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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

JUNE 12, 1976

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

PRESS CONFERENCE
OF

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HENRY WILFONG
PASADENA CITY DIRECTOR

THE BRIEFING ROOM

2:20 P.M. EDT

MR. SPEAKES: As most of you know, this group has just concluded a luncheon with the President on busing, a discussion on busing. The meeting ran a little over two hours. I think you have a list of participants and you have a statement which it is my understanding is the presentation of the group's views to the President.

I think those that are participating in the meeting can explain it.

Q Can we say then this is the statement of all the guests at the luncheon?

MR. SPEAKES: Let's let them explain that. I think perhaps each participant should identify themselves as they step up since the members of the press may not know you.

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MR. MARCHESCHI: Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. My name is Henry Marcheschi. I am the Past President of the Pasadena Board of Education. I and other members of this group had the pleasure and honor of meeting with the President today. The group consisted of myself, Dr. David Armor of Rand Corporation, Dr. James Coleman, University of Chicago, Dr. Nathan Glazer of Harvard, Dr. Charles Hamilton of Columbia, John Hardy, School Board Member from Pasadena, Philip Kurland, University of Chicago Law School, Michael Novak, philosopher and columnist, author, Dr. Diane Ravitch of New York City, Dr. Thomas Sowell, economist at UCLA and Henry Wilfong, the City Director of the City of Pasadena.

The group is an ad hoc informal group that has met on prior occasions and has previously corresponded in a rather unofficial way. They traded various position papers and articles on the subject of busing.

I recognize that in this present political climate, one of the first questions you may have is why would the President have lunch with a group of people who, generally speaking, express a view which can best be characterized as being deeply concerned about busing as a viable vehicle toward either integration or quality education.

Let me make it clear that this conference came at our request, not the President's, and that, further, the political makeup of the group is such that you would probably find few Republicans among us and those few that you do find probably voted for Governor Reagan in the California election.

Having said that, let me tell you, as best as I can, what I do think this group tries individually rather than collectively to represent. It tries to represent a group which, hopefully, is knowledgeable of the issues, is bi-racial, cuts across political lines, who has something to say regarding the busing issue, and, generally speaking, what we have to say is the following statement which was read to the President at today's luncheon.

The statement is titled "Integration and Quality Education: The Moral Case," and I believe this statement has been passed out to you.

"The vast majority of Americans believes in integration. The vast majority believes in quality education."

Q Are you going to read it all?

MR. MARCHESCHI: Not if you don't care for me to.

Q We have it.

MR. MARCHESI: I believe that each of the participants in the conference would be more than delighted, as would I, to answer any questions you might have at this time.

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Q What was the President's reaction to your statement?

MR. MARCHESCHI: The President said after I finished reading the statement that he would be the first to sign such a statement.

Q Are you trying to solicit more support on this particular statement?

MR. MARCHESCHI: I believe that to the extent that other people of similar persuasion would like to identify themselves with this statement -- it is not something we are trying to get signed -- we would certainly welcome that support. I know of no plans to go out and solicit such support.

MR. GLAZER: Nathan Glazer. I think we were making off the cuff remarks and we were not asking him to sign it and we were not at this point deciding what we were going to do with it. We just said, after we talked, "That is sort of our point of view," and he was, like, saying "That sounds pretty good to me."

Q How long have you been in existence as a group?

MR. MARCHESCHI: Again, I want to stress the informality of the group. The group first met, I believe -- and the only other time the majority of this group has been together -- was some time back last fall, as I recall, and we met in New York. Numerous members of the group have previously met at various forums throughout the country where the busing issue has been debated. Louisville, in particular, I think, was where we first got together.

Q Mr. Marcheschi, I am not all together clear, even after I tried to read your statement, as to whether this group favors or opposes court ordered busing.

MR. MARCHESCHI: I believe -- while I will let each member speak to this issue for himself -- I believe it would be less than correct to say that this group represents a posture that is very, very much for desegregation but has deep concerns, and in the case of some of us, feel very, very strongly against court-ordered busing to achieve racial balance in schools.

Q You say the group is basically against court-ordered busing?

MR. MARCHESCHI: Yes, sir.

Q In that case what solution do you come up with in view of the orders of the Supreme Court?

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MR. MARCHESCHI: Let me answer your question and then I would like to have other people fill in as they individually believe. I believe that in the case of Pasadena, we are before the Supreme Court now, and that we will have to see how the Supreme Court decides before we judge what Pasadena has to do. I have the great expectation that Pasadena won't be relieved of its racial balance decision which dictates busing half of our children across town for, in my opinion, very counterproductive purposes.

MR. COLEMAN: I would like to comment on your question by asking you, solution for what? You say what is the alternative solution. My question is, solution to what?

Q The question had to do with court-ordered busing and my question was, if you don't believe in obeying the court order, what solution do you have?

Q The courts passed judgment upon cases, as I understand it, that have to do with illegal conduct by school boards and other public authorities which produce segregation in schools. Now the courts have found busing to be a remedy for that problem.

MR. COLEMAN: My own position is this, that the remedy is wholly inappropriate in many cases. Louisville is one case, Boston is another case. The remedy is wholly inappropriate to the injustice that was found.

In other words, not that there were not actions on the part of school boards which increased segregation, but rather that the remedy which was a system-wide remedy, was wholly inappropriate to the actions that were found.

Q Doesn't that leave you still with the same problem? Since the remedy, so-called, is still the order of the court, what do you suggest be done?

MR. MARCHESCHI: Let me answer the question this way. I believe you have misunderstood the purpose of the group if you have understood it to be to oppose the law. Our personal experience is that we have lived with court-ordered busing for six years in Pasadena and have tried to follow the letter of the law and still avail ourselves of the judicial process and try to seek relief from the courts.

We finally got to the Supreme Court and now we are anxiously awaiting a decision. I think the point Dr. Coleman made is we don't agree that court-ordered massive busing to achieve racial balance is a viable tool -- in fact, some of us who go so far as to say it is an intellectually and morally bankrupt tool -- to achieve what we all desire to achieve, and that is true integration and quality education for all children.

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Q Sir, could you answer a couple of questions here a minute?

MR. WILFONG: Could I speak to that point? My name is Hank Wilfong. I am a City Councilman in the City of Pasadena. The way I would like to answer is -- I hate to answer a question with a question and that is the question that immediately came to my mind -- achieved what. No, we are not talking about holes in the law, but what are you trying to achieve? I would think we ought to try to achieve equality of education, not busing, equality of education.

A graphic example of what I believe is the problem in Pasadena as we see it now, the instances that you talk about where there were the violations, occurred prior to the time of my holding office, John Hardy holding office, or even Hank Marcheschi holding office. How long, then, must Pasadena go through the pain for those things that happened? And I am not saying that they didn't happen, because I fought them at that time, but interestingly in Pasadena we are precluded from doing a lot of the things we could do and would do to correct those remedies because we are controlled by an outside force, in essence an outside force being the court.

I think John Hardy, School Board Member from Pasadena, could speak graphically to that but one of the points that is impressed on me, we have a school set up in Pasadena called fundamental schools, where you have reading, writing and arithmetic and those kinds of things where quality education is taught. Black youngsters cannot get into the school now because of ethnic balancing. The youngsters that we are talking about trying to help to give the equality of opportunity cannot get into our quality schools because getting into that school would ethnically disbalance it and leaving another school would disbalance that school, so that is a kind of ridiculous situation.

Q Mr. Marcheschi said you all want true integration, viable education. Did you as a group or as individuals suggest to the President other ways of achieving that specific way? The statement here is extremely general, a bit, it seems to me, like coming out in favor of motherhood, God or country. Did you suggest anything specific?

MR. WILFONG: I did not say I was in support of integration. I said equality of education. I think desegregation is what I would look for. Segregation is bad and I am for desegregation. I am not so certain yet that the majority of black people are necessarily for integration, particularly forced integration. What we are talking about -- and I am speaking from my viewpoint -- is that I would wholeheartedly support desegregation, forced desegregation, if you want to call it that.

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I would oppose forced integration. I think the majority of my constituents particularly want to be free to do whatever we want to do and we want the Government to guarantee the opportunity for us to do that.

Q You are saying that quality education does not necessarily depend on racial balance?

MR. WILFONG: That's right, it definitely does not. It is facilities, curriculum and teachers, not necessarily blacks and whites sitting together.

Q Sir, what do you say to the argument which Clarence Mitchell, among other people, makes that all black schools will be ignored by public authorities and starve, as a political fact of life, unless there is integration and white students are involved, about whom the public authorities care?

MR. WILFONG: I would say to a great extent in the past that is true and even in some sections of the country that would be true now. It would not happen in Pasadena. I am speaking from a purely local issue. We have now an opportunity to impact upon the political spectrum but because of other kinds of things we are not free to do that. I admit that as a practical, political kind of expedient in many instances we have to have busing -- I am reacting to the gentleman's question -- but that is not the answer. Busing is not the answer. Equality of education. I disagree with that part of the Brown decision which said that separate but equal is inherently inferior. That is not true. People make it inherently inferior and I agree to that, that in many instances if you don't have that kind of mixture then people will not equally allocate.

But what I am saying is that Brown versus School Board came in 1954, and I know a lot of us who are now in the political spectrum were not active at that time and could not have an opportunity to impact on the decision.

MR. MARCHESCHI: May I answer his question because I think it is a very pertinent question and gets to the heart of the issue. I think each of us at this conference -- although the statement does not necessarily reflect that -- each of us have various experiences and various suggestions, some of which were made to the President, with respect to alternatives to massive forced busing to achieve racial balance.

Some of us from Pasadena especially cited the success of our alternative school program, which, as we said to the President, has proved to many of us that voluntary integration can indeed be made to work.

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The alternative school program in Pasadena has established a pluralistic approach to education. We have schools on one end of the spectrum that are very, very liberal schools and on the other end of the spectrum that are very conservative, basic three Rs, et cetera, and a lot of discipline. The interesting thing is that we are getting some of the most allegedly conservative, allegedly -- and I stress the word allegedly -- bigoted people in town willing to put their children on a bus for the totality of their school experience--to attend a school that is over 40 percent black voluntarily. That tells us something. That tells us that the magnet concept is viable. It tells us there are educational magnets which can be created which transcend whatever racial hangups some people can have.

Dr. Coleman here has, in the Louisville case, recommended an alternative plan, an alternative program, which is very, very specific and which has incidentally been turned down by the District Court. In the Pasadena case in the Supreme Court now one of the issues is whether we should have been free to implement a very, very specific alternative school plan that would have used educational inducements to create voluntary rather than coerced education.

So we touched on all of these things with the President. This statement did not address itself to being specific in that area. Rather, this statement addressed itself to say essentially this. "Hey, we are a bunch of people who feel very deeply about this issue. We feel that the other side undeservedly has held a moral high ground too long, and we feel that there is a moral case to be made for finding a workable solution to achieving true integration and quality education for all kids."

Q Mr. Marcheschi, to what extent did you get into the details of the Administration's legislative proposal?

MR. MARCHESCHI: The Attorney General very, very briefly mentioned the fact that there was such activity but we did not get into those details.

Q They didn't disclose to you their thinking or ask you for your comments on specific possible portions of the legislation?

MR. MARCHESCHI: No. The President left us free to pretty well say what each of us wanted to say. We each had approximately five minutes to do that. The President asked some questions of some of us. The Attorney General made a brief statement regarding some of the things that he was concerned about, such as complying with the law.

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Q That was all?

MR. MARCHESCHI: Essentially, yes.

Q Most of us are interested today -- rather than in a debate over busing and its merits -- we are interested in whether you gentlemen had any impact on President Ford's thinking before he comes out with whatever legislation he will.

MR. MARCHESCHI: I think we are all presumptuous and egotistical enough to think we had.

Q Was this basically a listening session in which you all feel -- it sounds to me as though the views you brought to us today very much back up and give support to what President Ford has already told us are his views. Did you get that impression?

MR. MARCHESCHI: I think that the President gave at least me the distinct impression that the views -- at least the majority of the views he heard expressed today -- were things he deeply believed and endorsed.

Q Could Dr. Glazer explain this sentence in more detail? "We have come to believe that the premises on which the case for court-ordered busing have been built are faulty."

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MR. GLAZER. I will say one word and then ask Mike Novak to add something. One of the premises that we believe is faulty and totally faulty is the assumption that this is not a good society, or fair society, or a decent society until equal proportions of every race and ethnic group are assigned mandatorily to every significant institution like a school. We believe that is a faulty premise and we believe that is a premise that is dominating much of the judicial thinking and much of the orders, like the present situation.

Q Is it your belief that the whole theory of separate but equal if removed from a southern context maybe into the Boston-Harvard Yard --

MR. GLAZER. No, I do not believe that. I believe that reflects an unfortunate ignorance on the part of a large number of people in this country. We are not talking about separate but equal in Boston or any place else. We are not talking about a situation of transferring State ordered segregation and legitimating it in one part of the country and not legitimating it in another part of the country.

Whatever State action leads to segregation must be undone. What we are against is what the courts in many cases are doing which is not to undo State action leading to segregation, but to impose their views that a statistical balancing of the races is a proper remedy to whatever happens or that a statistical balancing of the races regardless of public opposition or lack of pragmatic result is in some sense what the Constitution calls for.

Q What would have been the proper solution for the Boston, in your opinion?

MR. GLAZER. The proper solution in Boston as suggested in a number of briefs which are now before the Supreme Court, would have been to undo all those acts of segregation that were found to say the school board cannot -- if that is what it was doing -- allow special classrooms to accommodate blacks, not to allow them to go to other schools.

I think there is another factor in terms of the faulty premise and that must simply be said that a lot of what courts claim is segregation -- court-ordered segregation in the briefs -- is not court-ordered segregation. I mean a lot of what courts say is government mandated segregation is not. They are referring to actions which either have no racial motivation or insofar as there is a racial component are actions most of us would consider benign--such as in the case of Boston, the request of a principal heading a mostly black school to a central personnel office to send them some black teachers. It is that kind of thing which we feel is faulty premise, the assumption that -- well, that is one kind of assumption.

Q Gentlemen, Judge Garrity found the segregation of conduct to be so pervasive in the school system that --

MR. GLAZER. I am sorry. You have not read the decision. He did not. He referred to about 20 schools out of 100 plus. He referred to action which under no possible interpretation could be considered State ordered segregation such as he referred to the conduct of the examination schools which were already operating under a test which everyone agreed on the basis of a previous court case was not discriminatory. So he merely found what he found and then asserted that this is so pervasive that I therefore must order this total racial balancing in the Boston school system. That is the case.

Q Gentlemen, are many of you disillusioned liberals?

MR. NOVAK: Not at all. We think -- let me speak in my own voice -- my name is Michel Novak. I will be the Leden-Watson Professor of Philosophy and Religious Studies at Syracuse beginning in January. Not at all. I think I am defending an essentially liberal position and I believe that the course of busing as a moral and as a practical solution to an admitted wrong or difficulty in American society has never been subject to sufficient liberal scrutiny. We have in many places liberal practices being used in pursuit of a liberal purpose and I at least object to that and I object to it both on the line of whether it fulfills the purposes that it says it fulfills, and whether it employs proper liberal means for fulfilling those purposes. Does busing bring about integration? Does it? Does it really?

Q Doesn't it?

MR. NOVAK: It doesn't seem to.

Q Why not?

MR. NOVAK: A great deal of evidence shows it does not.

Q Why not?

MR. NOVAK: Chiefly because of white flight.

Secondly -- if I may continue to give a sequence -- does it bring about integration? That is an important question. If you are talking about busing, you are talking about a means, a remedy. Is it a remedy?

Q What are you offering in place of it?

MR. NOVAK: We will come to that secondly. But it is important to take -- when you have a policy that is breaking in your hands and not working, then you go on to the second step.

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Q I don't know where it is not working. I think you can point to more places in the country where it is working than not working.

MR. NOVAK: Unfortunately that does not seem to be the case. Those who have studied the field cannot find that evidence.

Q Are you saying there is no place it is working?

MR. NOVAK: No, I am not saying that, nor would I oppose it when it works. It is an instrument. As the Democratic platform put it in 1968 and in 1972, busing is an instrument of racial integration. You judge instruments by how they work. Does this one work? In some cases it does.

Secondly, does it bring integration and does it bring quality education?

Q I think the premise here is will we have a lack of discrimination in our society. I don't think the Supreme Court really hit the theme of quality education, which is relative. I think the question was to break down racial barriers.

MR. NOVAK: Does it do that? That is the question.

Q I think it has basically.

MR. NOVAK: If you are a social policy maker and that is your belief, then that is what you do. If you are not, then you argue against that and that is a good social political argument. Then you want to see the evidence.

If I could call on my colleague David Armor, who studied some of the evidence.

Q Do you think it is worse today than in '54, in terms of equality?

MR. NOVAK: In some places it is.

Q In the South?

MR. NOVAK: Not in the South.

MR. GLAZER. The contrast is not with '54. The first large busing order was '71 in Charlotte.

MR. NOVAK: I have to add in the northern cities, northern central cities, the number of blacks in many of the cities who have moved in have multiplied -- have increased by multiples of four or eight or, in Seattle, since 1945, 1022 percent. So there has been a tremendous migration in a very short period of time.

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Q Can I ask you a question about this meeting that was set up here. You asked the President to meet with you, is that correct?

MR. NOVAK: Yes.

Q Did the President know that you were going to come down here and make your statement public in the White House, since he also met this morning with another group who has had experience with busing operations and they were forced to stand outside in the heat in the driveway to talk to reporters?

MR. NOVAK: Since most of us did not know we were going to have a statement, I would guess the President did not know.

MR. MARCHESCHI: The first time the President saw the statement was when I read it to him.

Q Did you tell him you were going to deliver it to reporters here and did he have any comment on that?

MR. MARCHESCHI: Not to the best of my recollection, no.

Q I am a little concerned about the fact we are in the midst of a very, very tight political campaign, as I am sure all you people are aware, and at this particular time in our history it suddenly becomes apparently necessary for the President to get involved in the busing controversy.

Are you unaware of the fact you may be being used politically?

MR. MARCHESCHI: I would like to answer that question because frankly, I think that question entered the minds of all of us. I will attempt to, if not eliminate your fears or concerns, at least ameliorate them to this extent.

This meeting was not held at the request of the President or any of his advisors. It was held at our request.

Q How long have you had the request in?

MR. MARCHESCHI: I communicated with the White House office originally in the fall and most recently, approximately a month ago, regarding our desire to express some of our views to the President. But I would like to challenge you, if I may, on the fact that we don't bring up sensitive issues in an election.

It seems to me if we really believe in the democratic process, I don't think there is any better time for a public official to state his views on a question that is tearing this country apart than when he is running for office.

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I am much more offended by the fact that in the Administration today, and especially in the Justice Department -- this is my personal feeling -- there are still those who don't agree and strongly disagree, if you will, with the President's position, and even in a post-Watergate environment I would like to know when I go to the polls this November that the man I vote for has a reasonable expectation to implement the policies which he believes and purports to represent to the American public as those which he is going to implement. And I believe that one of the tragedies of Watergate is that that is no longer the case.

MR. NOVAK: Some of us in another context were in a meeting in the fall with the President in which one of the outcomes of the discussion was encouragement that there should be a rather large study of this issue in the Government, partly because many of the figures that are involved are very difficult to release. Some agencies of the Government appear to have rather an advocacy role, than the role of a non-biased observer, and it is very difficult to get out of them statements of what is happening.

Also because this is, many of us believe, one of the greatest domestic issues for a long time to come and this also, if I might say, happens to be an opportune time, because the issue does rank very low in public opinion polls. The public is not terribly agitated about it right now. There are not many cases pending at this moment and that is a very fruitful time. In the next year or the year after that, there may well be cases. In Chicago, in Los Angeles and in other great cities and it will be a much more inflammatory issue, so at least from my point of view -- and I will almost certainly support a Democrat in the election -- this is a very opportune time to bring about a full dress criticism of this policy, as we do of every other policy. This one should not escape criticism and it should not escape criticism above all by liberals who have done so much to engender it. Liberals have a responsibility especially to this problem.

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MR. HAMILTON: My name is Charles Hamilton. In line with the earlier question, I think it is very important to point out that the probable Democratic candidate in November is not going to be much different on this issue than the position we have articulated here today. I think that is very important to point out. I think that when anybody speaks on an issue of this kind at any time, whether it is during primaries, after primaries or in 1973, it is always going to be subject to potential political use, and I speak to you, sir, as a Democratic Precinct Captain in New York.

Q Are you saying this is Jimmy Carter's position?

MR. HAMILTON: I am saying Jimmy Carter's position on this question has been very clear. He is against mandated court-ordered busing. He is in favor of the so-called Atlanta Compromise, and I accept that and I am going to work diligently for Mr. Carter.

Q Then you are saying President Ford and Jimmy Carter are not very far apart, is that correct?

MR. HAMILTON: I personally don't feel they are very far apart on this issue.

Q Do you feel President Ford has exploited in any way this as a political issue?

MR. HAMILTON: No.

Q Do any of you?

MR. NOVAK: The reason I don't think that is so is what is to be gained by that just now? It is not an issue high in the minds of most Americans. Most Americans, according to the polls, seem to become concerned over this issue when it is local and most are for integration only in the immediate environment and it is not in any immediate environment this year and it won't be in the fall. It is not a very heavy political issue. It was not a big issue in the primaries.

Q Wasn't it an issue in the right wing where Mr. Ford is in the most jeopardy right now?

MR. NOVAK: I will let Republicans speak to that issue.

Q That is what we are asking about. That is the whole point of the discussion.

MR. GLAZER: I don't think any of us want to get into the subject that reporters can't seem to get away from, the notion that any issue of social policy is of no concern of itself but only exists as a counter in politics.

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Now obviously to some extent it does but in the case of the present situation I happen to know -- and as anyone should know -- that the involvement of the Attorney General in the Boston brief had nothing to do with any political timetable -- had to do only with the fact that those briefs of certiorari had been filed with the Supreme Court. That those briefs raised important points, that one of them had been written by a relatively distinguished lawyer and the Attorney General had to decide whether they would say something about it or not say something about it. That much I know, and what Mr. Ford wanted to make of it I know nothing about and I really don't care. I have been involved in this issue much longer than this political campaign and I see no reason to stop my interest in it because of the political campaign.

Q Do you think it is sheer coincidence that you are here right now?

MR. GLAZER: I don't think it matters.

MR. SOWELL: My name is Thomas Sowell. I am a Professor of Economics at UCLA. Various people here have identified themselves as Democrats or Republicans. I would like to identify myself as one of those vast number of people who neither register or vote. I am here simply because the merits of the issue itself interest me. I am concerned about it. I am concerned about the faulty assumptions which are never challenged. First of all, you have to have integration in order for the black kids to learn.

Secondly, black kids do learn better after integration for which the evidence is at best ambiguous and probably against that. That black kids are psychologically damaged by segregation and psychologically benefited by integration, however it is achieved. The studies I have seen done -- particularly a book by Dr. Gloria Powell called Black Monday's Children which has exhaustive studies all across the country. The evidence there is again at best ambiguous. The balance of it, in my judgment, is that black kids end up harmed by it. There have been any number of local studies showing racial isolation, interracial antagonism, greater both among blacks and whites, after these forced integration programs have been put into effect. That is the kind of thing we are concerned about.

Q Where did you go to school? Did you go to an integrated school?

MR. SOWELL: I went to both, both in college and pre-college. I have taught in both.

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Q Which do you think you profitted most from?

MR. SOWELL: You mean can I generalize about three universities? I can't even count the number of other schools I have gone to.

Q You are making assertions here --

MR. SOWELL: No, I am reciting certain facts that others have already gotten through serious studies any number of places around the country. I am simply saying those facts have become non-events in the media apparently and it is assumed automatically that in fact there are some great benefits accruing to blacks as a result of this and I am saying I see no evidence of that benefit.

Q Do you see any benefit to segregation?

MR. SOWELL: I did not come here to ask the President to oppose Brown versus Board of Education.

Q But isn't that basically what we face here, how to deal with a court problem?

MR. ARMOR: A lot of us got here because we have done research and the research does not support some of the assumptions that school boards and the courts seem to be making, one being that a balanced school is a better educational institution. There are several of us who have done research, and we are quite convinced that a black child can do just as well in an all black school as in an integrated school. That is a factual or evidentiary issue and not a political one.

Secondly, the remedies that courts have imposed have caused such massive white flight that in a sense it is undoing the very action the court is aiming at so at least I, for one -- I am David Armor from Rand -- am here because I am concerned about the educational and social consequences. I am not concerned as much about the political issue. I think others of us would feel the same way. We think there are false assumptions. There is good evidence, and it almost challenges those assumptions, and we have to work towards alternatives that come closer to the goal that we think is far from the mark because of the white flight and other problems that are occurring.

Q I would like to ask you, you said Jimmy Carter had said he was against court-ordered busing and I wonder if you would give me a citation for that because I don't recall any unambiguous statement of that sort on Mr. Carter's part.

MR. ARMOR: No, I can't. I just follow everything he says and that you people write about.

Q That was in the New York Times yesterday. It is in all of his literature.

MR. WILFONG: Let me address that. I am speaking somewhat from a political thing. I am a City Councilman. I think part of the things that we are saying I don't think you are hearing. You are asking questions and maybe you are not satisfied with our answers.

For instance, a while ago the question was asked -- and we tried to follow that theme -- I was interested that someone asked about did that achieve integration, busing. Is that the object? Was the object to achieve integration? Wasn't the object to talk about equality in education? Wouldn't a more accurate appropriate question be, do you think that achieved equality in education or good education? What difference does it make if we have an integrated bad school? What are you saying you want us to have an equal opportunity --

Q Would you apply that to going to a restaurant in this town where you were separate --

MR. WILFONG: I don't really care about the restaurant. The point is when I come here I got to Pitts and eat some barbecue and maybe some chitlins. I may go to Hogates. I may --

MORE

MR. GLAZER: No one is talking about maintaining segregation. We assume that is behind us. We are all against segregation. That is behind us.

MR. WILFONG: That is not the object. I am against that, but if I chose to do that, if I choose to go to Pitts, then right on.

The point we are saying -- getting back to the situation in Pasadena -- of a political nature. I am a Republican and I am supporting the Governor of California, so I would not allow myself to be used by the President, President Ford, for that purpose.

I don't think, though -- and someone said this earlier -- why should we stop doing the things we are doing just because it is election time. Why should I oppose a good program by a man who is the present President because I am supporting someone else. Why shouldn't I come to a forum like this, to talk to the President of our United States to give my viewpoints on that issue.

The issues as we see it back in Pasadena are this: One, will we be allowed to do our thing in Pasadena? Will we be allowed to have freedom to make our own decisions based upon our neighborhood rather than what a court decides based upon its interpretation of some incident which was probably appropriate at that time.

Q We want you to have this forum, we assure you, and we hope when the pro-busing people come along that they will have the forum. We doubt they will.

MR. MARCHESCHI: Dr. Ravitch would like to say a word and then I would like to close.

MS. RAVITCH. My name is Diane Ravitch. I am a professor at Teacher's College. I am a historian and writer. I have done some studies into the history of the school integration decisions and implementation.

My own concerns are these. I am a liberal Democrat. I expect to be supporting Jimmy Carter in the fall, assuming he is the nominee. I obviously don't want to be politically used by anybody, but I have my own concerns. I don't think you stop thinking about issues because of it being an election year and I don't think you can stop governing because it happens to be the fourth year.

My concerns are these. I think one of the efforts in achieving integration is not only to have an integrated society -- and obviously like everybody else in this group which is not any kind of a formal association -- like all of us, we are in favor of integration, we want to see a unified society, we believe in the Brown decision wholeheartedly and all the changes it has brought about in American society.

MORE

My concern is with the pragmatic effects of school busing. Not that busing should not be a tool, it should be a tool. Absolutely. But the question is what are its effects? How much white flight is there. If you win a decision and lose the white population and end up with more segregation than you had before the decision, have you won?

At the time of the decision in Boston, there was a 61 percent white majority in Boston schools. There is now a white minority in the Boston schools. That is a concern or should be a concern. It is a concern to me as a researcher.

If you look at the results coming in from different places in the country -- the education results -- they are equivocal at best -- there is no strong evidence that busing leads to better education and my own position -- which I would distinguish from the rest of the group -- is I have no hard and fast conclusions except I would urge the President and the Secretary of HEW to initiate a thorough study, if possible, even in an election year.

What is the educational impact of busing? How can we provide better quality education? Are there cities, are there States, are there nations that have done a better job of educating low-income children than we have? We have not succeeded. That is very clear and if we want to achieve equality we have to do a better job in educating low-income kids in order that they can have the kind of mobility that we assume middle class kids get through education.

So, that is my concern and I would think it would be wrong to say that we are exploiting the issue or that the President -- I don't know if the President is exploiting it -- I don't think it is exploiting. My understanding is he has basically taken this position consistently for many years. If he suddenly switched positions in the middle of an election, you could say he was exploiting it, but I don't think saying what you have always said is necessarily exploitation.

Q Was the value of your visit today to convince him of what he already believed?

MS. RAVITCH: My purpose in coming was to say I think a lot of people are making statements for which they have no factual basis. In the course of writing about busing and integration, I have run into many people, in and outside the civil rights movement, who say we must have busing because only through integration will children ever learn.

MORE



Now I don't know on what they base that. I believe there are many ways in which children learn and we have not begun to fathom them. I think we can do a better job than we are doing now and we don't seem to be moving in the right direction, so I was urging we do a better job of finding out why we have these assumptions.

Q May I ask a question about white flight which a number of you have mentioned.

MS. RAVITCH: Dr. Coleman might be best to speak to that.

Q Why is the answer to white flight not to expand the realm of busing instead of to contain it in areas -- especially in the case of Boston, why is it not better to expand busing out into the suburbs to prevent white flight?

MR. COLEMAN: I see your point. It seems to me the white flight that exists tells a few things. One is the actual consequences of white flight, namely, the shift -- reduction of 30 some percent of the white population in Boston in a short period of time -- in a period of two years. That is one thing.

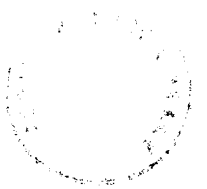
The other is what it tells us symbolically. That is it says that here is an issue, namely the choice of where to send one's child to school, which is so important to so many people that they will suffer an economic loss, that they will suffer losses of friends, losses of a whole variety of sorts in order to achieve their goal.

Now if that is the case, if it is so important to so many people, then one must begin to question the basic philosophy of the thing and it seems to me when one looks at the philosophy of the thing then you find it is a kind of "Emperor has no clothes" phenomenon that it is based on -- as several people have said before -- a set of faulty premises.

MR. HARDY: I would like to comment on that white flight.

I am John Hardy from the Pasadena Unified School District, Board of Education. I am in support of Governor Reagan too, so there is no political tie to President Ford. But Pasadena is unique. I think it is one of the very few districts under court order to bus where we have been able to turn around the white flight. We brought back into the district around 1,200 white families or white kids.

Basically because we have offered a volunteer -- and we have told them the awful thing we have told the parents, "This is what we are going to do for your kids if you bring them back into this district. We are going to teach them the basic 3 R's. We are going to teach them discipline. We are going to teach them pride, we are going to teach them respect." We have a waiting list to get into those schools.



MR. MARCHESCHI: Some of us have airplanes to catch. May I just make one parting comment.

I do appreciate your focusing on the issue and the political issue involved. As the unofficial organizer of this group, ad hoc group, let me make this confession to you. There are quite a few of us up here who have carried quite a few scars from this battle. Some of us have seen districts lose 40 percent of their white children. Others of us have put a great number of children on buses and bused them across town. Others of us have had reputations and positions in various universities challenged -- challenging some of the assumptions that underlie the whole premise of busing.

I think the most honest thing we can say is this: There are those in this group who very, very much want to communicate what we consider to be sincere knowledgeable opinions to the media and to the country on this issue.

And to the extent that anyone has been used today, I would be much more concerned about us using the President than the President using us. I think we have had a platform to legitimate, if you will, the anti-busing argument and we appreciate that.

Thank you very much.

END

(AT 3:05 P.M. EDT)

PARTICIPANTS - 10 A.M. MEETING

Busing
[6/12/76]

ANDERSON, (Mrs.) Francile
Pontiac, Michigan. President of PTA Council during
integration in Pontiac. Spearheaded "Let's Make It
Work" campaign.

HOLLIDAY, (Mrs.) Gayle
Kansas City, Missouri. Executive Officer of the
Multi-Racial Educational Coalition. Attempting
integration without a court order. Community task
force; voluntary effort.

KEY, (Mrs.) June
Louisville, Kentucky. President of Kentucky PTA,
member National PTA Board. Organized committees for
peaceful compliance with busing order; consultant to
other cities.

LOWE, Jack, Sr.
Dallas, Texas. President of large air conditioning
corporation; president of Dallas Alliance. Largely
responsible for program for September 1976 that
promises peaceful compliance with busing order.

TeKOLSTE, Dale
Omaha, Nebraska. Vice President, Northern Natural
Gas Company of Omaha. Chairman of court-appointed
interracial committee for peaceful desegregation
for September 1976.

Attorney General Edward H. Levi
Secretary F. David Mathews, HEW

James M. Cannon
Jim Cavanaugh
Bob Goldwin
Bobbie Kilberg
Dick Parsons
Ed Schults



Busing
[6/12/76]

ARMOR, (Dr.) David
Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California

COLEMAN, (Dr.) James
Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago

GLAZER, (Dr.) Nathan
School of Education, Harvard University

HAMILTON, (Professor) Charles
Metropolitan Applied Research Center, New York City

HARDY, John
Pasadena Board of Education

KURLAND, Philip
Attorney, Chicago

MARCHESCHI, Henry
President, American Telecommunications Corporation, and
President, American Freedom Foundation

NOVAK, Michael
Writer, lecturer, writer-in-residence for Washington Star

RAVITCH, (Dr.) Diane
Assistant Professor of History, Teacher's College,
Columbia University

RILES, (Dr.) Wilson
Superintendent of Public Instruction, Sacramento

SOWELL, (Dr.) Thomas
Department of Economics, UCLA

WILFONG, Henry
Pasadena City Director

Attorney General Edward H. Levi
Secretary F. David Mathews, HEW

Jim Cannon
Jim Cavanaugh
Bob Goldwin
Dick Parsons
Ed Schmults



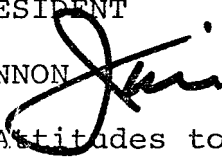
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 12, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

JIM CANNON 

SUBJECT:

U. S. Attitudes toward Desegregation and Busing

The most recent data available indicating national attitudes toward school busing is in a Harris poll published last October 2 (attached).

In brief, this Harris Poll indicates that Americans favor school desegregation by 56% to 35%; but they oppose busing by 74% to 20%.

Attachment

The Harris Survey

For Release October 2, 1975

DESEGREGATION ? YES. BUSING ? No.

By Louis Harris

Although the American people favor the desegregation of the public schools system by 56-35 per cent, a lopsided 74-20 per cent majority opposes busing school children to achieve racial balance.

Better than two out of every three Americans also say they would be unwilling to see their own children bused for racial purposes even if ordered by the court. These figures have scarcely changed since 1972.

When asked to cite their greatest concerns about busing school children to achieve racial balance, the people did not give racial fears as their main reasons. Instead, a substantial 77 per cent of those who objected offered the following explanations: "Children should attend schools in their own neighborhood" (28 per cent); "Busing is expensive and a waste of money" (16 per cent); "Travel wastes too much time, makes the day too long" (11 per cent); "Busing causes an inconvenience to children" (5 per cent); "Children should not be separated from their friends" (3 per cent); "Busing uses gasoline unnecessarily" (2 per cent).

The 20 per cent of the public who did offer objections on racial grounds mentioned such factors as: "Desegregation with blacks lowers the quality of educational standards" (10 per cent); "Oppose racial integration" (4 per cent); "Will make race relations grow more tense" (4 per cent); "Psychologically degrading to children" (2 per cent).

The Harris Survey asked a national cross section of 1,497 adults: "As a matter of principle, do you favor or oppose desegregation of the public school system in the United States?"

DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Nationwide</u>	56	35	9
<u>By Region</u>			
East	57	33	10
Midwest	48	41	11
South	58	32	10
West	64	32	4
<u>By Politics</u>			
Conservative	53	39	8
Middle of the Road	55	36	9
Liberal	72	26	2

In every region of the country and among people of all political philosophies, a clear margin favors desegregation of public education in principle.

The Harris Survey then asked: "Would you favor or oppose busing school children to achieve racial balance?"

BUSING TO ACHIEVE RACIAL BALANCE

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>1972</u>	18	76	6
<u>1975</u>	20	74	6
<u>By Region</u>			
East	20	70	10
Midwest	19	74	7
South	18	77	5
West	27	70	3
<u>By Politics</u>			
Conservative	16	81	3
Middle of the Road	17	78	5
Liberal	31	63	6

Just as people of every region and position on the political spectrum favor desegregation of schools in principle, they also oppose busing as a means of doing so.

Although the American people may publicly say that inconvenience is the main reason for their disapproval of busing to desegregate schools, they would seem to have other, private reasons for their opposition.



The 47 per cent of the households in the survey that have children 18 years of age or younger living at home were simply asked if the children were bused to school. A substantial 40 per cent said they were. This group was then asked if they found the experience inconvenient. By 89-9 per cent, they did not. They were then asked if they were satisfied or dissatisfied with busing their children to school. By 87-13 per cent, an overwhelming majority expressed satisfaction with busing.

By their own admission, parents find virtually no problems in having their children bused to school for non-racial purposes. Thus, it may be concluded that it is the racial undertones of the current busing question that have made it so rancorous. This is also the reason why the American people who say they are in favor of school desegregation are so uptight about the issue. It may be clear that Americans do not view busing as an acceptable means of desegregating the schools, but there is no guarantee that some other solution leading to school integration would cause less pain and turmoil.

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ILLINOIS FINDS INTEGRATION IN MOST STABLE SCHOOLS IS ACCIDENTAL

What

causes some schools to become racially mixed while others remain virtually one-race, and how do truly integrated schools keep their delicate balance beyond the "tipping point" that supposedly signals inevitable white flight? The Illinois Office of Education asked itself these questions last year, and after studying its education system discovered that stable integrated schools usually got that way by accident, not by design.

In 1975 the state hired the Real Estate Research Corporation to identify racially mixed Illinois public schools that have remained stable over time and find out how it's done. RERC found that over 700 of the state's 4,600 schools (over 15 percent) had racially mixed enrollments--that is, from 10 to 90 percent minority-group pupils--in the 1974-75 school year. Of those, RERC chose 430 schools which had kept a stable racial mix to study the racial quid pro quo between 1971 and 1975.

Where's the Tipping Point? RERC researchers made myth of the "tipping point theory," which says white students attend a racially mixed school until minorities occupy 30 to 50 percent of the classroom and then flee to the suburbs. Of the 430 schools studied, 86 percent saw some increase of minority students over the four-year period, but the vast majority of those (90 percent) showed increases of less than 20 percent. In fact, two-thirds of the mixed schools experienced either a decline in minorities or a rise of less than 10 percent, leading RERC to conclude in its report that there really is no specific tipping point. The report also pointed out that even schools with over 50 percent minority pupils remained very stable over the years.

How Does It Happen? While the report tempered claims that whites will usually flee integrated schools, it also questioned the notion that planned desegregation is responsible for most racially-mixed schools. After analyzing 40 mixed schools, RERC researchers found that only 25 percent were mixed through deliberate actions by school officials or the courts compared to 60 percent which got that way accidentally, mainly from chance location in racially mixed neighborhoods. Another 15 percent of the sample were racially mixed through a combination of accident and design.

Some neighborhoods provide a better milieu for successful but accidental integrated schooling, such as mixed neighborhoods, particularly Latino and white; low or moderate income areas; and neighborhoods isolated from others by physical barriers, the report said.

Does Education Suffer? Whatever the reasons for integrated schools, education seems to proceed apace regardless of the mix, the report says. Interviews conducted in the 40 schools showed that racial mixture caused no serious education quality problems, though senior research analyst Deborah Brett said their achievement study was informal. ~~This conclusion jibes with recent findings by the National Assessment of Education Progress that the current drop in science achievement by the nation's youth is less pronounced in the more integrated southeastern schools (ED, March 17).~~

Brett said the study shows that it's possible to have successful school integration without busing, but she warns communities with mixed schools to stay vigilant despite the optimistic findings on the tipping point phenomenon. Free copies of the report are available from the Illinois Department of Education, 188 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois, 60601.

'Individuals Have Rights'

President Ford was asked on network television Sunday about private schools that refuse to admit black pupils. "Individuals have rights," he replied, meaning white individuals who prefer all-white schools. "I would hope they wouldn't (discriminate against blacks), but individuals have a right where they're willing to make the choice themselves and there are no taxpayer funds involved." In fact, individuals may not have such a legal or Constitutional right. A closely divided U. S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals said last year that two all-white private schools in Virginia may not turn pupils away solely on the basis of race. A long-standing federal statute forbids denying blacks the right to sign contracts that are available to whites. The Supreme Court may agree with the dissenters in this case that the "contract" involved in admitting pupils to private schools is so incidental as to be meaningless, but it is worth noting that Mr. Ford's Solicitor General agreed with the black parents. The Department of Justice entered the case on their side when it was appealed to the Supreme Court.

But even if the President is right and the

Fourth Circuit and the Department of Justice are mistaken, the President was wrong to discuss this issue in the manner he did. The presidency is a place for moral leadership. Whenever a President is asked to comment on a situation that he, himself, believes is wrong, particularly one involving an issue such as racism, which has been so destructive to American society, he has an obligation to speak out forcefully against the evil. The President said that he disapproved of white-only schools, but it was a mild statement, to say the least.

Some have said the President sided with the all-white private schools for political not legal reasons. But it is hard to see how this will help him politically. His Republican adversary, Ronald Reagan, has been the consistent and overwhelming choice of those voters, mostly in the South, who base their decision heavily or solely on the race issues. And Democrat Jimmy Carter can count on favorite-son status in the South to overcome the race issue in November, if he is nominated, as seems likely.

In our view President Ford was wrong legally, morally and politically to say what he said.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

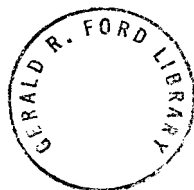
Mr. Cannon:

Is this final draft which Foster gave me this morning OK now?

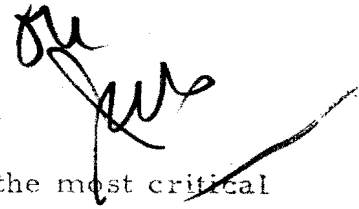
Shall I send it with the list of 200 mayors over to McConahey's office to be typed on the mag card machine?

PFC wants the letters done by 3 p.m. this afternoon.

j



Dear :



The selection of a Vice President is one of the most critical choices any candidate for the Presidency has to make. First, the nominee must be a person of character and experience, capable of leading the country. Second, the nominee must articulate and support the principles of the Republican Party and be disposed to work in full harmony with the Chief Executive. Finally, the nominee must be an asset in the November campaign and a major contributor to governing the country in these next four years.

There are many qualified people in our Party. I am asking that you send me your suggestions by August 11, 1976, to help me in my deliberations. I would hope that you would be willing to furnish not less than five choices in order of your preference. I request that you sign your letter, and I assure you that your response will be handled in complete confidence.

I appreciate the time and thoughtfulness which I know you will devote to this matter. It is an important decision for our Party and for our country. I would fully understand, considering the status of the Presidential contest within our Party, if for any reason you would rather not respond. I do welcome any suggestions you may wish to submit and pledge my personal attention.

Sincerely,

at will
city's economy
most spectacular
event in the na-

n, in a 16-page audit
ments made by vari-
agencies to cooper-
pSail, was particular-
of the use of landfill
Park City for review-
and for the loan of
Island ferries to cars
at \$15 a person
daylong festivities
or.
ising OpSail as "an
n Page 25, Column 6

without mentioning his Pres-
idential candidacy, the 51-year-
old Democrat reiterated many
of the religious convictions
that have become a familiar

usually been suspected of
feeling some incompatibility
with those of a non-Christian
religious persuasion, particu-
Continued on Page 22, Column 1

Findings Scanty on Impact Of Busing on School Work

By GENE I. MAEROFF

The future of busing as an instrument of school desegregation has come under political challenge at a time when experts agree that there is still a glaring lack of information against which to assess the educational impact of busing.

More than 20 years after the United States Supreme Court outlawed "separate but equal" schools, setting the stage for massive desegregation, social scientists and educators are unable to arrive at a consensus on the effects of busing on the children involved.

Nonetheless, there is growing pressure from politicians, including President Ford, to limit busing.

Critics say it is the long-distance relocation of pupils, not desegregation, that they oppose. But it seems clear by now that in most locales, housing patterns have made it difficult to pursue integration without wide-scale busing, which the courts have endorsed as a remedy for segregation.

In the latest decision, last Monday, the Supreme Court re-

fused to review, thereby leaving standing, a Federal district court order that has led to the busing of 26,000 of Boston's 76,000 pupils.

Busing emerged as a major desegregation tool by the end of the 1960's, the major breakthrough for its supporters coming in 1971 with the Supreme Court's approval of busing in Charlotte, N.C.

In a related development, government figures released yesterday in Washington indicated that there had been little change from the high levels of school segregation of black children in this decade. [Details are on page 25.]

Many pupils have traditionally ridden buses to school because of the distances they must travel. Today more than 40 percent of the country's 48 million elementary and secondary school youngsters are transported to school.

It was not until busing was used for desegregation that pupil transportation became an issue and politicians began ex-

Continued on Page 38, Column 4

The Iowa and Delaware results increased the President's lead over Mr. Reagan. In the New York Times national delegates tabulation, pending reports from the other states, with 1,130 needed for nomination, Mr. Ford had 995 committed delegates to his rival's 896, with 166 uncommitted.

A more sweeping Ford victory in Iowa was blocked when a member of the convention's powerful nominating committee, considered a Ford man by the President's managers, defected to Mr. Reagan as a result of backstage maneuvers.

Presidential aides welcomed the result as a sign that the slippage in Mr. Ford's standing, as shown by Mr. Reagan's near-sweep in Missouri last weekend, was purely local, while conceding that they had expected to win 20 delegates here and had hoped for as many as 24.

Reagan Aides Pleased

The former California Governor's aides were pleased that they had been able to make it close despite efforts in Mr. Ford's behalf by the popular Iowa Governor, Robert D. Ray, and other state party officials.

"It's in effect a tie," said John P. Sears, Mr. Reagan's national campaign director, "but one tie doesn't ruin a season. No one's hurt much, no one's helped much."

Iowa's state convention was the last in the post-primary series of 11 that was considered close. Mr. Reagan campaigned in Des Moines last night in an

Continued on Page 22, Column 1

Dissension Splits Rubin Carter Group

By SELWYN RAAB

An accusation that Rubin (Hurricane) Carter attacked Carolyn Kelley, his former defense chairman, has unveiled a smoldering controversy within the group that raised \$600,000 to help Mr. Carter and his co-defendant, John Artis, win a new trial on triple-murder charges.

There are still disagreements among committee members over how most of the \$600,000 was drained off in overhead expenses, instead of being used for legal and investigative costs. The campaign, officials and former officials of the committee now acknowledge, also generated a stormy struggle over racial matters, over tactics

and over who would control the potentially influential organization.

Last March, after 10 years in prison, Mr. Carter, a former leading middleweight boxer, and Mr. Artis were released on bail pending a new trial. At that time, Mrs. Kelley emerged as the victor in the fight to control the committee. Most of the other committee leaders quietly resigned.

For a month Mrs. Kelley, a 41-year-old divorcee, was almost constantly at the side of Mr. Carter, 39. Mrs. Kelley—although she has not filed criminal charges—now says that Mr. Carter, became "a different man," after his release. Without provocation, she asserted,

he attacked her one night in a motel room.

Mr. Carter denies the charge, saying that she "concocted" a story because he refused to give her \$250,000. Supporters of Mr. Carter contend that, besides money disagreements, Mrs. Kelley turned against Mr. Carter because he had spurned her romantically.

Denying that there was any romantic liaison, Mrs. Kelley said that Mr. Carter had chosen her to be the "national coordinator" because the other committee members "were ineffectual."

"Until I got involved they had

Continued on Page 36, Column 1,

Findings Are Thin on Educational Impact of Busing on Children

IAMCS

Continued From Page 1

pressing their concern about its

long-term longitudinal study to look at that and such a study hasn't happened anywhere."

Fayetteville, Tenn., as among those in which "the overall direction of movement and

his antibusing position is based on a conviction that busing contributes to white flight

each grade until high school graduation, when blacks lag three years behind whites on

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER.

The President on Schools



Louisville, a Place Where Busing Seems to Work

NYT 6/6/76

By PAUL DELANEY



The Focus
On Busing
Is Now in
The North

NYT 6/6/76

By JAMES T. WOOTEN

David S. Broder

The Nation's Big Gamble

Busing

Mr. Ford on Equality

In his public attacks on the "intrusion" by the courts into school busing, President Ford made the statement that "the principle of racial equality is indelibly written into our Constitution and into our hearts, and in all that we do we must honor it."

The President seems to hold a romanticized view of American history. Was the principle of racial equality "indelibly" written either into the Constitution or the nation's hearts when slavery enjoyed official sanction? Or when, after emancipation, the Supreme Court in 1896 in *Plessy v. Ferguson* proclaimed "separate but equal" as the law that governed access to drinking fountains, railway stations—and schools? Or when fleets of school buses daily carried white children past black schools in order to uphold segregation?

Where was the principle in Representative Gerald Ford's heart in the years when he so frequently voted against civil rights legislation? Is the exploitation of the busing issue in a political campaign the way to "honor" the principle of equality?

Surely, even Mr. Ford must know that it was only after decades of courageous litigation that the Supreme Court in 1954 unanimously overturned *Plessy*. But what indication was there that the principle of racial equality was thereupon written in America's hearts? For another decade, minimal progress was made in compliance with the Court's order to desegregate "with all deliberate speed." It was not "indelible" dedication to social justice that ultimately achieved action on desegregation; that was to be left to the Civil Rights Act approved by Congress in the Johnson Administration.

Mr. Ford ought to remember that it was Congress that enacted the laws which the courts are now enforcing. One can reasonably disagree over specific techniques used to attain desegregation or question the efficacy of busing in certain situations. But to disregard the nature of the struggle and to pretend that equality will easily and automatically triumph is an affront both to those who have been and continue to be victims of discrimination and to those many Americans who have been battling and continue to battle for equal rights for their fellow citizens.

David S. Broder

Boston's Busing Showdown

It says volumes about the noncha- federal effort, but has not gone into the federal government stayed out of

The Washington Post

EUGENE MEYER, 1875-1939
PHILIP L. GRAHAM, 1915-1963

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Chairman of the Board President

9/3/75

Harris Survey

Public adjusting to school busing

By Louis Harris

per cent—simply does not buy the notion of a nationwide cross section of 1,382 that "Equal educational opportunity is a whites, and 289 blacks that there is



Issue and Debate

Ford Raising Questions On Court's Busing Role

By **NANCY HICKS**

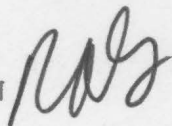
Special to The New York Times

7/1

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: Jim Cannon

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN



COMMENTS:

Shouldn't there be a response to this editorial, correcting the erroneous statement about the President's civil rights record in Congress? A response to the editorial by Nathan Glazer is attached. To my knowledge Glazer's letter has not been printed by the Times.

...ne beaches of the Hamp...
more dangerous than Coney I...
of Atlantic Beach have had it a...
...ean environment is no longer a cause...
...matics but the very stuff of business. Gains,
at what a price.

June 24, 1976

Mr. Ford on Equality

In his public attacks on the "intrusion" by the courts into school busing, President Ford made the statement that "the principle of racial equality is indelibly written into our Constitution and into our hearts, and in all that we do we must honor it."

The President seems to hold a romanticized view of American history. Was the principle of racial equality "indelibly" written either into the Constitution or the nation's hearts when slavery enjoyed official sanction? Or when, after emancipation, the Supreme Court in 1896 in *Plessy v. Ferguson* proclaimed "separate but equal" as the law that governed access to drinking fountains, railway stations—and schools? Or when fleets of school buses daily carried white children past black schools in order to uphold segregation?

Where was the principle in Representative Gerald Ford's heart in the years when he so frequently voted against civil rights legislation? Is the exploitation of the busing issue in a political campaign the way to "honor" the principle of equality?

Surely, even Mr. Ford must know that it was only after decades of courageous litigation that the Supreme Court in 1954 unanimously overturned *Plessy*. But what indication was there that the principle of racial equality was thereupon written in America's hearts? For another decade, minimal progress was made in compliance with the Court's order to desegregate "with all deliberate speed." It was not "indelible" dedication to social justice that ultimately achieved action on desegregation; that was to be left to the Civil Rights Act approved by Congress in the Johnson Administration.

Mr. Ford ought to remember that it was Congress that enacted the laws which the courts are now enforcing. One can reasonably disagree over specific techniques used to attain desegregation or question the efficacy of busing in certain situations. But to disregard the nature of the struggle and to pretend that equality will easily and automatically triumph is an affront both to those who have been and continue to be victims of discrimination and to those many Americans who have been battling and continue to battle for equal rights for their fellow citizens.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, JULY 7, 1976

Of Ford and Busing

To the Editor:

Your June 24 editorial "Mr. Ford on Equality" is remarkably unfair to President Ford and to the American people. It is sophistry to deny, as you do, that "the principle of racial equality is indelibly written into our Constitution"; the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments and Supreme Court interpretations are as much a part of our Constitution as the original document. It is disingenuousness to deny it is written into "our hearts"; overwhelming majorities of the American people reject racial inequality and have supported laws which ban it in employment, education, housing, public accommodation, government action.

And it is wrong to say that "it was Congress which enacted the laws which the courts are enforcing." Congress has enacted no law calling for involuntary transportation on the basis of race to overcome segregation, and indeed has passed laws against it. In proposing to limit court action requiring busing, the President does not take any action against racial equality; nor do the American people or Congress act against racial equality in supporting such legislation. NATHAN GLAZER
Cambridge, Mass., June 25, 1976



Harvard University
Graduate School of Education



Programs in Administration, Planning & Social Policy

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25 June 1976

The Editor
The New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York, N.Y. 10036

To the Editor:

Your editorial, "Mr. Ford on Equality,"^(6/24/76) is remarkably unfair to President Ford and to the American people. It is sophistry to deny, as you do, ^{that} "the principle of racial equality is indelibly written into our Constitution;" the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments and Supreme Court interpretations are as much a part of our Constitution as the original document. It is disingenuousness to deny it is written into "our hearts;" overwhelming majorities of the American people reject racial inequality and have supported laws which ban it in employment, education, housing, public accommodation, government action.

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Sincerely yours,

bc: President Ford
✓ Mr. Robert Goldwin

Nathan Clazer
12 Scott Street
Cambridge, Mass. 02138



(Letterhead for purposes of identification only.)

NG/mnn

Ford's Record on Key Issues Votes in The House, 1949-1973

Agriculture

1953. Soil Conservation (HR 5227). Amendment to fiscal 1954 agriculture appropriations bill reducing funds for the soil conservation program from \$195-million to \$140-million. Rejected 196-201 (R 152-54; D 44-146), May 20. Ford VOTED FOR.

1955. Price Supports (HR 12). Bill replacing flexible price supports of 75 to 90 per cent of parity with rigid supports at 90 per cent of parity for five basic farm crops. Passed 206-201 (R 21-172; D 185-29), May 5. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1958. Price Supports (S J Res 162). Bill preventing reductions in price supports and acreage allotments for all farm commodities below 1957 levels. Passed 211-172 (R 44-41; D 167-31), March 20. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1959. REA Loans (S 144). Bill transferring from the secretary of agriculture to the administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration (REA) authority to approve or disapprove REA loans. Failed to pass over veto 280-146 (R 6-142; D 274-4), April 30. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1962. Farm Bill (HR 12391). Conference report on bill authorizing one-year programs to reduce corn, other feed grain and wheat surpluses and to establish a supply management program for wheat. Adopted 202-197 (R 2-160; D 200-37), Sept. 20. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1963. Cotton Subsidy (HR 6196). Bill authorizing subsidy program for domestic cotton mills in order to eliminate the competitive inequity between raw cotton prices on the world market and those on the domestic market. Passed 216-182 (R 34-134; D 182-48), Dec. 4. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1970. Farm Bill (HR 18546). Bill providing three-year price support program for wool, wheat, feed grains and cotton. Bill also provided for a dairy program and limited subsidy payments to \$55,000 per crop. Passed 212-171: R 86-33; D 126-85), Aug. 5. Ford VOTED FOR.

1973. Emergency Loans (HR 1975). Amendment to emergency farm loan bill allowing eligible farmers in 555 counties designated by the secretary of agriculture to apply for emergency disaster loans. Adopted 196-190 (R 19-139; D 177-21), Feb. 22. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1973. Price Supports (HR 8619). Amendment to fiscal 1974 agricultural appropriations bill reducing 1974 price support ceilings from \$55,000 per crop to \$20,000 per person. Adopted 195-157 (R 109-50; D 86-107), June 15. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

Civil Rights, States' Rights

1949. Poll Tax (HR 3133). Bill outlawing payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in federal elections. Passed 273-116 (R 121-24; D 151-92), July 26. Ford VOTED FOR.

1956. School Desegregation (HR 7535). Amendment to a school construction aid bill prohibiting allotment of funds to states failing to comply with the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation. Adopted 225-192 (R 148-46; D 77-146), July 5. Ford VOTED FOR.

7670

1957. Civil Rights Act (HR 6127). Amendment providing for jury trials in any criminal contempt action arising under the legislation. Rejected 158-251 (R 45-139; D 113-112), June 18. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1959. Pre-emption Doctrine (HR 3). Bill permitting federal courts to strike down state laws under the federal pre-emption doctrine only if Congress specified its intention to pre-empt the field of legislation involved or if a state and a federal law were in irreconcilable conflict, and permitting state enforcement of laws barring subversive activities against the federal government. Passed 225-192 (R 114-30; D 111-162), June 24. Ford VOTED FOR.

1960. Civil Rights Act (HR 8601). Amendment authorizing court-appointed referees to help Negroes register and vote where a "pattern or practice" of discrimination existed. Adopted 295-124 (R 123-24; D 172-100), March 23. Ford VOTED FOR.

1964. Civil Rights Act (HR 7152). Bill enforcing the right to vote; preventing discrimination in access to public accommodations and facilities; expediting school desegregation. Passed 290-130 (R 138-34; D 152-96), Feb. 10. Ford VOTED FOR. 80%

1965. Voting Rights (HR 6400). Bill suspending the use of literacy tests in certain states and areas; authorizing appointment of federal voting examiners to order the registration of Negroes in states and voting districts whose voter activity had fallen below certain specified levels, and imposing a ban on the use of poll taxes in any election. Passed 333-85 (R 112-24; D 221-61), July 9. Ford VOTED FOR.

1966. Civil Rights Act (HR 14765). Amendment deleting the open housing sections of the bill. Rejected 190-222 (R 86-50; D 104-172), Aug. 9. Ford VOTED FOR.

1968. Open Housing (H Res 1100, HR 2516). Resolution agreeing to Senate version of the bill which prohibited discrimination in the sale or rental of housing. Adopted 250-172 (R 100-84; D 150-88), April 10. Ford VOTED FOR.

1969. Voting Rights (HR 4249). Amendment extending nationwide the provisions of the 1965 Voting Rights Act in place of the committee bill extending the law as enacted, which covered certain states and voting districts. Adopted 208-204 (R 129-49; D 79-155), Dec. 11. Ford VOTED FOR.

1970. School Desegregation (HR 16916). Vote on motion designed to retain provisions of the Office of Education appropriations bill prohibiting use of funds to force busing or closing of schools, and providing for freedom of choice plans. Motion agreed to 191-157 (R 107-35; D 84-122), June 30. Ford VOTED FOR.

1971. EEOC Enforcement (HR 1746). Amendment allowing the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to bring suit against recalcitrant discriminatory employers in federal court, rather than allowing the EEOC to issue cease and desist orders to such employers. Adopted 200-195 (R 131-29; D 69-166), Sept. 16. Ford VOTED FOR.

1971. Busing (HR 7246). Amendment to the Higher Education Act of 1971 postponing effectiveness of any federal court order requiring busing for racial, sexual,

religious or socio-economic balance until all appeals—or the time for all appeals—had been exhausted. Adopted 235-125 (R 129-17; D 106-108), Nov. 4. Ford VOTED FOR.

1972. Busing (HR 13915). Amendment—to a bill prohibiting busing of school children and allowing the reopening of past school desegregation court cases—providing that nothing in the act was intended to be inconsistent with or violate any provision of the Constitution. Rejected 178-197 (R 55-98; D 123-99), Aug. 18. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

Defense

1952. Defense Spending (HR 7391). Amendment to the fiscal 1953 Defense Department appropriations bill limiting military spending to \$46-billion. Adopted 220-131 (R 160-11; D 60-120), April 9. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1969. Draft (HR 14001). Bill amending the Selective Service Act by removing a provision prohibiting the President from instituting a lottery system for induction into the armed forces. Passed 383-12 (R 175-1; D 208-11), Oct. 30. Ford VOTED FOR.

1971. Draft (HR 6531). Amendment providing a one-year extension of the military draft instead of two. Rejected 198-200 (R 65-105; D 133-95), March 31. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1973. War Powers (H J Res 542). Bill requiring the president to report to Congress within 72 hours any commitment or increasing commitment of U.S. combat troops abroad; requiring the president to terminate any such action within 120 days of his report unless Congress authorized continuation, and allowing Congress to direct the termination of U.S. commitment at any time. Passed 244-170 (R 72-109; D 172-61), July 18. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1973. War Powers (H J Res 542). Motion override President Nixon's veto of a bill to establish a 60-day limit on a president's power to commit U.S. troops abroad, unless Congress declared war or specifically authorized the action or was unable to meet because of an armed attack on the United States; and to permit Congress to end such a commitment at any time by passing a concurrent resolution not requiring the president's signature. Overridden 284-135 (R 86-103; D 198-32), Nov. 7. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

Education

1956. School Construction (HR 7535). Bill authorizing \$1.6-billion over four years to state educational agencies for school construction. Rejected 194-224 (R 75-119; D 119-105), July 5. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1961. Emergency School Aid (HR 8890). Motion to consider the emergency education act, authorizing \$325-million for school construction assistance, continuation of National Defense Education Act loan authorizations and impacted areas school aid. Rejected 170-242 (R 65-160; D 164-82), Aug. 30. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1962. College Aid (HR 8900). Amendment deleting section of bill authorizing loans and grants to students.

Adopted 214-186 (R 130-30; D 84-156), Sept. 20. Ford VOTED FOR.

1963. Vocational Education (HR 4955). Passage of the bill authorizing a new matching grant program with the states to improve state vocational education programs. Passed 378-21 (R 154-9; D 224-12), Aug. 6. Ford VOTED FOR.

1965. School Aid (HR 2362). Bill providing a three-year program of grants to states for allocation to school districts with large numbers of poor children and providing grants for purchase of library materials. Passed 263-153 (R 35-96; D 228-57), March 26. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1968. Campus Disorders. (HR 15067). Amendment to a higher education aid bill requiring colleges to deny federal funds to students who participated in serious campus disorders. Adopted 260-146 (R 134-43; D 126-103), July 25. Ford VOTED FOR.

1969. Education Funds (HR 13111). Amendment to appropriations bill for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare adding \$894.5-million for elementary and secondary education, aid to impacted areas, higher education and vocational education. Adopted 294-119 (R 99-81; D 195-38), July 31. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1969. School Aid (HR 514). Amendment to the elementary and secondary education act extension bill extending aid for two years and consolidating several programs. Adopted 235-184 (R 175-9; D 60-175), April 23. Ford VOTED FOR.

1971. Higher Education Amendments (HR 7248). Amendment to the bill to strike out a section authorizing general federal aid for institutions of higher education. Rejected 84-310 (R 72-92; D 12-218), Nov. 3. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1972. Funding (HR 15417). Motion to override a veto of the bill appropriating \$4,125,962,000 for education in fiscal 1973. Veto override rejected 203-171 (R 22-129; D 181-42), Aug. 16. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

Foreign Policy

1950. Korean Aid (HR 5330). Bill authorizing \$60-million in aid to South Korea. Rejected 191-192 (R 21-130; D 170-61), Jan. 19. Ford VOTED AGAINST.

1951. Trade Act Extension (HR 1612). Amendment directing the Tariff Commission to determine points below which tariffs could not be cut without "peril" to U.S. industries, and to recommend minimum rates to which tariffs should be raised to protect domestic industry. Adopted 225-168 (R 183-4; D 42-163), Feb. 7. Ford VOTED FOR.

1954. Trade Act Extension (HR 9474). Bill extending for one year the President's authority to enter into reciprocal trade agreements. Passed 281-53 (R 126-39; D 154-14), June 11. Ford VOTED FOR.

1951. Foreign Aid (HR 5113). Amendment cutting \$350-million from the fiscal 1952 foreign aid bill. Adopted

Dr. Johnson -
Ms. [unclear] comment
MS. [unclear] me.

What Does Ford Mean on School Busing?
(Editorial, excerpted, Charlotte Observer)

President Ford's comments on school desegregation not only reflect political cynicism in an election-year but also suggest an astonishing ignorance of the past two decades of developing law in this field.

If he wants to try to reverse those two decades of step-by-step judicial interpretation, he should say so, and how. Instead, he fuzzily talks about being against "court-ordered forced busing" that is "for racial balance." Those are easy catch-phrases that are popularly used, but they glide over the tough questions about school desegregation.

Ford said Wednesday that his administration is considering going to the Supreme Court to seek review "of its decision in the Brown case and the several that followed thereafter." The White House staff quickly came forth to say Ford had made a mistake; he did not really mean the Brown decision. Perhaps the President did, indeed, simply make a slip and did, indeed, mean only some more recent decisions. But he has demonstrated so much confusion about the law in this area that we are not certain. And, in fact, the logic of his thinking seems to us to suggest that the only way to achieve what he advocates would be to negate the unanimous Brown decision.

So what does Ford mean? Does he really want to return to the situation before the 1954 decision? We think not. But his political sloganeering does not help anyone understand what he does mean

Does he want to go back to the situation before the Montgomery County decision, so that complete integration of school facilities could be voided? Does he want to accept that decision but stop at the point preceding the Alexander decision, which shredded the "freedom-of-choice" deception and said integrate fully "at once"?

We do not know. We do not know whether Ford knows. We do not even know whether Ford will ever bother himself to study the law or the history of resistance to desegregation that led to the evolution of these judicial interpretations.

What we do know is that this is an election year, and in some areas Ford gets mileage from his loose talk about changing the Supreme Court's interpretations. But Ford is not just another candidate. He is the President of the United States. What he is engaging in is, in our view, the cheapest kind of politics from the highest possible level.

For shame, Mr. President. -- (5/30/76)

Desegregation Requires More than Busing
(Editorial, excerpted, Minneapolis Tribune)

Conflict and competition are so much a part of the political scene that they sometimes tend to obscure easier ways of serving the general good. A case in point is the recent flap over the proposal to have the Justice Department intervene in Boston (or Louisville, or some other city) to restrict the use of busing to achieve court-ordered desegregation of schools. The prospect of the Supreme Court being persuaded to reverse itself raised hackles on both sides of the busing controversy. In the resulting confusion, no loud, clear voice was heard asking the essential question: Can busing, in an of itself, upgrade the quality of educational opportunity for inner-city pupils, or does the success of desegregation depend upon other, more basic, considerations?

Now from the South, through the Southern Regional Council, comes word that there is a better way. Down there, a plan involving interracial cooperation has been tested and proven in several districts where desegregation -- and hence busing -- has been ordered. Among them are Charlotte, N.C., and Williamsburg, S.C. Charlotte, which in five years has turned itself completely around on the busing issue and has now become a model for others to study and follow, is well known. But Williamsburg, a dirt-poor farming district, has rarely been heard from. There, however, poor blacks and poor whites got together and worked their way around the divisive ploys of the politicians. Realizing that the system discriminated against the poor of both races, the people of Williamsburg used busing as the cutting edge of a plea for more state and federal funds to improve facilities and programs in the district. The result has been an education system far improved over what it was before desegregation -- and before busing. The achievement levels of students of both races have risen dramatically. And in working together to locate money for the schools, the parents have developed respect for each other.

If there is a lesson to be learned from Williamsburg, it is that for the good of all concerned -- students, parents, administration and teachers -- cooperation should replace conflict as the mode of responding to court-ordered desegregation. And it should no longer be a secret that successful desegregation -- and hence busing -- involves much more than merely moving bodies from one building to another. -- (6/3/76)

U.S. Can't Duck Busing Issue
(Editorial, excerpted, Milwaukee Sentinel)

The issue of busing to integrate schools will persist as long as the courts continue to try to use buses as a tool for imposing racial quotas in public school classrooms throughout wide areas of the North and South.

And opposition to forced busing will remain, no matter what political motives might be attributed to the Ford administration's recent clumsy efforts to intervene court cases involving desegregation.

Because of the presidential campaign, some will say this move has political overtones. But to expect the busing debate to fade from the scene merely because it would be dirty politics during a presidential primary campaign is naive.

It is even more naive to expect an administration to ignore the national concern over busing merely because it is a presidential year. Ascribing political motives to the idea of intervention may have some validity. But, at the same time, the world does not stop in the midst of a presidential campaign.

And with campaigns starting two years before national convention time, it is folly to suggest that the wheels of government should grind to a halt in any area while candidates race around the country making promises and wooing delegates. -- (6/4/76)



Ford's Busing Accident
(Editorial, excerpted, St. Louis Globe-Democrat)

The ill-fated and politically-tainted busing ploy that President Ford and Atty. Gen. Levi hatched up has gone crashing on the rocks as Levi announced after more than two weeks of playing tug-of-war with the opposing sides in the Boston school busing case that he would not intervene in that raging controversy.

Even though Ford says that the Atty. Gen. has been directed "to continue an active search for a busing case which would be suitable for judicial review of current case law on forced school busing and to accelerate his efforts to develop legislative remedies to minimize forced school busing," it is evident that the President has only a vague idea of what he is talking about.

The trouble with Mr. Ford is that he still doesn't realize that it is the duty of the President to lead. A stronger President would have taken action a long time ago to limit forced school busing. He wouldn't have had to play Ping-Pong with the issue, either. He could have appointed the kind of people in the Justice Department who would carry out his directives without playing Alphonse and Gaston games. -- (6/2/76)

Mr. Levi Makes a Wise Decision on Boston
(Editorial, excerpted, Providence Journal)

The wise decision by Edward Levi not to intervene in the Boston school busing case does credit to the man and to the role of chief law enforcement officer for the nation.

Partisan involvement by the federal government at this time could only lend encouragement to those who would use violence to achieve their ends. Clearly, Washington has an obligation to avoid any action that would exacerbate hostilities in the city that has become a symbol of citizen resistance to the yellow school bus.

Let the government choose its test case carefully with the public interest and safety in mind. The Wilmington case might be the right one, in that metropolitan busing is an issue. But however Mr. Levi proceeds in the immediate future, we trust he will do his best to keep politics and partisan interest at long arm's reach. -- (6/4/76)

There was a President a while back who refused to travel about and conducted what he called a "front porch campaign." President Ford has him beat by a mile. After all, who else can use the front portico of the White House as a porch? -- (6/6/76)

Busing: Comment

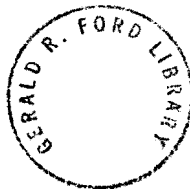
Pro-Busing Assumptions Ought to Be Reexamined
(Editorial, excerpted, Detroit News)

The time has come for advocates of forced busing to examine their cherished assumptions. If they have the interests of the nation's school children at heart, they can no longer ignore the growing body of evidence which says that massive busing for integration fails to improve education and in fact produces harmful results.

The latest item of evidence has been introduced by Dr. Norman Miller of the University of Southern California and Dr. Harold B. Gerard of UCLA, authors of a comprehensive, 10-year study of school desegregation in Riverside, California. The study finds that busing improved neither the self-esteem nor the academic performance of minority children. Rather, those children suffered a "downward shift" in grades. The experience had a "debilitating effect on their pride and motivation."

For too long the ardent pro-bussers have defended their position by equating all opposition to busing with racism. Some of the opposition is racist, of course. However, it's time they examined some of the realities which have caused many liberals, including black liberals, to question the effectiveness of busing as a means of achieving integration and better education.

The courts, including the Supreme Court, should join this reappraisal. They should look at the new data. They should ask if the time, money, and energy invested in massive plans of forced busing are being spent to improve education or to continue an experiment that has already failed. -- (6/4/76)

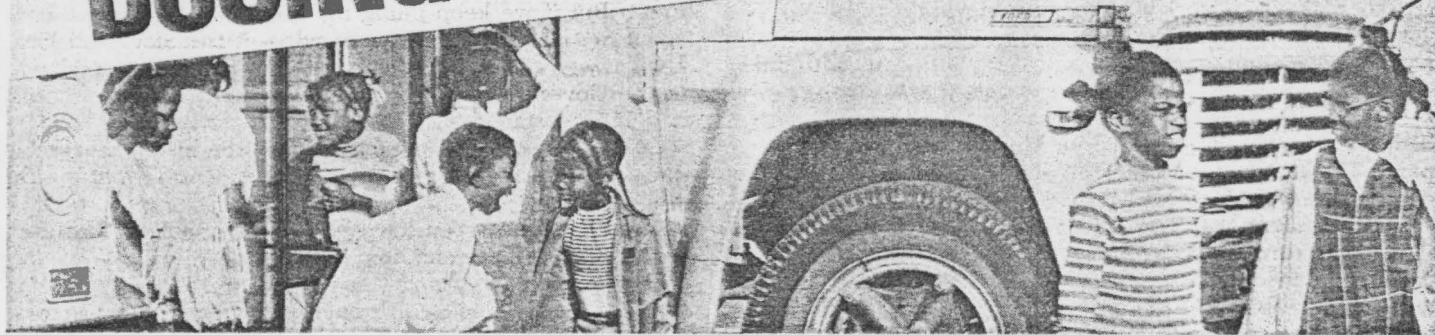


EDUCATION

Newsweek
Sept. 15

America's Schools on The Spot

BUSING Why Tide Is Turning



TOM FRANKLIN

Do results justify the cost—and the turmoil? That is the question being raised as the battle over busing moves into big cities outside the South.

The tide is turning against busing as a way of increasing racial integration in city schools.

The trend shows up in many parts of the nation, in Congress, among federal officials, even among federal judges, blacks, and civil-rights leaders who once were the prime movers for busing.

This does not mean that busing is dead. Programs ordered by U.S. courts are not being abandoned. Demands for more busing are still being made. A few new programs are being initiated, as in Omaha, Boston and Detroit. And the biggest of all civil-rights groups, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), remains firmly committed to school integration, and busing where needed to achieve it.

Change in thinking. The battle over busing will continue. But there has been a significant and widespread change in thinking on this controversial issue. Angry white parents are no longer alone in their opposition to uprooting their children from their neighborhood schools.

There are several reasons for this change. But the main new factor is growing evidence that busing children to schools outside their neighborhood has neither significantly improved their education nor succeeded in its aim of getting more blacks in schools that are predominantly white.

Statistics show that there is more ra-

cial concentration in many big-city schools today than there was before the push for busing began in the late 1960s. What has been happening is a flight of white families from central cities to suburbs, accompanied by an increase of blacks in central cities.

The result is that in many of the nation's major cities today there are so many more black pupils than white that every school would still be predominantly black, no matter how many children were bused in pursuit of what is known as "racial balance." The chart on page 26 shows this problem.

"Not enough white kids." As one official of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare said about Baltimore: "There are just not enough white kids to go around."

This is true of a dozen or more big cities and many smaller ones, in the North and West as well as in the South.

Public schools are 96 per cent black in Washington, D.C., 81 per cent in Atlanta, 77 per cent in New Orleans. In all, as the chart on page 26 shows, there are at least 19 major school systems in which half or more of the pupils are black.

In virtually all of these cities, the percentage of black pupils has increased rapidly in recent years. And, in most of them, some form of school integration has been imposed.

Flight from busing? What role integration played in the blackening of city schools is a matter of dispute. In some cities of the South, white pupils by the thousands have shifted to private schools and the movement of white families has gained speed. Many blame this on a flight from busing.

Others, including NAACP's executive director, Roy Wilkins, point out that

whites were moving from cities to suburbs long before busing became an issue, and that this movement is strong even in cities without forced integration.

Whatever the cause, the resulting problem is the same. And it is widespread. Racial concentration in public schools is no longer viewed as just a Southern problem. It has become a national concern.

The question in growing dispute is what to do about it. Is busing really an answer?

Problem in Detroit. A spreading view was expressed by Detroit's black mayor, Coleman Young, in an NBC "Meet the Press" telecast: "Busing within the city of Detroit alone, where already over 70 per cent of the pupils are black, can solve no problem."

The only way to get what many civil-rights leaders regard as "meaningful" integration—a black minority in every school—would be to bus Detroit blacks into heavily white suburban schools and whites from the suburbs into Detroit's black schools.

A federal judge ordered just such a remedy in 1972. But the U.S. Supreme Court in 1974 struck down that order. It held, on a 5-to-4 vote, that suburbs could not be forcibly included in a desegregation plan unless they were found to have practiced deliberate segregation in their own schools.

So now Detroit is faced with a new order for busing inside the city—the kind of busing that Mayor Young says "can solve no problem."

In Richmond, too. Richmond, Va., is in the same situation. Its attempt to merge schools of the city and surrounding counties into one big area of cross-busing was struck down by a U.S. court



SCHOOLCHILDREN ENJOYING THE RIDE DURING BOSTON'S BUSING CRISIS LAST FALL



COLEMAN AT MASSACHUSETTS CAPITOL

EDUCATION

Coleman on the Griddle

Few professors have caused as much furor as did James S. Coleman when he

In July Coleman presented a new analysis, studying what happened in each given year from 1968 to 1973, rather than over a period of years. His new

he addressed a joint session of the Massachusetts legislature, a predominantly antibusing body. Government policies can be decisive in integration, he said,

Time
4-12-76

ANTI-BUSING OUTBURSTS HIDE FACT OF GROWING ACCEPTANCE OF INTEGRATION

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N.J., Oct. 11 -- Despite the violent anti-busing outbursts in various parts of the country at the start of the 1975-76 school year, acceptance of racial integration has grown sharply since the Gallup Poll's first measurement in 1963.

The latest survey shows a majority of white parents both in the South and North saying they would (SET ITAL) not (END ITAL) object to sending their children to a school where as many as half of the students are black.

Currently, 38 per cent of Southern white parents express objection to sending a child to a school where half of the students are blacks. In a 1963 survey,



conducted just prior to President John Kennedy's famous appeal to end racial discrimination, the comparable figure in the South was 78 per cent, double the current figure.

Among white parents outside the South, the proportion who would object to sending their children to a half-black school has declined from 33 per cent in 1963 to 24 per cent today.

BUT BUSING NOT
SEEN AS ANSWER

While growing acceptance of racial integration in schools is found in all regions of the nation, the U.S. public has consistently voted against busing as a means to achieve racial integration in schools. In fact, in the current survey, only 4 per cent nationally choose busing from a list of various plans which have been proposed as ways to achieve racial integration in schools.

The public is amenable to alternative plans. About one person in three (31 per cent) says he would favor "changing school boundaries to allow more persons from different economic and racial groups to attend the same

schools." About one in five (18 per cent) favors "creating more housing for low-income people in middle-income neighborhoods."

Another 19 per cent do not choose any of these plans, but favor some other way to achieve racial integration, short of busing.

LITTLE DIFFERENCE BY
GROUPS ON BUSING

Interestingly, little difference in opinion is found regarding the various plans in terms of educational background, racial background, or political affiliation. In addition, non-parents and parents, who of course have more at stake, are in close agreement on the issue of busing vs. alternative plans.

This question was asked of white parents in the latest survey to determine attitudes toward sending children to racially integrated schools:

"Would you, yourself, have any objection to sending your children to a school where a few of the children are blacks? Where half are blacks? Where more than half are blacks?"

The following tables compare the latest results



with those recorded in 1970 and in the first survey in 1963:

SOUTHERN WHITE PARENTS
(Per cent objecting)

	1963	1970	1975
Where a few are blacks:	61%	16%	15%
Where half are blacks:	78	43	38
Where more than half are blacks:	86	69	61

NORTHERN WHITE PARENTS
(Per cent objecting)

	1963	1970	1975
Where a few are blacks:	10%	6%	3%
Where half are blacks:	33	24	24
Where more than half are blacks:	53	51	47

The latest nationwide Gallup survey is based on interviews with 1,592 adults, taken in person in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period Sept. 12-15.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 11, 1976

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: JIM CANNON
THROUGH: ART QUERN *Art Quern*
FROM: JUDITH RICHARDS HOP *JRH*
SUBJECT: Busing

I know the decision has been made to submit legislation. However, quite apart from the questions of whether such legislation is advisable and constitutionally possible, there is also the issue of whether submission in the near future is premature. 50.6% of all public school students go by bus in this country, and only 6% of those on buses are being bused for racial reasons. There is less busing in the South now than there was before the desegregation decrees were entered.

Further, as I understand it, most of the court ordered busing situations utilize decrees fashioned by local school boards. Busing has, by-in-large, worked in the South. For example, in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, the decree was in effect for five years. (This decree came out of the landmark Swann decision by the Supreme Court in 1971. That case, as you will recall, held the state has an affirmative duty to eliminate "all vestiges of state-imposed segregation." It is important to note that Chief Justice Burger wrote the opinion in Swann, and that the Court was unanimous!) Recently, the Federal District Court in the Charlotte area held a hearing and found that the vestiges of state-imposed segregation had, in fact, been eliminated through the implementation of the decree, including busing. Therefore, the court revoked the decree, returning total control of the schools to continue to achieve intergration to local school boards. Miami, Florida and Louisville, Kentucky have had similar results. (As I understand it, a group of local leaders from Louisville are coming to Washington to see Secretary Matthews tomorrow and to state their strong feelings that the court-fashioned remedies have worked and that there should be no legislative attempt to change the situation.)

The bottom line here seems to be that in most places in the South busing has worked. And, when it has worked, the courts have gotten out of the situation and returned control



to the local school boards, There is a substantial question in my mind as to whether a legislative proposal on busing would be a counter-buzz saw in the South: they have complied and, now that the remedies are beginning to be applied in the North, the President is going to change the rules.

As I understand the proposed statute, it would try to limit forced busing to those cases where school segregation is the direct result of school-board policy. Segregation due to other factors, such as housing policies/realities or gerrymandered school zones would no longer be attackable by busing. It would be an attempt to slide through the narrow zone between busing to end officially-caused segregation and busing to achieve racial balance. Judicial determination of exactly where the boundaries of this zone are under the proposed statute--or any conceivable statute--may be impossible. Indeed, as the thoughtful article in the June 12 issue of The New Republic points out, former Solicitor General and Harvard Law School Dean Erwin Griswold made exactly this argument to the Supreme Court in the Swann case, extolling "neighborhood schools" and asking the court, essentially, to force-bus only those students who voluntarily chose to leave local schools to enter other schools where their race was in a minority. As already noted, the court unanimously rejected this argument, basing its rejection on "bedrock" constitutional principles.

Congress has in the past enacted several statutes to reduce courts' powers to order busing; all have been struck down. If, as I believe, all were struck down on basic constitutional grounds, it is arguable that the present attempt may also fall--assuming its passage by the Congress.

Bill Coleman has suggested, and I concur, that before precipitously submitting legislation on this issue, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare should be directed by the President to conduct a study on the actual facts in connection with the busing situation in each place where there is a court decree requiring busing for racial balance.

Secondly, assuming it has not already been done, a careful examination of specific provisions of prior, unconstitutional anti-busing statutes should be conducted, and compared to provisions in the present proposal.

The studies could be completed in thirty days or even less. They would regularize the process which the Executive Branch is now engaged in, and would highlight clearly what changes (if any) need to be made in the way the remedy is being applied.



Finally, if violent reaction against busing in places like Boston is perceived as a successful tool in challenging and changing Federal laws, the very act of submitting a statute may trigger marches, at the least, and riots at the worst. As the New Republic notes: "...it is not good enough to urge compliance with court orders while making public declarations that undermine the reasons for obedience."

Conclusion

My personal view, for what it's worth, is: although busing is increasingly "unpopular," it has worked in most places, and is constitutionally-based. The proposed statute may have a difficult time in Congress and, even if enacted, will not, I think, withstand a challenge in the courts. Proposing it has already aroused the suspicions of many citizens, especially minorities; submitting it may cause violence in a summer in which terrorism is already predicted.

Therefore, a pause for reflection and careful study may be in order.

