

The original documents are located in Box 6, folder “Boston School Situation, 1974-1975” of the Stanley Scott Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Community Relations Service

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

DIRECTOR

SEP 27 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Stanley Scott
Special Assistant to the
President

SUBJECT : Boston School Situation

Attached is some information on CRS' involvement in the current Boston school situation. I understand entreaties have been made to the President about the Federal involvement there, hence I thought you ought to have this.

The situation is still highly volatile and shows no sign of abating. Our task force remains in place, although I must confess it is severely straining our very limited funds.

Ben Holman

Attachment



September 24, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

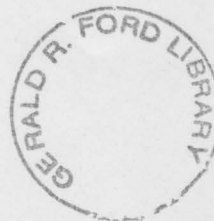
FROM : Ben Holman *BEN HOLMAN*

SUBJECT: CRS Involvement in the Boston
School Desegregation Process

In reference to our discussion at lunch today, September 24, 1974, I am attaching a background memorandum of our early involvement in the Boston school desegregation case. Since the Judge issued the enclosed order designating the CRS to act as the court's representative to oversee the implementation of the desegregation process, I have deployed a special team headed by my Chief Counsel, Hayden Gregory, to Boston to aid in the implementation of the desegregation process.

Mr. Gregory and our staff have since been in daily contact with Judge Garrity, the Mayor's Office, Police Department, School Department and various other relevant parties in order to advise the Judge as to what steps need to be taken in order to insure a peaceful implementation of his desegregation decision. Since Mr. Gregory personally briefs me on the situation each day I am capable of giving you an update on the situation at your pleasure.

Attachment



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Community Relations Service

TO : Mr. Laurence H. Silberman
Deputy Attorney General

DATE: SEP 3 1974

FROM : Ben Holman
Director

D. C. Smith
for
MR. HOLMAN

SUBJECT: Activities of CRS in Boston School Desegregation Case

On June 21, 1974, in a class action suit brought on behalf of black students against the Boston School Committee, Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity, Jr., of the District of Massachusetts, ruled that the Boston school system is racially segregated in violation of the 14th Amendment rights of the plaintiffs. He ordered the defendants to begin formulation of plans to eliminate this racial segregation. Recognizing that a plan for the total desegregation of the school system could not be formulated and implemented in time for school opening in September 1974, Judge Garrity, as a first step in the desegregation process, issued an interlocutory order directing the school authorities to implement, in September 1974, a plan formulated by the Massachusetts State Board of Education which the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court had earlier (January 1974) also ordered implemented by the School Committee. Judge Garrity ruled that the plan does not satisfy 14th Amendment standards and will reduce the number of majority black schools from 68 to 44 and the number of black children attending imbalanced (more than 50% minority) schools from approximately 30,000 to approximately 10,000. The State Plan relies on two of the traditional methods of desegregation, redistricting and bussing.

In a subsequent hearing on August 16 pertaining to the above order, Judge Garrity announced in open court that he was appointing the Community Relations Service to act as the court's representative to oversee implementation of the order and to report to the court concerning our assessment of potential difficulties and problems encountered therein. On August 29 Judge Garrity issued a formal order to this effect, directing the parties to cooperate with CRS and afford us access to their files and personnel. A copy of this order is attached. This order is consistent with the agency's mandate to assist communities in resolving disputes, disagreements, and difficulties based on race, color, or national origin.



On August 21, 1974, I evaluated the implications of Judge Garrity's order and assigned Hayden Gregory, my Chief Counsel, to assume responsibility for all on-site activity by the Service in this case.

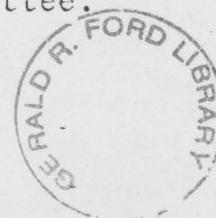
After consultation between Judge Garrity and Mr. Gregory, I have approved the following activity:

I. Traditional

- A. Technical assistance to school department (rumor control, school security, etc.).
- B. Liaison with all parties (pro and con groups, State, local, and Federal officials, etc.).
- C. Contingency planning assistance to all parties (particularly in the area of transportation and internal and external security).
- D. Assessing situation for potential crisis.
- E. Conciliation (possibly mediation) of specific conflict issues.

II. As Court Monitor

- A. Comprehensively inform ourselves of all essential elements of planned implementation; inform and advise court as appropriate in meetings to be held with the court at least two or three times a week.
- B. Assess specific problem areas at request of court, report to court and recommend steps to resolve. Requests have already been made in the following areas:
 - 1. Action to be taken regarding students reporting to wrong building.
 - 2. Overcrowding.
 - 3. Transfer of black teachers from one school to another.
 - 4. Role of a biracial committee.



5. Possible explosive situation at South Boston in predominantly black Roxbury High School.
- C. Conciliate specific issues at the request of the court (including conciliation services to parties in litigation involving remaining issues to be resolved prior to school opening).
- D. Monitor school opening, advise court of developments and recommend remedial action as needed.
- E. Assist the court in the formulation of its ultimate plan for the desegregation of the Boston School System.

Our assessment of the situation in Boston is extremely grave. We have been alerted to expect everything from intentional overcrowding of schools by non-students to disabling of busses to bomb threats. Fortunately, we hope to minimize a lot of this through previous contingency planning done jointly with local, State, and Federal officials.

Pompa/Gregory; R R

Attachment



UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS

TALLULAH MORGAN ET AL.,
Plaintiffs,

v.

JOHN KERRIGAN ET AL.,
Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION
NO. 72-911-G

ORDER CONCERNING COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

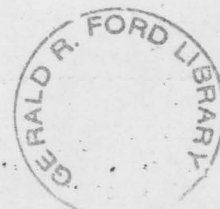
August 29, 1974

GARRITY, J. The court having requested the Community Relations Service, United States Department of Justice, to provide assistance to the City of Boston and to the parties to this litigation and to the court in achieving the harmonious implementation of the desegregation plan ordered by the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts and by this court to go into effect in the Boston school system in September 1974, and of further long range plans to eliminate racial segregation in the public schools of Boston, and the Service having agreed to do so pursuant to and in accordance with the provisions of 42 U.S.C. § 2000g and to inform the court on a continuing basis and in such manner as the court may request of the results of its activities, it is ORDERED that the parties cooperate with the Service in its carrying out its statutory functions and afford to Service personnel reasonable access to their

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records and employees, and furnish to the Service at Room 1304, 150 Causeway Street, Boston, copies of all papers except legal memoranda hereafter filed in these proceedings; and that the Service shall furnish copies of any written reports submitted to the court to counsel for the parties.

United States District Judge



*for your
information*

Copy

October 15
19 74

CC: Pres. Carlton Goodlett
Publisher W. O. Walker
Treasurer Howard Murphy
Director Sherman Briscoe

Mr. John H. Murphy III, Chrm.
NNPA News Bureau
c/o Afro-American Newspapers
628 N. Eutaw Street
Baltimore, Md. 21201

Dear John:

We received in the mail today the NNPA editorial titled "Ford Joins Anti-Busing Mob."

This editorial is untrue and it is unfair to the President of the United States. Also it will mislead our readers.

I protest it and request you to recall it as a mistake of policy.

Our Daily World led in establishing the first NNPA *news* in 1941 and also got the first member of our race certified to President Roosevelt's press conferences. But that news service did not produce any editorials. We need a news service, not a propaganda agency.

I have never heard of any newspaper association or news service which sends out to its ~~members~~ editorials on controversial issues, especially a partisan political one referred to above.

I have talked by long distance to President Carlton Goodlett, Charles Loeb of Cleveland Call, and Bureau Director Sherman Briscoe protesting this editorial and asking its recall because of the possible harm it will do.

I hope you share my view and will not jeopardize the future of our association by permitting partisan politics to enter into it.

Sincerely Yours

C. A. Scott



NNPA EDITORIAL

770 National Press Building
Washington, D. C. 20043
Telephone: (202) 638-4473



October 14, 1974

Ford Joins Anti-Busing Mob

Philosophically, President Ford identifies with Governor George Wallace of Alabama, who stood in the door of his state's university when President Kennedy took a firm stand to integrate it, and had his representative order George to step aside.

Today, symbolically, President Ford, who declared only a few short weeks ago that he intended to be President of all the people, stands with the mob in front of the school buses in Boston, declaring that the court's decision in the Boston case, "in my judgement, was not the best solution to quality education in Boston." Continuing, he said: "I have consistently opposed forced busing to achieve racial balance as a solution to quality education and, therefore, I respectfully disagree with the judge's order."

And so Ford turns out to be only a Grand Rapids, Michigan, politician with the limited view of his small town and not the statesmanlike vision of a President of the United States. This is a very sad revelation.

In 1957, almost 20 years ago, President Eisenhower, who also did not favor busing, rose to the occasion and sent troops to Little Rock when Governor Faubus and a mob sought to block the integration of Central High.

And however President Ford may feel personally about busing, when he took the oath of office as President of the United States, he assumed the obligation to support and defend the Constitution and the laws of the land as interpreted by the courts. It seems that he is not going to live up to his responsibility. For he has openly invited the Boston mob to disobey a court order.

Regretfully, Mr. Ford, the reservoir of goodwill you have had in the black community is rapidly running out. Your encouragement of a nightmare of racism in the American public school system is beneath the dignity of the high office of the Presidency.

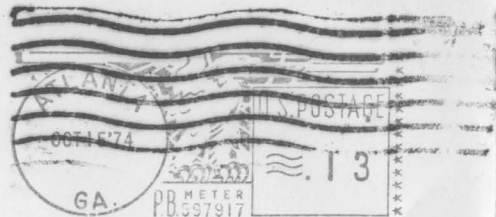
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Atlanta  World

145 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

air mail



Mr. Stanley S. Scott
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.



October 19, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR:

HONORABLE DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM:

STAN SCOTT

SUBJECT:

Boston School Busing

In laying the groundwork for President Ford's scheduled meeting on Friday, October 25, with civil rights leaders, I would recommend an initiative prior to that session to highlight the President's ongoing concern that Judge Arthur Garrity's school busing order is upheld.

Since Boston school busing is certain to be an issue in the President's meeting with the civil rights leaders, I would recommend that I be sent to Boston early in the week as the President's personal emissary to meet with Boston black leaders in closed-door, off-the-record sessions, reporting back to the President prior to his meeting on Friday. The President could announce to the civil rights leaders on Friday that in addition to receiving daily reports on the Boston situation from the Attorney General, he has had his personal White House representative on the scene to view the problem and to report to the President his findings.

Several Boston black leaders I have worked with in the past have suggested such a visit by my office.

Agree _____

Disagree _____

Comments _____

bcc: Honorable Robert T. Hartmann
Honorable John O. Marsh



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Community Relations Service

TO : Mr. Laurence H. Silberman
Deputy Attorney General

DATE: OCT 29 1974

FROM : Ben Holman
Director

BEN HOLMAN

SUBJECT: Activities of CRS in Boston School Desegregation
Case, Report Number 2

On August 29, 1974, pursuant to an order issued by Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity, Jr., of the District of Massachusetts, the Community Relations Service officially commenced operations relative to overseeing the implementation of his desegregation order affecting the Boston School System. In that regard I forwarded to you on September 3, 1974, a memorandum detailing the activities which I approved for this operation and an assessment of the situation based on our past experience in Boston.

Subsequent events verified our assessment as considerable violence attended the opening of Boston public schools during September and October of 1974. Dozens of busses and several other vehicles, police and private, were heavily damaged from a daily series of rock and other missile attacks perpetrated by roving gangs, small groups, and surging mobs--all of whom were White. Most seriously, there were numerous minor injuries to youths, almost exclusively Black, as a result of these attacks during the first week to 10 days. There were voluminous anti-bussing statements and events (marches, vigils, and other demonstrations) prior to and continuing throughout the first days of school.

Our Boston contingency plan for this type activity automatically activated our rumor control operation. The contingency plan also activated the deployment of conciliation specialists to the scene. These specialists were sent to implement previously arranged joint confrontation response plans with all major elements involved. Among the most prominent was the Boston school-CRS mobile crisis response team operation which provided a quick alert and response system for us.



The following school week proved to be even more violent than the previous two. Motions were filed in court, one by Mayor White requesting the order of U.S. Marshals into Boston, another by plaintiff NAACP lawyers calling for the court to order Mayor White to request the assistance of the Governor in the form of State and MDC (Metropolitan District Commission) police. Consistent with my recommendation to the CRS Director of Operations in this case, Judge Garrity denied the former and granted the latter.

This decision was, in my opinion, key to the ultimate deescalation of street violence in Boston. We had previously divided the problem into two parts: (1) street violence by non-students, and (2) confrontations by students within a school setting. The presence of Federal marshals in Boston would have added an external element to the first part and injected issues which would have only served to heighten an already tense situation. A better alternative was the Department's announcement that civil rights violations in Boston would be vigorously prosecuted. CRS personnel conducted thorough briefings for the Department's civil rights attorneys prior to the first complaints filed by them in Boston.

Following the judge's denial of U.S. Marshals, State and MDC troops were deployed a day later to provide bus and school security exclusively in South Boston. Since the assumption of this responsibility by State forces, there have been no major incidents in connection with transportation or school security in South Boston.

The number and frequency of violent attacks on busses and students outside the schools dropped significantly in the past two weeks, although in-school interracial incidents, which we are also equipped to handle, have increased.

In this regard CRS specialists on the scene have been directly responsible for:

1. the formulation of plans for biracial parents councils for all schools
2. an effective media relations effort which minimizes the possibility of inflammatory news stories about student confrontations

3. the mobilization of representatives from the private sector to assist in stabilizing the situation in Boston
4. working closely with the New England Federal Regional Council in meshing their efforts to our role under Judge Garrity's order
5. briefing representatives of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission as to what is going on in Boston
6. the procurement, on loan from airlines and manufacturing firms, of three handheld and one walk-through metal screening device to be used for weapons surveillance by school personnel.



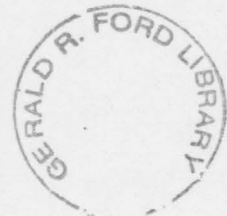
Recently, there has been deterioration of political leadership, with a tendency of major State and local political figures to "go public" and express their reservations concerning the ultimate success for the implementation of desegregation in Boston. In this regard, the untimely remarks of President Ford--untimely in the sense that they came in the midst of the troubled initiation of the desegregation process in Boston--have been interpreted, however inappropriately, by the opposition as supportive of their defiant stance. Similarly, comments in open court by Judge Garrity were widely interpreted as backing down by the court in the face of strong opposition to Phase I. The comments so taken were those to the effect that certain sections of the city (East Boston and Charlestown) may not necessarily be involved at the high school level in the September 1975 comprehensive desegregation plan.

The above two comments necessitated a direct and personal assurance by me to key national civil rights representatives that, contrary to whatever inferences the remarks may have left, the Department was diligently pursuing compliance with the law in Boston.

The three key factors which serve to encourage anti-bussing forces in Boston are: (1) highly publicized projections of impending failure of the desegregation process; (2) the judicial posture of Judge Garrity; and (3) the assumption of a similar posture by the Executive Branch of the Federal Government against prompt escalation of Federal law enforcement involved. All these are seen by some as immobilization of the desegregation effort.

Since the inception of our operation in early September, CRS personnel assigned to Boston have worked over 2,000 hours (at least one-fourth of which was overtime work) with an approximate cost of \$7,000 for travel and per diem. I feel that although the CRS operation in Boston has been economically costly to us, it has been nevertheless extremely effective and important in minimizing physical violence and instilling a much needed confidence in the judicial process.

I completed an onsite assessment trip to Boston last week. During the visit I met with Judge Garrity. His comment to me perhaps summarized the effort the CRS staff is making in Boston. He said, "This whole situation would have been a shambles had it not been for the Community Relations Service."





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March 21, 1975

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Mr. Stanley Scott
White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Scott:

I have been advised by friends in Washington that you might be able to help us secure an appointment with the President of these United States. The accompanying letter explains why we desire to meet with him.

Any help you can give us will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

O. Phillip Snowden
Co-Director

OPS/pav

enclosure

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Mrs. Melnea A. Cass

CO-DIRECTORS

O. Phillip Snowden
Muriel S. Snowden



25 YEARS

Freedom House, Inc., 14 Crawford St., Roxbury, Massachusetts 02121, (617) 440-9700 1949-1974



FREEDOM HOUSE, INC.

March 19, 1975

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Cecile H. Gordon
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The President
White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

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For over 25 years, Freedom House, Inc. has been in the forefront of efforts to advance the quality of human relationships and responsible citizenship in Boston generally and in the Black Community in particular. On the basis of a long-standing record of solid accomplishments, this organization and its new Institute on Schools and Education have been asked, on behalf of an important coalition of community groups and agencies, to request a meeting with you to discuss the current school situation in Boston as we see it.

As a dedicated group of workers in Boston's Black community, we have worked for the past 10 years towards the desegregation of the Boston public schools. Since February, 1974, we have been working day and night, around the clock, to do what we could to ensure the peaceful implementation of the federal court order. The positive results of our efforts have been demonstrated by the responsible behavior of the Black citizens of Boston who have been directly involved in the desegregation process. They have conducted themselves with dignity in the face of racial insults and, in general, have responded to white violence with calm and reason. However, because Boston is attracting national attention as a testing ground for school desegregation in the North, we feel that it is imperative to share with you, personally, the frustrations, anxieties, hopes and fears of a large segment of Boston's Black population as this process unfolds.

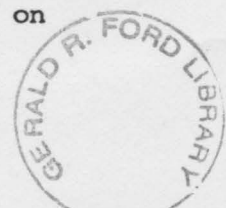
LIFE MEMBERS

Mrs. A. Dudley Bach
Mrs. Melnea A. Cass

CO-DIRECTORS

O. Phillip Snowden
Muriel S. Snowden

Definite arrangements have been completed for us to meet with our entire Congressional delegation in Washington at 2:00 p.m. on Wednesday, April 9th, for a face-to-face discussion of these problems. We respectfully request an opportunity to meet with you at your convenience during the afternoon of Tuesday, April 8th, the morning of Wednesday, April 9th, or late afternoon of that day. If none of these times is possible for you, we would be glad to remain in Washington if you could arrange to meet with us on Thursday, April 10th.



25 YEARS

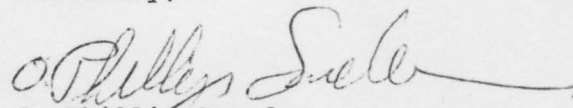
Freedom House, Inc., 14 Crawford St., Roxbury, Massachusetts 02121, (617) 440-9700 1949-1974

The President
Page 2
March 19, 1975

With the imminent announcement of plans for implementation of Phase II of the desegregation process, the situation is even more critical. It is as serious, responsible citizens, concerned about our city, our state, and our country that we ask you as our President to give us this opportunity to speak with you. Senators Kennedy and Brooke, Mayor Kevin White, Governor Michael Dukakis, or former Governor Francis Sargent can all testify to the integrity and sincerity of our small group; the composition will be forwarded to you.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,



O. Phillip Snowden
Co-Director

OPS/pav

