

MR. VALENTI'S NOTES

Meeting in the President's Office

March 18, 1965 4 pm

The President

Bill Moyers

Governor Ellington

AG Katzenbach

Ramsey Clark

Marshall

March 18 1965

4:00 pm
President /
Office

Pres.
Moynihan
Ellington
Katzbach

Marshall
Clark

P. Ask Wallace to ask for assistance -
but put in adequate troops -
Ask folks to stay at home and
behave themselves
Ask Vance to move troops in.

K. Have enough troops -
but have reservations -
the more troops you have in the
more stir will have.

P. Have professional leadership -
drug-store soldiers could give
us trouble. If you haven't
enough, you'll wish you had

K. Let's get this March over with.
W. may get a ruling from Appellate.
Black is itching to give a stay.
He thinks it is wrong to march.

E. Small radical minorities are
giving us trouble.

2

K Danger of a stay is great
In the Pres. interest it is
important to get this march
over with.

D. You make ~~reservations~~ recommendations
my judgment is:

Be sure what we do is
measured fitting and
adequate — like Viet Nam.

I want professionals there
not dry shoe combats.

E. Call out National Guard —
Give him assistance that
is needed.

Recommendation:

V. a battalion ^{MP} in Craig — Selma
" " Maxwell — Montgomery
Under their command as well as adj. Gen. of
State / Harrison of Ala — Graham
his deputy is good man.

Next step — Federalize Guard — put
combined troops under Army commander

3

K - Only way to get Federal troops
in is for Gov to say he
is unable to hold law and
order -

Recommendations

1. Wallace call P. - request assistance
(ask hold up appeal)

2. Call up Natl Guard ^(would end up 750 men) and ^{into some sort of}

2 battalions
(900) have sizeable Fed. group
standing by as advisory force
at Craig - Maxwell. Pre-pontra.

3. If situation deteriorates - federalize
Guard - and bring in MP's under
Army command of total force.

4. Announcement simultaneously
from Montg. and
Washington.

K. ~~Gov. can only federalize - or also~~

B Marshall / Think we ought to stay the appeal.

P. How do we explain the change in Wallace attitude

E. He has confidence in you. He needs help. Has been an entirely different person.

Morris Abrams

at 4:28 Ellington called
Wallace - he will
call President -
6 min.

At 4:31 Wallace called President

Pres finished talking at 4:55

Forces in position:

From Ft. Bragg: 503rd MP Battalion - 500 men
in place at Maxwell Field (Montgomery)

From Ft. Hood: 720th MP Battalion - 509 men
in place at Craig Field (Selma)

On alert: Re-inforced battalion at Ft. Benning - 1,000 men

One company of 200 men can be moved to position
in 6 hours. Rest on 12-hour alert, which will
be reduced as situation develops. Will move
by helicopters.

National Guard: 25 units of Alabama National Guard - 1,837 men

Now assembling at respective National Guard
armories. Gathering field equipment and
transportation. Ready to move out at 1:00 pm
today. Expect to be positioned by 5:00 pm.

Total military forces under command of Brig. Gen. Henry
Graham, assistant division commander of 31st Infantry
Division. He was Guardsman commander of the forces
federalized at Tuscaloosa.

Assistant to Graham: Regular Army man, Brig. Gen. J. M. Wright

Medical forces:

At Craig: 75-bed hospital, five doctors, 5 ambulances.
Four H-43 aircraft-helicopters - can
haul 5 ambulatory patients or 2 litters
with corpsmen.

At Maxwell: 250-bed hospital, 50 doctors, 5 ambulances
and four H-43 aircraft.

TRANSFERRED TO MUSEUMS

MR PRESIDENT

For your information:

Walker Stone called me to say that he has heard you make lots of speeches, but last night was, by all odds, the best. "He put his guts in to this one" said Stone.

jv
3/16/65

O.K. (Also, you told Mac Bundy that you would let Mike Forrestal come by sometime Thursday to say "goodbye." Okay?)

11:15 AM

Thursday

jv

Told
Mac Bundy
3/17/65
N. Yates

4-2
18

Mr. President,

Tom Wicker wants to do a story on Wallace's meeting with you Saturday and wants from me some background material.

I am dubious about any useful purpose this would serve, because I don't believe we should tread on Wallace's confidence. But, before turning him down, I would like to know if you want me to cooperate with Wicker.

_____ yes no

Bill Moyers/mjdr

Mar 15, 1965 - 12:30 p.m.

*and tell him to
see me. send
me more
info -
ruly*

Quanta

THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE

Monday, March 13, 1965

**11:00 (Jimilu Mason. Will work on bust of the President)
(OFF THE RECORD)**

Sony Mc Namara and Sec. Vance
12:00 Meeting with Joint Chiefs of Staff:
Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, US Army, Chairman
Admiral David Lamar McDonald, USN
General John P. McConnell, USAF - *first mtg.*
General Harold Keith/Johanson, Chief of Staff,
U.S. Army
General Wallace M. Greene, Jr. Commandant
US Marine Corps *statement picture taking*

**1:00 (William Driver, VA Administrator, meeting with
American Legion National Commander Johnson.
The President may drop in on the meeting.)
(OFF THE RECORD)**

**1:30 (Walter Lippman, luncheon.)
(OFF THE RECORD)**

**5:30 (Edward Adams, Dr. I. J. Carmin Karpman, and
Kennett L. Rawson. To present the first copy of
WHO'S WHO IN WORLD JEWRY to the President.)** *Jim Roney*
(OFF THE RECORD)

**6:00 (Jack Horner and Bob Hoke, of the Washington
Star, to get the President to autograph the original
portrait that was on the front of the Star's Inaugural
Edition)
(OFF THE RECORD)**

TUESDAY, MARCH 16, 1965

11:30 am

OFF RECORD: Senator Harry Byrd

12:15 pm

OFF RECORD: Delegation representing California cotton
growers:

John A. Reynolds

Russell Giffen

Harry Baker

Louis Robinson

Russell Kennedy

Accompanied by Senator Thomas Kuchel of California, and
California Congressmen:

Harlan Hagen

B. F. Sisk

John Tunney

1:00 pm

LUNCH with Secretary Rusk, Secretary McNamara, and
McGeorge Bundy

5:30 pm

OFF RECORD: Coffee for House leadership and Deputy
Whips of the House

THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE

Monday, March 15, 1965

11:00 (Jimilu Mason. Will work on bust of the President)
(OFF THE RECORD)

12:00 Joint Chiefs of Staff.

General Earle G. Wheeler, U. S. Army, Chairman
Admiral David L. McDonald, U. S. Navy
General Harold K. Johnson, U. S. Army
General John P. McConnell, U. S. Air Force
General Wallace M. Greene, Jr., U. S. Marine Corps

1:00 (William Driver, VA Administrator, meeting in
the Fish Room with American Legion National
Commander Donald Johnson.)
(OFF THE RECORD)

(The President may want to drop in on the meeting.)

1:30 (Luncheon with Walter Lippman)
(OFF THE RECORD)

5:30 (Edward Adams; Dr. I. J. Carmin Karpman, and
Kennett L. Rawson.)
(OFF THE RECORD)

(They will present the first copy of WHO'S WHO IN
WORLD JEWRY to the President. Karpman is editor
of the book, and Rawson is President of David McKay
Company, Inc.)

6:00 (Jack Horner and Bob Hoke, both of the Washington Star)
(OFF THE RECORD)

(They will bring the original portrait of the President
that was on the front page of the Star's Inaugural
edition for the President's autograph.)

MONDAY, MARCH 15, 1965

11:00 am OFF RECORD: Jimilu Mason

12:00 noon Secretary McNamara and the Joint Chiefs
 General Wheeler
 Admiral McDonald
 General McConnell
 General Johnson
 General Greene

1:00 pm OFF RECORD: William Driver, Administrator
 of VA, is meeting with American Legion National
 Commander Johnson
 (might drop in on the meeting)

1:30 pm OFF RECORD: Lunch with Walter Lippmann

5:30 pm OFF RECORD: Eddie Adams
 Dr. I. J. Carmin Karpman
 Kennett L. Rawson
 Jim Novy

6:00 pm OFF RECORD: Jack Horner and Bob Hoke

9:00 pm Address to the Congress

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March 13, 1965

To: Mrs. Johnson

From: Marvin

The family of the Reverend Reeb plans to attend a Memorial Service in Boston on Thursday, March 18, 12:15 p.m. at the Arlington Street Unitarian Church 355 Bolyston Street.

They also most likely will attend a service to be held in Washington on Tuesday, March 16, 2:00 p.m. at the All Souls Unitarian Church at 16th and Harvard Streets N. W.

Tomorrow, Sunday, March 14, three services will be held in Boston, none of which the family is expected to attend.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
March 13, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MARVIN WATSON

Frank McDermott, who is with Secret Service in Boston, called with regard to Memorial Services for Reverend Mr. Reeb. There are to be three separate Memorial Services held in Boston tomorrow, Sunday, March 14th. One is on the Boston Common; one is on the Lexington Green; the third is to be in a church where the Reverend Gerald Krick (who was in Selma at the time Mr. Reeb was attacked) is scheduled to speak.

Mr. John Sullivan who has been contact man for the family told McDermott that it is most unlikely that the family will participate in any of these three services. The family considers that the principal Memorial Service in Boston is the main Interfaith Memorial Service which will be held on Thursday, March 18th, at the Arlington Street Unitarian Church at 12:15 p.m. The church is located at 355 Boylston Street in Boston. The family does plan to attend this service.

Mr. McDermott also told me that it is very possible and most likely that the family will attend the Memorial Service to be held in Washington at 2:00 p.m. on Tuesday, March 16th, at the All Souls Unitarian Church at 16th and Harvard Street N. W.

E.C.C.
E. C. COOK

cc: General Clifton
Mr. Valenti

*TYPE UP WHOEVER YOU CAN REACH
EMERGENCY INFO FOR MRS. J.*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 13, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR

Mrs. Juanita Roberts

Ten members of the Reeb family will be flying in the President's Jetstar Friday from Boston to Wyoming. The President wants an abundance of souvenirs aboard and he wants Jim Cross to give them to the people.

I will talk to Jim Cross.

I would like aboard the following:

Ten copies of "My Hope For America" (not the expensive kind)

- ✓ Ball point pens
- ✓ Small medallions
- ✓ Ten copies of the Inaugural Message and State of the Union Message (blue and green folders)
- 7:00 Two family portraits autographed to Mrs. Reeb and to the father, Mr. Reeb

I will tell Jim Cross to pick these up from you on Wednesday so that he can be ready for Friday's flight.

Jack Valenti

7
Put up 3/13
by Maj Cross

For 10 a. m.

1. Call on Reverend Walter Fauntroy to say anything he wishes.
2. Go through the sequence you did with the publishers:
 - (1) Your role in 1957
 - (2) Your role in 1960
 - (3) The Civil Rights Act that went up in 1963 with voting rights; Congress took it out
 - (4) Your decision on December 5 to ask for a strong voting rights bill in your State of the Union message. Not a civil rights leader had discussed it with you at that time
 - (5) This week's activities ---
 - a. Constant touch with Katzenbach
 - b. The Attorney General's advice and counsel
 - c. Instructed them to go in as "friend of the court"
 - d. Kept Defense Department on notice
 - e. Proud of way Martin Luther King decided not to march on to the highway because he knew he would be violating the injunction of the same judge before whom he would be appearing Thursday on the injunction against the Alabama authorities
3. Call on Katzenbach

(Be sure to ask him Why he did not advise you to send in the troops; this was the important point, Louie Martin claims, with the publishers yesterday)
4. Call on Humphrey
5. Ask any of the group present if they have anything to say or ask.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 13, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE PRESIDENT

It is my feeling that it is important, both in terms of present and future attitudes toward the Administration on the part of a large and influential group, for you to include in your press conference today some statement which expresses a degree of emotional sympathy with those who are demanding votes for the Negro in Alabama. This, of course, would appear among statements expressing the complexities of the situation, the rights of the State of Alabama, etc.

Here are two suggestions:

1. The right to petition against grievances, with due regard for the public safety, is an American right, as fundamental as any stone in our structure of liberty. It has been upheld during two centuries of the life of this nation. It will be upheld by this Administration.
2. The fine young man who gave his life in Alabama for the freedom of others is in the highest tradition of American heroism. As in the case of all fallen heroes, there is little we can do except to express our admiration and our heartfelt sympathies to his family and to see to it that the family, in their grief, at least do not face a financial crisis. Toward the latter end, Mrs. Johnson and I today are joining other citizens in sending our personal check.



Eric F. Goldman

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO THE PRESIDENT

from: Doug Cater

I just talked with Federal Appeals Judge Richard Rives, ^{of Montgomery,} an old friend. He made the following points in response to my questions:

1. Wallace should be given no opportunity to claim a private agreement. There is precedent when he once called on Judge Johnston in the dead of night (when Wallace was a local ~~judge~~ judge defying Johnston's order to produce voting records.) Wallace begged Johnston to give him a way out by allowing him to turn over the records to the grand jury instead of the federal authorities. Johnston agreed and ever since Wallace has taunted him publicly for not having courage to enforce his own court order. This midnight visit has never been revealed.

2. ~~Unlikely~~ It is unlikely that Judge Johnston will be able to issue a blanket injunction on the March to Montgomery. He will have to specify reasonable logistic regulations. Also likely to impose an affirmative duty on the Governor to protect the marchers.

3. It would be useful for you to remind Wallace of the "misunderstandings" that arose when Gov Faubus visited Eisenhower. You intend no such misunderstandings. Unless the Governor can maintain law and order ~~and~~ you are quite determined to do so, first, if possible, by civil authority, second by calling on the National Guard, and, finally if there is no way to avoid it, by use of federal troops. You have no intention of ducking the responsibility that belongs to you as President. The Governor should have no illusions about that.

March 12, 1965

MEMO TO MRS. JOHNSON:

Cremated remains of Reverend Reeb were sent to his parents in Casper, Wyoming. I have no information on any plans there.

Two memorial services are planned:

- 1) Washington, Tuesday, March 16, 2 p.m., at All Souls Unitarian Church, 16th and Harvard, N. W., Dr. Lester C. Lewis officiating;
- 2) Boston, Thursday, March 18, 12:15 p.m., Arlington Street Church, 355 Boylston Street. (The Boston service is tentative.)

W. Marvin Watson

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : THE PRESIDENT

DATE: March 13, 1965

FROM : Lee C. White

SUBJECT: Points to Consider in Connection With the Wallace Meeting

1. Elimination of Demonstrations -- The right of petition, guaranteed by the Constitution assures American citizens of the right to make known their grievances and to assemble peaceably. In fact, the type of demonstration which Dr. King has used is nonviolent, as distinguished from the riots that occurred in Harlem, Rochester, Paterson, N. J., Chester, Pa., etc. We had a march on Washington in August 1963 with a quarter of a million people and not a single untoward incident. The right is not unrestricted or unqualified and any reasonable restrictions to protect the safety and welfare of the general public would probably not violate the Constitution and would be understood and ~~or~~ accepted by the American people.

2. Law and Order -- The Governor's interest in law and order is shared here. The President has made this clear on countless occasions, the most recent being his statement on the Selma situation last Tuesday. He sent a whole message to Congress on the subject of law enforcement only last Monday. But law enforcement involves behaviour that is acceptable generally and the use of appropriate and acceptable force to maintain the peace. There would be no current crisis if the Alabama troopers had merely ~~sharpened~~ barred the path of those who sought to march. The horses, the whips, the clubs, and the tear gas was what shocked and aroused the American public. It was the television films of these tactics which circulated around the world to our nation's great detriment.

3. Federalizing the National Guard -- This will present some difficulties if he formally requests you to federalize the Guard and take over law enforcement responsibilities in the State. Although there are good reasons for not doing that: once having started it will be very difficult to withdraw; anything that goes wrong is the Federal Government's responsibility. Nevertheless, the public posture would be terribly awkward if Wallace concedes that he is incapable of controlling the situation and requests the Federal Government to do it. I am now trying to find out what past precedents there are and will get the information as quickly as possible.

4. What can Wallace Do to Help -- His request for a meeting and his visit here has highlighted his personal responsibility, which I believe is

all to the good. Assuming he is sincere, he can issue a statement indicating general support for our American system of universal suffrage and provide assurances that the right of peaceful assembly will be permitted in Alabama where there is State jurisdiction so long as there is concern for the safety and well-being of all of the citizens of Alabama, both white and Negro, and so long as law and order is maintained. I don't know that he could ever apologize, but if he were able to express remorse over the death of Rev. Reeb and those who were injured on Sunday, that would go a long way toward draining some of the tension out of the situation. Another thing that Wallace could do is meet with the Negro leadership when he returns to Montgomery; even if there is no hope of his doing that (and frankly, I think it would be a good idea on his part), you may wish to recommend it to him anyway so that subsequently you can always claim that you urged that course of action upon him.

5. Presidential Attitude -- Despite the intense and increasing pressure on the Federal Government to do something, the President has refused to panic and send troops to Alabama and to invade it. It is a step that will be taken if necessary, but it is perfectly obvious that it is one that the President would make only "as a last resort", but he must have assistance and cooperation from Alabama if we are to avert almost a civilian invasion. If the mood of the country is accurately gauged, the potential danger is immense.

6. What Happens when Wallace Leaves the White House -- Undoubtedly he will meet the press as he leaves and will make a statement. You may wish to discuss with him any statement he might make in which he could indicate that it had been approved by you. If, however, the meeting has gone badly and it is clear that he is about to go out and launch an attack on you or say anything else irresponsible, it may be well to be prepared with your statement for release by George Reedy almost immediately after Wallace's departure.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. President:

Somehow I think you should say
something along these lines
today.

GER
March 13
12:07 p.m.

130
1200

I told Governor Wallace that there are many issues involved in the current dispute but the one over-riding issue is that this is a government of law and order and the laws must be enforced equally where all of our people are concerned.

As Governor of Alabama he has responsibilities to the people of his state and I do not and did not presume to lecture him on his responsibilities. But as President of the United States I have my responsibilities and I am going to meet all of them fully and completely within the limits of whatever wisdom I have and whatever strength I have.

This is a nation where people are entitled to proceed about their business without fear of intimidation and physical violence. This is a nation where people are entitled to assemble and make known their grievances without intimidation and without coercion. This is a nation of free men and free men do not have to live in fear.

As for myself, I am going to enforce all of the laws equally. If the present laws are inadequate to guarantee free men the protection they should have, I am going to ask for more laws. But whatever may be the situation we are not going to permit the bull whip and the cattle prod to displace the evenly balanced scales as the symbol of justice.

Rec'd
3/12/65
6:00 P.M.

(34)

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1965

FOR THE PRESIDENT

From what I gathered, the impression you made on the churchmen was good. They know you are working to bring peace and justice to Alabama.

For the future, I have three suggestions for your public statements on the Selma situation.

I think a recitation of past actions and statements is not going to get across to the public at large. The public knows you are for the enforcement of civil rights. The Deep South knows it; that is why it went for Goldwater.

What the public felt on Monday, in my opinion, was the deepest sense of outrage it has ever felt on the civil rights question. I had dinner with Abe Fortas Monday night. That reasonable man was for sending troops at once.

The public wants you to express your own, present, sense of outrage. I believe the problem of communication is not that the public doesn't know what you have stood for in the past, or even what you stand for now. I believe people want you to say you are sick at heart over last Sunday and are working tirelessly to find the means to protect Negro rights in Alabama.

Second, I think you have to describe both the possibilities and limitations of Federal action.

The Federal government does not have a national police force--nor should it. It protects the rights of Americans through the courts. The power of the national government stands behind the courts. It will be used, as it has been used, to enforce the court's decrees.

Some sense of the power of the law--of the Constitution and the civil rights acts--is vital. The Selma Negroes and their supporters, according to Bill Baxter, who was there Tuesday, think Federal law is an ineffective abstraction. The Law, to them, is Jim Clark. You cannot change that feeling overnight. But you can assure the country that the power is there to back up the decrees of the courts.

Lastly, I think your statement should make it clear that you are not after vengeance on the perpetrators of the outrage in Selma. They are the victims of bitter fear, no less than those they beat and whipped last Sunday. Your vision of America--expressed in the poverty program, the Appalachia program, the education program--includes them, as well as the men and women they have wronged. In an educated America, in an America of opportunity and hope, they will have a part. Then they can cast aside the truncheon and the whip.

Then the differences between men can be settled where they should be--in the courts. Then the competition for leadership can be settled where it should be--at the ballot box.

This tragedy should be one more reminder, to those who require it, that the battle for human dignity is long and hard, even in the most prosperous and powerful nation on earth. We did not expect it to be otherwise, and we shall not rest until we have won it.


Harry McPherson



Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C.

March 13, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Re: Governor Wallace Meeting

Governor Wallace will ask you to call a moratorium on all demonstrations and take national leadership in restoring "law and order". He will use the sit-ins and demonstrations here in Washington as examples of the problem and point out that the police here are doing the same thing that the police in Alabama are doing and thus seek to put you in the same boat as him. He will state that if you do not call upon Negroes to call off the demonstrations and to get rid of "outside agitators" in Alabama and the District of Columbia then utter chaos will result. He is determined to have law and order with all the forces at his disposal and will do his best to preserve that but if demonstrations continue there will be bloodshed which will be on your hands. I doubt that he will ask for federal assistance despite his conversation with Governor Ellington.

I think you should respond to these arguments by taking the offensive. You should state that you do not like demonstrations and do not enjoy sit-ins in the White House. But they are not demonstrating about the conditions here in Washington but the conditions in the State of Alabama. The underlying problem is that Negroes have been denied their fundamental rights as citizens in the State of Alabama. You should ask the Governor to join with you publicly in a commitment to eliminate the barriers to voting in Alabama and to commit himself to the desegregation of schools and public parks. He should announce that he is taking steps to employ Negroes in state governmental positions, including the highway patrol, and should join you in a commitment that the poverty program will be on a total desegregated basis throughout the State.

In addition, you should tell him that whatever the difficulty of ^{the conduct of} demonstrators and demonstrations that there was no excuse ~~for~~ Colonel Lingo and state troopers and Sheriff Clark and his deputies ~~or~~ whether or not King had the right to march. You should ask him for a public commitment that he will investigate the conduct of the troopers and discipline those who misbehaved. In view of his conduct not only in Selma but also in Marion, Birmingham and elsewhere, Colonel Lingo should be dismissed.

The dismissal of Colonel Lingo would be helpful in terms of controlling the demonstrations and would be particularly helpful if the Governor would assert his authority now as he did a year ago to displace local sheriffs and their deputies in Selma and elsewhere where the need may arise. The troopers should be put under the command of a professional police official, such as, Lingo's predecessor. It would be very helpful if the Governor would call a

(Floyd Mann)

TRANSFERRED TO HANDWRITING
AND PRESERVATION FILE

biracial conference in Montgomery to discuss the problems of demonstrations.

Throughout you should remember the Governor is attempting to use this as a political platform for himself. His demands upon you will be politically (as well as moral ly) unrealistic and you should have no hesitation ~~in~~ making equally unrealistic demands of him.

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

March 12, 1965

MEMORANDUM

FOR : The President
FROM : The Vice President

As you suggested, I met this afternoon with the Council on Equal Opportunity to discuss the current situation in Selma and obtain the views of the Council members as to what further steps, if any, the federal government should undertake. At the opening of the meeting, I explained in some detail the actions which the federal government has already taken with respect to the Selma situation and discussed candidly the alternatives which seemed immediately available and the reasons why they were not used.

At that juncture I threw the meeting open and received suggestions and comments from almost everyone present. It was recognized that you and other officials have on numerous occasions spoken forcefully of the federal government's strong commitment to civil rights and the need for voting legislation at this time; nevertheless, it was felt that in the highly emotional, tense, present circumstances reiteration was necessary. A number of people expressed their concern that confidence of the civil rights movement in the federal government is threatened and stressed the need for making known in a positive and affirmative manner the concern of the federal government.

There was a strong general feeling that there would be great utility in your carrying to the public, via national television, a positive and affirmative statement of the federal government's position in the Selma situation. Such a statement could include the following items:

TRANSFERRED TO MISBOM

(1) The federal government recognizes the serious barriers to full registration and voting participation by Negro citizens in certain areas of the South; therefore, you are sending to the Congress a special message and legislation to remove these barriers.

(2) There exists a constitutional right for Americans to petition their government for redress of grievances and the federal government has vigorously pressed that right in the District Court proceeding -- the proper place for definition of the rights of the Selma demonstrators. The Attorney General has urged the court to issue an order allowing the march from Selma to Montgomery. If it is issued, the federal government will see that the order is enforced.

(3) There must be preservation of law and order in all situations. The federal government stands ready to do whatever may be necessary to assure that this is so.

(4) In response to the feeling shared by many Americans of "What can I do?", you can request that they petition Members of Congress for prompt passage of an effective and meaningful voting bill.

There was a strong feeling within the group that your message should be keyed to action by the federal government -- the strongest and most imminent action being submission of the Administration's voting bill to the Congress. It was also felt strongly by the group that the legislation should be submitted as soon as possible. There is believed to be some lack of public understanding as to the reasons why it has not already been submitted.

It should be emphasized that the group was not urging a television appearance by you prior to the time you could announce specific and imminent submission of the legislation. It was generally believed that such an appearance over the weekend announcing that the legislation would be sent to the Hill on Monday morning would be particularly beneficial. In fact, it was thought sufficiently important to make the announcement over the weekend even if it meant that the legislation submitted on Monday was not in final form.

For your information, I will also relay several other suggestions on which there was no general consensus:

- (1) That you contact Governor Wallace and invite him to Washington, along with other appropriate Alabama officials, to discuss resolution of the Selma difficulties; while Governor Wallace probably would not accept your invitation, this, it was suggested, would make it clear that you had exhausted all possible avenues.
- (2) That, either in conjunction with, or apart from, the foregoing, the broadest possible contacts be made with Alabama business and industrial leaders to urge them to bring all possible pressure against the Governor. It was suggested that Cabinet officers might be utilized to make some of these calls personally, using contacts among their clientele groups.
- (3) That a high federal official, such as the Vice President or the Attorney General, go to Selma as a symbolic federal presence; as discussion progressed, however, this idea seemed to lose favor.

With but minor dissent, the group indicated a strong belief that federal troops should not be used under present circumstances. It should be emphasized, however, that this view was based on present circumstances and was subject to change with any significant change in the situation. The feeling was expressed that the F. B. I. does not represent a meaningful presence in Selma for Negro citizens and that, as a "presence" marshals would be better. The difficulties inherent in using marshals were recognized as probably precluding this course, however.

Finally, you should know that it was the overwhelming sentiment of the group that the decision as to use of force was one that could be made only by you and that the Council recognized the difficulty of this decision and was ready to support you wholly.

Because I knew you wished to have the advice of the Council members, I urged that they express themselves candidly and frankly. I have tried to reflect their expressions as accurately as possible.

UPI-95

ADD 7 ALABAMA, WASHINGTON

ATTY. GEN. KATZENBACH, VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY AND MEMBERS OF THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF SAT IN ON THE MEETING.

FAUNTROY SAID THE GROUP REPEATED THEIR REQUESTS THAT THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR LAST SUNDAY'S VIOLENCE BE ARRESTED, AND THAT JOHNSON SEND U.S. MARSHALLS TO SELMA TO ARREST ANYBODY INVOLVED IN BRUTALITY AGAINST "THOSE ATTEMPTING TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO PETITION."

IF THESE STEPS PROVE INSUFFICIENT, HE SAID, JOHNSON SHOULD DISPATCH FEDERAL TROOPS TO ALABAMA CITY.

FAUNTROY SAID JOHNSON TOOK THEIR REQUESTS UNDER ADVISEMENT AND EXPLAINED THAT HE WOULD CONSULT AT LENGTH WITH HUMPHREY, KATZENBACH AND OTHER ADVISERS.

"ONCE, AFTER RECEIVING THEIR ADVICE, HE WILL MAKE A DECISION ON HOW THE SITUATION IN SELMA WILL BE HANDLED AND HE STRESSED THAT THIS DECISION WILL BE HIS SOLE RESPONSIBILITY," FAUNTROY REPORTED.

MEMBERS OF THE GROUP GOT THE IMPRESSION THAT THE PRESIDENT'S SPECIAL MESSAGE ON VOTING RIGHTS LEGISLATION WOULD GO TO CONGRESS EARLY NEXT WEEK, PROBABLY MONDAY.

3/12--TD112PES

UPI-88

ADD 5 ALABAM, WASHINGTON

A GROUP OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS EMERGED FROM A TWO-HOUR CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT JOHNSON TODAY CONVINCED THAT HE WILL MAKE A BASIC DECISION SHORTLY ON THE SELMA, ALA., RACIAL STRIFE.

3/12--TD1254PES

UPI-98

ADD 8 ALABAMA, WASHINGTON

THEY LEFT THE WHITE HOUSE WITH NO FIRM IDEA WHEN JOHNSON WILL MAKE HIS "DECISION" ON SELMA OTHER THAN THEY ANTICIPATED SOMETHING FROM THE WHITE HOUSE IN THE RELATIVELY NEAR FUTURE.

WOODS, THE LOCAL CORE OFFICIAL, SAID PLANS WOULD GO AHEAD FOR A MASS CIVIL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATION SUNDAY AFTERNOON IN LAFAYETTE SQUARE JUST ACROSS PENNSYLVANIA VE. FROM THE WHITE HOUSE.

WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY REEDY HELD UP HIS USUAL MIDDAY NEWS BRIEFING UNTIL THE CIVIL RIGHTS CONFERENCES WERE OVER, LARGELY TO PERMIT A CONCENTRATION OF REPORTERS AT THE WHITE HOUSE TO INTERVIEW THE CONFEREES.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS DELEGATION PLANNED TO RETURN TO ST. JOHN'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH ACROSS LAFAYETTE SQUARE FROM THE WHITE HOUSE TO RESUME THEIR DELIBERATIONS ON ACTION IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, PARTICULARLY PLANS FOR THE SUNDAY RALLY.

ASKED WHAT CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS WOULD DO IF JOHNSON'S DECISION ON SELMA IS NOT SATISFACTORY FROM THEIR VIEWPOINT, FAUNTROY SAID THEY WOULD HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO CONTINUE THEIR PETITIONING FOR THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS ON THE THEORY THAT "THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS NOT SUFFICIENTLY PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF ITS CITIZENS IN ALABAMA."

OTHER CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS DESCRIBED THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE MEETING IN THE WHITE HOUSE CABINET ROOM AS FRIENDLY AND CORDIAL.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS PARTICIPANTS SEEMED PLEASED WITH THEIR RECEPTION AT THE WHITE HOUSE. THEY GAVE NO INDICATION THAT THERE WAS ANY DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THE DEMONSTRATIONS TAKING PLACE IN WASHINGTON, POINTING OUT THAT THE FOCUS WAS ON SELMA.

ASKED IF THEIR IMPRESSION WAS THAT JOHNSON WAS "UNLIKELY" TO SEND MARSHALS INTO ALABAMA, FAUNTROY SAID HE HAD NO COMMENT ON THIS POINT; THAT THE POLICY OF HIS GROUP WOULD BE TO AWAIT AN ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT.

3/12--TD/GE124P

UPI-90

ADD 6 ALABAMA, WASHINGTON

A SPOKESMAN FOR THE CIVIL RIGHTS ADVOCATES SAID THAT THEY WOULD AWAIT JOHNSON'S ACTION BEFORE DECIDING WHETHER IT WAS SUFFICIENT "TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS" OF ALABAMA NEGROES IN THE SELMA VOTE REGISTRATION DRIVE.

JOHNSON THEN HELD ANOTHER CONFERENCE WITH A GROUP OF CLERGYMEN REPRESENTING THE COMMISSION ON RACE AND RELIGION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.

IN OTHER WASHINGTON DEVELOPMENTS INVOLVING THE ALABAMA CRISIS:

--ABOUT 5,000 RELIGIOUS LEADERS FROM ALL OVER THE COUNTRY HELD A MASS MEETING TO CALL FOR FEDERAL INTERVENTION IN SELMA.

MASSACHUSETTS LAWMAKERS WERE TOLD THAT A 1,000 MEMBER DELEGATION FROM MASSACHUSETTS PLANNED TO GO TO ALABAMA NEXT WEEK ON A MEMORIAL PILGRIMAGE IN MEMORY OF THE REV. JAMES J. REEB AND TO JOIN IN ANY NEW VOTING RIGHTS DEMONSTRATION.

--THE WHITE HOUSE IMPOSED CLOSE GUARD ON TOURIST LINES TO GUARD AGAINST A REPETITION OF YESTERDAY'S SIT-IN BY A DOZEN YOUNG CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS. THE TWO-HOUR TOUR PERIOD ENDED WITHOUT INCIDENT.

--CIVIL RIGHTS PICKETS CONTINUED TO PARADE IN FRONT OF THE WHITE HOUSE, CARRYING SIGNS, AND WERE JOINED BY SEVERAL HUNDRED NEW RECRUITS JUST ARRIVED FROM THE MIDWEST AND PENNSYLVANIA.

HERBERT L. WOODS, WASHINGTON CORE REPRESENTATIVE WHO PARTICIPATED IN TODAY'S MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT, SAID JOHNSON WAS "ANNOYED" BY THE SIT-IN. HE SAID THE PRESIDENT TOLD OF HEARING ONE OF THE DEMONSTRATORS IN YESTERDAY'S SIT-IN SAY THAT HE WANTED TO BE DRAGGED OUT OF THE WHITE HOUSE BY POLICE.

THE FIRST DELEGATION OF 15 CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS WHO SAW JOHNSON WERE FROM THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. THEY SAID THEY BELIEVED THEY REFLECTED THE NATIONWIDE WISHES OF OTHER CIVIL RIGHTS ADVOCATES.

WALTER E. FAUNTROY, WASHINGTON DIRECTOR OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, PRAISED THE PRESIDENT. "ALL OF US WERE DEEPLY MOVED BY HIS SINCERITY AND EARNESTNESS AND CONVINCED OF HIS SENSITIVITY TO THE ISSUE," FAUNTROY TOLD REPORTERS.

3/12--TD104PES

THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE

Friday, March 12, 1965

10:00 Washington Civil Rights delegation. Cabinet Room.

The delegation includes:

Walter E. Fauntroy, Washington Director of Southern Christian Leadership Conference
H. Carl Moultrie, President of Washington N. A. A. C. P.
Herbert L. Woods, CORE
Lester McKinney, Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee
Hubert Brown, Non Violent Action Group
William Higgs, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party
Bishop Paul Moore, Episcopal Church
Dr. E. C. Smith, Committee of One Hundred
Dr. David G. Caldwell, President, Council of Churches
Reverend Jefferson T. Rogers, Washington President, Southern Christian Leadership Council

*Buncaw
Howlett,
Pastor
All Souls
Unitarian
Church -
(He is
Pastor
of the
man
who died
last
week)*

*More
addns -
see
attachment*

10:45 National Council of Churches delegation. Fish Room.

Delegation includes:

Roman Catholic -- Monsignor George Higgens, Monsignor Gringas, Father John Cronin, and Mathew Ahmann;
Jewish -- Rabbi Richard Hirsch, Rabbi Uri Miller, and Erin Goldman;
Protestant -- Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Father William Baxter, Bishop John Wesley Lord, Bishop William Marmion, President Ben Herbster of United Church of Christ, and Robert Spike.

*additions -
see
attachment -*

11:30 Laurence S. Rockefeller, Chairman, White House Conference on Natural Beauty

Briefing papers attached

12:30 Lord Harlech, Ambassador from Great Britain, to bid farewell to the President

1:00 (Senator Herman Talmadge and Senator Sam Ervin)
(OFF THE RECORD)

(Briefing papers from Secretary Celebrezze are attached)

1:30 (Seven Presidents of the Railroad Brotherhood)
(OFF THE RECORD)

(To discuss:

- 1) Their views on the overall national transportation policies;
- 2) The caliber of people they think should be appointed to ICC; and
- 3) Who should be appointed to the ICC.

(Senator Vance Hartke said that this visit will permit the Senate Commerce Committee to proceed without delay or controversy on your re-appointment of Rupert L. Murphy to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The Brotherhood delegation includes:

G. E. Leighty, St. Louis; Harold Crotty, Detroit; C. L. Dennis, Cincinnati; Donald Beattie, Washington; Michael Fox, Chicago; Charles Luna, Cleveland; and George Harris, Cedar Rapids.

5:30 (Newly-designated American Ambassadors: Raymond R. Guest, Ireland; Geoffrey W. Lewis, Mauritania; C. Robert Moore, Mali; and American Ambassador William P. Mahoney, Ghana, and American Ambassador Joseph C. Satterthwaite, South Africa)

(OFF THE RECORD)

(Briefing papers are attached)

6:00 (Ken Scheibel, Bureau Manager for Donrey News Media in Washington)

(OFF THE RECORD)

(Scheibel wants to get a picture with the President at his desk. This will be promoted in the Donrey daily newspapers and radio/TV stations in their six state area of Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Nevada, Alaska, and Hawaii.)

The President's Schedule - Page 3:

6:15 (Secretary Rusk, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, Assistant Secretary Harlan Cleveland, and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Sisco)

(OFF THE RECORD)

(Secretary Rusk requested the appointment to discuss United Nations matters.)

March 12, 1965

FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Lee C. White

SUBJECT: Notes for Meeting With Reverend Fauntroy's Group

1. General Information -- These are representatives of national and local organizations put together in an informal grouping known as D. C. Citizens for Civil Rights. The Vice President met with most of these people last Tuesday.

2. Voting Rights -- There is general agreement that the Constitutional amendment approach would require too much time and thus we have concentrated on a statute. Key elements under consideration by Justice Department:

a. Finding of Discriminatory Actions -- Every effort will be made to stick as closely as possible to the 15th Amendment which prohibits the denial of voting on racial grounds. Under this, the literacy test and any other tests applied in a discriminatory manner would be barred.

b. Federal Registrars -- Where there was failure to register, even with the elimination of discriminatory tests, Federal officers could register otherwise qualified voters.

c. Scope -- These provisions would apply to Federal, State and local elections.

d. General Framework -- Although Federal legislation is probably not appropriate, any message to Congress might also refer to the standard registration and voting difficulties, without regard to discrimination, found to exist in many States by Scammon's Commission -- for example, excessive residence requirements, unreasonable absentee voting or none at all, etc.

3. Poverty Program -- As of March 1, 93 operating projects are underway in 37 states. They will provide work experience and opportunities for over 65,000 enrollees. Interest in Job Corps work possibilities has been particularly encouraging. More than twice the number of available spots have been requested by young people who are dropouts or in the ranks of the unemployed. The Neighborhood Youth Corps has more than 565 proposals from local communities that should aid over 200,000 youths. They can help this program by their coverage and editorial comment.

4. Housing -- Your message on Cities asks for the continuation, at the rate of 40,000 additional units for fiscal year 1966 of the program providing below market interest rate mortgages for middle income families. The new rent supplement program should finance more than one-half million homes over the next 4 years and is aimed at families making between \$3,000 and \$8,000 per year.

5. Education -- Fiscal Year 1966 budget for education requests \$4.1 billion to strengthen state and community education projects. The pre-school program is particularly aimed at children from families earning less than \$2,000 per year. \$1 billion is allocated to several districts for elementary and secondary schools which service the children of the low-income families, generally earning less than \$2,000.

6. Appointments -- Among recent appointments are Lisle Carter, formerly of HEW, and Ted Berry, both among the top half dozen in the Poverty Program; Andrew Brimmer, who was promoted to Assistant Secretary of Commerce; Roger Wilkins, Roy's nephew, who is one of Governor Collins' key men; others are in the works. There has begun to be some little external pressure on the appointment of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, authorized by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act -- John Macy is working on this with a number of us and I believe he will soon have a slate of candidates for your consideration.

*Rec'd Boss's office
March 14, 1965
Hamm*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 11, 1965

TO THE PRESIDENT
FROM Douglass Cater

Here is an example of the "hate" literature in circulation in Alabama. Martin Luther King's efforts, according to this version, are part of a plot to register Democrats and re-elect Sparkman.

I pass it along merely to indicate the mentality with which you are dealing.

Attachment

Tell It To Old Grandma

Your name and address must be given on letter * But upon request, name will sometimes be withheld at the Editor's discretion * We reserve the right to shorten letters * No poetry please * Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it

ALABAMA INSTEAD OF MISSISSIPPI

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Over here in Selma where this Negro rabble rouser King has been holding fourth with "demonstrations," *et cetera*, under our Albert Boutwell Jr., type mayor and the artist we have as self-styled "Director of Public Safety" many of us have been wondering why King chose this area. I think the editorial from the Feb. 2 edition of *The Lynchburg* (Va.) *News* offers a reasonable explanation. Herewith the editorial:

"It puzzled us, too. Why did Martin Luther King choose Alabama instead of Mississippi as the site of his latest Negro voter registration drive? Mississippi is supposed to be the state in which more Negroes are being denied the right to vote than in any other state.

"But, suddenly, King switched targets. For the past few years he has concentrated his voter registration and integration efforts in Mississippi. Now, it's Alabama.

"And now the word is out. It is being said that Democratic Senator John Sparkman, a 'liberal' and a Johnson supporter, is in danger of losing his seat. Alabama, you recall, went almost solidly Republican in the November election. The Democrats desperately need all the Negro votes they can get. The white Democrats who defected to the Republicans are not expected to return to the fold—at least not to the Lyndon Johnson-John Sparkman fold.

"While Mississippi went to Goldwater in the presidential election, it remained a Democratic stronghold on all other political levels. They may be anti-Johnson Democrats, but they are Democrats, nevertheless. A heavy Negro vote in Mississippi would undoubtedly go against these Democrats. The result would be Democrats voting against each other. Such a split might enable a re-

of the state. In Mississippi, a large Negro vote is not in the best interests of the Democrats, at this time.

"But in Alabama, a heavy Negro vote is urgently needed. So there is where the civil rights leaders are concentrating their efforts.

"We wonder if the Justice Department would be as eager to aid the Negro registration if the Negro votes were as solidly Republican as they are Democratic? In other words is the Justice Department as interested in protecting civil rights as it is in registering Democratic voters?

"Who made the decision to register Alabama Negroes instead of Mississippi Negroes anyway? Did King? Or did President Johnson, at the urging of the Alabama Democratic leaders? It has been obvious for years that the 'civil rights' movement is being used for other purposes than obtaining the civil rights of Negroes. The evidence is overwhelming that the communists have infiltrated and used the movement as an excuse for riots and disorders. And it is just as obvious that the Democratic Party, including its leaders in the White House, has been using the movement for its, and his political gain.

"And after Alabama what? A return to Mississippi? Don't think so. There is another Southern state in which the Democrats are in more trouble. South Carolina. The Democrats lost a Senator there when Senator Strom Thurman turned his back on Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party and joined the Republicans. Many of the Democrats who elected him are expected to vote for his reelection. To offset their defection, a heavy Negro registration is needed.

"In the last election the GOP was called the white party. It could be said, with just as much justification that the Democratic party is the black party."

I will thank you to print this so that

your readers may see just what and who is behind this "mess" to which we are being subjected.

A. LABAS.
Selma, Ala.

As the Psalmist reminds us the Children of Israel did long ago, our Nation is passing through "fire and water."

We did in those dark days following that awful tragedy in November, 1963. I am convinced we emerged stronger and more determined because millions of Americans sought to renew their faith in God. I know that I did.

When the pressures were the heaviest and the need for strength from above was the greatest, Lady Bird and I sat down to eat a meal alone. No word or glance passed between us, but in some way we found ourselves bound together, and I found myself speaking the words of grace that I had learned at my mother's knee so many years ago.

I am not a theologian. I am not a philosopher. I am only a public servant doing the very best I know how. But in more than three decades of public life, I have seen first-hand how basic spiritual beliefs and deeds can shatter barriers of politics and bigotry. I have seen those barriers crumble in the presence of faith and hope, and from this experience I have drawn new hope that the seemingly insurmountable moral issues that we face at home and abroad today can be resolved by men of strong faith and men of brave deeds.

I am glad to see that men like you are exercising that faith and those deeds where they are needed more than ever before. I know the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed because of your commitment to work in its behalf.

I know the Voting Rights Act we intend to pass this session needs your help again. And I am glad you are here.

But I know I need your help, too. More than anything I need your prayers and wisdom. I need your understanding and confidence that as I try to decide and do what is right, I will be undergirded by the knowledge that a thousand prayers are being offered in my behalf --- and that I represent a multitude of Americans, of all faiths, who want to lead this great land into a new fellowship.

###

March 10, 1965

5:30
March 16

Dear Congressman:

The President has asked me to tell you that he would be delighted to have coffee with the Deputy Whips of the House and the House Leadership at 5:30 on March 16 in the Blue Room of the Mansion.

I would appreciate it if you would inform my office of the names of the Congressmen who will be attending.

Look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Jack Valenti
Special Assistant to the President

Honorable Hale Boggs
U. S. House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

JV:mw

cc: Bess Abell

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 8, 1965

MR. PRESIDENT:

Hale Boggs is suggesting very strongly that the Deputy Whips (about 15 of them) together with House Leadership -- come to the White House some afternoon to have coffee with the President. Boggs thinks they are doing a wonderful job and suggests the President talk to them in much the same manner as he talks to the Legislative Leadership. This would be a very effective gathering.

Would you like me to set this up at 5:30 some day in the next week or so?

Yes *✓* No

Jack Valenti

*5:30
Mar. 16
Call Boggs -
Coffee w/ the
Blue Room
Mansions
tell Boss Hall*

Rec'd
3/9/65
2:00 p.m.
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 9, 1965

FOR THE PRESIDENT
FROM Lee White

In bringing Senator Sparkman up to date this morning on the Selma situation, at his request, he mentioned that the Birmingham papers had carried an article indicating that Mayor Smitherman of Selma was quite bitter. Although he is generally regarded as having done an outstanding job in a difficult situation and is responsible for bringing Baker, the rational public safety official who has been a stabilizing influence during these critical days, he feels somewhat left out. He was apparently especially rankled by the fact that King is able to visit with you very frequently whereas his own request for a meeting, although never flatly declined, has nevertheless not resulted in his having a chance to discuss the problem from his point of view.

Senator Sparkman, without pressing the matter, asked that Smitherman's request be reconsidered.

I have discussed this with Bill Moyers and he and I believe that perhaps an even better alternative would be for you to telephone Smitherman today, if you wish to do so. He is not a participant in this latest incident, but really stands somewhere in the middle between King and Governor Wallace.

If you should decide to talk with Smitherman you might want to mention the following points:

- 1) We can appreciate the difficulty of his role and believe from all reports from the Justice Department and other sources that he has done an admirable job
- 2) You have today issued a statement calling on all to be calm and to respect law and order
- 3) We are anxious to assist the community in any proper way that we can
- 4) You have met with the two Alabama Senators who have kept you advised of the situation as they viewed it and incidentally they have passed on some of the views of Mayor Smitherman as well.
- 5) Any time that he has important information that should reach the President, he can either call directly or if it is impossible for the President to take the call he can always reach a member of the President's staff.

FAUNTROY SAID the two things you said which made greatest impression on him were:

- 1) The fact about 700 troops being on alert
- 2) The fact the kids yesterday turned down a chance to see you (I saw his face when you said this—he was surprised).

You might close by reading what you said to the Southern Baptists last year (which, by the way, took courage). Tell them that after you did say that, one Southern newspaper said: "Lyndon Johnson is not a politician as we all thought — he's a preacher."

Talking Points

1. Wallace will request assistant

(President will discuss the problem of the appeal of Judge Johnson's order --- "the longer the March is postponed, the greater the presence and the longer the people from the outside are going to stay in Alabama")

2. President will approve the Governor's calling the National Guard into the service of the State with the Defense Department providing a group of advisors

(President can applaud conduct of the National Guard last time it was used)

3. President will assure that proper contingencies of troops (two battalions) will be stationed at Craig and Maxwell for use in unlikely event of need

4. If the situation were to deteriorate, the National Guard would be federalized and put under a single command and the troops at Craig and Maxwell would be called into service

5. Suggest each make a statement at 5 p.m. Washington time

Elija L. Cooke said:

Behind every enterprise stands the man who is ultimately responsible. The eager and able men on his staff spin golden dreams and propose new plans. They fret while he ponders. But to him, deliberation is sweet. He knows that success will have many shareholders, but that failure will be the sole property of the man responsible.

Or, as the Chinese proverb goes,

"Success has a thousand fathers; defeat is an orphan."

That bill must pass --- we cannot afford a defeat there; but it must also be constitutional; we can't let it go to the courts and be stricken down or the cause will be roundly hurt.

1968 11 19 48

WA235 PD

FAX SELMA ALA 18 820P CST

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

WITH REGARD TO THE ORDER OF THE FEDERAL DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF ALABAMA, PROVIDING A PLAN
FOR THE SO-CALLED MARCH FROM SELMA, ALABAMA TO MONTGOMERY,
ALABAMA, THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY OF THE STATE OF
ALABAMA ADVISES ME THAT THE FOLLOWING PERSONNEL WILL BE REQUIRED

IN ORDER TO PROVIDE MAXIMUM SECURITY FOR THE MARCH:
6,171 MEN; 489 VEHICLES; 15 BUSES, NOT INCLUDING
SUPPORT UNITS.

THE STATE OF ALABAMA HAS AVAILABLE 300 STATE TROOPERS
AND APPROXIMATELY 150 OFFICERS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF
CONSERVATION AND ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE CONTROL DEPARTMENT
FOR USE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ORDER OF THE FEDERAL COURT.

I RESPECTFULLY REQUEST THAT THE UNITED STATES PROVIDE
SUFFICIENT FEDERAL CIVIL AUTHORITIES OR OFFICERS TO PROVIDE
FOR THE SAFETY AND WELFARE OF CITIZENS IN AND ALONG THE

PROPOSED MARCH ROUTE AND TO PROVIDE FOR THE SAFETY AND WELFARE OF THE MARCHERS. OFFICIALS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY OF THE STATE OF ALABAMA ARE AVAILABLE TO CONFER WITH YOUR APPROPRIATE AGENCY. THE APPROPRIATE LIAISON OFFICERS BEING CAPTAIN W. B. PAINTER, DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY, MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA.

RESPECTFULLY

GEORGE C WALLACE GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA.

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