THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 16, 1970

URGENT & IMMEDIATE

MEMORANDUM TO H. R. HALDEMAN

When in Florida I first read of the constituency of our "commission" to study Kent State and campus disorders; I was appalled. The last two days have convinced me that a serious mistake has been made that will be damaging to the President when the report comes out, and may be used against us both on the campuses, and in the fall elections.

- 1. Attached is a New York Time's article on the young black we named -- we have some idea of what we can expect from him. Banfield of Harvard, with whom I spoke yesterday, author of "The Unheavenly City," told me he was himself appalled by this appointment, felt the commission itself a dreadful mistake, and that we had invited serious trouble as a result of the report.
- 2. The obvious and flagrant over-representation of blacks is ludicrous -- not only that, but every vocal black these days is a captive of his black constituency. (Note Mr. Cheek's comments in today's News Summary.) It is simply not realistic to expect any one of them -- with the constituencies they have to serve -- to come up with other than the stock conclusions, which I predict will be:
  - -- The campuses are alienated; Nixon has his priorities mixed up; we have to get out of Vietnam now; too much is being spent on defense; the youth do not feel they can participate in the democracy; they are losing confidence in their leaders; ad nauseam.
  - 3. We have invited upon the President's head the same thunder that fell in on LBJ when he let that Kerner Commission blame America's problems on "white racism:" a commission which never even credited Johnson with the enormous steps he had taken.

- 4. Our group is undistinguished in terms of the prestige of its people.
- 5. Why was not the Sidney Hook Academic Group -- which has gathered hundreds of professors, liberals of prestige among them, from around the country who are speaking up for an open campus and academic freedom brought in -- indeed, why do they not dominate it.
- 6. There must be some inherent suicidal tendency or death wish which would allow the creation of the kind of animal we have put together to report on the problems of the campus. The reason this is sent to you rather than the President is simply that right now I don't know just what the hell we can do about this commission -- now that we have announced it; RN has enough things to worry about right now -- but it sure as hell is something we ought to be worrying about.
- 7. What about this -- one proposal -- let me see if I can get lined up some four or five top flight academicians -- there is a group meeting regularly with the Veep, which has real credentials -- and then paste them on. Other alternatives: circumscribe the operations of this little group to perhaps Kent State, and get another group to report later on the larger problem.

PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

Do This - fast and I can probably get Them added on.