

August 12, 1970

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. BROWN

FROM: Gregg Petersmeyer

SUBJECT: The attached Dent minutes
for last Thursday's meeting
of Southerners and other
conservatives with the President

Mr. Haldeman asked that I forward the attached to you
for appropriate filing.

He had asked Dent personally for a report on this meeting
and Dent forwarded the attached directly to Bob.

Haldeman has made a copy for himself and has forwarded
a copy to John Ehrlichman. He regards this as highly
confidential and these are the only two copies that have been
made.

Attached

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Report on Meeting of Southerners and Other Conservatives with the President, Thursday, August 6, 1970 during the period 5:20 PM-7:30 PM.

The meeting was opened with a statement by Senator Gurney who spoke of the concern among many Southern Republican leaders about what he described as a change within the past thirty days of Administration policies toward the South and the overall question of school desegregation. He mentioned the recent news story about U. S. Attorneys and Marshals going South to assist with desegregation, IRS tax-exempt status decision on private schools, and the current law suits being instituted by the Justice Department in a number of Southern states. He specifically recommended that Jerris Leonard be fired as Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights. Leonard was described as being arrogant and politically harmful to the President. Gurney complained also that there had been no indication of any change in attitude or actions on the part of the leadership in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. It appeared he was referring to the change in Administrations and also the recent change from Secretary Finch to Secretary Richardson.

Senator Tower spoke next saying he concurred in the comments of Senator Gurney and expressed extreme concern about the political damage being done to the President. Both Gurney and Tower emphasized that they had been able to successfully defend the President in the South from a political standpoint until thirty days ago when the series of decisions, actions, and statements had caused a change in the Southern attitude toward the President.

Tower informed the President that HEW now has a new policy of no political clearances for filling jobs. The President seemed to be very concerned about this statement. However, others in the room supported the Tower statement pointing out that Secretary Richardson had just confirmed this to them in a meeting earlier in the afternoon. Dent, in responding to a question by the President wanting to know whether this was White House policy, explained to the President that the Secretary had just stated that his department would no longer require clearances for GS-15 and below jobs and for some boards and commissions requiring only professional competence.

Congressman Dickinson of Alabama brought up the point of a Mr. Jansen being appointed to a regional attorney job with HUD in Atlanta. Dickinson complained that this fellow had a bad record as U. S. Attorney under the Johnson Administration and there had been no clearance whatever on this through any Republican leaders in Alabama. He made the point that actions by bureaucrats and by some of our own appointees are hurting the President politically, strongly suggesting that "heads should be rolled." He particularly addressed himself to the Ripon Society and the recent report by the Society advocating that many of the Southern states be written off politically by the Nixon Administration. The President assured him this would not be done. Dickinson cited the attached statistics about gains in Republican strength in the South from 1958 through 1968. The President asked that he give this information to Dent, indicating that he personally wanted this information. This is incorporated in Tab A.

Dent explained to the President that Jansen has been removed from his temporary position with HUD. He said the Secretary of HUD had evidently felt compelled to make this temporary appointment based on pressures by Senator Sparkman. The President said he understood.

The President then addressed the meeting, stating that the Ripon Society does not represent the President. He spoke of the thin gray line which helped him win the convention and

the election and that what is needed in the South is a good strong base for the future. He emphasized his interest in the South and his strong feeling for the Southern people whom he said have been saving the nation, particularly in the area of national security. The President made a distinction between desegregation and integration, saying the former represented his policy.

The President asked Senator Goldwater to speak next, and he did so in a very candid manner. He said he was going to be "brutally frank." He stated he had told the President in early 1969 that unless he was going to be able to get hold of the government by May of that year that he would never get control of the government. He described the Administration as being in the "same fix" as President Eisenhower when he didn't remove 18,000 Democrats that he should have fired. He spoke briefly about what apparently was an OEO legal assistance program for the Navajo Indians in Arizona. Goldwater described the program as silly in comparison to their needs in another area which would cost much less. He told the President he thought that instead of removing the Secretary of HEW he should have fired the 300 employees who were giving the Secretary such a difficult time. He said they won't follow the President's policies. He suggested further that key career government employees be rotated every five years among the departments and agencies.

Senator Goldwater insisted in strong terms that the President had not changed the policies of this government in accord with the mandate that was given in the 1968 election. He was particularly critical of an article published by the National Institutes of Health. He said the article made fun of the President. He indicated other such actions have been taken within the government and that people who engage in such activities should be severed immediately from government service and publicly so. The Senator particularly stressed the embarrassment to the President "eventually of every left wing, Riponer the President appoints." Extreme comments by Negro leaders and the Heard report on student unrest were particularly

cited by Goldwater. He said Dr. Heard made the President "look silly." He advocated getting rid of government employees who do not carry out the President's will, starting with Cabinet members and going on down to the bottom. He complained that he had not seen the President since August 28 of last year, commenting in a joking manner that the Coast Guard would not let him within 3 miles of the President's home at San Clemente.

As he was closing his remarks, the Senator exhorted the President to "quit wooing Meany." He said we could win without Meany and that we could go over Meany's head and those of other union leaders directly to the hardhats and blue collar workers.

The next man to speak was Congressman Fletcher Thompson of Georgia. He commended the President on his vetoes of spending bills. He said the economy question is second only to the race question in the South. Thompson addressed himself to the IRS tax-exempt policy change on private schools. He said it will have no practical effect toward bringing about integration of the private schools, and only hurts the President politically. He described himself as being biased, but also put everyone else in this category. He referred to the vote against Lenore Romney on Tuesday in opposition to Secretary Romney's open communities policies in the suburbs of Detroit. Thompson indicated that Secretary Romney also was trying to integrate the suburbs of Atlanta with low cost housing programs, perhaps public housing, in the midst of \$35,000 and \$75,000 homes.

Thompson said Senator Thurmond's recent statement about Administration policies on school matters was valid. He argued that the President support his legislative effort to define a unitary school system and not leave it up to the Court to do so. He said "we in the South are motivated by race." He pointed to the 43% vote that Wallace got in 1968 in a three-way race.

Senator Tower spoke again pointing to the recent State

Superior Court decision in Los Angeles on school busing. He said he was in Los Angeles when the decision was handed down and based on the reaction of the people there he felt he was "in the middle of redneck territory in Mississippi." Tower also pointed to the near defeat of Lenore Romney in Michigan, attributing this to Secretary Romney's actions to try to force integration in the suburbs of Detroit.

Clarke Reed, the Mississippi GOP Chairman, spoke next. Reed described Mississippi as being first in integration. He was critical of the IRS decision, calling it an overt action that cannot be explained away by Southern Republican leaders. He said it would extend to the churches, and expressed concern about IRS Chief Thrower's testimony scheduled for Tuesday before the Mondale subcommittee in the Senate. He urged the President to reverse the IRS decision. He also said that the Southern Republican Chairmen had sent in a letter forty days in advance expressing their opposition and asking for an audience with the President, but did not get an opportunity to see the President.

North Carolina Chairman Jim Holshouser was next recognized by the President. He reminded the President that North Carolina was carried in 1968 on the subjects of schools and textiles. He indicated that as of today he did not think the President could carry North Carolina because of the recent school actions by the Administration and the lack of successful action to date on the textile commitment. Holshouser talked about textile plants closing and criticisms of this Administration for "foot dragging" on the subject of textiles. The President then turned to Bryce Harlow and asked him to explain the status of the present textile legislation. Harlow gave a brief explanation as to the status of the legislation in the Ways and Means Committee. The President followed up by saying that he was seeking a textile bill only and was concerned about the prospects for getting a "Christmas tree" sent to him by the Congress.

Holshouser resumed his comments, stating that within the last thirty days the Administration was giving the appearance of being anti-South for the first time. He said the President

is now being described as "Mister Integrator." He accused an HEW official of describing a Charlotte anti-busing plan as being "not educationally sound." It was difficult to understand exactly what Holshouser was saying here, but he created the impression that an HEW official had evidently sided publicly with Federal District Judge McMillan who handed down a decision ordering cross-city busing. Holshouser emphasized strongly that the new Nixon Administration image is hurting with the middle class vote which he says is the basis of the GOP vote in North Carolina. He says that this reaction is not just confined to the Wallace voter. He called particular attention to a "reasonable" Raleigh desegregation plan which was appealed to Washington and turned down by HEW.

Clarke Reed spoke up again, pointing out that he had been in effect betrayed on some of his school plans by HEW and Justice. He mentioned the Vicksburg plan and used Pottinger's name.

Holshouser then continued speaking out against non-Southerners going South to help with school desegregation. He began giving a series of recommendations for the President in this order:

1. Get something done about textile imports.
2. Try to get the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to hear the Charlotte busing case before school opens.
3. Don't send any lawyers or Marshals to the South this fall unless requested.
4. Get some more Southerners in the WH. He said there are only Harlow and Dent, and Harlow is leaving.
5. More Southerners should be in key positions in Justice and HEW. He pointed out that Allen May was the only good contact with HEW and had been fired. He said this left only Barbara Wainscott in a less important position.

At this point, Congressman Thompson broke in to report that Wainscott had quit (evidently, she has not quit but is concerned over policy changes at HEW regarding political clearances).

Senator Gurney then spoke up again, saying conservatives are not being heard in the Administration. He complained specifically of Shultz, Richardson, and Finch as having too much say as "liberals."

Senator Tower broke in to ask why Massachusetts had gotten two Cabinet posts, contrasting this with the lack of votes at the convention and in the general election.

Then Holshouser continued with his recommendations:

6. Make certain that the President's orders are implemented and that there is someone on the WH staff to serve as the enforcer of the President's orders.

7. Joe Robertson is still at the Agriculture Department and should be fired as an Assistant Secretary. He is a holdover from the previous Administration.

8. Loy Henderson at HEW is a holdover and has caused the South and the President considerable problems in his position as head of Title VI at HEW.

Here Senator Thurmond broke in to say that he had sent the President a letter complaining about LeMar Clements at HEW, an associate of Loy Henderson.

Holshouser continued:

9. Reverse the IRS decision, or at least minimize its impact. He complained here of a very unsatisfactory meeting with Randolph Thrower earlier in the day. He said Thrower could not answer the questions put to him by Holshouser and the other Southern leaders. The President asked if they had been shown the questionnaire being prepared and Holshouser said that they had not. Holshouser suggested that implementation

of the IRS policy change be withheld until the Green case could finally be decided by the U. S. Supreme Court. He also warned that OEO funds might be used to harrass private schools on their admissions policies. He was speaking here of legal assistance funds and the new tuition grant program recently advanced by Don Rumsfeld. The President indicated this would not be done. Holshouser told of comments made to the Secretary of the Treasury regarding the Morman Church and how it could be adversely affected by the new policy. The President seemed to indicate that this might be possible.

At this point, Congressmen Dickinson and Thompson seemed to disagree on Randolph Thrower. Thompson said he was OK, and Dickinson wanted to throw him out. The consensus in the room seemed to be---throw him out!

The President then addressed himself to the IRS ruling, assuring the group that IRS would not be operated as an HEW. He said the program would be administered in the right way, and that there had been a meeting on this subject earlier in the week with the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of HEW, the Attorney General, and the Vice President. The President said the most important thing we have to do is to get the U. S. Supreme Court balanced as soon as possible. He indicated that on the next appointment he thought he would be able to send up a nominee whose name could not be turned down by the U. S. Senate. He described as his most significant action the effort to change the Supreme Court, pointing out that the President has taken considerable heat on this subject.

At this point Senator Goldwater broke in to ask how hard the President was going to work for Senator Goodell. The President responded by saying this is one race in which nothing will be done because there is so much confusion. All laughed and agreed with the comment.

The President then referred back to the IRS matter again saying that the Administration is now working on a questionnaire. The Attorney General interjected a comment that the implementation of this policy change would not hurt the South but

that there would be a PR effect. The President commented again saying that neither the OEO tuition grant or legal assistance programs would be used to harrass private schools.

Holshouser then continued with his comments, adding that the South could not be completely desegregated by 1970, that there would be new orders, and that the Administration would be involved again in 1971 and 1972 in trying to implement court orders in the South.

The President spoke next, pointing out that he must carry out court orders. He added that his busing stand will be adhered to by this Administration and that a man has been assigned the job of seeing that this is carried out. The President conceded that there is a question as to how long the school matter will continue to hang around as a political problem. He forecast rocky roads ahead, emphasizing that he would like to get rid of any image that would classify this Administration as being militantly integrationist. He then stressed that there will be no lawyers sent to the South for purposes of coercion and that there will be no command posts or offices established in the South this fall.

The Attorney General agreed with the President's statement.

Again the President referred to the previous meeting with the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, and the Vice President. He pointed out that he realizes that there are many people in the woodwork at HEW, Justice, and other departments and agencies. Then he turned to the subject of efforts recently made to have him grant amnesty to United States deserters in Canada and Sweden. He responded that 2½ million Americans had chosen to serve their country in the Vietnam war and that 40,000 had died. He said that the hundreds that desert will never get amnesty from this President. The President then emphasized that the Vice President and the Attorney General are very much on the side of the South and many of the points that had been made in the meeting. He said that Harlow can stay as long as he will.

The President addressed himself next to Senator Goldwater, saying that the problem with the bureaucracy is the fact that so many civil servants have been frozen into their positions since the Truman Administration. He said that President Johnson seemed to be even more violently concerned than Senator Goldwater about this subject. Then he made reference to the O'Donnell comments and a statement made to President Nixon by former President Johnson to the effect that "the Kennedy people cut my throat." The President indicated that more aggressive efforts would be made in at least transferring uncooperative civil servants who are frozen into their civil service status. He pointed to the dismissals of Panetta and Allen.

Congressman Ben Blackburn of Georgia was the next speaker. He said the IRS should start probing labor unions on their tax-exempt status. He said the union leaders are buying the votes of the rank and file union members with their own money. He indicated Thrower thought that such investigations "were none of his business." The President then made some nice comments about the construction trades and the hardhats.

Blackburn stated that in this Administration the Republican Party had two places to gain more votes--the suburbs and the South. Then he strongly criticized Secretary Romney for his efforts to integrate the suburbs of Atlanta and Detroit through housing programs.

The President responded that this was not the policy of this Administration and will not be the policy of this Administration. Blackburn said that he had seen a letter from HUD in his Committee on the Hill endorsing legislation he considered to further the aim of integrating housing in the suburbs. He said the Bureau of the Budget had in effect endorsed the letter. He said this was being used to make the proposed legislation the Nixon bill. The President asked that he send the letter directly to him. (This has been turned over to Dent and in turn to Harlow.)

Congressman Thompson spoke up again, asking if he could tell the press about the President's statement on integration

of the suburbs. He pointed out that \$15,000 had been raised in a citizens meeting on this subject in one evening in the Atlanta area in order to provide attorney fees to fight the Romney program. The President told Harlow to check this out. It was indicated to Thompson that he should not act until this could be checked out by Harlow. It was then pointed out by someone in the meeting that Secretary Romney had started this program without getting WH clearance. Someone else made the comment that Under Secretary Van Dusen seemed to be primarily pushing the program and that he had made a statement to this effect the day before. The comment appeared to come from Blackburn.

The President commented next on the subject of textiles, saying that Congressman Wilbur Mills is the key to this action. He said he is trying to get Mills to write a good bill and keep the legislation confined to textiles. The purpose he said is to get the Japanese to agree to voluntary limitations. He indicated high level efforts are being made to get agreement with the Japanese.

Senator Goldwater asked to be excused because of a previous engagement. He suggested that the President go fishing with him sometime soon since he (Goldwater) had not been able to see the President since August 28. The President then suggested that Goldwater come to see him and call him at San Clemente on the President's next visit there. The President indicated he was not much of a fisherman because he always throws up when he goes fishing. Senator Goldwater said, however, that fishing is so good that he would like to go fishing and throw up anyway. Someone made the comment that when Senator Goldwater left the room, he should go to the right to get out. This comment was made after the President tried to guide the Senator with his hands to the door. This exchange with Goldwater drew laughter.

The President asked several times for Senator Thurmond to express himself. At this point, Thurmond finally agreed to do so. His first comment was to the effect that every time he talks to the President he is encouraged but when he (Thurmond) leaves, he gets very discouraged based on the lack

of execution of the President's orders by others in the Administration. He emphasized the importance of schools and textiles to the South. He said the Administration would not today carry South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, or North Carolina. He proposed that the President advocate a freedom of choice Constitutional amendment. He also urged very strongly that the President send no one to the South to assist with school desegregation this fall. He asked the question why should they go even if they are not to be sent for purposes of coercion. He pointed to all the regional attorneys, U. S. Attorneys, Assistant U. S. Attorneys, U. S. Marshals and their assistants already in the South.

Thurmond said the President's Los Angeles news conference statement about sending people South had been interpreted by the people of the South to mean that no one would be sent to the South unless local officials requested this assistance. He said to do otherwise now would be politically disastrous. Thurmond said he has a very high regard for Attorney General Mitchell but that his Assistant Attorney General Jerris Leonard "talks too much." He presented the President with an article from Thursday's Charlotte Observer and said that Leonard's press man had called the Washington correspondent for the Charlotte Observer and given him a story indicating that attorneys were going to be sent South. He said this was very embarrassing to him and has the purpose of politically killing Congressman Watson in his race for Governor. Thurmond said that he had commended the President for his two recent news conference statements on not sending U. S. Attorneys and U. S. Marshals into the South except on request. He expressed the hope that this would be carried out as stated by the President on those two occasions.

Holshouser spoke up again saying that the people in Charlotte were more upset than they have ever been--and he attributed this conclusion to Congressman Charles Jonas of Charlotte.

Thurmond then continued with his comments. He said that Leonard had gone to South Carolina after Senator Thurmond had begged him and the Attorney General not to let Leonard make the trip. He said his advice was not followed and

Leonard hurt the President. Then he asked the President whose advice was going to be followed on such matters--that of his political friends in the state or people in the Administration whom he indicated would not be able to give advice that would be as sound in protecting the President's interest. He appealed to the President to confer with Southerners and follow their advice wherever possible. He said the article he was holding in his hand had cost the President 25,000 votes. He stated further that he had recommended to the Attorney General that Leonard should be fired. Early in 1969, according to Thurmond, there was a meeting with Leonard and Senators Tower, Gurney, and Thurmond. He said at that time they concluded that Leonard would be dangerous to the President from a political standpoint. He said subsequent events have proved him to be correct. At this point Senator Gurney interjected "That's right."

Attorney General Mitchell then inquired of Senator Thurmond as to why he wrote a letter recently commending Leonard. Senator Thurmond responded that an assistant in his office, Billy Wilkins, had written the letter while the Senator was out of town and for the purpose of trying to convince Leonard to settle a school desegregation plan controversy.

The Attorney General said the letter was very complimentary. Senator Thurmond agreed that the letter was complimentary but that it was not his letter and not his signature, and that he had been trying to see the Attorney General several days to get the letter returned to him (Thurmond.) The President interjected here to say he could have the letter back.

Senator Thurmond next turned his comments to HEW. He said HEW had done tremendous political damage to the President. He referred to Bob Finch as a man who talks one way when he is with Thurmond and another way when he is with someone on the other side of the question. He urged the President to clean out HEW. He said people cannot believe the President cannot get rid of these people in HEW. He said that they just do not understand why the President of the United States

with all his power cannot get this job done. The Senator then said that he has not been at all encouraged by Secretary Richardson as a replacement for Finch.

The Senator said that the President's orders appear good on the surface but they are not carried out. He then referred to Clark Mollenhoff and suggested that he had no authority when he was in the WH and perhaps the President should talk to Mollenhoff. He said the best way to win the South is with freedom of choice. He said desegregation is not popular anywhere else in the country either. Then he asked how many law suits had been filed in Chicago and other parts of the country.

The Senator suggested further that the President should get rid of those who are against him and quit hiring people such as Allen and others who subsequently turn against the President. He voiced particular criticism of Mr. Marland, the man now being considered as Allen's replacement. He said he has information indicating that Marland is as bad or worse than Allen.

The Senator then pointed to the D. C. school situation which he said now has 95% black students. All the South wants, he said, is equal treatment. He next referred to the Voting Rights Act and the signing of this together with the 18-Year Old Vote Amendment. He indicated to the President that someone must be influencing you because the Senator does not believe these actions represent the President's thinking.

Senator Thurmond requested that the Republican leaders in the South be given direct access to the President occasionally. He said he has seen the President privately on only one occasion since he has been President. He talked about sending letters to the President through Bryce Harlow. He said Senators Gurney and Tower should be able to see the President occasionally and that even he (Thurmond) should at least be able to see a Cabinet member in three days' time, indicating that he had been trying to see the Attorney General for the last three days. He urged the President not to veto the textile legislation if it contained other items. He said

this would be catastrophic. In concluding, he was very critical of the President's welfare reform legislation.

Senator Tower then suggested that the President "follow your own instincts and philosophy." He expressed great confidence in the President's instincts and philosophy.

The President asked the Vice President if he had any comments to make. The Vice President told the President that these are his good friends and are sincerely motivated, pointing out that this is shown by the very candid manner in which they had addressed themselves and their problems to the President. He told the group that the President has tremendous sectional pressures on him and other such pressures which were sometimes in conflict with their own desires. He pointed out that the President has to represent the entire country. He recognized that implementing the court decisions was tough and concurred in Senator Tower's view that the President's instincts and philosophy are very good. He expressed gratitude for the good "inputs" made in this meeting. He indicated that the President would not be able to implement all the suggestions made in this meeting but that they would all be given very serious consideration. He said the Administration is very glad to have the support of what the President had termed the thin gray line.

The President interjected here to predict that he would win at least three more Senate seats this year and that this should give the Administration philosophical control over the Senate.

The Vice President made a comment about Rennie Davis and his seditious speech at HEW.

Congressman Les Arends of Illinois spoke up to express his regrets that nothing could be done to stop the speech.

The President then made references to Don Rumsfeld and his tough administration of the VISTA program. He said the only people who seemed to have demonstrated against him (the President) on his last world tour were Peace Corps volunteers.

Congressman Arends then commented that the country is moving right. The President indicated that he hoped so. Then the President gave some statistics on liberal versus conservative thinking in the country. He said that conservatism had become more popular since he had come in office and the Republican Party seems to have gone downhill in popularity.

The final comment was made by the President when he suggested that Republicans stress on their bumper stickers to vote conservative rather than Republican.

Harry S. Dent
by US

Harry S. Dent

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<u>REPUBLICAN</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1968</u>
U. S. SENATORS	2	6
CONGRESSMEN	8	29
GOVERNORS	0	4
STATE SENATORS	20	78
STATE REPRESENTATIVES	58	219

WITH OUR 35 MEMBERS, WE HAVE THE SAME ELECTORAL VOTE
AND SAME DELEGATE VOTE AS NEW YORK & CALIFORNIA
COMBINED. WE HAVE MORE THAN ILLINOIS & OHIO COMBINED!
WE HAVE MORE THAN THE COMBINATION OF RANDOM STATES OF
OKLA., IDAHO, KANSAS, NEBRASKA, MICH., & MINNESOTA. (34)