A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of
BLACK STUDIES RESEARCH SOURCES
Microfilms from Major Archival and Manuscript Collections

John H. Bracey, Jr. and August Meier
General Editors

CIVIL RIGHTS DURING THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION, 1969–1974

Part 1:
The White House Central Files

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DURING THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION,
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Part 1:
The White House
Central Files

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INTRODUCTION

The Nixon Presidency and Civil Rights

Unlike the Kennedy-Johnson era, with its rich legacy of domestic social programs, the Nixon presidency has received little attention from historians and students of social policy. The long shadow of Watergate and presidential impeachment have dominated public attention for the Nixon years.

Richard Nixon himself preferred the drama of international affairs, and hence concentrated his attention as president on such global issues as the Vietnam War, the opening to China, and détente with the Soviet Union. Not only did the Watergate episode monopolize the market on Nixon studies, but the subsequent litigation over presidential abuse of power kept the Nixon archives sealed for a dozen years past his removal from the White House. As a result students of social policy, who during the 1970s and 1980s produced a flood of studies based on the documents in the Kennedy and Johnson presidential libraries, were denied access to the Nixon documents until the late 1980s.

In the absence of this documentary evidence, the Nixon reputation has tended to retain the critical characterization that Watergate seemed to confirm—the legacy of "Tricky Dick" Nixon, master manipulator of the politics of cynicism. In social policy, contemporary critics argued that the Nixon administration had ushered in a politics of backlash that attempted to reverse the civil rights momentum of the Kennedy-Johnson years. As evidence they pointed to Nixon's law-and-order campaign in 1968, which featured a "southern strategy" of attacks on school busing for racial balance; his early nomination of two conservative southern jurists, Clement Haynsworth and G. Harrold Carswell, to the U.S. Supreme Court; and his use of Vice-President Spiro Agnew to court blue-collar, ethnic Democrats by attacking urban rioters, welfare cheats, campus radicals, and draft-dodgers. In 1972 Nixon asked Congress to pass a constitutional amendment to ban school busing for racial balance, and he successfully opposed giving "cease-and-desist" enforcement power to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). Feminists attacked the Nixon White House in 1970 for attempting to suppress the strong report of his own Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities of 1969, and for refusing to support the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) until the spring of 1972, when its overwhelming passage by Congress was certain.

In the less partisan light of hindsight, however, it is important to acknowledge counter-balancing and contradictory evidence. It was the Nixon administration that revived and rammed through Congress in 1969 the Philadelphia Plan for black quota-hiring in construction that the Johnson administration had earlier abandoned. Despite the antibusing rhetoric of 1968-1969 and again in the election year of 1972, the Nixon administration quietly and effectively cooperated with the federal courts in transforming the South's public schools into the most racially integrated in the nation. Early in his administration, President Nixon created the Office of Minority Business Enterprise (OMBE) in the Department of Commerce, which foreshadowed the subsequent practice of earmarking nonbid "set-aside" funds for minority contractors. The Nixon presidency also produced a four-fold increase in the budgets and staffs of the federal government's principal civil rights enforcement agencies: the EEOC; the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC) in the Department of Commerce, which foreshadowed the subsequent practice of earmarking nonbid "set-aside" funds for minority contractors. The Nixon presidency also produced a four-fold increase in the budgets and staffs of the federal government's principal civil rights enforcement agencies: the EEOC; the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC) in the Department of Commerce; the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW); and the Civil Rights division (especially the Voting Rights section) in the Department of Justice.

The Enigma of Richard Nixon

Nixon remains an enigmatic figure, but the contradiction between the Nixon who nominated Carswell to the Supreme Court while at the same time ramming through the Philadelphia Plan may be more apparent than real. While demanding that Congress add an antibusing amendment to the Constitution during the re-election campaign of 1972, Nixon also signed a new equal employment law that brought millions of employees of schools, colleges, and state and local governments under a strengthened EEOC.
Nixon also signed into law Title IX of the educational amendments of 1972, which banned sex discrimination in educational institutions.

Richard Nixon's rhetorical appeal to the "social issue"—to the anger of middle-class taxpayers at rioting blacks, rampaging students, and bra-burning feminists—reflected the electoral reality that most voters were "unpoor, unblack, and unyoung." His smashing electoral triumph in 1972, however, was accompanied by no Republican coattail effect in Congress. A new pattern was emerging in our national government of divided rule, with voting majorities endorsing the more conservative appeals of presidential Republicanism, while returning to Congress the entrenched incumbents of the more liberal Democracy. Thus the rhetoric and symbolic gestures of presidential politics—the Carswell nominations, law-and-order appeals, the salute to "hard-hat" patriotism, the antibusing amendments—spoke to the anxieties of citizen majorities and were rewarded at the polls. But the realities of congressional power and interest group politics dictated more accommodative behavior, and often more logrolling behavior, in the working relationships of government.

Beneath the seas of resentment in presidential politics during the Nixon years, a deeper tide was flowing, not only within Congress and the federal courts, but also within the corridors of the "permanent government." This was the "subpresidency," the maze of executive departments and regulatory agencies whose civil servants controlled the billion-dollar budgets and proliferating rules and guidelines of the American administrative state.

The momentum of the permanent government was inherently expansionist and consolidative. As a Republican, Nixon resisted the expansionist impulses of New-Dealish social programs. But as a lawyer and an expert in the governmental process, he was congenial to rationalizing and consolidating the sprawling regulatory state. As president, Nixon created a major new instrument of federal management by transforming the Bureau of the Budget into the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) in 1970. To join Congress in a coordinated attack on threats to citizen health and safety, he signed laws creating the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) in 1970, and the Consumer Product Safety Commission (CPSC) in 1972. The new agencies of "social regulation" would set common rules and national standards to govern job discrimination, environmental pollution, workplace safety and consumer health, much as the older agencies of economic regulation had forged national norms to govern fair competition, railroads and airlines, securities and banks, and labor relations.

From Individual Rights and Nondiscrimination to Group Rights and Affirmative Action

Prior to the middle 1960s, civil rights had largely meant the denial of black rights in the South; reform had concentrated on federal force to end racial segregation. For half a century the NAACP had insisted that all individuals had equal rights, and that the U.S. Constitution was color-blind. After 1965, however, the concepts of civil rights grew to include an expanding and overlapping list of groups—women, the elderly, Hispanics, Asians, the physically disabled, the mentally handicapped, children, and homosexuals. The focus of enforcement shifted from banning discriminatory acts to affirmative action—requiring preferential treatment to compensate for past discrimination. Thus while President Johnson drove through the enactment of such breakthrough laws as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968, Richard Nixon presided over less dramatic but not less important compromises involving enforcement and administration, such as the amendments and extensions concerning voting rights in 1970, and equal employment and women's rights in 1972. For this reason the Nixon administration poses a challenging test to students of government policy: increasingly they must distinguish between the rhetoric of political discourse and the claims of congressional statutes on the one hand, and on the other the more complex but often more important substance of program authority and budget, bureaucratic administration, and regulatory policy.

The White House Central Files

This collection of documents is drawn entirely from the Human Rights (HU) classification in the White House Central Files (WHCF). The central files are the working files of the White House, sealed and catalogued by the National Archives and Records Administration largely in the form they were worked on in the file drawers. This archival fidelity explains a phenomenon that often puzzles new researchers: the files rather randomly mix crucial policy documents with routine communications about such items as jobs for campaign supporters, obscure technical queries, and public relations gestures. In all presidencies the
central files are intensely political. White House staffs are typically drawn from the previous election campaign, and they are intensely aware of the next one. Thus despite the abuses of Watergate, President Nixon's files look strikingly similar to the WHCF in the presidential libraries in Boston (Kennedy), Austin (Johnson), Ann Arbor (Ford), and Atlanta (Carter).

Like the clerical system in most bureaucracies, the White House system files its documents chronologically as they arrive. Unlike most, however, the White House immediately divides its documents into two categories: EX (Executive), which designates correspondence between officials of the federal, state, and local governments and agencies; and GEN (General), which designates communications between government officials and private citizens and organizations. Thus documents marked EX generally include the more important policy statements.1 But researchers should not slight the GEN category, because nongovernment organizations and leaders play a crucial role in our pluralist system of self-government. In civil rights policy, this includes such major private associations as the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (LCCR), the NAACP, the National Urban League (NUL), the AFL-CIO, the National Education Association (NEA), and major religious groups, ethnic associations, and women’s organizations.

The Human Rights (HU) Files
In 1961, White House records officials and the National Archives administrators agreed to adopt a standard system of classifications. This has produced a common set of subject codes for all presidential libraries since the Eisenhower administration, and among the roughly 60 subject codes, civil rights topics fall within the somewhat broader category of HU. Because the 1960s witnessed the civil rights revolution and its accompanying wave of new social and regulatory legislation, the HU file is a large and important collection in all modern presidencies. Three of its five subcategories cover issues that fall somewhat outside the customary definition of civil rights, with its concentration on discrimination by race, gender, and ethnicity. HU 1—Citizenship deals heavily with immigration and naturalization issues. HU 1—Genocide centers on efforts of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to persuade Congress to ratify the international convention against genocide that was approved by the United Nations in 1948. HU 5—Ideologies concerns the nature of Americanism and the obligations of patriotism, and reflects the era’s heightened tensions over the Vietnam War. Additionally, HU 3—Freedom is a category designed for civil liberties issues like Speech (HU 3-3) and Worship (HU 3-4), categories of individual rights that generally have not generated major controversy in the post-1960 presidencies.

For civil rights issues the heart of the HU file lies in the category HU 2—Equality. HU 2-1 Education-Schooling covers the controversy over school desegregation, which spread nationwide during the years of the Nixon administration. This large collection contains separate files for every state and territory, including the District of Columbia. HU 2-2 Employment covers job discrimination. This file is essential for exploring the often confusing lines of authority and jurisdiction between the EEOC, which policed job discrimination by private employers under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the OFCC in the Labor Department, which enforced under Title VI of the same law the Philadelphia Plan’s system of minority quotas in such federally aided programs as highway, hospital, and airport construction, and aid to schools and colleges.

HU 2-3 Housing concentrates on the HUD-aided programs in public housing, and in enforcing the Fair Housing Act of 1968. HU 2-4 Voting centers on enforcement of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and its renewal and extension by Congress in 1969–1970. The voting rights files illuminate the cross-pressures felt by the White House in the modern era of split-party government, when Democratic majorities in Congress resisted changes proposed by the president in response to his election mandate. These files also illustrate the growing impact of judicial decision on legislative strategy and enforcement policy.

Researchers will periodically find only a photocopy of the first page of a document. This is a cross-reference to a document of related interest that is located in another collection. For example, the original copy of a June 1971 memo about the EEOC from assistant attorney general William Rehnquist to John Ehrlichman might be located in EX FG 109 (Federal Government, EEOC). But to assist researchers on civil rights topics, the National Archives staff inserted a copy of the first page of Rehnquist’s memo in the June 1971 folder of HU 2—Equality, which contained a cluster of EX correspondence concerning new enforcement powers for the EEOC. Because the penciled notation HU 2 was underlined in the photocopied first page, the researcher would know that this was a cross-reference. The location of the full original (FG 109) would be the first subject code category penciled in by archivists on the top right of the document, with other codes identifying additional cross-references.
Extending beyond the traditional preview of black civil rights, for which the Johnson-Nixon transition marks the major watershed, equal rights for women became a major issue during the Nixon years. *HU 2-5 Women* reflects the rapid maturing of “second-wave” feminism, as the feminist movement forged a bipartisan consensus for the ERA and drove it through Congress without the active support of the president. In 1970 the snowballing feminist coalition forced release of the results of the Task Force on Women’s Rights and Responsibilities that Nixon had appointed in the fall of 1969, and feminist pressure also compelled the initially reluctant EEOC to adopt forceful regulations against sex discrimination. Researchers may note, with the perspective of hindsight, what contemporary observers generally did not—that despite the race-sex analogy that equated women’s liberation with the black civil rights movement, the programmatic momentum of these two great freedom movements of the 1960s ran in opposite directions. As the agenda of black civil rights became increasingly dominated by demands for affirmative action in the form of compensatory preferences for racial minorities in jobs, promotions, appointments, and school admissions, feminists reversed this process by abandoning the legacy of special protective laws for women in the workplace, and by demanding instead equal treatment for women and men.

Finally, the Nixon administration inherited not only the 1960s legacy of ghetto riots and black nationalist militance, but also the Vietnam War with its proliferation of campus protest and radical dissent. Thus *HU 3-1 Civil Disturbances—Riots* is a large file containing a rich lode of state and local reports on civil disturbances, including the investigations and report of the (Milton) Eisenhower Commission in 1969. Similarly, *HU 3-2 Campus Disturbances* covers the campus turmoil associated with the violence in 1970 at Kent State University in Ohio and Jackson State College in Mississippi, and the investigation and report of the Scranton Commission in the 1970s.

The White House Special Files

The Nixon White House kept separate from the normal WHCF system a confidential collection called the Special Files (WHSF). Held here were the files of key presidential assistants like H. R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, Charles W. Colson, John Dean, Harry Dent, Egil Krogh, Patrick J. Buchanan, and others. The Special Files also generally contain the most sensitive policy documents from the various WHCF subject categories, and the HU documents are microfilmed in their entirety in the collection.

The Nixon contradictions are reflected in the Special Files in an ironic fashion. On the one hand, by segregating these especially sensitive political and policy documents from the normal WHCF files, the Nixon White House thereby established a rare trove of documents (41 cubic feet) that it treated as confidential. Furthermore, these files are uniquely enriched by Richard Nixon’s own handwriting and dictated comments. Indeed, no other modern president approached the frequency and range of Richard Nixon’s commentary. It was Nixon’s habit as president to scribble marginal queries and comments all over his morning news summaries and the mounds of staff memoranda in the “night reading.” During his presidency Nixon dictated for his personal secretary, Rose Mary Woods, more than 600 dictabelts full of letters, memos, and directives. The President’s Handwriting file thus constitutes an extraordinary archival resource, one that University Publications of America is making available on microfilm (*Part 6, Series A and B of Papers of the Nixon White House*).

On the other hand, as the nation’s only president who was forced to resign from office under formal congressional charges of abusing constitutional power, Nixon, through his lawyers, has blocked the public release of a mass of normal operating documents—approximately 15,000 in the Special Files alone—of the kind that in all other presidential archives are available for research. Thus researchers will find a large number of withdrawal sheets that identify by subject, title, and correspondents the documents withheld pending the outcome of the Watergate-related litigation now well into its second decade. Nonetheless, the Special Files supplement the White House Central Files by providing researchers with an unmatched perspective on presidential decision making in the modern era.

Hugh David Graham
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SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

The White House Central Files

The White House Central Files were designed as a reference service for the president and his staff to document White House activities.

The Subject File of the White House Central Files contains correspondence and reports pertaining to the functions and operations of the White House; the federal government; and state, local, and foreign governments. The Subject File also contains correspondence and reports from private companies, organizations, and individuals. Material in the Subject File is segregated into two categories: "Executive" and "General."

The "Executive" Subject File material consists of correspondence and reports that are of particular importance due either to their source or content. This material generally includes documents received from executive agencies and departments, members of Congress, and other prominent correspondents. It also includes copies of outgoing correspondence and memoranda, as well as other documents that were acted on or brought to the attention of the President or a designated key White House official.

The "General" Subject File material consists of correspondence and documents from the public at large and other sources that, while noteworthy because they are addressed to the president, are not as important from the viewpoint of level of handling or subject matter as the "Executive" Subject File material. This material generally includes all correspondence and documents that are not classified in the "Executive" category and may include routine communications from members of Congress or memoranda exchanged among lower echelon officials.

Materials filed under Human Rights in the subject files pertain to individual civil rights and freedoms and encompass their promotion, exercise, or denial; segregation based upon discrimination or discriminatory practices on the basis of race or national origin; and matters relating to political ideologies, voting privileges, and public demonstrations, including communications from the public expressing their viewpoints about such topics.

The types of records found in the subject files include original incoming letters and staff memoranda; carbons and electrostatic copies of outgoing and some incoming letters and staff memoranda; transmittal letters and memoranda for correspondence, reports, and other items; telegrams, cables, and teletype communications; printed matter such as reports, brochures, and magazine reprints; preservation copies of newspaper and magazine clippings; cross-reference sheets to other materials; and record control forms for materials removed and transferred elsewhere, such as items withdrawn for national security or personal privacy consideration, or audiovisual and museum articles.

The subcategories filed under HU (Human Rights) include:

Human Rights
This material concerns human rights and freedoms in broad terms, including coverage on national and international levels, affairs and problems, conferences, and general legislation.

Citizenship
This material relates to the acquisition and retention of U.S. citizenship, problems relating to its restoration, naturalization ceremonies, and messages of congratulations to new citizens from the president.

Equality
Among the topics in this file are those relating to the major facets of daily life and to the long-term aspirations and expectations found among the American people, especially minority groups. Each topic is
subdivided by state and local county and city government. These topics are education—schooling (includes school integration and busing), employment, housing, voting, and women.

**Freedom**

This material pertains to the constitutional and legislated freedoms and rights held in general by the peoples resident in the United States (citizens and aliens). The related subtopic files are civil disturbances—riots, campus disturbances, speech, and worship.

Civil disturbances—riots includes public marches, demonstrations, and picketing related to numerous causes, but especially to individuals and groups of persons acting in concerted opposition to the Vietnam War. There are alphabetical subdivisions by name of state and local governments (county and city).

Campus disturbances pertains to campus unrest and disorders, with alphabetical division by name of the affected educational institution. Much of the material relating to Kent State University is filed here.

**Genocide**

This material pertains to deliberate or systematic measures designed to exterminate a racial, political, religious, or cultural group of peoples.

**Ideologies**

Filed under this general subcategory are materials related to national and international socioeconomic and political ideologies, including Americanism, capitalism, communism, socialism, republican-type democracy, dictatorship, fascism, totalitarianism, national unity, patriotism, and un-American activities.

**The White House Special Files**

The White House Special Files was created in September 1972 to provide a central storage location for sensitive material. Early in 1970, John R. Brown III, special assistant to the president and staff secretary, had conducted a review of the handling procedures for all presidential papers. His report was contained in a memorandum to H. R. Haldeman, dated March 25, 1970. In it, Brown recommended the immediate establishment of a special files unit to handle the storage of all sensitive material, material of a personal nature, and material containing the president's handwriting. The consolidation of these files into a central location would, according to his recommendation, tighten up the procedures for handling presidential papers. Two years later, the Nixon administration acted on the recommendations by establishing, within the White House complex, a special files unit that was completely independent of the White House Central Files staff.

To ensure the utmost security, the number of individuals who worked in the Special Files Unit was intentionally kept at a minimum. Gertrude Brown Fry, who was staff assistant for security, was appointed to supervise the new White House unit. Her assistant was Hazel F. Fulton, who had been a confidential assistant to Peter M. Flanigan, assistant to the president.

One of the record groups within the White House Special Files is the White House Central Files. This is a mirror collection of the White House Central Files maintained by civil servants. Individual documents that appeared politically sensitive were removed from or bypassed the Central Files and were maintained by the Special Files Unit. The White House Special Files, White House Central Files on human rights are found at the end of this microfilm collection.
SOURCE AND EDITORIAL NOTE

The documents reproduced in this publication are among the records of the Nixon Presidential Materials Staff in the custody of the National Archives of the United States. No copyright is claimed in these official U.S. government records.

UPA's *Civil Rights during the Nixon Administration, 1969–1974, Part 1: The White House Central Files* consists of the HU (Human Rights) files from both the White House Central Files and the White House Special Files, White House Central Files. These records have been filmed in their entirety. UPA has also microfilmed the Document Withdrawal Sheets in each folder. The Document Withdrawal Sheets itemize the documents that have been removed (withdrawn) from the folder due to national security and/or privacy restrictions by the National Archives or representatives of former president Richard M. Nixon.
REEL INDEX

The four-digit frame number on the left hand side of the page identifies where a specific folder begins. These folders are typically a chronological grouping of documents from White House staff, the various executive departments, Congress, and private individuals and organizations. In the interest of accessing material within folders, this index denotes the major substantive issues, reports, and formulations of policy under the category of Major Topics. As the president was integral to virtually all decisions and proceedings, there are no listings for President Nixon.

The user is also referred to the footnote in the Introduction for an explanation of cross-reference pages.

Throughout this guide, HEW refers to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; HUD to Department of Housing and Urban Development; NAACP to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and UN to United Nations.

Frame #

Reel 1

The White House Central Files, Human Rights
Human Rights, Executive

Box 1

0001 Beginning–12/31/70. 55pp.
Major Topics: Training for hard core, unemployed minorities at North American Rockwell; possible White House coordinator for minority affairs; Nixon’s meeting with NAACP officers; Nixon’s praise of columnist Roscoe Drummond.
Major Topics: Office of Management and Budget director George Shultz’s review of federal efforts to promote equality and benefits for minorities in all federal programs; Nixon’s praise of Chicago Tribune editorial.
0104 1/1/73–8/9/74. 39pp.
Major Topics: Administration’s initiative on protection of privacy; Barry Goldwater’s Senate testimony on privacy.

Human Rights, General

0143 Beginning–12/31/70. 137pp.
Major Topics: Administration’s interest in volunteer social action programs; international human rights issues including freedom of emigration and Soviet Jews; tensions between U.S. Jews and blacks.
0297 1/1/73–8/9/74. 44pp.
Major Topics: Statement by U.S. Catholic bishops on human rights in Chile and Brazil; public response to Nixon’s right of privacy address.

Citizenship, Executive

0341 Beginning–12/31/70. 30pp.
Major Topic: Yehudi Menuhin’s acceptance of honorary Swiss citizenship.
0371 1/1/71–12/31/72. 32pp.
Major Topic: Administration's views on possible honorary U.S. citizenship for Alexander
Solzhenitsyn and Andrey Sakharov.

Citizenship, General


Equality, Executive

Major Topics: Nixon's meeting with Leadership Conference on Civil Rights; administration's
contacts with black and other minority leaders; efforts to promote minority business enterprises;
Bryce Harlow reaffirms commitment to equal employment opportunities in letters to
black congressmen; efforts to promote minority business enterprises; Daniel Moynihan's memo
on tour of black ghettos; Department of Transportation's efforts to improve minority
representation in department's work force, including Coast Guard; proposal to create White
House coordinator for minority affairs; Defense Secretary Melvin Laird's memo and Nixon's
statement on minority status and treatment in armed forces and Selective Service System;
percentage of blacks serving and killed in Vietnam.

Reel 2

Equality, Executive cont.

Major Topic: Appointment of Robert J. Brown as White House coordinator for minority affairs;
allegations of racial discrimination at Key Biscayne Beach Club and golf course used by Nixon;
work of Urban Affairs Council; Bryce Harlow's reply to House Democratic Study Group on
administration's civil rights record; efforts to promote minority business enterprises.

Major Topic: Efforts to broaden white ethnic participation in support of administration; Nixon's
meeting with (black) National Bar Association.

Major Topic: Administration's efforts to influence black public opinion; efforts to promote
minority business enterprises; divergent views of advisors on possible Nixon meetings with black
leaders.

Major Topic: Nixon's concern over black response to his policies; divergent views of advisors
on possible Nixon meetings with black leaders and academic experts on black affairs;
Department of Justice report on activities of Civil Rights Division, 1969; reaction to Daniel
Moynihan's "benign neglect" memo; Department of Transportation's efforts to improve
minority representation in department's work force outlined by Secretary John Volpe.

Major Topic: Nixon's meeting with nine leading black appointees and their subsequent
recommendations; discrimination against Mexican-Americans in five southwestern states.
Frame #

0584 5/1/70–5/31/70. 21pp.
Major Topics: Nixon’s letter to President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania on African policies; Saul H. Hyman’s letter and other suggestions that Nixon express strong personal commitment to civil rights and black economic betterment; Martha Mitchell’s telephone calls.

0605 6/1/70–6/30/70. 181pp.
Major Topics: White House advisors urge attention to Nixon’s relations with blacks, youth, and women; Transportation Department regulations prohibiting discrimination under programs with federal financing (Title 6 of 1964 Civil Rights Act); black employees in State Department and foreign service; black protests following death of two students at Jackson State College, Mississippi.

0786 7/1/70–7/31/70. 88pp.

Box 3

0874 8/1/70–10/31/70. 81pp.
Major Topics: Attorney General John Mitchell’s directive that Justice Department avoid terms, like “mafia,” offensive to Italian-Americans; Nixon’s memo directing increased federal response to killing of police; White House interest in publicizing Nixon’s appointment of and meetings with blacks and ethnics.

0955 11/1/70–11/30/70. 86pp.
Major Topics: White House advisors urge attention to Nixon’s relations with blacks; John Ehrlichman objects to title of FBI Racial Digest; Nixon orders no federal suits to advance school integration in north; efforts to promote minority business enterprises; proposals to appoint black cabinet officer and judges in south.

Reel 3

Equality, Executive cont.

Box 3 cont.

0001 12/1/70–12/31/70. 155pp.
Major Topics: Nixon’s meeting with Secretary of Housing George Romney on civil rights: deception of Romney on policy options being considered; Theodore M. Hesburgh’s review of presidential relations since 1957 with U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and support for Nixon’s welfare reform proposal (family assistance plan); figures on economic status of blacks; Nixon’s meeting with Whitney Young and follow-up reports from federal agencies on black job-training programs, including those for returning veterans; White House interest in publicizing Nixon’s appointment of and meetings with blacks and white ethnics.

0156 1/1/71–1/31/71. 17pp.
Major Topics: Boycott of Nixon’s 1971 State of the Union address by twelve black congressmen; update on status of “ethnic proposals.”

Major Topics: Transportation Secretary John Volpe’s recommendation for presidential task force to review civil rights activities in executive branch; efforts to promote minority business enterprises.

Major Topics: Administration’s efforts to combat discrimination in employment and job training; Nixon’s praise of columnist Victor Riesel.
*Major Topics:* Nixon's letter to Charles Diggs, chairman of Congressional Black Caucus, transmitting administration's responses to sixty requests on civil rights and assistance to minority business; administration efforts to combat narcotics domestically and through agreements with France and other nations; Nixon's record on appointment of black officials, including judges; foreign policy issues of special interest to blacks, including U.S. support for African development programs; George Shultz's press conference outlining administration's views on the sixty requests of Congressional Black Caucus and critical response of the Caucus; funding for black colleges.

*Major Topics:* Administration's contact with Chinese-Americans; efforts to increase government deposits in minority banks; Republican National Committee's "Nixon's Administration Civil Rights Report"; Congressional Black Caucus protests alleged racism against blacks in South Korea.

*Major Topics:* U.S. immigration figures for 1970; efforts to promote minority business enterprises in construction; federal funding for black colleges; contacts with *New York Amsterdam News* regarding interview with Nixon.

*Major Topics:* Efforts to promote minority business enterprises; statement of Arthur A. Fletcher to UN Committee on Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination on efforts to improve social and economic status of black U.S. citizens; initiatives on racial unrest in U.S. armed forces.

Box 4

*Major Topics:* Nixon's contacts with black and Spanish-speaking leaders; history and work of Cabinet Committee on Opportunity for the Spanish-Speaking; issues of concern to and economic status and distribution of Spanish surnamed population, including Puerto Ricans and Cuban-Americans; Republican National Committee's "Research Report: Spanish-Speaking Americans" and pursuit of their votes in 1972 presidential election; Robert J. Brown defends Nixon's civil rights record; John Ehrlichman's negative response to proposed black studies institute.

Reel 4

Equality, Executive cont.

Box 4 cont.

*Major Topics:* Collection of data on ethnic and racial biases by federal government; Republican publicity material on prominent blacks in, and civil rights record of, Nixon administration for 1972 presidential election.

*Major Topics:* List of leading black organizations; White House efforts to expand contacts with prominent Spanish-speaking and black leaders; efforts to promote minority business enterprises; Nixon's refusal to contemplate deal with George Wallace if 1968 election results had led to choice of president by House of Representatives; school busing of children as 1972 election issue.

*Major Topics:* Army efforts to recruit black lawyers; controversy with NAACP on school busing and other issues.

0259 8/1/72–9/30/72. 125pp.
*Major Topics:* Nixon's thanks for favorable editorials; campaign material to appeal to Spanish-speaking and black voters; efforts to promote minority business enterprises.
Major Topics: Nixon’s letter to heads of federal departments on federal procurement from minority business; school busing and other racial topics as 1972 election issues; Nixon’s contacts with business leaders; Ronald Reagan’s letter with California ratification of Equal Rights Amendment; Nixon thanks black appointees and ethnic editors/publishers for their efforts in 1972 campaign.

Major Topics: Revised regulations prohibiting discrimination under programs with federal financing and Justice Department explanation of changes (Title 6 of 1964 Civil Rights Act); “The Drive Toward Equality,” article by J. Stanley Pottinger, director of Office of Civil Rights, HEW, outlines administration’s policy on hiring of women and minorities.

0651 1/1/73–2/28/73. 80pp.
Major Topics: Appointment of Stanley S. Scott as Nixon’s special assistant to maintain liaison with minority communities; divergent views on Nixon’s exposure to black leaders; Derek Bok, president of Harvard University, assesses performance of universities in affirmative action hiring of women and minorities.

Major Topics: Divergent views among White House staff on support for Equal Rights Amendment; suggestions that Nixon visit successful, minority-owned enterprises; appointment of Anne Armstrong to maintain liaison with Spanish-speaking community; U.S. policy of noninvolvement in future of Taiwan; Ethel Payne of Chicago Daily Defender charges White House with discrimination against black correspondents.

Box 5

0843 6/1/73–9/30/73. 71pp.
Major Topics: Total government contracts awarded to minority enterprises since fiscal year 1971; complaints of lack of attention from Nixon’s black and Spanish-speaking supporters; recommendations from George Bush (chairman, Republican National Committee), Senator Hugh Scott, and Congressman Gerald R. Ford for remedies; efforts to improve Nixon’s image after Watergate, including Rose Mary Wood’s letters to leading media figures.

0914 10/1/73–12/31/73. 92pp.
Major Topics: Anne Armstrong’s efforts to promote greater support from Spanish-speaking citizens; efforts to improve Nixon’s image after Watergate; pressure for more government advertising in black press from National Newspaper Publishers Association, Black Press of America.

Reel 5

Equality, Executive cont.

Box 5 cont.

0001 1/1/74–8/9/74. 103pp.
Major Topics: Proposals for Nixon to meet Baltic and other white ethnic leaders; Stanley S. Scott’s efforts to strengthen dialogue with black elected officials; Ugandan president Idi Amin Dada’s telegram calling for Nixon’s resignation; denial of racial slurs in Nixon’s taped conversations; controversy over Nixon’s support for Equal Rights Amendment.

Equality, States and Territories, Executive

0104 Beginning–12/31/70. 64pp.
Major Topic: Interracial home visit program of Cleveland, Ohio, Community Relations Board.
Equality, General

0168 Beginning–1/31/69. 122pp. [128 frames.]
Major Topic: Letters congratulating Nixon on his inauguration, many with proposals for improving racial harmony.

Major Topics: Funding application of Freedom Through Equality, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, for federal support of legal assistance program for poor in Milwaukee County, Wisconsin.

Major Topic: Letters congratulating Nixon on his inauguration, many with proposals for improving racial harmony.

Major Topic: Leon H. Sullivan on his "Philadelphia plan" to promote black capitalism.

Major Topic: Daniel P. Moynihan's correspondence on black issues and other topics.

Major Topics: Southerners protest "forced integration"; Herbert Klein denies racial discrimination in access for White House press; Daniel P. Moynihan's concern about assassination threats against moderate black leaders.

Box 6

Major Topics: Herbert Klein denies racial discrimination in access for White House press; Daniel P. Moynihan's views on black family structure and problems.

Reel 6

Equality, General cont.

Box 6 cont.

Major Topics: White House staff responds to public suggestions on race relations and other topics; article "Reparations for Blacks," by Mark Green in Commonwealth.

0151 7/1/69–7/31/69. 50pp.

0201 8/1/69–8/31/69. 91pp.

0292 9/1/69–9/30/69. 67pp.
Major Topic: Work of the Office of Minority Business Enterprise, Department of Commerce.

0359 10/1/69–10/31/69. 129pp.
Major Topics: Possible illegal activities of Black Economic Development Conference following James Forman's demand for $500 million in reparations from white churches and synagogues; Roger W. Wilkins protests Nixon's civil rights policies and alleged indifference to blacks; efforts of National Association of Intergroup Relations to schedule call on Nixon through Senator Edward Brooke.

Major Topics: Theodore Hesburgh, chairman of U.S. Civil Rights Commission, challenges Nixon's depth of civil rights commitment; Carleton Putnam alleges undue Jewish control of U.S. newspapers and suggests black racial inferiority; correspondents offer divergent views on school desegregation; Asa Spaulding's "Brief History of the Civil Rights Movement since 1900."

0591 12/1/69–12/31/69. 18pp.
Major Topic: Correspondence on civil rights.
Reel 7

Equality, General cont.

Box 7

0001  5/1/70–5/31/70. 27pp.
Major Topics: Reaction to student disturbances; calls for leadership from Nixon on race relations.

0028  6/1/70–6/30/70. 31pp.
Major Topic: Joel Hightower's article on race relations in rural Georgia.

0059  7/1/70–7/31/70. 132pp.
Major Topics: Nixon's meetings with black leaders, including Senator Edward Brooke; Nixon's memo “Federal Procurement and Minority Business Enterprise”; press conference of Secretary of Labor George P. Schultz (December 18, 1969) reaffirming Nixon's support for "Philadelphia plan" to ensure equal employment in federal contracts; United Presbyterian Church supports Equal Rights Amendment.

0191  8/1/70–9/30/70. 87pp.
Major Topics: Reaction to Daniel P. Moynihan's "benign neglect" memo; administration's record on civil rights and social betterment of blacks.

0278  10/1/70–12/31/70. 106pp.
Major Topic: Defense Department fact sheet on equal opportunity and affirmative action programs in armed forces.

Major Topics: Nixon's meetings with Israeli and Jewish-American leaders; White House staff concern over antecedents of Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund prior to possible meeting with Nixon; absence of White House portraits of blacks; administration's record on civil rights and social betterment of blacks.

Major Topics: Calls for leadership from Nixon on race relations; correspondence on civil rights; Nixon's support of Equal Rights Amendment.

Major Topics: Protests over "whites only" membership policy of Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks; Elks protest Defense Department's refusal to send speakers or military bands to functions because of their "whites only" policy; Nixon's support of Equal Rights Amendment; efforts to promote minority business enterprises; White House response to complaints that no black correspondent representing National Newspaper Publishers Association accompanied Nixon's press entourage to China.
Reel 8

Equality, General cont.

Box 7 cont.
0001 4/1/72–12/31/72. 266pp.

Major Topics: Correspondence on civil rights; efforts to promote minority business enterprises; administration’s intent to send representatives to major ethnic events prior to 1972 election; restrictive covenants on home purchased by Nixon in Washington, D.C.; correspondence on 1972 presidential election; black participation in 1972 Republican convention; Nixon’s response to Urban League’s open letter to presidential candidates; White House response to allegations that Nixon is racially insensitive.

Box 8
0267 1/1/73–3/31/73. 139pp.

Major Topics: Efforts to promote minority business enterprises; calls for leadership from Nixon on race relations; appointment of Stanley S. Scott as special assistant to Nixon to maintain contact with blacks.

0406 4/1/73–7/31/73. 143pp.

Major Topics: Calls for leadership from Nixon on race relations; appointment of Anne Armstrong to maintain liaison with Spanish-speaking community; efforts to promote minority business enterprises.

0549 8/1/73–12/31/73. 138pp.

Major Topics: Reaffirmation of Nixon’s interest in African countries; correspondence on civil rights.

0687 1/1/74–5/31/74. 178pp.

Major Topics: Correspondence on civil rights; Nixon’s support of Equal Rights Amendment; denial of racial slurs in Nixon tapes.

0865 6/1/74–8/9/74. 75pp.

Major Topics: Complaints from National Newspaper Publishers Association over alleged Defense Department’s reluctance to place recruitment advertising in black press.

Equality, District of Columbia, General

0940 Beginning–12/31/70. 9pp.

Major Topic: Insurance claims from 1968 riots in Washington, D.C.

Reel 9

Equality, States and Territories, General

Box 8 cont.
0001 Beginning–12/31/70. 222pp.

Major Topics: Allegations of racism in Los Angeles, California, politics; correspondence on civil rights; activities of black radio station WTL, Indianapolis, Indiana; various forms of racial discrimination in Mississippi.
Education—Schooling, Executive

0223 Beginning—6/30/69. 177pp.
Major Topics: Divergent views on administration's policy on school desegregation; joint statement by Attorney General John Mitchell and HEW Secretary Robert Finch on desegregation guidelines, including preliminary drafts with White House changes; Nixon's directive to "relax [desegregation guidelines] forthrightly"; Tom Charles Huston's concern over intentional leaks to embarrass Nixon.

0400 7/1/69–12/31/69. 71pp.
Major Topics: Final version of joint statement on school desegregation by Attorney General John Mitchell and HEW Secretary Robert Finch; administration's concern over incorrect news reports; Gallup poll results on school desegregation; divergent views on administration's policy to request supplemental appropriation to aid school districts facing desegregation.

Box 9
0471 1/1/70–2/28/70. 122pp.
Major Topics: Rebuttal of George Wallace's allegations against Nixon on busing school children; "Legal Developments in School Desegregation" memo with breakdown of counties in southern states under court orders to desegregate; tax exempt status of racially discriminatory schools; Nixon's meeting with Senator Richard Russell and memos on school desegregation.

Major Topics: Memos on school desegregation by Daniel P. Moynihan, Pat Buchanan, Attorney General John Mitchell, and HEW Secretary Robert Finch; Nixon's meeting with desegregation expert, James S. Coleman; tax exempt status of racially discriminatory schools.

0708 4/1/70–4/30/70. 177pp.
Major Topics: Democratic senator Robert Byrd supports Nixon; Nixon thanks newspaper editors for favorable editorials; tax exempt status of racially discriminatory schools; Justice Department correspondence with Arkansas governor Winthrop Rockefeller and state officials on school desegregation; Nixon seeks dismissal of government lawyers contesting his desegregation statement; April 12 statement of U.S. Civil Rights Commission contesting aspects of Nixon's statement; memos of Nixon's top black appointees invited to comment on his school desegregation statement; Daniel P. Moynihan's summary of research on effects of interracial educational experiences on student achievement.

0885 5/1/70–5/31/70. 83pp.
Major Topics: Controversy over role of Model Cities (HUD) funding in support of school desegregation; tax exempt status of racially discriminatory schools, including divergent views among Nixon's advisors.

0968 6/1/70–7/31/70. 67pp.
Major Topics: Nixon's meetings of Cabinet Committee on School Desegregation with state advisory committees; Tom Charles Huston's memo "Racial Disturbances in Secondary Schools."

Reel 10

Education—Schooling, Executive cont.

Box 9 cont.
0001 8/1/70–8/31/70. 273pp.
Major Topics: Nixon's meetings of Cabinet Committee on School Desegregation with state advisory committees; Daniel P. Moynihan's letters to editors of major newspapers highlighting Nixon's advocacy of $1.5 billion of federal aid for school desegregation; Nixon expresses intention to push desegregation prior to 1972 election and expresses interest in identifying federal officials who are pushing it too hard; U.S. Civil Rights Commission report "Ethnic Isolation of Mexican-Americans in [Southwestern] Public Schools..."
Major Topics: Southern school districts desegregated through court or voluntary action and those still in litigation as of September 1970; political implications of action to cut off federal funds to southern schools not in compliance with Title 6 of 1964 Civil Rights Act; tax exempt status of racially discriminatory schools.

Major Topics: Administration's activities to enforce school desegregation; statistics indicating 90 percent of southern black pupils in legally desegregated school systems.

Major Topics: Nixon's advocacy of $1.5 billion federal aid for school desegregation; Senator Sam Ervin's proposed antibusing bill; congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing; proposed constitutional amendments on busing.

Major Topics: Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing; Alexander M. Bickel's memo on busing and possible alternatives to a constitutional amendment in remedying widespread busing.

Major Topics: U.S. Civil Rights Commission urges Nixon to oppose congressional moves to block school desegregation; memo on positions of candidates for 1972 Democratic presidential nomination on busing; congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing.

Major Topics: Legal memos on validity of a moratorium on busing and possible federal intervention in pending desegregation suits; congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing.

Major Topics: Nixon supports moratorium on busing; divergent views on busing among advisors; congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing.

Major Topics: Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing; surrogates for Nixon appear in 1972 presidential campaign; Nixon's March 16 statement with draft bill and fact sheet on proposed busing moratorium; positions of candidates for 1972 Democratic presidential nomination on busing.

Reel 11

Education—Schooling, Executive cont.

Major Topics: Council of Black Appointees comment critically on Nixon's proposed busing moratorium; applicability of Higher Education Act amendments to Detroit school busing ruling.

Major Topics: Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing; Senate voting on antibusing amendments to Higher Education Bill; administration's efforts to obtain congressional votes on busing moratorium proposals; Vernon Jordan of National Urban League attacks administration's proposals for moratorium on busing.

Major Topics: Status of school desegregation cases throughout United States; Nixon's preference for statute rather than constitutional amendment on busing; Daniel P. Moynihan's article, "Equalizing Education: In Whose Benefit."
Frame #

0416  1/1/73–8/9/74. 210pp.
Major Topics: Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing; strategies pursued by Department of Justice in school desegregation cases; congressional hearings and other actions on busing; White House defense of Assistant Attorney General J. Stanley Pottinger’s position on busing.

Education—Schooling, General

Box 11
0626   Beginning–4/30/69. 95pp.
Major Topics: Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing and race relations; Los Angeles mayor Sam Yorty attacks Students for a Democratic Society for alleged Communist ties.
0721   5/1/69–6/30/69. 73pp.
Major Topic: Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing and race relations.
0794   7/1/69–7/31/69. 147pp.
Major Topics: Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing and race relations; joint statement by Attorney General John Mitchell and HEW Secretary Robert Finch on desegregation guidelines.

Reel 12

Education—Schooling, General cont.

Box 11 cont.
0001   8/1/69–9/30/69. 149pp.
Major Topics: Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing and race relations; joint statement by Attorney General John Mitchell and HEW Secretary Robert Finch on desegregation guidelines with speech by Finch on administration’s views on desegregation.
0150   10/1/69–12/31/69. 163pp.
Major Topics: Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing and race relations; Nixon defends Vice-President Spiro Agnew’s statement against busing.
0313   1/1/70–2/28/70. 235pp.
Major Topic: Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing and race relations.
Major Topic: Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing and race relations.
Major Topics: Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing and race relations; Leon E. Panetta’s views on desegregation following his resignation as director of HEW’s Office of Civil Rights.

Box 12
0975   5/1/70–5/31/70. 41pp.
Major Topic: Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing and race relations.
### Reel 13

**Education—Schooling, General cont.**

**Box 12 cont.**

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<th>File</th>
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<tr>
<td>0001</td>
<td>6/1/70–8/31/70</td>
<td>167pp.</td>
<td>Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing and race relations; Judge Harrold Carswell urges special Supreme Court session to clarify school assignment issues; Congressman William C. Cramer’s <em>amicus curiae</em> brief in Supreme Court consideration of Charlotte, North Carolina, desegregation case (<em>Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education</em>).</td>
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<tr>
<td>0168</td>
<td>9/1/70–9/30/70</td>
<td>94pp.</td>
<td>Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing and race relations.</td>
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<td>0262</td>
<td>10/1/70–12/31/70</td>
<td>149pp.</td>
<td>Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing and race relations; tax exempt status of racially discriminatory schools; Georgia governor Lester Maddox accuses Nixon of attack on public education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0411</td>
<td>1/1/71–12/31/71</td>
<td>205pp.</td>
<td>Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing and race relations; funding for black colleges; attack on Jack Anderson’s scrutiny of J. Edgar Hoover’s trash; article by David E. Wagoner, member of Seattle, Washington, school board, “To Bus or Not to Bus.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0616</td>
<td>1/1/72–3/31/72</td>
<td>177pp.</td>
<td>Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing and race relations; survey of constitutional amendments pending in Congress on busing; HEW commissioner of education Sidney Marland’s views on busing.</td>
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<tr>
<td>0793</td>
<td>4/1/72–4/13/72</td>
<td>172pp.</td>
<td>Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing and race relations, including views on his March 16 busing speech; letters from voters urging actions on Nixon in conjunction with 1972 election, including views on proposed busing moratorium.</td>
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### Reel 14

**Education—Schooling, General cont.**

**Box 12 cont.**

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<tr>
<td>0001</td>
<td>4/14/72–4/30/72</td>
<td>107pp.</td>
<td>Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing and race relations, including views on his March 16 busing speech; Jackie Robinson, Thomas A. Shaheen, superintendent of schools, San Francisco, California, and other public figures criticize Nixon’s policies on desegregation; letters from voters urging actions on Nixon in conjunction with 1972 election, including views on proposed busing moratorium.</td>
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**Box 13**

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<td>0108</td>
<td>5/1/72–6/30/72</td>
<td>131pp.</td>
<td>Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing and race relations, including views on his March 16 busing speech; John Ehrlichman’s May 20 statement on busing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0239</td>
<td>7/1/72–9/30/72</td>
<td>135pp.</td>
<td>Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing and race relations, including criticism from various chapters of League of Women Voters on Nixon’s proposed busing moratorium.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0374</td>
<td>10/1/72–12/31/72</td>
<td>81pp.</td>
<td>Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing and race relations including criticism from various chapters of League of Women Voters on Nixon’s proposed busing moratorium.</td>
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</table>
Major Topic: Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing and race relations.

**Education—Schooling, States and Territories, Executive**

0591  
Beginning—12/31/70. 226pp.  
Major Topics: Federal Bureau of Investigation interest in foreign support for protests in New York City schools; staff advice on Nixon's meetings and contacts of other administration officials with members of Congress on desegregation; school problems in Louisiana and Georgia (correspondence with Governor Lester Maddox and Congressman Fletcher Thompson of Georgia); Nixon's concern with Supreme Court decision in Charlotte, North Carolina, desegregation case (*Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*) and meeting with congressman Charles Jonas; Governor Ronald Reagan attacks local court ruling on busing in Los Angeles, California; correspondence with H. Leon Reed on court-ordered busing in Houston, Texas.

0817  
Major Topics: Justice Department's summary of desegregation status in and around Birmingham, Alabama, with related correspondence, including exchanges with Governor George Wallace; congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing and race relations; correspondence with Congressman Lawrence Hogan on busing in Maryland; correspondence with Governor William Milliken, Arthur E. Summerfield, and others on busing in Michigan.

**Reel 15**

**Education—Schooling, States and Territories, Executive cont.**

Box 14  
0001  
Major Topic: Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing in New Jersey, North Carolina, Texas, and Virginia.

0219  
Alabama—Iowa. 1/1/73–8/9/74. 7pp.  
Major Topic: Busing in Indiana.

0226  
Kansas–Ohio. 1/1/73–8/9/74. 65pp.  
Major Topic: Busing in Louisiana and Maryland.

0291  
Major Topic: Busing in Tennessee and Texas.

**Education—Schooling, States and Territories, General**

0312  
Major Topic: Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing in Alabama.

0438  
Major Topic: Alaskan delegates to National Education Association support early desegregation deadline.  
[States and Territories, Arizona. Empty folder.]

0440  
Arkansas. Beginning—12/31/70. 5pp.  
Major Topic: Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing in Arkansas.

0445  
California. 12/31/70. 36pp.  
Major Topics: Equal opportunities for Spanish-speaking, high school graduates in Los Angeles.

0481  
Colorado. Beginning—12/31/70. 3pp.  
Major Topic: Busing in Colorado.  
[States and Territories, Delaware. Empty folder.]

0486  
Major Topic: Busing in Florida.

Major Topics: Busing in Georgia; texts of Supreme Court decisions in *Green v. New Kent County, Virginia* and related 1968 cases ruling out “freedom of choice” school assignment plans; Governor Lester Maddox criticizes Nixon for allegedly failing to maintain freedom of choice school assignment plans espoused in 1968 campaign.

Reel 16

Education—Schooling, States and Territories, General cont.

Box 15

[States and Territories, Hawaii. Empty folder.]
[States and Territories, Idaho. Empty folder.]

Major Topic: Busing in Illinois.

0024 Indiana. Beginning—12/31/70. 11pp.
Major Topic: Busing in Indiana.

[States and Territories, Iowa. Empty folder.]

Major Topic: Busing in Kansas.

[States and Territories, Kentucky. Empty folder.]

Major Topic: Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing in Louisiana.

[States and Territories, Maine. Empty folder.]

Major Topic: Busing in Maryland.

0353 Massachusetts. Beginning—12/31/70. 41pp.
Major Topic: Report on busing in Massachusetts.

0394 Michigan. Beginning—12/31/70. 3pp.
Major Topic: Busing in Michigan.

0397 Minnesota. Beginning—12/31/70. 7pp.
Major Topic: Busing in Minnesota.

Major Topics: Secretary Robert Finch’s report to Congress on “Establishing a Nationwide School Desegregation Program under...the [1964] Civil Rights Act” and other Department of HEW policies on schools’ compliance with federal desegregation requirements; congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing in Mississippi.

[States and Territories, Missouri. Empty folder.]
[States and Territories, Montana. Empty folder.]
[States and Territories, Nebraska. Empty folder.]
[States and Territories, Nevada. Empty folder.]
[States and Territories, New Hampshire. Empty folder.]

0634 New Jersey. Beginning—12/31/70. 7pp.
Major Topic: Busing in New Jersey.

[States and Territories, New Mexico. Empty folder.]

Major Topic: Proposals for black control of Harlem schools.

Major Topic: Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing in North Carolina.

0823 North Dakota. Beginning—12/31/70. 3pp.
Major Topic: State refusal to subsidize education for children from Grand Forks Air Force Base.

0826 Ohio. Beginning—12/31/70. 3pp.
Major Topic: Busing in Ohio.
0829 Oklahoma. Beginning-12/31/70. 90pp.
Major Topic: Busing in Oklahoma.
[States and Territories, Oregon. Empty folder.]

Major Topic: Desegregation of Pennsylvania state colleges.
[States and Territories, Rhode Island. Empty folder.]

Reel 17

Education—Schooling, States and Territories, General cont.

Box 15 cont.
0001 South Carolina. Beginning-12/31/70. 224pp.
Major Topic: Congressional and other submissions to Nixon on busing in South Carolina.

Box 16
[States and Territories, South Dakota. Empty folder.]
0225 Tennessee. Beginning-12/31/70. 44pp.
Major Topics: HEW proceedings to compel desegregation and local response; busing in Texas.
[States and Territories, Utah. Empty folder.]
[States and Territories, Vermont. Empty folder.]
0374 Virginia. Beginning-12/31/70. 117pp.
Major Topics: Desegregation of Virginia state colleges; busing in Virginia.
[States and Territories, West Virginia. Empty folder.]
[States and Territories, Wisconsin. Empty folder.]
[States and Territories, Wyoming. Empty folder.]
[States and Territories, Territories-Islands. Empty folder.]
0517 Alabama—Maryland. 1/1/71-12/31/72. 280pp.
Major Topics: Busing in Alabama and Georgia; congressional reaction to proposed constitutional amendment against busing.
0797 Massachusetts—South Carolina. 1/1/71-12/31/72. 156pp.
Major Topic: Correspondence opposed to busing.

Reel 18

Education—Schooling, States and Territories, General cont.

Box 16 cont.
0001 South Dakota—Vermont. 1/1/71-12/31/72. 185pp.
Major Topic: Busing in Tennessee and Texas.
0186 Virginia—Puerto Rico. 1/1/71-12/31/72. 68pp.
Major Topic: Busing in Virginia.
0254 Alabama—Iowa. 1/1/73-8/9/74. 51pp.
Major Topics: Busing in Alabama; federal interest in admission for out-of-state students at Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana, after allegations of discrimination against Jewish students.
0305 Kansas—Ohio. 1/1/73-8/9/74. 55pp.
Major Topic: Correspondence opposed to busing.
Major Topic: Busing in Texas.
Major Topics: Virginia contests Equal Employment Opportunity assurances required for federal highway aid; administration’s efforts to recruit minorities in senior federal positions and promote favorable coverage of Nixon’s commitment to civil rights; activities of Robert J. Brown as coordinator for minority affairs; Civil Service Commission review and Nixon’s memos on equal employment programs within federal government.

Major Topics: Nixon’s Executive Order 11478 of August 8, 1969; memo on equal employment programs within federal government.

Major Topics: Survey of minority employment in senior positions of the federal government tabulated by agency; Nixon’s support of the “Philadelphia plan” to augment blacks employed by bidders on federal construction projects.

Major Topic: Nixon’s support of the “Philadelphia plan” to augment blacks employed by bidders on federal construction projects.

Major Topics: White House views on publicity for Nixon’s signing Equal Employment Opportunity Act, 1972; allegations of discrimination in federal hiring; Nixon’s 1972 memo on equal employment programs within federal government; Nixon’s support of the “Philadelphia plan” to augment blacks employed by bidders on federal construction projects; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights statement on “affirmative action” programs to expand minority employment outside federal government.

Major Topics: Daniel Seligman’s article “How ‘Equal Opportunity’ Turned Into Employment Quotas” in Fortune; administration policies on combatting discrimination in state and local governments, including Leonard Garment’s speech on topic.

Major Topics: Administration’s efforts to promote hiring of Spanish-surnamed Americans; (black) National Bar Association alleges discrimination against black attorneys in federal hiring.

Employment, States and Territories, Executive


Employment, Executive cont.

Major Topic: Daniel Seligman’s article “How ‘Equal Opportunity’ Turned Into Employment Quotas” in Fortune; administration policies on combatting discrimination in state and local governments, including Leonard Garment’s speech on topic.

Major Topics: Administration’s efforts to promote hiring of Spanish-surnamed Americans; (black) National Bar Association alleges discrimination against black attorneys in federal hiring.
Employment, General

Box 18

Major Topics: Presidential patronage: proposals for appointment of black and other minority group officials.

Major Topics: Proposed revisions to the “Philadelphia plan” to augment blacks employed by bidders on federal construction projects; complaints of discrimination against individual federal employees.

0820  9/1/69–12/31/69. 79pp.  

0899  1/1/70–4/30/70. 92pp.  
Major Topics: Administration’s support of the “Philadelphia plan” and its application in Seattle, Washington; administration’s involvement in charges of discrimination in hiring at Embry-Riddle Aeronautical Institute, Daytona Beach, Florida.

Reel 20

Employment, General cont.

Box 18 cont.

0001  5/1/70–8/31/70. 62pp.  
Major Topic: Correspondence on allegations of job discrimination against blacks.

0063  9/1/70–12/31/70. 85pp.  
Major Topic: Correspondence on allegations of job discrimination against blacks and Spanish-speaking Americans.

Major Topic: Correspondence on allegations of job discrimination against blacks and other groups; correspondence on federal guidelines for “affirmative action” in hiring.

0355  1/1/73–8/9/74. 187pp.  
Major Topic: Correspondence on federal guidelines for “affirmative action” in hiring; allegations of job discrimination against blacks and Spanish-speaking Americans; black efforts to secure extension of “Philadelphia plan.”

Employment, District of Columbia, General

0542  Beginning–8/9/74. 2pp.  
Major Topic: Correspondence on allegations of job discrimination against blacks and other groups.

Employment, States and Territories, General

Major Topics: Allegations of job discrimination in Alabama, Arizona, California, and Illinois; administration’s opposition to agricultural boycotts.


Major Topic: Allegations of job discrimination in California.

Major Topic: Allegations of job discrimination in Departments of Justice and HEW.
Housing, Executive

Box 19
0809 Beginning–12/31/70. 6pp.
Major Topic: White House displeasure with Secretary of HUD George Romney.
Major Topics: Justice Department’s interpretation of Shannon v. HUD decision; Nixon’s statement about “forced integration” of suburbs; White House examination of options on fair housing issues, including Leonard Garment’s memos urging presidential statement on fair housing; recommendations of National Committee against Discrimination in Housing; HUD’s proposed rules on fair housing.

Reel 21

Housing, Executive cont.

Box 19 cont.
0001 1/1/73–8/9/74. 60pp.
Major Topic: HUD programs benefitting women and Spanish-speaking Americans.

Housing, General

0061 Beginning–12/31/70. 134pp.
Major Topics: Housing and transportation problems of federal employees in Washington, D.C.; National Committee against Discrimination in Housing; protests over Herbert Klein’s remarks on administration’s policy toward press and media; “Residential Desegregation: Can Anything Be Accomplished?” by Raymond E. Zelder in Urban Affairs Quarterly; Ronald Ziegler’s explanation on sale of property with racially restricted covenant by Judge Harrold Carswell.
Major Topics: Administration’s policies helping blacks; realtors protest against required display of fair housing poster; report of National Committee against Discrimination in Housing on “...Recent Court Challenges to Exclusionary Land-Use Practices.”
0287 1/1/73–8/9/74. 16pp.
Major Topic: Protest about proposed regulation on fair lending practices of Federal Deposit Insurance Corp.

Housing, States and Territories, General

Major Topic: Protests over alleged federal interference with local housing and zoning policies. [States and Territories, Alabama–Puerto Rico. 1/1/71–8/9/74. Empty folder.]

Voting, Executive

0346 Beginning–12/31/69. 166pp.
Major Topics: Extension of 1965 Voting Rights Act, including memo of U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; possible amendments to Voting Rights Act, including proposal to outlaw literacy tests in all states; 1968 Supreme Court decision, Gaston County, N.C. vs. U.S., on literacy tests applied to black voters; draft texts of Nixon’s message and Attorney General John Mitchell’s testimony on Voting Rights Act extension.
0512 1/1/70–4/30/70. 117pp.
Major Topics: Congressional debate on extension of Voting Rights Act; Nixon’s decision to support a constitutional amendment (rather than statute) granting eighteen-year-old vote; constitutional scholars’ advice favoring constitutional amendment to allow eighteen-year-old vote.
Frame #

0629 5/1/70–5/31/70. 63pp.  
Major Topics: Nixon's thanks to constitutional scholars for advice to lower voting age by constitutional amendment.

Box 20

0692 6/1/70–7/31/70. 217pp.  
Major Topics: White House views on possible veto of Voting Rights extension of 1970 and Nixon's final statement approving bill; Nixon's response to correspondence urging him to sign or veto Voting Rights extension.

0909 8/1/70–12/31/70. 59pp.  
Major Topics: White House views on possible Nixon support for efforts to lower voting age through referenda in various states; Supreme Court decision holding Congress could not lower voting age for state/local elections by statute.

Reel 22

Voting, Executive cont.

Box 20 cont.

0001 1/1/71–12/31/72. 102pp.  
Major Topics: White House staff views on eighteen-year-old vote in state and local elections; concern of Congressional Black Caucus on status of black voters after voter reregistrations in certain Mississippi counties; home rule for District of Columbia.

0103 1/1/73–8/9/74. 18pp.  

Voting, District of Columbia, Executive

0121 Beginning–8/9/74. 5pp.  

Voting, States and Territories, Executive

Major Topic: White House views that Nixon should not endorse lowering voting age to eighteen in Oregon referendum.

Voting, General

0137 Beginning–6/30/69. 95pp.  
Major Topic: Correspondence on lowering voting age.

0232 7/1/69–12/31/69. 78pp.  
Major Topic: Correspondence on lowering voting age and extension of Voting Rights Act of 1965.

0310 1/1/70–3/31/70. 45pp.  
Major Topic: Correspondence on lowering voting age.

0355 4/1/70–6/30/70. 124pp.  
Major Topic: Correspondence on lowering voting age and on extension of Voting Rights Act of 1965 with Nixon's statement on signing.

0479 7/1/70–12/31/70. 115pp.  
Major Topic: Correspondence on lowering voting age and on extension of Voting Rights Act of 1965; Kentucky's experience since 1955 with eighteen-year-old voting age.

0594 1/1/71–8/9/74. 44pp.  
Major Topic: Correspondence on strengthening Nixon's reelection prospects.
Voting, District of Columbia, General

0638  Beginning–8/9/74. 2pp.
*Major Topic:* Home rule for District of Columbia.

Voting, States and Territories, General

*Major Topic:* Correspondence on lowering voting age.

Reel 23

Women, Executive

Box 21

*Major Topic:* Correspondence on presidential appointments for and recognition of women.

0102  1/1/70–12/31/70. 166pp.
*Major Topics:* Correspondence on job discrimination against women; history and divergent views in administration on Equal Rights Amendment; Sex Discrimination Guidelines binding on employers under government contracts; ranking women appointed by Nixon; proposals to commemorate 50th anniversary of women's suffrage; Nixon's interest in publicizing administration's efforts for women.

*Major Topics:* White House interest in attitude of high school students to Nixon; demographic statistics on U.S. population; testimony of William H. Rehnquist and private citizens to Senate Judiciary subcommittee on Equal Rights Amendment and proposed Women's Equality Act; Rita Hauser's advocacy of "emergent responsible feminism" and appointment of presidential advisor on women's affairs; White House interest in publicizing administration's efforts for women prior to 1972 election.

*Major Topics:* Report on Women's Action Program, HEW, with series of memos endorsing equality for women by Secretary Elliot L. Richardson; briefing for prominent women by Henry Kissinger and other administration officials; Nixon's letter endorsing Equal Rights Amendment.

0669  4/1/72–12/31/72. 94pp.
*Major Topic:* White House interest in publicizing administration's efforts for women prior to and use of women surrogates in 1972 election.

0763  1/1/73–6/18/73. 59pp.
*Major Topics:* Correspondence on Nixon's position on Equal Rights Amendment and his endorsement of ratification; ranking women appointed by Nixon.

0822  6/19/73. 304pp.
*Major Topic:* Anne Armstrong's letter to leading women on staffing of Women's Division of her office as Counsellor to President with Jill Ruckelshaus as special assistant for women's programs.

Box 22

1126  6/20/73–8/9/74. 302pp.
*Major Topics:* Correspondence of Anne Armstrong and Jill Ruckelshaus on women's issues; draft HEW regulations on sex discrimination.
Reel 24

Women, General cont.

Box 22 cont.

  Major Topic: White House correspondence on women's issues, including Nixon's appointments.

  Major Topic: White House correspondence on women's issues, including Nixon's appointments.

0240  1/1/70–12/31/70. 175pp.
  Major Topics: White House correspondence on women's issues, including with National Organization for Women; Ronald Ziegler's explanation of his misuse of term “stag” in describing guests at events Nixon attended; history and divergent views on Equal Rights Amendment.

0415  1/1/71–9/30/70. 92pp.
  Major Topic: White House correspondence on women's issues.

  Major Topic: White House correspondence on women's issues.

  Major Topic: White House correspondence on women's issues.

0723  7/1/72–12/31/72. 49pp.
  Major Topic: White House correspondence on women's issues.

0772  1/1/73–12/31/73. 245pp.
  Major Topic: White House correspondence on women's issues, including divergent views on Equal Rights Amendment.

Box 23

1017  1/1/74–8/9/74. 165pp.
  Major Topic: White House correspondence on women's issues.

Women, States and Territories, General

  Major Topic: White House correspondence on miscellaneous issues.

Reel 25

Freedoms, Executive

Box 23 cont.

0001  Beginning–12/31/70. 15pp.
  Major Topic: White House correspondence on first amendment and other issues.

  Major Topic: White House correspondence.

0037  1/1/73–8/9/74. 14pp.
  Major Topic: White House correspondence.

Freedoms, General

0051  Beginning–12/31/70. 115pp.
  Major Topic: White House correspondence on wiretapping and other issues.

  Major Topics: Concern over Walter Cronkite's criticism of Nixon administration; correspondence with Orthodox church and other Russian emigre leaders; correspondence on freedom of press in U.S. and criticism of restrictions in South Vietnam.
Major Topic: William F. Buckley, Jr. wins suit to void requirement that television broadcasters and commentators must join American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, with excerpts from decision of federal judge Charles L. Brieant, Jr.

Civil Disturbances—Riots, Executive

Major Topic: Concern that Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders may embarrass administration.

Major Topics: White House concern about campus disturbances; Nixon’s statement, correspondence with Father Theodore M. Hesburgh; memos from Agnew to Nixon on campus disorders; Nixon’s statement on urban riots.

Major Topics: Letters from presidents of colleges and universities replying to Nixon’s statement on campus disturbances; Daniel P. Moynihan’s memos on student and campus issues; White House views on improved liaison with campuses; draft text for second Nixon statement on campus disturbances.

Major Topics: Correspondence on campus disturbances with views of S. I. Hayakawa and Daniel P. Moynihan on containing disorders; Daniel P. Moynihan’s address “Politics as the Art of the Impossible”; Nixon’s address “Freedom: A Condition and a Process” including praise of Karl E. Mundt.

Major Topics: State Department report on student unrest abroad; reports to Nixon on causes of campus disturbances, including analysis of student radicalism by National Advisory Commission on Causes and Prevention of Violence.

Reel 26

Major Topic: Reports on campus disturbances; complaint from Tom Charles Huston on lack of mail cover on Vietnam Moratorium Committee; proposals to reduce campus disorders including a “youth policy” task force and draft reform.

10/1/69–12/31/69. 69pp.
Major Topics: Proposals to reduce campus disturbances and reports on student contacts; concern about Nixon’s security during public appearances.

1/1/70–5/7/70. 159pp.
Major Topics: Federal riot area assistance program from HUD; meetings with students and university leaders; intelligence gathering on demonstrations; National Guard use in civil disorders.

Major Topics: Correspondence, reports, and memo of Ken Khachegian on campus disturbances; summary of protests at U.S. facilities abroad following Kent State disorders; Secretary John Volpe defends Nixon’s Cambodian and campus policies.

6/1/70–6/30/70. 222pp.
Major Topics: Correspondence and reports on campus disturbances; White House replies to letters on U.S. intervention in Cambodia; Samuel Lubell’s article “Draft Sired Youth Revolt.”
0799 7/1/70–8/31/70. 144pp.
*Major Topics:* Correspondence and reports on campus disturbances; White House replies to letters on U.S. intervention in Cambodia; effort to mislead demonstrators against Nixon.

**Reel 27**

**Civil Disturbances—Riots, Executive cont.**

**Box 25**

0001 9/1/70–9/17/70. 250pp.
*Major Topics:* Correspondence and reports on campus disturbances; federal agencies’ reports on programs benefiting youth; Sidney Hook’s article “A Plan to Achieve Campus Peace.”

0251 9/18/70 (Folder 1). 169pp.
*Major Topic:* Nixon’s letter to 970 leading educators, journalists, and Republicans forwarding Sidney Hook’s article “A Plan to Achieve Campus Peace.”

0420 9/18/70 (Folder 2). 299pp.
*Major Topic:* Nixon’s letter to 970 leading educators, journalists, and Republicans forwarding Sidney Hook’s article “A Plan to Achieve Campus Peace.”

0719 9/18/70 (Folder 3). 282pp.
*Major Topic:* Nixon’s letter to 970 leading educators, journalists, and Republicans forwarding Sidney Hook’s article “A Plan to Achieve Campus Peace.”

**Reel 28**

**Civil Disturbances—Riots, Executive cont.**

**Box 25 cont.**

0001 9/18/70 (Folder 4). 144pp.
*Major Topic:* Nixon’s letter to 970 leading educators, journalists, and Republicans forwarding Sidney Hook’s article “A Plan to Achieve Campus Peace.”

**Box 26**

0145 9/18/70 (Folder 5). 471pp.
*Major Topic:* Nixon’s letter to 970 leading educators, journalists, and Republicans forwarding Sidney Hook’s article “A Plan to Achieve Campus Peace.”

0616 9/18/70 (Folder 6). 202pp.
*Major Topic:* Nixon’s letter to 970 leading educators, journalists and Republicans forwarding Sidney Hook’s article “A Plan to Achieve Campus Peace.”

**Reel 29**

**Civil Disturbances—Riots, Executive cont.**

**Box 26 cont.**

0001 9/18/70 (Folder 6 cont). 268pp.
*Major Topic:* Nixon’s letter to 970 leading educators, journalists, and Republicans forwarding Sidney Hook’s article “A Plan to Achieve Campus Peace.”

*Major Topics:* Nixon’s letter to 970 leading educators, journalists, and Republicans forwarding Sidney Hook’s article “A Plan to Achieve Campus Peace”; letters in response to Sidney Hook’s article; newspaper coverage and editorials on Nixon’s letter.
Major Topic: Nixon sends to leading educators and members of Congress J. Edgar Hoover's open letter to college students on "ploy" to foment campus disorders.


Major Topics: 1969 memo from Departments of Defense and Justice on "...Action Plan for Civil Disturbances," including plans for possible engagement of federal troops and for disturbances in Washington, D.C.; White House concern over composition of groups of demonstrators (pro and con) at Nixon's appearances.

Major Topics: White House concern over composition of groups of demonstrators (pro and con) at Nixon's appearances; possible infiltration of black protest groups.

Reel 30

Civil Disturbances—Riots, General cont.

Box 27
Major Topic: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances.
Major Topic: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances.
0272 5/6/69—5/19/69. 147pp.
Major Topic: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances.
Major Topic: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances.
Major Topics: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances; report on Harvard University campus disturbances, April 1969.
0829 7/1/69—8/31/69. 75pp.
Major Topic: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances.
0904 9/1/69—9/30/69. 94pp.

Reel 31

Civil Disturbances—Riots, General cont.

Box 27 cont.
0001 10/1/69—12/31/69. 83pp.
Major Topics: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances; Bruno Bettelheim's article "Obsolete Youth—Towards a Psychograph of Adolescent Rebellion."

Box 28
0084 1/1/70—4/30/70. 71pp.
Major Topic: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances.
0155 5/1/70—5/9/70. 67pp.
Major Topics: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances; protests over Spiro Agnew misstatement about location where a student was beaten.
0222 5/10/70—5/14/70. 98pp.
Major Topic: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances.
Frame #

Major Topic: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances.

0474 5/25/70–5/30/70. 61pp.
Major Topic: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances.

0535 6/1/70–6/9/70. 68pp.
Major Topic: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances.

0603 6/10/70–6/15/70. 155pp.
Major Topic: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances.

0758 6/16/70–6/28/70. 113pp.
Major Topic: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances.

Reel 32

Civil Disturbances—Riots, General cont.

Box 28 cont.
0001 6/29/70 (Folder 1). 208pp.
Major Topics: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances; Nixon names President’s Commission on Campus Unrest.

0209 6/29/70 (Folder 2). 194pp.
Major Topic: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances.

Box 29
0403 6/30/70. 49pp.
Major Topic: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances.

0452 7/1/70–7/9/70. 108pp.
Major Topic: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances.

0560 7/10/70–7/24/70. 157pp.
Major Topic: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances.

0717 7/25/70–7/31/70. 94pp.
Major Topic: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances.

Reel 33

Civil Disturbances—Riots, General cont.

Box 29 cont.
0001 8/1/70–8/31/70. 223pp.
Major Topic: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances.

0224 9/1/70–9/30/70. 94pp.
Major Topic: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances.

0318 10/1/70–10/31/70. 205pp.
Major Topics: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances; John Ehrlichman’s defense of Spiro Agnew; Senator Charles Percy’s views on campus disturbances.

0523 11/1/70–12/31/70. 80pp.
Major Topic: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances.

Box 30
Major Topic: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances.

0758 1/1/73–8/9/74. 3pp.
Major Topic: Letters on demonstrations and campus disturbances.
Civil Disturbances—Riots, District of Columbia, Executive

0761 Beginning–12/31/70. 198pp.

0963 1/1/71–4/30/71. 61pp.
Major Topic: Antiwar activities in Washington, D.C.

Reel 34

Civil Disturbances—Riots, District of Columbia, Executive cont.

Box 30 cont.
Major Topics: Antiwar activities in Washington, D.C.; Nixon’s commendation of local military and police leadership.

Major Topics: Antiwar activities in Washington, D.C., including government action to end Quaker peace vigil in front of White House; editorials on Nixon’s response to antiwar protests; 1972 occupation of Bureau of Indian Affairs building and other protests by native Americans (Indians).

0409 1/1/73–8/9/74. 15pp.
Major Topic: Vietnam Veterans against the War protest rally.

Civil Disturbances—Riots, District of Columbia, General

0424 Beginning–12/31/70. 95pp.
Major Topic: Controversy with Carl McIntire over his march for victory in Vietnam, April 1970.

Box 31
0519 1/1/71–12/31/72 (Folder 1). 130pp.
Major Topic: Letters on Nixon’s stand on antiwar protests.

Major Topic: Letters on 1972 occupation of Bureau of Indian Affairs building and other protests by native Americans (Indians).

0802 1/1/73–8/9/74. 26pp.
Major Topic: Agreement for evacuation of Bureau of Indian Affairs building.

Civil Disturbances—Riots, Local Governments, Executive

0828 Beginning–10/22/69. 177pp.
Major Topics: Nixon’s concern with press and media coverage; White House interest in planning of antiwar movement; Nixon’s letter explaining statement that antiwar demonstrations will not affect his actions; letters on Nixon’s stand on Vietnam and antiwar protests.
Reel 35

Civil Disturbances—Riots, Local Governments, Executive cont.

Box 31 cont.
Major Topics: Letters and editorials on Vietnam demonstrations and Nixon’s stand on antiwar protests; literature of Vietnam Moratorium Committee.

Major Topic: Letters and editorials on Vietnam demonstrations and Nixon’s stand on antiwar protests.

Major Topics: Letters and editorials on Vietnam demonstrations and Nixon’s stand on antiwar protests; staff views on Nixon’s contacts with reporters.

Box 32
0525 1/1/70–12/31/70. 38pp.
Major Topics: Gold Star mother protests use of her deceased son’s name in Vietnam moratorium; letters on Vietnam demonstrations and Nixon’s stand on antiwar protests.

Major Topics: Nixon’s explanation of 1972 decisions on Vietnam; concern about Nixon’s security during public appearances and staff efforts to prevent protests nearby.

0643 1/1/73–8/9/74. 194pp.

Major Topics: Letters and reports on demonstrations and campus disturbances, including municipal strikes in Charleston, South Carolina; concern about Nixon’s security during public appearances and staff efforts to prevent protests nearby.


Reel 36

Civil Disturbances—Riots, Local Governments, Executive cont.

Box 32 cont.
Major Topics: Letters and documents on campus disturbance at Kent State University, Ohio; Nixon’s letters of condolence to families of four students killed at Kent State; National Guard: profile of average member and statistics on call-ups, 1967–1970.

0185 Kent. 6/19/70–12/31/70. 285pp.
Major Topics: Letters and documents on campus disturbance at Kent State University, Ohio; Nixon’s response to letters on Kent State and U.S. incursion into Cambodia; report of National Commission on Causes and Prevention of Violence on campus disturbance at Kent State.

Major Topics: Concern about Nixon’s security during public appearances and staff efforts to prevent protests nearby; letters and editorials on Vietnam demonstrations and Nixon’s stand on antiwar protests; Arnold Beichman’s article “Letter from Columbia [University]: The Progress of a Putsch”; Nixon’s speech denouncing attack on his motorcade in San Jose, California, during 1970 campaign.
Concern about Nixon's security during public appearances.

**Major Topic:** Civil Disturbances—Riots, Local Governments, General

**Box 33**

  *Major Topic:* Correspondence on Vietnam demonstrations and Nixon's stand on Vietnam.

  *Major Topic:* Petitions and correspondence on Vietnam.

  *Major Topic:* Petitions and correspondence on Vietnam.

**Reel 37**

**Major Topic:** Civil Disturbances—Riots, Local Governments, General cont.

**Box 33 cont.**

  *Major Topic:* Petitions and correspondence on Vietnam.

  *Major Topics:* Petitions and correspondence on Vietnam; White House concern over criticism of Nixon.

  *Major Topics:* Petitions and correspondence on Vietnam; White House concern over criticism of Nixon.

**Box 34**


  *Major Topic:* Petitions and correspondence on Vietnam.

  *Major Topic:* Petitions and correspondence on Vietnam.

**Reel 38**

**Major Topic:** Civil Disturbances—Riots, Local Governments, General cont.

**Box 34 cont.**

  *Major Topic:* Petitions and correspondence on Vietnam.

- **0146** [Vietnam Protest Issues]. 10/31/69 (Folder 1). 144pp.
  *Major Topic:* Petitions and correspondence on Vietnam.

  *Major Topic:* Petitions and correspondence on Vietnam.

- **0468** [Vietnam Protest Issues]. 10/31/69 (Folder 3). 75pp.
  *Major Topic:* Petitions and correspondence on Vietnam.

**Box 35**

  *Major Topic:* Petitions and correspondence on Vietnam.
Reel 39

Civil Disturbances—Riots, Local Governments, General cont.

Box 35 cont.
Major Topics: Petitions and correspondence on Vietnam; William Kintner condemns Council on Foreign Relations invitation to moratorium organizer.
Major Topic: Petitions and correspondence on Vietnam.
Major Topic: Petitions and correspondence on Vietnam.
Major Topic: Petitions and correspondence on Vietnam.

Box 36
0509 [Vietnam Protest Issues]. 1/1/70–1/31/70. 98pp.  
Major Topic: Petitions and correspondence on campus disturbance at Kent State University, Ohio.
Major Topics: Petitions and correspondence on Vietnam; controversy with Carl McIntire over his April 1970 march for victory in Vietnam.
Major Topics: Petitions and correspondence on Vietnam; controversy over “People’s Park” at University of California, Berkeley.
Major Topics: Campus disturbances at Jackson State College, Mississippi, and elsewhere; racial disturbances in Hartford, Connecticut.

Reel 40

Civil Disturbances—Riots, Local Governments, General cont.

Box 36 cont.
Major Topic: Petitions and correspondence on campus disturbance at Kent State University, Ohio.
0110 Kent. 5/10/70–5/20/70. 42pp.  
Major Topic: Petitions and correspondence on campus disturbance at Kent State University, Ohio.
0152 Kent. 5/21/70–5/31/70. 68pp.  
Major Topics: Petitions and correspondence on campus disturbance at Kent State University, Ohio; Victor Riesel’s article on activities of Students for a Democratic Society at Kent State.
0220 Kent. 6/1/70–6/9/70. 36pp.  
Major Topic: Petitions and correspondence on campus disturbance at Kent State University, Ohio.
0256 Kent. 6/10/70–6/12/70. 93pp.  
Major Topic: Petitions and correspondence on campus disturbance at Kent State University, Ohio.
Major Topic: Petitions and correspondence on campus disturbance at Kent State University, Ohio.

Box 37
0519 Kent. 7/1/70–7/9/70. 84pp. Major Topic: Petitions and correspondence on campus disturbance at Kent State University, Ohio.

0603 Kent. 7/10/70–7/31/70. 65pp. Major Topic: Petitions and correspondence on campus disturbance at Kent State University, Ohio.

0668 Kent. 8/1/70–12/31/70. 110pp. Major Topic: Petitions and correspondence on campus disturbance at Kent State University, Ohio.


Reel 41

Civil Disturbances—Riots, Local Governments, General cont.

Major Topics: Report on 1966 Hunters Point riots in San Francisco, California; correspondence on campus disturbances; October 1970 demonstration against Nixon at San Jose, California; work of Community Relations Service, Justice Department.

Major Topic: Correspondence on campus disturbances.

Major Topics: Justice Department statement on and correspondence on Kent State campus disturbance; correspondence on protest of American Indian Movement at Wounded Knee, South Dakota.

Major Topic: Role of federal grand juries in investigating campus disturbances at Jackson State, Mississippi, Kent State University, Ohio, and Southern University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Major Topic: Governor Meldrim Thompson protests misconduct in New Hampshire by black youth in federal model city enrichment program.
Campus Disturbances, General

0470  Beginning–12/31/70. 51pp.
      Major Topic: Correspondence on allegations that White House wishes to introduce censorship.

0521  1/1/71–12/31/72. 52pp.
      Major Topic: Correspondence on campus disturbances.
      [Campus Disturbances, [General], 1/1/73–8/9/74. Empty folder.]

      Major Topic: Correspondence on campus disturbances, including death of two students at Southern University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

0663  A–Z. 1/1/73–8/9/74. 3pp.
      Major Topic: Correspondence on campus disturbances.

Reel 42

Speech, Executive

Box 38

      Major Topic: Correspondence on free speech.

Speech, General

      Major Topic: Correspondence on free speech and allegations that White House wishes to introduce censorship.

Worship, Executive


Worship, General

      Major Topic: Correspondence on religious freedom.

Genocide, Executive

0059  Beginning–12/31/70. 87pp.
      Major Topic: Nixon's message to Senate and correspondence on ratification of UN Genocide Convention including letters of John W. Bricker in opposition.

0146  1/1/71–[12/31/72]. 91pp.
      Major Topics: Correspondence on ratification of UN Genocide Convention; implementing legislation on genocide analyzed by Justice Department.
      [Genocide, 1/1/73–8/9/74. Empty folder.]

Genocide, General

      Major Topics: Mistreatment of Jews in Iraq and Soviet Union; correspondence on ratification of UN Genocide Convention.

      Major Topic: Correspondence on ratification of UN Genocide Convention.

0503  1/1/71–[12/31/72]. 145pp.
      Major Topics: Correspondence on ratification of UN Genocide Convention; correspondence on civil war in Pakistan leading to independence of Bangladesh.
Frame #

0648 1/1/73–8/9/74. 12pp.
Major Topic: Correspondence on ratification of UN Genocide Convention.

Ideologies, Executive


Box 39

0787 1/1/70–6/30/70. 126pp.
Major Topic: Nixon’s response to letters from children regarding patriotism.

0913 7/1/70–9/30/70. 102pp.
Major Topic: Nixon’s response to letters expressing support for his policy in Southeast Asia; letters regarding patriotism.

Reel 43

Ideologies, Executive cont.

Box 39 cont.

0001 10/1/70–12/31/70. 63pp.
Major Topics: Nixon’s response to letters of support from children and community groups; Order of Sons of Italy in America support of Nixon.

0064 1/1/71–12/31/72 (Folder 1). 175pp.
Major Topics: Nixon’s response to letters of support from children, servicemen, and community groups; Soviet and Chinese territorial expansion since 1940; criticism of Nixon’s letter to allegedly anti-Semitic editor of Hungarian language newspaper in Pittsburgh, Jeno Szebedinszky.

0239 1/1/71–12/31/72 (Folder 2). 78pp.
Major Topic: Nixon’s response to compositions favorable to the United States.

0317 1/1/73–8/9/74. 142pp.
Major Topic: Nixon’s response to miscellaneous correspondence concerning patriotic matters.

Ideologies, General

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Major Topic: Letters to Nixon regarding the threat of communism.

Major Topic: Letters to Nixon regarding national unity.

Major Topic: Letters to Nixon from children about the pledge of allegiance; letters to press and media complaining of bias in coverage.

Major Topic: Miscellaneous correspondence to Nixon regarding communism, the flag, black empowerment, and patriotism.

0734 6/1/69–9/30/69 (Folder 1). 159pp.
Major Topic: Miscellaneous correspondence to Nixon regarding unveiling of Peace memorial, how to defeat communism, and the patriotism of American youth.

0893 6/1/69–9/30/69 (Folder 2). 207pp.
Major Topic: Miscellaneous correspondence on patriotism.
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   *Major Topic:* Protests about Communists in teaching positions, Communist infiltration into American society, and un-American activity.

0141 1/1/70–3/31/70. 86pp.
   *Major Topic:* Letters to Nixon regarding loyalty to America and traditional values.

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0227 4/1/70–6/30/70. 70pp.
   *Major Topic:* Letters to Nixon offering ways to counteract bad publicity, support of presidential policies, and support for servicemen in Southeast Asia.

0297 7/1/70–9/30/70. 114pp.
   *Major Topics:* Letters to Nixon regarding traditional values, the Communist threat, and treatment of the flag; U.S. policy statement on international communism.

0411 10/1/70–12/31/70. 42pp.
   *Major Topic:* Letters regarding treatment of the flag, artistic expressions of patriotism, efforts to promote patriotic feeling.

   *Major Topic:* Letters of support from people who are angry with attacks on America.

   *Major Topics:* Criticism of Nixon's letter to allegedly anti-Semitic editor of Hungarian language newspaper in Pittsburgh, Jeno Szebedinzsky; letters expressing support for administration policies; Hungarian-Americans call for United States to retain St. Stephen's crown.

   *Major Topic:* Miscellaneous correspondence on patriotism.

   *Major Topic:* Letters to Nixon from children expressing their support for the president and their love of America.

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   *Major Topic:* Miscellaneous correspondence expressing support for America.

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0110 9/1/72–12/31/72. 175pp.
   *Major Topic:* Miscellaneous correspondence concerning patriotism.

0285 1/1/73–5/31/73. 232pp.
   *Major Topic:* Miscellaneous correspondence concerning patriotism; correspondence with children.

0517 6/1/73–8/9/74 (Folder 1). 107pp.
   *Major Topic:* Miscellaneous correspondence concerning patriotism.

0624 6/1/73–8/9/74 (Folder 2). 154pp.
   *Major Topic:* Letters to Nixon from children on why they love America.
The White House Special Files, The White House Central Files
Human Rights

Box 35
  Major Topics: Nixon's relations with black leaders and meeting with Roy Wilkins; White House
  advisors' views on Nixon's civil rights policies.
  Major Topics: Administration's policies on discrimination due to national origin or religion;
  administration's relations with Spanish-speaking leaders.
0895 [Education—Schooling], 1/20/69–2/28/70. 59pp.
  Major Topics: Administration's policies on school desegregation and forced busing;
  administration's interest in "southern strategy" and contacts with southern leaders; Nixon's
  concern over George Wallace's prospects in 1972.
0954 [Education—Schooling], 3/1/70–10/21/70. 54pp.
  Major Topics: Nixon's concern with critical press and media coverage; Nixon's efforts to
  discharge dissenting federal employees; Nixon's policies on school desegregation and letter on
  forced busing.

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Box 35 cont.
  Major Topics: Administration's interest in antibusing constitutional amendment;
  recommendations of Cabinet Committee on Education and Council of Black Appointees on
  alternatives to busing in desegregation; withdrawal sheets; Nixon's relations with black leaders;
  federal desegregation suit against Louisiana higher education system.
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  Major Topic: Nixon's interest in federal desegregation plans.
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  Major Topics: Women appointed to significant federal positions; Nixon's meeting with
  Republican women members of House of Representatives; administration's views on support for
  Equal Rights Amendment.
  Major Topic: Nixon's decision to support Equal Rights Amendment.
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Major Topics: Nixon’s meeting with college presidents; White House staff contacts with students; Alexander Heard’s memo on university conditions and student concerns; Nixon’s interest in legislation against campus disturbances; background on Nixon’s decision to forward Sidney Hook’s article “A Plan to Achieve Campus Peace” to 970 leading educators, journalists, and Republicans.


Major Topics: White House actions to counter Vietnam moratorium, including efforts in Congress and with media; strategy memos by H. R. Haldeman and Dwight L. Chapin on countering Vietnam moratorium and mobilization.

Major Topic: Administration’s statement on campus disturbance at Kent State University, Ohio.
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Part II. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Administrative History
Part III. Oral Histories
Part IV. Papers of the White House Conference on Civil Rights
Part V. Records of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission)

Civil Rights during the Kennedy Administration
Part 1: The White House Central Files and Staff Files and the President's Office Files
Part 2: The Papers of Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights

Civil Rights during the Nixon Administration, 1969–1974
Part 1. The White House Central Files