Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

Conversation No. 95-1

Date: March 17, 1972

Time: Unknown after 12:00 am until 9:54 am

Location: Cabinet Room

Elliot L. Richardson met with Richard G. Kleindienst, George P. Shultz, Michael J. ("Mike")

Mansfield, Hugh Scott, Robert C. Byrd, Robert P. Griffin, Jacob K. Javits, Roman L. Hruska,

James O. Eastland, Carl B. Albert, Gerald R. Ford, Albert H. Quie, William M. McCulloch, John

D. Ehrlichman, Clark MacGregor, William E. Timmons, Thomas C. Korologos, Richard K.

Cook, Edward L. Morgan, Paul H. O'Neill, Patrick J. Buchanan, Kenneth W. Dam, Leonard

Garment, and Herbert G. Klein; the White House photographer and members of the press were

present at the beginning of the meeting

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 08/21/2019.]

[Unintelligible] [095-001-w001] [Duration: 24m 1s]

Supreme Court

Work

-Testify

Economic Council

Reception

Spiro T. Agnew

The President [?]

Hugh Scott

-Greeting

Airplane

Number

Tape Subject Log

```
Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield
            -Greeting
      Bob [Robert C. Byrd; Robert P. Griffin] [?]
            -Greeting
      Railroads [?]
      Newspaper story
      Bill [William M. McCulloch; William E. Timmons] [?]
            -Greeting
      Wife [?]
      Background
      Number
      Agreement
The President entered at 8:07 am
      Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon
      Briefing
            -Movement
      Bipartisan meeting
      John D. Ehrlichman
*************************
    Briefing
         -Attendees
    Busing
         -Legislation
              -Congress
              -Judiciary Committee
         -Racial balance
```

Tape Subject Log

```
-The President, 1967
-Lower courts
     -Decisions
-Supreme Court
-Segregation
     -Brown v. Board of Education
          -Review of decision
-Inferior compared with superior education
-House and Senate
     -Constitutional amendment
          -Racial balance
          -Language
          -Timing
                -Children
                     -Victims
-Legislative moratorium
     -Constitutionality
     -Congress
-Equal Education Opportunity Act of 1972
     -Desegregation
     -Legislation
-Moratorium
-The administration program
-Constitutional amendment
-House and Senate
-Moratorium
-Shultz
-Kleindienst
-Richardson
-House and Senate
-Black appointees
-School committees
-Transportation compared with education
-School systems
     -Reorganization
          -Costs
                -Young children
                     -Fifth grade and below
                -Distance
                -Time of travel
-Equal educational opportunity
     -Bills
          -Moratorium
```

Tape Subject Log

- -Wage/price freeze comparison
- -Fact sheet
 - -July 1973 deadline
- -Equal Education Opportunity Act of 1972
 - -Richardson
 - -Funds for compensatory education
 - -Low income students
 - -Emergency School Aid Act
 - -Definitions
 - -De facto segregation
 - -Remedies
 - -Denials
 - -Emergency School Aid Act
 - -Constitutional violations
- -Age of children
 - -Sixth grade or lower
- -Junior and high school students
 - -Temporary orders
- -School district violations
 - -Desegregation order
- -Moratorium
 - -Constitutionality
 - -Congress
 - -13th Amendment
 - -Congressional power
 - -Department of Justice [DOJ]
- -Compensatory education
- -Equal opportunity legislation
 - -Funds
 - -Distribution
 - -Need
 - -Emergency School Aid Act
 - -Poor or minority children
 - -Student transfer
 - -Funds transfer
- -Desegregation
- -Better education
- -Inferior schools
 - -Central cities
 - -Rural areas
 - -Black children
 - -Harlem
 - -South Side Chicago

Tape Subject Log

```
-Racial versus education problem
     -Central city schools
           -Compared to suburban schools
-Moratorium
-Fact sheet
     -Cases
          -Detroit and Grand Rapids
                -District line violations
-National program
     -Equity
-Charlotte, Mecklenburg cases
-Intervention
     -DOJ
     -Lower courts
     -Directive
           -Cabinet officers
           -All bureaucrats
-School boards
     -County
     -Segregation
           -Cases
                -Court orders
                -Michigan cases
                     -School districts
                -Charlotte, Mecklenburg
                -Section 406
                     -Brown v. Board of Education
                -Oklahoma City
                     -Federal District Judge
                     -10th Circuit
                -Modification of court orders
                -Richmond
                -Moratorium
                      -Cases filed before and after
                           -Decisions rendered
                           -Richmond case
                -District courts
                      -Remedies
                           -Hierarchy
                           -Busing orders
                                -Five years
                                -Never ending
                                -Circuit court
```

Tape Subject Log

- -Richardson
- -Transfer of students
 - -Department of Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW]
 - -Withhold funds
 - -School districts
 - -Transfer of funds
 - -Until graduation
 - -HEW cut-off of funds
 - -Enrollment
- -Court orders
- -HEW court plans
 - -Remedies
 - -Voluntary
 - -Section 406
- -Intervention
 - -Alternatives
 - -Appeal procedures
- -Moratorium
- -Richmond case
- -Denver case
- -Detroit case
- -Moratorium
 - -Court order
 - -Constitutionality
 - -Congress
 - -Old busing orders
 - -Intervention
 - -Federal District Judge
 - -Section 406
 - -Old busing orders
 - -Constitutionality
- -Constitutional amendment
 - -Effectiveness
 - -Future
- -Budget
 - -New or old money
 - -Title 1
 - -Emergency School Aid Act
 - -Fiscal 1972-1974
 - -Amount
 - -Redirection of funds
 - -New money
 - -Poor children

Tape Subject Log

- -Appalachia
- -Mexicans
- -Accurate definition
- -Richardson
- -Rural areas compared with cities
 - -1970 census
 - -Numbers
 - -Schools
- -Title 1
- -Transfer of students and funds
- -Congressional leadership
- -Moratorium
 - -Termination
 - -Legislation
 - -Congress
- -Emergency School Aid Act
 - -Mansfield
 - -Talk with Ford
 - -Conference
 - -House of Representatives
 - -Conference
 - -Report
 - -Effectiveness
- -Scott-Mansfield amendment
- -William S. Broomfield amendment
- -The President's plan
- -Conference
 - -Richardson
 - -Money
 - -HEW
- -Moratorium
 - -Constitutionality
 - -Lawyers
 - -Meeting with the President
 - -Robert H. Bork
 - -Hammond Chaffetz
 - -Shultz
 - -Kleindienst
 - -Resolution
 - -Congress
 - -Senate and House bills
- -Importance
- -Speech

Tape Subject Log

- -Number it affects
- -Florida primary
 - -Issue
- -Public opinion
- -George C. Wallace
 - -Racists
 - -Voting
- -Children
- -Public opinion
- -Scott-Mansfield amendment
- -Civil rights
- -House of Representatives
 - -Broomfield amendment
 - -Compromise
 - -Moratorium
 - -Provisions
- -Moratorium
 - -Judiciary
 - -Education
- -Scott-Mansfield amendment
- -Moratorium legislation
- -Broomfield amendment
- -John N. Ashbrook amendment
- -William J. Green amendment
- -House of Representatives
 - -Rules Committee
- -Broomfield, Ashbrook, and Green amendments
- -Constitutional amendment
 - -Progress
 - -Vote in the House
 - -Senate
 - -Chairman of the Judiciary Committee
- -Legislative group
- -Supreme Court
- -Ford
 - -Legislative remedy
 - -Doubts
 - -Before the People's Republic of China trip
- -Cabinet Committee
 - -Work
 - -Praise
- -Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan
- -Civil rights leaders

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

```
-Cabinet Committee
-Legislative proposal
     -Congress
     -Courts
-Distance
     -Moratorium provisions
          -School boards
                -New schools
          -Orders of federal courts
                -School districts
                     -HEW
-Judiciary Committee
-Constitutional amendment
     -As an amendment to a resolution
     -Compared to Equal Rights Amendment [ERA]
-Brown v. Board of Education
-Racial balance
-Quality education
-Effect on children
     -Kindergarten through sixth grade
     -Older children
-Section 403
     -Section C
     -Section B
-Statute as a whole
     -Sixth grade and below
     -Education Act
     -Last resort
     -Copies
          -Judiciary Committee
-Domestic problem
     -Priority
-Courts
-Constitutional amendment
-The President
-HEW
-DOJ
-Action
-Congress
```

-Moratorium

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 08/22/2019.]
[Unintelligible]

[095-001-w002] [Duration: 2m 17s]

General conversation

Bill [William M. McCulloch; William E. Timmons] [?] -Appearance

Work

The President

Gerald R. Ford

The President, et al. left at 9:54 am

Conversation No. 95-2

Date: March 17, 1972

Time: Unknown after 10:13 am until 11:54 am

Location: Cabinet Room

The President met with Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, William P. Rogers, Melvin R. Laird, General George A. Lincoln, John B. Connally, John N. Irwin, II, Richard M. Helms, Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, Ronald I. Spiers, David M. Kennedy, Gerard C. Smith, Philip J. Farley, Spurgeon M. Keeny, Jr., [Name withdrawn], General Royal B. Allison, Paul H. Nitze, Henry A. Kissinger, Colonel Richard T. Kennedy, Philip A. Odeen, Helmut ("Hal") Sonnenfeldt, and Gardiner L. Tucker

[Recording begins while the conversation is in progress]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

```
[This segment was declassified on 02/28/2002.]
[National Security]
[095-002-w001]
[Duration: <u>1h 22m 57s</u>]
       Foreign relations
              -Henry A. Kissinger
                      -Meetings
                              -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
                                     -Negotiations
                                     -Anti-ballistic Missile [ABM] levels
                                     -Submarine missiles
                                     -Radar
                                     -Anti-ballistic Missile [ABM] levels
                                            -Proposals
                                            -Program
                                            -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
                                            -US
                                            -Proposals
                                                    -Six down to three
                                                           -Submission to the President
                                     -Radar
                                     -Anti-ballistic Missile [ABM]
                                            -Problems
                                            -Missiles
                                            -Safeguard system
                                            -Radar
                                     -People's Republic of China [PRC]
                                     -French
                                     -Great Britain
                                     -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
                                     -Sites
                                     -Proposals
                                     -Intercontinental Ballistic Missile [ICBM]
                                     -One-for-one agreement
                                     -Radar
                                            -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
                                            -Delegation
                                     -Proposals
                                     -Radar
                                     -Anti-ballistic Missile [ABM] agreement
                                     -Politics
```

-Missiles

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

```
-Safeguard
```

- -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - -Missiles
 - -Radar
- -Two-for-one
- -Two-for-two
- -Congress
- -Agreement
- -Congress
 - -Site approval
 - -Appropriations
 - -Defense system
 - -Safeguard
 - -Number of sites
 - -Anti-ballistic Missile [ABM] system
 - -Moscow
 - -Armed Services committee
 - -Appropriations committee
 - -Foreign relations committee
 - -Number of sites
 - -Washington, DC defense
 - -Moscow defense
 - -Intercontinental Ballistic Missile [ICBM]
 - -Population
 - -Moscow
 - -People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - -Contract
 - -Committees
 - -Safeguard program
 - -Defense

-Allies

- -Treaty
 - -Appropriations
- -Sites
- -Interceptors
 - -Amount
 - -Sites
- -Radar
- -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
- -Proposals
- -Interceptors
- -Treaty
- -Intercontinental Ballistic Missile [ICBM]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

-Congressional support

-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

```
-Radar
-US proposal
       -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
-Interceptors
-Two-for-one
-Safeguard sites
-Submarines
       -Number
              -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
       -Agreement
       -Proposal
              -US
                      -Modifications
       -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
       -US proposal
       -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
       -1978
       -Conversion
       -Program
              -Melvin R. Laird
-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] vs. the US
-Missiles
-Ongoing program
-Technology
       -Submarines
              -Numbers
-Gerard C. Smith
-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]s
       -Intercontinental Ballistic Missile [ICBM]
       -International cooperation
-Agreement
-Defensive systems
       -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
       -Intercontinental Ballistic Missile [ICBM]
       -Submarines
-Arms race
-Politics
-Intercontinental Ballistic Missile [ICBM]
-Negotiations
-Missiles
```

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

- -Submarines
- -Intercontinental Ballistic Missile [ICBM]
- -The Presidential candidates
 - -Edmund S. Muskie
- -Conversions and modifications
- -Missiles
- -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - -Submarines
 - -Modifications
 - -Construction program
- -Anti-ballistic Missile treaty
- -Agreement
- -Production freeze
 - -Submarines
 - -Agreement
- -US-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] relations
 - -Submarines
 - -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] trip
 - -Offensive weapons
 - -Ceiling on submarines

-Freeze

- -Bargaining position
- -Agreement
 - -Negotiations
 - -Moscow
- -Treaty
 - -Language
- -Melvin R. Laird
- -Negotiations
- -Submarine
- -North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]
- -Trade off systems
- -Future negotiations
 - -1976

-End of Nixon administration

-US technology

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-014. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1) on 04/24/2019. Archivist: DR]

Tape Subject Log

(rev. 2/24)

[National Security] [095-002-w001] [Duration: 1m 42s]

SURVEILLANCE

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

```
Foreign relations
```

-Henry A. Kissinger -Meetings

- -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
 - -Paris
 - -Submarines
 - -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]s
 - -Agreement
 - -Arms control
 - -Targeting system
 - -Technology
 - -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] union
 - -characterized
 - -Gross National Product [GNP]
 - -People
 - -Agreement
 - -Arguments
 - -US-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] relations
 - -1960, 1961
 - -Weapons systems
 - -Bargaining position
 - -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]s
 - -Negotiators
 - -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] trip
 - -Arms race
 - -Limitation
 - -Escalation
 - -Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - -Politics
 - -Cuban Missile Crisis

Tape Subject Log (rev. 2/24)

Recording was cut off at an unknown time before 11:54 am