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Bussing



United States Department of Justice

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

DIRECTOR

JUL 1 - 1976

Mr. Glynn Mates
Front Page Editor
The Wall Street Journal
22 Courtlandt Street
New York, New York 10007

Dear Mr. Mates:

An article in the June 30, 1976 edition of The Wall Street Journal attributes a statement to me as Director of the Community Relations Service, U.S. Department of Justice, doubting the constitutionality of the school bussing legislation proposed by President Ford. The quotation is not a correct statement of my views.

This letter is intended to clarify the record and my views.

Firstly, the only interview I have held recently with a representative of your newspaper was on June 3--several weeks prior to announcement of the President's proposal. I not only did not make any statement about the proposal, but did not even know at that time what the proposal would be.

Secondly, as a non-lawyer and head of a non-litigative office in the Department, I have no basis on which to formulate judgment on such legislation.

However, I have directed over the years many efforts by my agency (CRS) to mitigate the tensions and difficulties that result from court-ordered school desegregation. As a result of these efforts, I have long held the view that the Federal courts do not provide the most harmonious channel for achieving school desegregation.



It is my firm opinion that legislation is a far preferable way of handling these problems. This is precisely what President Ford and Attorney General Levi are attempting to do in Title I of the proposed legislation, and I strongly endorse their efforts.

Sincerely,

Ben Holman



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 8, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROLAND ELLIOTT
FROM: JIM CANNON *Cameron Darby for*
SUBJECT: Thank-You Letter to Participants in
Presidential Busing Meetings

Attached are four lists of participants and a form letter for each list thanking each participant for attending a White House meeting on busing.

I would very much appreciate your having these letter typed for my signature as soon as possible. If you have any questions, please call my office (X6515).

Thank you for your help.

attachments.



DRAFT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 8, 1976

Dear _____:

President Ford has asked me to thank you for your participation at the White House meeting on June 19 to discuss school desegregation.

Your suggestions and comments were very helpful, and we appreciated your sharing your views with us on the busing situation.

Sincerely,

James M. Cannon
Assistant to the President
for Domestic Affairs

(Name and address here)



Meeting June 19, 1976

Dr. William J. Johnston
Superintendent of Schools
450 North Grand Ave., Room A223
Los Angeles, California 90012

Mr. Roland W. Jones
P.O. Box 149
Charlotte, North Carolina 28201

Mr. Willard H. McGuire
Vice President, NEA
1201 16th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Mrs. Ruby Murchison
1808 Broadell Drive
Fayetteville, North Carolina 28301

Mrs. Ursula Pinero
Principal, Number 20 School
54 Oakman Street
Rochester, New York 14605

Hon. John W. Porter
Superintendent of Public Instruction
State Department of Education
Lansing, Michigan 48902

Hon. Wilson C. Riles
State Superintendent of Public
Instruction
State Department of Education
721 Capitol Mall
Sacramento, California 95814

Mr. Robert Schreck
55 Kenny Drive
New Haven, Connecticut 06513

Dr. Raymond Shelton
Superintendent of Schools
Tampa-Hillsborough County
P.O. Box 3408
Tampa, Florida 33601



DRAFT

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 8, 1976

Dear _____:

President Ford has asked me to thank you for your participation at the White House meeting on June 14 to discuss school desegregation.

Your suggestions and comments were very helpful, and we appreciated your sharing your views with us on the busing situation.

Sincerely,

James M. Cannon
Assistant to the President
for Domestic Affairs

(Name and address here)



Meeting June 14, 1976

Mr. Arnold Aronson
41 Oakwood Avenue
Rye, New York 10580

Mr. Andrew J. Biemiller
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Mr. David Brody
2805 Washington Ave.
Chevy Chase, MD 20015

Mr. Ronald Brown
7935 Orchid Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20012

Mr. Marvin Caplan
1210 Geranium Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20012

Mr. Jack Greenberg
NAACP Legal Defense & Education Fund
Suite 2030
10 Columbus Circle
New York City, N.Y. 10019

Miss Dorothy Height
10 Waterside Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10010

Msgr. George Higgins
4001 14th Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20017

Nathaniel Jones, Esq.
336 Cedar Avenue
Ridgewood, New Jersey 07450

Mr. Vernon Jordan
14 Barnaby Lane
Hartsdale, New York 10530

Mr. Clarence Mitchell
1324 Druid Hill Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21217

Mr. William Pollard
5747 27th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20015

Joseph L. Rauh, Esq.
3625 Appleton Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Mr. Bayard Rustin
340 West 28th Street
New York, N.Y. 10001

Mr. Richard Warden
3001 Connecticut Ave., N.W.,
Apt. 137
Washington, D.C. 20008

Mr. Roy Wilkins
Chairman, Leadership
Conference on Civil Rights
Executive Director, NAACP
147-15 Village Road
Jamaica, New York 11435



DRAFT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 8, 1976

Dear _____:

President Ford has asked me to thank you for your participation at the White House luncheon meeting on June 12 to discuss school desegregation.

Your suggestions and comments were very helpful, and we appreciated your sharing your views with us on the busing situation.

Sincerely,

James M. Cannon
Assistant to the President
for Domestic Affairs

(Name and address here)



Luncheon Meeting June 12, 1976

Dr. David Armor
c/o Rand Corporation
1700 Main Street
Santa Monica, California 90406

Dr. James Coleman
Department of Sociology
University of Chicago
5801 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Dr. Nathan Glazer
School of Education
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Professor Charles Hamilton
Metropolitan Applied Research Center
888 Seventh Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

Mr. John Hardy
704 West Calaveras
Altadena, California 91001

Mr. Philip Kurland
Two First National Plaza
Chicago, Illinois 60613

Mr. Henry Marcheschi
9620 Flair Drive
El Monte, California 91731

Mr. Michael Novak
5 Snug Cove Lane
Bayville, N.Y. 11709

Dr. Diane Ravitch
1021 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10028

Dr. Thomas Sowell
Department of Economics, UCLA
405 Hilgard
Los Angeles, California 90024

Mr. Henry Wilfong
492 Eldora Road
Pasadena, California 91104

DRAFT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 8, 1976

Dear _____:

President Ford has asked me to thank you for your participation at the White House meeting on June 12 to discuss school desegregation.

Your suggestions and comments were very helpful, and we appreciated your sharing your views with us on the busing situation.

Sincerely,

James M. Cannon
Assistant to the President
for Domestic Affairs

(Name and address here)



Meeting June 12, 1976

Mrs. Francile Anderson
2570 Silver Side
Pontiac, Michigan 48055

Mrs. Gayle Holliday
6144 Brooklyn
Kansas City, Missouri 64130

Mrs. June Key
2720 Macmore Place
Louisville, Kentucky 40206

Mr. Jack Lowe, Sr.
P.O. Box 44105
Dallas, Texas 75234

Mr. Dale TeKolste
Northern Natural Gas Company
2223 Dodge Street
Omaha, Nebraska 68102



PARTICIPANTS IN 4 BUSING MEETINGS

1. COMMUNITY LEADERS MEETING - Sat., June 12, 1976

Mrs. Francile Anderson (313) OR3-7707
2570 Silver Side
Pontiac, Michigan 48055

Mrs. Gayle Holliday (816) 363-8006
6144 Brooklyn
Kansas City, Missouri 64130

Mrs. June Key (502) 581-5616
2720 Macmore Place
Louisville, Kentucky 40206

Mr. Jack Lowe, Sr. (214) 620-1511
P.O. Box 44105
Dallas, Texas 75234

Mr. Dale TeKolste (402) 348-4000
Northern Natural Gas Company
2223 Dodge Street
Omaha, Nebraska 68102

2. LUNCHEON MEETING WITH ACADEMIC LEADERS & SCHOOL BOARD REPS.

Sat., June 12, 1976

Dr. David Armor
c/o Rand Corporation
1700 Main Street
Santa Monica, CA 90406

Dr. James Coleman
Department of Sociology
University of Chicago
5801 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Dr. Nathan Glazer
School of Education
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Professor Charles Hamilton
Metropolitan Applied Research Center
888 Seventh Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

Mr. John Hardy
704 West Calaveras
Altadena, California 91001

(Over)

Mr. Philip Kurland
Two First National Plaza
Chicago, Illinois 60613

Mr. Henry Marcheschi
9620 Flair Drive
El Monte, California 91731

Mr. Michael Novak
5 Snug Cove Lane
Bayville, N.Y. 11709

Dr. Diane Ravitch
1021 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10028

Dr. Thomas Sowell
Department of Economics, UCLA
405 Hilgard
Los Angeles, California 90024

Mr. Henry Wilfong
492 Eldora Rd.
Pasadena, California 91104

3. MEETING WITH ROY WILKINS AND CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS
Monday, June 14, 1976

Mr. Arnold Aronson
41 Oakwood Avenue
Rye, New York 10580

Mr. Andrew J. Biemiller
815 16th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

637-5000

Mr. David Brody
2805 Washington Ave.
Chevy Chase, MD 20015

Mr. Ronald Brown
7935 Orchid Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20012

Mr. Marvin Caplan
1210 Geranium St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20012

Mr. Jack Greenberg
NAACP Legal Defense & Education Fund
Suite 2030
10 Columbus Circle
New York City, N.Y. 10019

(212) 586-8397

Miss Dorothy Height
10 Waterside Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10010

Msgr. George Higgins
4001 14th St., N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20017

Nathaniel Jones, Esq.
336 Cedar Ave.
Ridgewood, New Jersey 07450

Mr. Vernon Jordan
14 Barnaby Lane
Hartsdale, New York 10530

Mr. Clarence Mitchell
1324 Druid Hill Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21217

Mr. William Pollard
5747 27th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20015

Joseph L. Rauh, Esq.
3625 Appleton St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Mr. Bayard Rustin
340 West 28th St.
New York, N.Y. 10001

Mr. Richard Warden
3001 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Apt. 137
Washington, D.C. 20008

Mr. Roy Wilkins
Chairman, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
Executive Director, NAACP
147-15 Village Road
Jamaica, New York 11435

4. **MEETING WITH EDUCATIONAL LEADERS - Sat., June 19, 1976

Dr. William J. Johnston
Superintendent of Schools
450 North Grand Ave., Room A223
Los Angeles, Calif. 90012

O: (213) 625-6251

Mr. Roland W. Jones
P.O. Box 149
Charlotte, North Carolina 28201

(Over)

**Lissy sent these people a letter 2 days after the meeting,
later sent them transcripts of the press conf., & July 7 sent
them pictures.

Mr. Willard H. McGuire
Vice President, NEA
1201 16th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Mrs. Ruby Murchison
1808 Broadell Drive
Fayetteville, North Carolina 28301

Mrs. Ursula Pinero
Principal, Number 20 School/ 54 ^{Oakman} ~~Oakman~~ Street
Rochester, New York 14605

Hon. John W. Porter
Superintendent of Public Instruction
State Department of Education
Lansing, Michigan 48902

Hon. Wilson C. Riles
State Superintendent of Public Instruction
State Department of Education
721 Capitol Mall
Sacramento, California 95814

Mr. Robert Schreck
55 Kenny Drive
New Haven, Connecticut 06513
H: (203) 467-6829
O: (203) 777-1711?

Dr. Raymond Shelton
Superintendent of Schools
Tampa-Hillsborough County
P.O. Box 3408
Tampa, Florida 33601
(813) 223-2311

(41)



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 3, 1976

Education
Bill
Busing
Sov.
John.
Juni

MEMORANDUM FOR: JIM CANNON

FROM: BILL DIEFENDERFER *ms*

SUBJECT: The Effect of Desegregation Plans on
Federal Compensatory Education
Programs

Attached is a memorandum from you to the President and a letter from the President to Senator Dole concerning the above referenced subject.

The present Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act was not drafted to take into account the effects of desegregation efforts in our Nation's communities. Often when community desegregation plans are implemented a low-income child who was receiving Federal compensatory education services is transferred to a school which is not eligible to participate in such programs because it has too few low-income children in attendance. This situation has been the object of serious criticism. The critics, who include participants in the President's White House meetings on busing, suggest that Title I funds should be able "to follow the child" to his new school.

Senator Kennedy has included a provision in the Senate Omnibus Education Bill, S. 2657, to allow Title I funds to "Follow the Child" in instances where the desegregation plan is court-ordered. The initiative recommended in the attached memorandum allows Title I funds to "follow the child" in instances of voluntary desegregation plans, as well as, court-ordered ones. However, to prevent the diffusion of Title I funds to the extent program effectiveness is impaired a three-year limitation is placed on the ability of a local school district to "follow the child."

Senator Dole has been actively involved in the "follow the child issue." Wichita, Kansas, which is operating under a court desegregation order has loudly protested Federal restrictions on "following the child" and has in fact ignored such restrictions for several years. The President's letter to Senator Dole, as well as, the proposed legislative language have been cleared with Dole's office. Senator Dole intends to offer the President's proposal in bill form soon after its receipt so as to gain maximum exposure.

Attachments



8

file

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 13, 1976

Dear Mr. Shultz:

The President has asked me to thank you for your letter of June 8 concerning the school desegregation matter and to express to you his appreciation for your interest and courtesy in sharing your views on this important subject with him. I deeply regret the fact that it has taken me so long to reply.

The President shares your view that the real answer to desegregation lies not in the compulsion of law but in, as you have phrased it, "the magic of local participation." In reviewing the evidence on this matter, we have learned that the communities which have managed successfully to desegregate with a minimum of tension and violence have been those in which local leadership has emerged to show the way. Conversely, the communities which have had the worst experiences have been those, like Boston, in which there has been no local participation in designing and implementing a solution to a community's problem. The thrust of the President's recommendations in this area, therefore, is to leave as much responsibility for action in the hands of local citizens as is constitutionally permissible and to encourage communities to take action to resolve their own problems on a voluntary basis.

In the event you have not had an opportunity to read the full text of the President's message on school desegregation, I have enclosed a copy for your review. I believe you will find that your views on the matter and those of the President are in remarkable harmony.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



James M. Cannon

Assistant to the President
for Domestic Affairs

The Honorable George P. Shultz
Fifty Beale Street
San Francisco, California 94105

Enclosure



15
George P. Shultz

George P. Shultz
Fifty Beale Street
San Francisco, CA 94105

June 8, 1976

Dear Mr. President:

Unsolicited advice is seldom welcome, but I write anyway, in the light of news accounts about the busing issue, to call your attention to experience in ending the dual school system in southern states and to make a few points.

The experience I refer to is well known to Paul O'Neill, and he can give you chapter and verse.

My points are these:

1. This problem seems always to appear as a legal issue and to be discussed primarily in those terms. While there are certainly important legal issues involved, the center of gravity of the problem is not legal.
2. What is involved is a massive problem in the management of social change, with much to be said on all sides. How can people be convinced to make change work? How can the parties, including the lawyers at the bar and on the bench, be made to see the limitations of legal compulsion and the magic of local participation and decision? How can responsibilities for action and control be put in the hands of concerned citizens? How can the focus of attention be turned from the lawyers and the courts to the need of children for a good education?



The President

Page 2

June 8, 1976

These questions all point up the sense in which these problems are ones of management and mediation in the deepest and most difficult sense.

3. There is no doubt that the possibility of small amounts of funding for short periods can be a great help in the management process. Availability must be on a short decision cycle if the money is to help much.

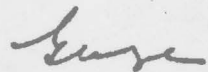
If these comments are generally sound, then their implication is a shift in the center of gravity for administration of this issue. Strength and integrity of representation from Justice and HEW is essential, but a coordinated effort, involving a broader group, is even more necessary. It must almost inevitably have its base in the Executive Office. Perhaps the Vice President could take the chair. Bill Usery is the most talented mediator I have ever known.

School openings in northern cities and their suburbs this fall will provide a renewed setting for tension and turmoil. The time to deal with these openings is now.

I hope these comments are helpful to you.

Yours in the constructive spirit you have brought to the Presidency.

Sincerely yours,



George P. Shultz



The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 2, 1976

TO: DICK PARSONS
FROM: JENNIFER MORGAN

Dick, Mr. Cannon was asked about this letter in senior staff meeting today.

There is apparently great concern that it has not yet been answered.

Status please?

*Mary
Please find this
letter. Thanks.
D.*



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 11, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR

DICK PARSONS
DAVID LISSY

FROM:

JUDY JOHNSTON *judy*

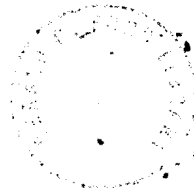
SUBJECT:

Attached letter from George Shultz

The mailroom forwarded the attached letter to me today and I am passing it on to you for whatever action is necessary.



Re: A Presidential Commission to coordinate the
efforts of HEW & Justice to bring about quality
education.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 13, 1976

File
Boring

Dear Mr. Shultz:

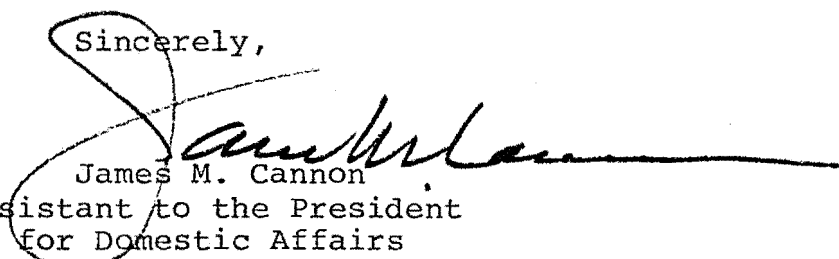
The President has asked me to thank you for your letter of June 8 concerning the school desegregation matter and to express to you his appreciation for your interest and courtesy in sharing your views on this important subject with him. I deeply regret the fact that it has taken me so long to reply.

The President shares your view that the real answer to desegregation lies not in the compulsion of law but in, as you have phrased it, "the magic of local participation." In reviewing the evidence on this matter, we have learned that the communities which have managed successfully to desegregate with a minimum of tension and violence have been those in which local leadership has emerged to show the way. Conversely, the communities which have had the worst experiences have been those, like Boston, in which there has been no local participation in designing and implementing a solution to a community's problem. The thrust of the President's recommendations in this area, therefore, is to leave as much responsibility for action in the hands of local citizens as is constitutionally permissible and to encourage communities to take action to resolve their own problems on a voluntary basis.

In the event you have not had an opportunity to read the full text of the President's message on school desegregation, I have enclosed a copy for your review. I believe you will find that your views on the matter and those of the President are in remarkable harmony.

With best wishes,

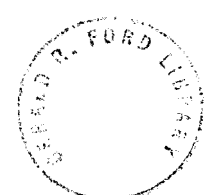
Sincerely,


James M. Cannon

Assistant to the President
for Domestic Affairs

The Honorable George P. Shultz
Fifty Beale Street
San Francisco, California 94105

Enclosure



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 27, 1976

Kris - Pending

DECISION

Dusing

MEMORANDUM FOR: Jim Cannon
FROM: Dick Parsons
SUBJECT: Congressman James G. O'Hara's
July 22 Letter to the President

The subject letter was referred to me for further handling. I do not believe that a further response to O'Hara would serve any useful purpose. Quite obviously, the President cannot instruct Secretary Mathews in the manner O'Hara has requested. Any substantive reply to his letter, therefore, would be essentially negative (see attached HEW draft response) and would be viewed by O'Hara as such.

RECOMMENDATION:

That no further action be taken.

Agree _____ Disagree _____

Art -
Would you call
O'Hara and
explain the situation.
Thanks
Jim



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Bussing
INFORMATION

August 27, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: Jim Cannon
FROM: Dick Parsons
SUBJECT: Report of the United States Commission on
Civil Rights Concerning Desegregation of
the Nation's Public Schools

On Tuesday, August 24, the United States Commission on Civil Rights issued a report on desegregation of the nation's public schools entitled Fulfilling the Letter and Spirit of the Law. This memorandum is to apprise you of the major findings and conclusions of the Commission.

The report is the result of several public hearings held by the Commission over the last 18 months, in-depth case studies of 29 school districts in 28 States conducted by the Commission's State Advisory Committees earlier this year, and a recent survey conducted by the Commission of nearly 1300 school districts throughout the nation having an enrollment of 1500 or more students at least 5 per cent of whom are minority students. The major findings of the Commission are that:

- Strong positive leadership from school officials and community leaders contributes substantially to a smooth desegregation experience.
- More than half (54 per cent) of the school districts surveyed took substantial steps to desegregate during the 1966 to 1975 decade.
- While the proportion of white students decreased in many districts, there were no significant differences in the rates of decrease between districts that desegregated under pressure from the courts or HEW and those that desegregated voluntarily.
- The overwhelming majority of districts that have desegregated have done so without disruption.



- A majority of the school superintendents of schools that desegregated during the last decade stated that the majority of white and minority parents generally supported desegregation after initial phases of planning and implementation.
- The fear that the quality of education will deteriorate once desegregation is implemented is generally unfounded and, in fact, many school districts have piggy-backed long overdue curriculum changes with implementation of desegregation plans, thereby improving the quality of education.
- The major post-desegregation problems are: minority staff underrepresentation, classroom segregation within ostensibly desegregated schools, lower extracurricular participation from minority students, and the application of unequal disciplinary measures as between minority and non-minority students.

The Commission's major conclusion is that desegregation works, but that successful desegregation is not accomplished by chance. The reason that some districts have progressed while others have failed is that school and community leaders, parents and teachers, and all segments of the community have been committed to making desegregation work. Rather than treating desegregation as a one-time event, these school districts have clearly perceived it as a process which requires continuous monitoring, evaluation, review and revision. Careful planning is necessary to avoid the problems of resegregation and inequitable staff representation, differential extracurricular participation rates, and discriminatory procedures for discipline. Those districts that have carefully planned for and implemented desegregation have found that the process has benefited all students, has led to greater understanding among all groups and has brought about greater equality in educational opportunities.

A copy of the report is attached for your review.

Attached

