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Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York
13 April 1964

MEMORANDUM

TO: Marvin Rich, Norman Hill, Gordon Carey, Jim McGain, Val Coleman, Bob Gore
FROM: Carl Buchlin

Re: "Mississippi Freedom Summer"

1) It is advisable, as the memorandum suggests, that President Johnson, if he will, put Governor Johnson of Mississippi on notice of Federal Government action to protect demonstrators et al. 2) It is also advisable that specific suggestions be given to the President as to what may be done as to the use of Federal Marshalls and so forth. 3) In a large sense, we know from experience that Mississippi will not heed any request of this kind, and we are thrown back upon a) what the President will do and b) our own resources, in all likelihood the latter.

It took Birmingham and the related matters to convince President Kennedy to oppose legislation. Although requested, he did not and has not authorized Federal Marshalls except as in the Meredith case or the University of Alabama case to uphold a court order. 4) The main leverage point that we have rests in the fact that an election will be held this fall. A second leverage point is not as Moses suggests implicit in his memorandum, the meeting with the President or the letters to the President by the substantial number of demonstrations that actually occur in Mississippi. In other words the President is not likely to take the big step unless ~~XXX~~ he is faced with no other alternative. 5) I think a meeting with Johnson prior to demonstrations and activities being conducted in Mississippi would be tactically unwise, since we come to that point in a sense no matter what our attitude asking for assistance. Also that being the situation, he is in a position to extract, and his is very talented at this, a counter-premise of some sort from us which could seriously hamper activities in Mississippi this summer. If we turn down any such request, we may find ourselves

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in a vulnerable position. Therefore, while we may ask the President for a meeting it should come at a time when he needs us and when he is forced to take a stand to protect demonstrators. In other words such a meeting with the President should not come until after activities have started. 6) Superimposed upon all this is the major dispute brewing between the Legal Defense on the one hand and Cofo and the National Lawyers' Guild on the other. The other day Greenberg flatly told Moses that under no circumstance would the Legal Defense cooperate with the National Lawyers' Guild attorneys. Anticipating this we are at this moment engaged in a major effort, under my instigation with the cooperation of ACLU, National Council of Churches, Father Drinan, A. J. Committee and A. J. Commerce and the Legal Defense to coopt lawyers from all over the country to spend their vacation time trouble spotting in the South. It is inevitable that this situation may develop into a very troublesome matter because of SHCC's insistence on using the National Lawyers' Guild. In SHCC's defense it should be noted that there has been a legal vacuum in Mississippi as well as other areas. Until our major effort, none of the organizations did anything but utter concern on including Legal Defense, despite the fact that I had a conference and telephone conversations with Jack Greenberg.

It has only been the fear of CP influence which has finally galvanized the Bar Association into action in cooperation with our efforts. This is similarly true of Legal Defense.

I mention all this because it is tangentially related to Moses memorandum and must be considered in light of the fact that the mass presence of the National Lawyers' Guild in Mississippi will unfortunately ~~cause~~ cause political hysteria. I have to persuade the Lawyers' Guild, in view of the impending to issue an anti-communist statement.

*If you have any questions on the
 copy of this memo please see
 Mr. Rabin. I am responsible for
 all errors. LONE*