans have got 17 or 18 votes. Bear in mind that when you're at the table to try to decide where to cast the electoral votes, you've got to vote not only for a man that your state will vote for, but you must also bring in the other five Southern states. You must make a wise move so that there will be 26 votes cast for this man. What man can we select?

There are several possibilities. But one strikes me that is the best possibility. Suppose at this point the main thing that you're

concerned about the sovereignty of the States. I don't care whether the man came from Tallahassee or Nome, Alaska, so long as he reflected the constitutional convictions of the South. If there are no suitable figures that come of this thing, I would suggest that each of the electors say a prayer and go right back to the original thought of our founding fathers - what one man in this country would make the greatest president? Who in all the nation would be the greatest man? Of course, we would judge his merit on the basis of what he thought about State's Rights. I don't know who he might be. Charles Lindbergh, Arley Burke, J. Edgar Hoover. This would be the point of wisdom where you'd have to decide. We all know, of course, it couldn't be Rockefeller. It would make the man so big that he would be attractive to the others. Many great things can grow out of this and probably would. This would be the time then to reorganize the Congress. Rather than to do it as they presently do it in party caucus as they do it by seniority, do it by seniority within the Congress. Doing it this way you can work with the Republicans. There isn't a Southerner I know of who would lose his position. You'd have control of the House and you'd have the Presidency.

This method of presidential primaries is the Democratic way, any leader who objects to the people making the decision in his county or state, has a selfish motive or he has something to hide. Personal selfishness, on the part of Southern leaders, has caused them to sell their people into unsafe hands and sap the South's political punch. Some have sold the peoples' heritage for a mess of political porridge in Washington.

This is a great nation, it is your nation, your loyalty to it is demonstrated by your willingness to serve it. Your firmness should increase with greater difficulties, and your courage should rise with prolonged resistance.

Tonight, I know not exactly what course your great state will take in this effort to preserve our nation. But, this I do know, that by increased activity in your local Citizens' Council organizations you can be a major factor in determining the proper course for your wonderful state. Your leaders will listen to you as we listen in Mississippi, provided you are strong and well-organized.



I urge upon you a course that will restore to our nation  
that which has made it great -- constitutional, local self-government.

May God bless and guide you in the days ahead.

Thank-you.

AUTOMATIC RELEASE 8:00 P.M. EST

MONDAY, APRIL 22, 1963

Preliminary Remarks  
by

LOUIS W. HOLLIS  
Citizens' Councils, Executive Director

Prior to Address by

PAUL B. JOHNSON, JR.  
Lieutenant Governor of Mississippi

To a Meeting of the

FLORENCE COUNTY CITIZENS' COUNCIL  
Florence, South Carolina

Mr. Ivey, distinguished guests, members of the Florence County Citizens' Council, patriots:

I know you came to hear Governor Johnson who has a matter of great importance to discuss with you. I do not want to take any more of his time than is absolutely necessary. However, there is a subject which I have been asked to discuss briefly.

I bring you greetings from throughout the nation where our movement is taking on new vitality every day.

I bring you greetings from Jackson, Mississippi (where I come. I live when I can be home) which has been called the segregation capitol of the world. A community which bore the brunt of the so-called freedom rider invasion and stood firmly while the forces of integration led by CORE (the Congress of Racial Equality) and other race mixing organizations, were, so to speak, "bled white" to the tune of almost \$600,000. CORE went out of business for quite awhile.

I bring you greetings from Greenwood, Mississippi near the birthplace of the Citizens' Council movement where forces of integration met a great defeat in recent days.

I bring you greetings from the Oxford-Ole Miss Citizens' Council composed of patriotic citizens in Oxford and environs and students at the University.

The reason I have been asked to say a few words is because of the feeling among some in South Carolina that the so-called "moderates" have assumed too much power in your wonderful state. Let me hasten to say that South Carolina has no corner on "moderates."

Among the interesting developments arising from the attempt to integrate Ole Miss, was the appearance of a few "moderates" advising peaceful surrender.

It reminds me of the old darkey who said to the wriggling catfish, "Now just you lay still, little catfish, all ah wants is to gut you!"

Will the "moderates" never learn? Their advice is not new. It's utter futility has been demonstrated over and over.

If the Deep South should submit to integration, as the "moderates" advise, by what magic formula do they think South Carolina, Mississippi, or any other Southern state could avoid the same chaotic violence which afflicts Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and our nation's capital?

By some strange inversion of logic, the "moderates" unthinkingly repeat the propaganda line laid down by the integrationists. They erroneously equate integration with peace, and segregation with violence, when the experience of mankind proves just the opposite to be the case.

Of course, no responsible person wants violence. It is an unpleasant remedy to which people resort only in a desperate extremity when all else has failed.

On this point the position of the Citizens' Council has been made clear in the past, but I will restate it here. It is: To prevent violence by preventing integration.

But there is a point beyond which even the most judicious restraint becomes cowardice. To say that there would be no violence under any circumstances whatsoever is like President Kennedy's assuring Khrushchev that the United States would not invade Cuba.

These "moderates", who have never resisted integration in the first place, now merely encourage the NAACP and other race mixers to redouble their efforts. And by so doing, they invite chaos and violence to spread into the Deep South.

Perhaps the explanation for their seeming blindness to reality lies in a definition we heard the other day:

A "moderate" is for segregation, but he's chicken!

Now, to answer the question I have been asked. What has been the effect of these repeated assaults on the state of Mississippi, in 1961 the freedom rides, in 1962 the Oxford invasion, in 1963 the invasion of the peaceful little city of Greenwood? Here are the answers briefly:

1. They have strengthened the determination of virtually all the people in Mississippi. Governor Barnett and Lt. Governor Johnson have the almost unanimous support of the people for the position they have taken. Most of the people feel that they had the courage to do what Big Steel didn't do a year ago...say "no" to the Kennedys. I might add that this is probably the first time either Jack or Bobby has heard "no" in his life.

2. These attacks have exposed those among us who have heretofore remained silent, but who now come forth to advocate a system of co-existence with integration. These are the so-called "moderates" I mentioned, who will not see that "token" integration is a myth; that

appeasement is no solution to any problem; and that peace at any price is the costliest commodity in the world.

3. Oxford gave the admitted moderates and the integrationists the courage to say and do shocking things, because they felt they could count on the protective arm of the federal government.

4. The tragedy of Oxford shows the spirit and vitality of the students themselves. Despite threats and intimidation by federal forces, university officials and professors, they consistently oppose to this very day the presence of Meredith on their campus, as they have every right to do.

5. These repeated assaults have also developed a new and fresh brand of humor, based on ridicule and sarcasm. For instance the one about Lena Horne going to the mirror and saying:

"Mirror, mirror on the wall,  
Who's the fairest of them all?"

To which the mirror replied:

"Snow White, Nigger,  
And don't you forget it!"

Or the new football yell that went:

"Whiskey Sour, Gin Fizz,  
We Ole Miss, Who you Is?"

And the suggestion that:

Since Ted Kennedy hired someone to take one of his exams at Harvard, perhaps he could come down and take one for Meredith.

And the expression:

"Ignore that niggah  
With vigah!"

Commenting on the fact that Meredith costs the government (you and me) \$4,500 every day he stays at Old Miss, someone said:

"It sure take s lot to keep a kid in school these days."

And in Jackson:

We don't say "good morning."  
We say, "have you been cited yet?"

And the quote:

"I'm no snob and I think the Kennedys are all right. But, I sure wouldn't want my daughter to marry one of them.

6. The only thing Kennedy proved at Ole Miss was that 30,000 troops and five million dollars can put A negro in A school. But, he also proved that even with that force, he could not break the segregation barrier. Meredith is the most segregated negro in Mississippi and he admitted it himself in a recent issue of U. S. News and World Report. In a more recent article in Look magazine he stated that he was the most segregated negro in the world. Ole Miss is not integrated. It has been invaded and occupied by the U. S. Army and U. S. Marshals, and that's all.

7. The enemy always picks your weakest spot for his attack. Oxford proved the drastic need for a thorough examination of the control of our state supported schools and colleges. Local control of our schools is a myth. The people have nothing to say about it. Our colleges are under the complete control of trade union teachers and professional administrators. This poses a more difficult problem in many Southern states than even the federal government.

Now, let me reach a conclusion quickly by telling you what Mississippi is doing in the face of this crisis. I'll tell you exactly what we're doing, and what we will continue to do. We are going to stand like men, exactly where we've stood from the beginning. We'll not yield one single inch in our convictions on states' rights and racial integrity. Federal forces may have occupied a portion of our beloved state, but we will never bow to tyranny in whatever form. Military occupation, even by negro troops, is nothing new to the South. During the first reconstruction all of the Southern states were under military rule for twelve long years, and our forefathers never yielded. And in the end they won their fight for states' rights and racial integrity.

Certainly we in our state would never take up arms against our country, be it right or wrong...in this instance we believe it is grievously wrong. Our remedy and the way to victory lie in another means. And here I come to the price Kennedy paid and will pay for his action.

The origin of our immediate problem is political. Its roots are in the overriding design of the Kennedy Administration to hold the negro bloc vote in the pivotal northern states. Consider for a moment

the dilemma upon which the Kennedys have impaled themselves by this invasion of Mississippi--to place one negro temporarily in one school. They have won no negro votes because they had them all. They couldn't gain any. But they have alienated the South beyond all hope of recovery. The South will never go for those Kennedys again...because everybody knows that a vote for Kennedy now is a vote for not only integration, but integration at the point of a bayonet.

Our speaker for the evening has come to outline a plan for victory and I know you are looking forward to hearing from him.

Therefore, let me close with this thought. When the history of our time is written, one fact will stand forth as clear as the beauty of the day on that famous Sabbath, September 30, 1962. The cause of freedom won at Oxford, and we have just begun to fight.

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you so much.

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