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22 July 1981

Dear Miss Willis:

Thank you for your recent message regarding the President's appointment of Judge Sandra O'Connor to be an Associate Justice to the Supreme Court.

The President chose Judge O'Connor because of her distinguished judicial career after careful evaluation and an investigation conducted by the Attorney General. The President personally met and interviewed Judge O'Connor and is convinced she shares his views on many issues. Please know that I will always be most interested in your comments and thoughts.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

EDWIN MEESE III  
Counsellor to the President

X  
Miss Mary M. Willis  
775 Ulida Street  
San Francisco, CA 94127

✓ cc: Ed Meese

EM:ET:keb  
EM-25A

AKH  
EM-25A

JULY 16, 1981.

Dear Mr. Meese,

I wish to strongly applaud Pres. Reagan's nomination of Sandra O'Connor as a justice for the supreme court. Her intelligence and integrity and fair mindedness <sup>legal meticulousness</sup> assure me that she will be an excellent addition to the court.

Most of all, I wish to counter the vociferous objections of the so called "Moral Majority" to her nomination. I agree strongly with a bumper sticker in these parts which states that "the moral majority is neither" They have a right to their opinions but they have no right to jam ~~it~~ them down the rest of our throats. If they had their way, the principals upon which this country was founded would be severely jeopardized. They do not represent the majority opinion in this country even though they do make a lot of noise. I hope you will continue, as evidenced by your appointment of Justice O'Connor, to not pay them too much heed.

Sincerely,

Mary M. Willis

SAN FRANCISCO, CA.



22 July 1981

Dear Dr. Hansen:

Thank you for your recent message regarding the President's appointment of Judge Sandra O'Connor to be an Associate Justice to the Supreme Court.

The President chose Judge O'Connor because of her distinguished judicial career after careful evaluation and an investigation conducted by the Attorney General. The President personally met and interviewed Judge O'Connor and is convinced she shares his views on many issues. Please know that I will always be most interested in your comments and thoughts.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

EDWIN MEESE III  
Counsellor to the President

Dr. R. C. Hansen  
Box 215  
Tarzana, CA 91356

cc: Ed Meese

EM:ET:sew  
EM-25A



22 July 1981

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Wiegand:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding the President's appointment of Judge Sandra O'Connor to be an Associate Justice to the Supreme Court.

The President chose Judge O'Connor because of her distinguished judicial career after careful evaluation and an investigation conducted by the Attorney General. The President personally met and interviewed Judge O'Connor and is convinced she shares his views on social issues. You will find, after careful review, that some misleading statements have been made about her distinguished career. Please know that I will always be most interested in your comments and thoughts.

Sincerely,

EDWIN MEESE III  
Counsellor to the President

Mr. and Mrs. John A. Wiegand  
3455 Doris Road  
Cleveland, OH 44111

cc: Ed Meese

EM:EWT:ech  
EM-25

July 24, 1981

Mr. Larry Speakes  
Active Press Secretary  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Sir:

As discussed with Jan Valentine, White House Press Office, we would like to invite Judge Susan O'Connor to appear on the DONAHUE Show in Chicago the first available date after she is confirmed to the Supreme Court, or any time prior to that date, if she decides to make any public appearances.

The DONAHUE Show is currently carried nationally on 226 markets, with approximately 9½ million viewers daily. The show originates live in Chicago from 11 A.M. to 12 Noon daily. Judge O'Connor would be the only guest for the hour, with an audience of mostly women, numbering about 200. As well as being interviewed by Phil Donahue, the audience would ask questions and make comments.

We feel Judge O'Connor would enjoy doing the show and would have a very important message to impart to our viewing audience. I am enclosing some information about the show for your consideration. We would be happy to take care of all Judge O'Connor's travel and hotel expenses.

Please contact me at your earliest convenience when Judge O'Connor has decided about making public appearances. If possible, we would appreciate being high on the list since the show airs from live in Chicago to six weeks delay in some markets. (See attached Schedule).

Thank you for this consideration.

Sincerely,



Patricia McMillen  
Senior Producer

PM/sm  
Encls.

cc: Jan Valentine - White House Press Office  
Pete Roussel " " " "

P.S. Additional letter of request from DONAHUE ON TODAY to follow.

WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF RECORDS MANAGEMENT: Subject File

FILE TRANSFER  
BY THE REAGAN LIBRARY STAFF

Previously filed: O'Connor, Sandra Day WHORM alpha file

New file location: Carrington, Frank WHORM alpha file

Date of transfer: 6/12/96



31 July 1981

Dear Mrs. Pfeiffer:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding the President's appointment of Judge Sandra O'Connor to be an Associate Justice to the Supreme Court.

The President chose Judge O'Connor because of her distinguished judicial career after careful evaluation and an investigation conducted by the Attorney General. The President personally met and interviewed Judge O'Connor and is convinced she shares his views on social issues. You will find, after careful review, that some misleading statements have been made about her distinguished career. Please know that I will always be most interested in your comments and thoughts.

Sincerely,

EDWIN MEESE III  
Counsellor to the President

X  
Mrs. Ruth Pfeiffer  
450 Hudson Avenue  
Albany, NY 12203

✓ cc: Ed Meese

EM:EWT:ba  
EM-25

NH  
EM-25

July 24, 1981

Mr. Edward Meese  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Meese,

As one of the president's closest advisors, please give this message some of your personal thought.

The choice President Reagan made of Sandra O'Connor to the Supreme Court comes across as a complete contradiction of his campaign promises and is a rebuttal of his pro-family, pro-life support.

Much more careful scrutiny and thought should be given in regard to the background of Mrs. O'Connor in such matters.

This is in my opinion and the opinion of many a tragic mistake.

Our country can only go down with the constant election and appointment of people who care so little about human life.



Mrs. Ruth Pfeiffer  
450 Hudson Ave  
Albany, N.Y. 12203

3 August 1981

Dear Floyd:

Thank you for your letter of 23 July 1981 regarding the President's appointment of Judge Sandra O'Connor to be an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

Needless to say, we are pleased with the nomination because of Judge O'Connor's distinguished judicial career, and because the President is convinced that she shares his views on many issues of importance.

It is flattering to know that you would even consider me for service to the Court, and I am grateful for your remarks.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely,

EDWIN MEESE III  
Counsellor to the President

X  
Professor Floyd Feeney  
School of Law  
University of California, Davis  
Davis, CA 95616

✓ cc: Ed Meese

EM:ES:vml-IIB-24



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SANTA BARBARA • SANTA CRUZ

SCHOOL OF LAW

DAVIS, CALIFORNIA 95616

July 23, 1981

The Honorable Edwin Meese III  
Counsellor to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ed:

This is to congratulate you on your nominee to the Supreme Court. You have fulfilled your campaign promises and appointed a person of clear high calibre. If we can't have Edwin Meese on the Court, the next best thing is a highly capable person of whom all Americans can be proud.

Sincerely,

Floyd Feeney  
Professor of Law

5 August 1981

Dear Bill:

*Sandra*

Thank you for your letter of 22 July 1981 regarding the nomination of Judge O'Connor and the abortion issue.

President Reagan chose Judge O'Connor because of her distinguished judicial career after careful evaluation and an investigation conducted by the Attorney General. The President personally met and interviewed Judge O'Connor and is convinced that she shares his views on social issues. You will find, after careful review, that some misleading statements have been made about her distinguished career. Public support for her nomination has been quite strong, and we are optimistic about her future appointment.

You can be assured that I will always be most interested in your comments and thoughts.

With best personal wishes,

Sincerely,

EDWIN MEESE III  
Counsellor to the President

Mr. William F. Gavin  
Special Assistant to  
Representative Robert H. Michel  
House of Representatives  
H-230 U.S. Capitol  
Washington, D.C. 20515

cc: EMeese ✓  
EM:nh:emb-15a



1

August 5, 1981

Dear Kathy:

It was good seeing you again and being a part of those attending the reception honoring you.

Thank you and the National Women's Political Caucus for supporting President Reagan's nomination of Judge Sandra Day O'Connor to the U.S. Supreme Court. I'm sure the President appreciated the resolution passed during your convention in Albuquerque.

Congratulations on your new position as Chair of the NWPC  
I look forward to working with you.

Best wishes,



Diana Lozano  
Special Assistant to  
the President

Ms. Kathy Wilson  
National Women's Political Caucus  
1411 K Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20005





# NATIONAL WOMEN'S POLITICAL CAUCUS

1411 K STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 (202) 347-4456

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William Winpisinger  
Danya Yon

## EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Carol S. Silverthorn

July 15, 1981

Diane Lozano  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ms. Lozano:

The National Women's Political Caucus applauded President Reagan's appointment of Judge Sandra Day O'Connor to the U.S. Supreme Court at our recent convention in Albuquerque, New Mexico. Enclosed is our resolution which passed un-  
animously supporting the historic appointment and a copy of our telegram to the President.

We look forward to Judge O'Connor's speedy confirmation, and to our continued work with you in appointing well qualified women to high-level governmental and judicial positions.

Sincerely,

Kathy Wilson  
National Chair

KW/cc  
enclosures

NWPC RESOLUTION  
ADOPTED AT THE NWPC CONVENTION  
ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO  
JULY 11, 1981

SUPPORT FOR SUPREME COURT NOMINEE

- WHEREAS, for almost 200 years women have suffered total exclusion from decision making on the highest court in the United States of America, and
- WHEREAS, more than 50,000 women practice law in the United States, and
- WHEREAS, President Reagan has announced his selection of Honorable Sandra Day O'Connor, distinguished judge of the Arizona Court of Appeals, for appointment to the United States Supreme Court, and
- WHEREAS, Judge Sandra O'Connor, has demonstrated as a jurist those qualities which are the foundation of the American judicial system: integrity, fairness, commitment to equal justice under law and the highest standard of competence, and
- WHEREAS, Sandra O'Connor has distinguished herself as a legal scholar, practitioner of the law and outstanding public official; therefore, be it
- RESOLVED, that the National Women's Political Caucus commend the historic selection by President Reagan of Honorable Sandra Day O'Connor for appointment to the United States Supreme Court, and be it further
- RESOLVED, that the NWPC urge her prompt confirmation by the United States Senate.

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1 202347445b MGM TDMT WASHINGTON DC 07-07 0457P EST

JUL 7 1981

IRIS F MITGANG, NATIONAL CHAIR, NATIONAL  
WOMENS POLITICAL CAUCUS  
1411 K ST NORTHWEST SUITE 1110  
WASHINGTON DC 20005

THIS MAILGRAM IS A CONFIRMATION COPY OF THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE:

202347445b MGM TDMT WASHINGTON DC 87 07-07 0457P EST

ZIP

PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON DC 20500

DEAR MR PRESIDENT THE NATIONAL WOMENS POLITICAL CAUCUS APPLAUDS YOUR  
HISTORIC NOMINATION OF THE FIRST WOMAN TO THE U.S. SUPREME COURT.  
SANDRA OCONNOR'S REPUTATION AS A FINE JURIST ON THE ARIZONA COURT OF  
APPEAL GIVES US CONFIDENCE THAT SHE WILL BE A FINE SUPREME COURT  
JUSTICE. AFTER 200 YEARS THIS IS A MAJOR STEP TOWARDS A WELL BALANCED  
FEDERAL BENCH. SINCERELY

IRIS F MITGANG, NATIONAL CHAIR, NATIONAL WOMENS POLITICAL CAUCUS

1411 K ST NORTHWEST SUITE 1110

WASHINGTON DC 20005

16:58 EST

MGMCOMP



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 10, 1981

MEMORANDUM TO:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
POWELL MOORE

FROM:

PETER ROUSSEL *PR*

SUBJECT:

Judge O'Connor Hearings

Judge Sandra D. O'Connor called to alert our attention to the following:

- A number of her friends and family will be here for the confirmation hearings. She is concerned about the availability of hotel space for them and is interested in knowing if we can be of help on this. They will need approximately 25 rooms.
- She is concerned about setting a date for her swearing-in. Apparently, she talked to Burger and they agreed the best dates would be September 25, 26 or 28. She feels it should occur no later than this so she can participate in decisions on what cases to accept for the up-coming term.
- Should there be a need, she can be reached on vacation for the next week at: (602) 336-2958.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 10, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR:           MICHAEL EVANS  
FROM:                        PETER ROUSSEL *PR*  
SUBJECT:                    Judge Sandra O'Connor

Judge O'Connor is hopeful of obtaining some prints of the photographs that were taken of here and the President in the Oval Office when she was here.

Can we accommodate her on this?

Thanks.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 11, 1981

*Chris - Peter - Elaine took a copy of attached to California to show you & ND?*

*Elaine turned down for ND to Holley John 8/12*

TO: PETER McCOY  
THRU: MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF  
FROM: POWELL A. MOORE  
SUBJECT: Tea for Judge O'Connor

*M-6*

AUG 13 1981

Nancy Thurmond, the wife of the Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, is having a tea in the Caucus Room of the Russell Building for Sandra O'Connor on Friday, September 11. The guests will include the wives of all the Senators and of members of the Cabinet. The tea will be very constructive with regard to our effort for early confirmation of Judge O'Connor. It is being held simultaneously with the anticipated conclusion of the confirmation hearing.

*per M-6*

I hope the First Lady will give careful consideration to attending. In addition to other obvious considerations, her presence would demonstrate appreciation for Nancy Thurmond's effort to help the President's nominee.

August 18, 1981

Dear Mrs. Rhodes:

Thank you for your recent message citing Sarah D. O'Connor for a position in the Reagan Administration.

The information you have provided has been integrated into the applicant's permanent personnel file, and will be considered as we continue our efforts to select qualified individuals for current and future vacancies.

We appreciate your interest in the Presidential appointment process and encourage you to continue to provide us with qualified candidates.

Sincerely,

E. Pendleton James  
Assistant to the President  
for Presidential Personnel

Mrs. Betty J. Rhodes  
President  
Odessa Business and Professional  
Women's Club  
Post Office Box 6530  
Odessa, TX 79762



TL  
NL 8/19/81

Pro-O'Connor

P. O. Box 6530  
Odessa, Tx. 79762  
July 27, 1981

President Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20013

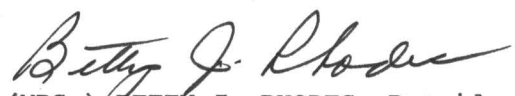
Dear Sir:

I wish to support the nomination and appointment of Judge Sarah D. O'Connor as Associate Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, individually and as President of the Odessa Business & Professional Women's Club.

I feel Judge O'Connor is very well qualified for this position.

Your continued support of this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

  
(MRS.) BETTY J. RHODES, President  
Odessa Business & Professional Women's Club

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 20, 1981

Dear Mrs. Culhane:

Elizabeth Dole has asked me to thank you for your letter expressing your objection to the nomination of Sandra O'Connor. As you are well aware, this topic has been the focus of numerous discussions amongst White House staff and Mrs. Dole was pleased to have a minute to make note of your own views.

Mrs. Dole thanks you once again for your interest in bringing your views to her attention. She sends her best regards and apologizes for not being able to personally respond at this time.

Sincerely,

Diana Lozano  
Deputy Director  
Office of Public Liaison

Mrs. Anne <sup>\*</sup>Culhane  
1341 S. Crescent Avenue  
Park Ridge, IL 60068

MEQuint/ mpg  
Rewritten: D Lozano/mpg

→ ATTN: ME  
Quint  
1341 S. Crescent Avenue  
Park Ridge, IL 60068  
July 13, 1981

JUL 22 1981

Mrs. Elizabeth Dole  
Assistant to the President  
for Public Liaison  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Dole:

First, may I say I very much enjoyed reading the article about you which appeared here in the Chicago Tribune July 5th. I also enjoyed the interview with the Senator on CBS-Radio which was aired here yesterday.

In addition to the copy of my letter to the President concerning his nomination of Judge O'Connor to the Supreme Court, I am enclosing a transcript of a talk given by Dr. Bernard Nathanson given at the recent National Right-to-Life Convention in Omaha. Dr. Nathanson was a co-founder of NARAL (National Abortion Rights Action League) and had himself presided over some 60,000 abortions. During his talk to the NRLC, he revealed what is now known as the 'Pentagon Papers' of the abortion movement.

I hope you will be able to take time from your busy schedule to read his comments in order to get a glimpse at what it is that has motivated the Pro-Life movement in this country for these many years, and why we are so very much dismayed at President Regan's appointment (proposed) of Sandra O'Connor to the Supreme Court.

JUL 18 REC'D

are, however, not "single-issue" people, but are concerned about a wide range of issues, with the inalienable right to life simply being a top priority. For example, we are also greatly concerned about Mrs. O'Connor's callous attitude concerning parental rights, as evidenced by her co-sponsorship of Arizona Senate Bill 1190, allowing family planning (contraceptives and abortion) to be legal for all children, without parental consent or knowledge.

Needless to say, we intend to publicize Mrs. O'Connor's record to the widest extent possible, and most sincerely hope that President Reagan will recall her nomination. We realize anyone, even the President, can make a mistake and it is only the unwillingness to correct such that we would not find tolerable.

Thank you for listening.

Sincerely,

*(Mrs.) Anne Culhane*

Anne Culhane

Enclosures



1341 S. Crescent Avenue  
Park Ridge, IL 60068  
July 8, 1981

President Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

BUDGET CUTS - Yes!  
A WOMAN - Yes!

O'CONNOR - NO!  
O'CONNOR - NO!

It was indeed shocking to learn of your nomination of Sandra O'Connor to the U.S. Supreme Court. Her record in Arizona is truly a disaster, as far as true conservatives are concerned. That record is clearly anti-family as well as pro-abortion. Mrs. O'Connor is obviously a social liberal - and social liberalism creates the need for fiscal liberalism. Barry Goldwater, whom I had long admired, must have been wearing blinders when he recommended her.

By this nomination, Mr. President, you have (whether you realize it or not) rewarded those feminist groups that are now in the forefront of opposing your budget cuts, your foreign policy, national defense and the alleged positions you have taken on many social issues. I've witnessed enough of their public demonstrations to know this to be absolutely true.

Having been a registered and active Republican for the past twenty-seven years, and having worked in both your '76 and '80 campaigns, I can only say that I have now reached the same conclusion arrived at by many other Americans: THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE between the two major political parties in this country. They, simply, achieve the same goals with different people and different strategies.

Your decision in nominating O'Connor will win favor with some of your bitterest enemies. But for those of us who have supported you and your ideals these many years, it is an overwhelming disappointment. It is indeed a dark day in our nation's history and it is my sincere hope that you will recall her nomination.

Disheartened,

(Mrs.) Anne Culhane

Anne Culhane  
Illinois Delegate (elected)  
International Women's Year Conf.  
White House Conference on  
Families

MEMBERSHIPS:

Founding Member: <sup>CONSERVATIVE</sup> CONGRESSIONAL CAUCUS (Ill. Sixth Congressional Dist.)  
PARK RIDGE PRO-LIFE

Public Member: AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL - National Advisory Board  
District

Coordinator: STOP ERA - Ill. Sixteenth Legislative District

Member: PARK RIDGE REPUBLICAN WOMEN'S CLUB  
EAGLE FORUM  
ILLINOIS PROLIFE COALITION  
NORTHERN ILLINOIS PRO-FAMILY COALITION  
CAPTIVE NATIONS COMMITTEE

cc: Mrs. Nancy Reagan  
Selected U.S. Senators  
Congressman Henry Hyde

ADDENDUM: While I recognize the importance of compromise, in political life, I also recognize that some values eg., parental rights and the right to life cannot be compromised.

While I recognize the possibility of conversions, I am also aware that tigers don't usually change their stripes. As far as I know, there is nothing concrete to indicate that Mrs. O'Connor has changed hers. Her personal opinions are of no consequence. It is the risk of her judicial opinions that concerns me and in this regard, it is her overall value system which must be given top priority - not her intelligence, temperament, prior experience on the bench, or any other criterion.

AS  
INDICATED R  
BY HER  
PUBLIC RECORD

*Compliments of  
Park Ridge Pro Life  
P. O. Box 79  
Park Ridge, Ill. 60068*

Transcription of tape:  
Speaker: Bernard Nathanson, M.D.  
Introduction by: Carolyn Gerster, M.D.  
National Right to Life Convention  
Omaha, NE  
Sat., June 20, 1981

#### I N T R O D U C T I O N

Speaker: Dr. Carolyn Gerster, past president, National Right to Life.

Bernard Nathanson has become familiar to all of you during the last two to three years.

He is Associate attending, Department of OB/GYN, New York Hospital, '63 to present. Senior attending, Department of OB/GYN, Woman's Hospital, St. Luke's Hospital Center, New York City. Public Relations Committee, New York County Medical Society, 1979 to present.

Co-founder of the National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws (now, of course, the National Abortion Rights Action League - NARAL).

He is the former director of the largest abortion clinic in the world. I used to say "Western Hemisphere", but I believe it is the world, the Manhattan Center for Reproductive and Sexual Health. As the director of this center he had the responsibility for 60,000 abortions - performed an additional 1,500 himself.

I first became aware of Dr. Nathanson, as most of my medical colleagues, in the New England Journal of Medicine in 1974 when, although believing abortion should remain legal, stated that he realized now that he had presided over 60,000 deaths.

In '79 came Aborting America which was the expose, I believe, of the century. To attest to its success Doubleday instantly realized the error they had made and it became unavailable in any Doubleday book store. If you requested it the clerk looked embarrassed and said that they would send it to you in a plain brown wrapper.

Dr. Nathanson has appeared on the Donahue show, has testified before many subcommittees for the Pro-Life Movement, including Washington, D.C. two days ago before the Senate subcommittee on Separation of Powers.

He was a speaker, of course, at the California-Anaheim NRLC convention last year, has appeared in many state conventions, including my own.

Now that's the official history that appears in your convention workbook, but I have to give a little personal aside. At the beginning, of course, the pro-life movement was terribly suspicious of Dr. Nathanson's motives. We couldn't imagine that this had really occurred. We couldn't trust it. Mr. Reilly, who was at that time, editor of the National Catholic Register, had the galley proofs of Aborting America, which he sent to me - asked me to look at them but not to reveal that I had them or quote from them because the book was not published.



INTRODUCTION, page two

Shortly thereafter, I was in a one hour television debate with Bill Baird. During the course of the debate, Mr. Baird said that 10,000 women had died annually of illegal abortions prior to the '73 U. S. Supreme Court decision. I couldn't resist - during the break for commercials, I leaned over and I said, "Bill, I understand that Dr. Nathanson is going to have something very interesting to say about that figure of 10,000." As you recall, Dr. Nathanson has alluded to the fact that actual figures were never given. If at all possible the hard case was referred to, but, if pressed, he said, "I always used the figure of 5 to 10,000." He said, "I knew it to be untrue and I presume my colleagues did, but - the end justified the means".

At any rate, I could not have anticipated the reaction from Bill Baird. His face blanched, and he said, "Bernie Nathanson! Don't you ever mention the name of that (expletive deleted) traitor to me again!"

So - greater praise hath no man.

I'll devote the rest of the time to the person that you came to hear, but I would like to say that the time I went to visit Dr. Nathanson in his New York office a year or so later, some people have said that they found Dr. Nathanson aloof and cold. I found him very warm, very compassionate, very articulate.

He went into the abortion movement because he thought it was the best way to help women. He left the abortion movement for the same reason.

I present to you Dr. Bernard Nathanson.

Editors comment:

Bill Baird referred to by Dr. Gerster currently operates a large abortion clinic in the east. He tries to be present at all pro-life rallies and was in fact present at this Convention. He was able to get TV time in Omaha, by uniting himself with a gathering of pro-abortion people at the University of Nebraska during the Convention.

## INSIDE ABORTION MENTALITY

Bernard Nathanson, M.D.

Thank you, Carolyn, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I appeared with Dr. Gerster, as you may have heard, down in the Washington Senate hearings. I guess it was Thursday, and we testified, among other things, as to when we thought life begins. The testimony is so basic, and the questions so incredibly simple, that it was almost - in a sense - a little embarrassing, chagrining for me, a trained obstetrician and gynecologist, to be testifying on such a fundamental and such a perfectly obvious question. I was really tempted to tell Senator East and his colleagues that, in fact, in the Jewish law, which we've researched, it turns out that life begins when the fetus graduates from medical school!

Now many of you have heard me speak before and I think that you have heard me elaborate at some length upon the original psychology, if you will - the original thinking that went into my decision to organize the National Association for Repeal of Abortion Laws, now known as the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL). The decision to pursue that activity to its ultimate end, which was, of course, the 1973 Supreme Court decision - the decision to carry out or to execute the directorship of the largest abortion clinic in the Western world or, in fact, in the whole world. And I don't think I want to dwell on any of that. Nor, this morning, do I want to go over again the reasons why I changed my mind, why I became disgusted with the abortion ethic and why I finally left it and produced a couple of thunder claps for the pro-abortion people; namely the papers I've published and the book. You've all heard that and, I think, ad infinitum, and I'm not going, as I say, to go back into that again.

What today I want to do with you is talk to you and read to you, if you'll bear with me, certain papers which I took with me when I left NARAL and certain papers and files which I took out in the middle of the night, literally, from the abortion clinic which will give you an opportunity to get inside the skull - into the brain cells of the abortion mentality, of the thinking of those who promote - those who love abortion - the abortiphiles.

These papers, in a sense, are, I suppose, the Pentagon papers of the abortion movement. They have never been published. They are not published in my book for obvious reasons. At the time the book was published the material was still relatively fresh and, quite frankly, there were problems with the publisher on the issue of being sued for libel, and a certain amount of legal exposure so I refrained from publishing some of these things. I'm sorry that I don't have slides of some of this material. I'm going to be holding it up after I read it, but slides will be made for future presentation and you will be able to verify the authenticity of these papers which you will hear about.

Now, in 1968, as you know, we organized the National Association for Repeal of Abortion Laws, the NARAL... "we" meaning Larry Lader and I, Betty Friedan, Carol Greitser, and a few others, and it became immediately clear after we organized the group and pledged ourselves to break, to strike down, every restrictive abortion law in the United States starting with New York state and working on through. And pledged ourselves, finally, to release abortion from all legal binds and restrictions - it became obvious that we had, as most movements do, a split in our ranks and the split consisted, of course, of the abortion radicals and the conservatives, and through a lot of political internecine jockeying and a lot of sub-rosa maneuvering and manipulating, the radicals finally won.

I'm going to read to you a resolution which was proposed for adoption by the NARAL board, the Executive committee, at its September 27, 1969 meeting which was a big meeting in which the subject was, whether or not abortion should be pushed to the United States as the preferred means of birth control and that we should abandon, in fact, even speaking about birth control thereafter, but merely present abortion as the most desirable means of birth control.

The statement, which is proposed by two members of the committee - Lucinda Sisler and James Clap, reads as follows:

"The basic human right to limit one's own reproduction includes the right to all forms of birth control - to contraception, including sterilization and to abortion."

Why this resolution is important - this resolution makes it clear that abortion is a preferred form of birth control, counteracting the false notion held by so many people that it is not.

Now, that notion, that resolution, passed our board, and it was, in fact, the prevailing psychology of the NARAL for about a year following. Mr. Clap, who was one of the authors of that resolution, does appear in my book. He was, at that time, a young, bearded, scraggly-looking gentleman who had just graduated college and was a rather wild-eyed feminist. He was pushing every conceivable kind of radical notion to us, but when I left the abortion movement around '75, I never saw him again until about four years later, when I met him on the subway one morning and barely recognized the man. He had trimmed his beard down to a small goatee. He was wearing a grey pin-striped suit with a high shine on his shoes. He was wearing fashionable aviator glasses, sitting on the subway opposite me reading the Wall Street Journal. That's where pro-abortionists fade away and die.

Now, I'm again not going into all the devious tactics - all the falsification of the polls which we released to the newspapers. I'm not going in, again, to all the statistics about abortion deaths that we contrived and we fabricated in the '60's. You all know about that. I've spoken about that many times. Let me talk to you about another tactic which was, in its way, at least as deceitful and at least as shameful as anything else we did.

This does not again appear in my book. These are again the raw files of the NARAL meetings. This is from January 11, 1972, as a matter of fact,



and it was a meeting devoted to whether or not we should concentrate a great deal of money and attention on the college population - pushing abortion for them as a means of birth control and specifically invading and buying space in college newspapers in order to allow college students to understand the availability of abortion and to push for it in their various institutions.

And the release which we sent from NARAL to college newspapers said, among other things, as follows:

"Your newspaper can make abortion referrals by printing a column every week of the best hospitals and clinics performing legal abortions throughout the country and the most reliable abortion referral services. See enclosed list."

Now this is going to seventeen, and eighteen, and nineteen year olds in college in 1972 who had no knowledge of these things. This was going particularly to newspapers in the midwest and the southwest where we were going to concentrate our attention because we felt that this was the most fertile ground in America.

Further on down the same memo, the same file, it says as follows:

"Number 4. You and your newspaper will be supported in any legal problem not only by this Florida precedent, but by NARAL's legal committee and the American Civil Liberties Union. ACLU's executive director has written NARAL that ACLU will provide legal assistance to combat any legal or administrative reprisals that may be faced by college editors publishing information on the availability of abortion."

In effect, telling college editors from newspapers, don't worry about it. We are going to support you. We are going to fund you. We are going to provide lawyers in order for you to be allowed to publish lists of abortion clinics and hospitals for your students in your student body.

Now..somewhere at the end of 1970, after the law had been broken in New York state and we, I, was then running the abortion clinic, great numbers of second trimester abortions - late abortions - were being done, particularly in the hospitals - and it became clear to us after a short period of approximately six months, that we were running into a very serious problem - and for the first time this problem surfaced in the United States - and it was the delivery of live fetuses following saline instillation.

Now this created a tremendous amount of consternation in the pro-abortion ranks. You can understand that the publicity accruing from such an accident was disastrous. We were getting these little babies delivered from saline abortions.

First, it was totally unexpected. Secondly, we were getting such small babies that we simply didn't know what to do about resuscitating them, and third, on the part of the doctor, there was a natural reluctance, he having done the abortion, to try to resuscitate these babies and take them to the nursery.

But, on the other hand, the nurses, who were appalled, most of them, by this behavior and instead snatched the babies away and ran to the nurseries with them and literally there were fights and I saw this. In St. Luke's and other hospitals, fights in the middle of the hall with a nurse running down the hall with a tiny baby, the product of a saline abortion, in her arms, and the doctor trailing after her, screaming at her and running and grabbing her arms to try to pull her back from the nursery and leave the baby on the bed or on the floor where it had been dropped. And this is what happened.

This was described in newspapers and therefore, in January of 1971, we convened a top-level meeting of all the major pro-abortion activist political figures in the United States, including myself and Larry Lader, who went out to this meeting. The meeting was held at the Marriott Hotel at the airport in Chicago on the 9th of January, 1971 at 10 AM.

These are the minutes of this meeting. These, incidentally, were taken by a researcher of mine from the Schlessinger Library in Radcliffe College. You can still see the imprint of the library up here. Regrettably, it was never returned, but I plan to return it in the next five or six years. And, the minutes, incidentally the meeting was chaired by assemblywoman, Constance Cook, a legislator from the New York state legislature who was, in fact, responsible for the New York state abortion law of 1970. The minutes read as follows:

"The meeting convened at 10 AM. Delegations of legislators, physicians, and repeal organization members were present from the following states: New York, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, and Minnesota."

Now there was some pulaver about the organization of the meeting and so on, and so we go on to the second page which begins as follows:

"A law requiring consent of husband annihilates the right of a pregnant woman to decide to continue or to terminate a pregnancy. Recent court decisions have asserted women's rights to control their reproductive functions and such decisions must be cited as often as necessary to completely eliminate husband-consent restrictions."

Now, there you are, right in the middle of the mind of the pro-abortion lobby. Now we get down to the real fun part here:

"All mid-western delegations" (and by the way, Nebraska was represented there by representatives of Michigan and Minnesota) "agreed that some time limit would be essential to passage in their own states."

Now, we're talking about time limits on abortion.

"The publicity surrounding the births of some 26 live fetuses in New York and the survival to normal infancy at one of these, has necessitated a time concession despite the philosophic purity of total repeal."

Now how's that for debasement of the language, as Dr. White pointed out last night in her little talk? "Philosophical purity of total repeal". What they are saying is, "Listen, we got a real problem with these live fetuses and I don't think we can really push for total repeal and have abortion right up to 39.9 weeks. I think we maybe have to settle at around 24 or 26 weeks because it's getting embarrassing, kids."

Now later on, on this, in the same minutes, Mr. Lader, Lawrence Lader, pipes up and says the following in the minutes:

"Nevertheless, nevertheless, despite these embarrassments, despite these live fetuses - urged no time limits, reminding all present of the tragic circumstances usually surrounding those cases requiring very late termination...." He noted also that the New York legislatures had encountered the live-birth argument before passage of the 24 week bill and he further observed that any time specification is often interpreted to mean legislative sanction for termination to that time.

We go on to the final paragraph in here, which may interest some of the gentlemen sitting in the middle of the room:

"The major opposition to abortion law repeal comes from the Roman Catholic Church and groups like the Right to Life Committee organized and funded solely by the Catholic Church." (laughter on tape)

Right from the minutes of the meeting of the top people in NARAL throughout the country. These are also, by the way - there were many legislators from other state legislatures here at that meeting. Let me go on.

"All present had seen evidence of opposition tactics in the form of election campaigns against proponents of abortion law change, pastoral letters, etc. "

Suggested ways to contend with this opposition were to "Support actively those Catholic legislators who support abortion law repeal and to emphasize and push the minority opinion within the church and separation of religious conviction from legislative judgment as proposed by such notable Catholics as Robert Drinan, ROBERT DRINAN!, and Richard Cardinal Cushing."

"The opposition argument of abortion law repeal promoting promiscuity can be exploited to expose the immorality of the pregnancy and punishment philosophy."

You are beginning to get some idea - let me just go on for a moment here -

"Certain black" (this is on Page Four of the minutes) - Certain black militant groups have expressed some opposition, although the Black Panthers have reversed their anti-abortion stand while maintaining their opposition to compulsory sterilization. Publicizing black support, showing civil rights records of abortion law repeal supporters and exposing records of how minority groups have been most victimized are particularly effective ways to counter such opposition. Some black women speak to the issue most eloquently and should be encouraged to publicize and air their views."

Now - have you ever read any more cynical, political maneuvering, manipulation of minority groups, tarring of the Catholic Church, and so on in your life? Well, these are, as I said, the official minutes of those meetings. I'm not fabricating anything here today. These came, in fact, as I told you from Harvard's library.

We went on. We had some problems with money and problems with getting our money into a tax-exempt bracket, and I'm going to read to you later some material from the Planned Parenthood organization in which Planned Parenthood knowingly

connived with NARAL to channel funds directly through their organization to us. Now let me explain what I mean. Planned Parenthood was a - is a tax-exempt organization and all of you understand, I think, that tax-exempt organizations are not allowed, by law, to get into the political arena. Otherwise their tax-exemption will be taken away from them.

On the other hand, NARAL, being a political organization, was not allowed or did not get a tax-exemption, so we had to figure out some way to get money from donors to continue our work and have it into a tax-exempt status so the donors could write it off on their income tax and I will read to you, in these papers, a letter from Planned Parenthood indicating they were willing and would and did function as a channel, a legal conduit, to take donations from individuals and corporations and put them into their organization so they could be written off as tax deductions and then giving us the money under the table. You'll hear about that.

Now in 19 - early 1971, as many of you know, I began the direction of the largest abortion clinic in the world, the Center for Reproductive and Sexual Health, and you all know the body counts and so on. I've talked about the 60,000 abortions we did there and the 10,000 or so others I supervised and the 5,000 I did myself - adding up to a figure of 75,000 abortions I myself have been responsible for.

Now we held a meeting every Wednesday afternoon at the clinic at four o'clock. It was called an administrative meeting. Many of you have read about the gore and the blood and the disasters that happened at that clinic. I'm now going to read to you certain of the minutes - again, these have never been published - from those meetings. You will hear - you will be right inside the meeting, sitting with me at the head of that long table at the back of the clinic in an air-conditioned room, with coffee and drinks on the table and everyone relaxing and giggling a little and having a pretty good time.

We published every week, and every two weeks a financial census according to states which was, of course, always read. This document has a list of every state in the union, the number of abortions we performed at that clinic in those two weeks from each state - those who paid full payment, those who we did for only partial payment, and those we did for no payment at all. And we would publish - at the same meeting this was read - what we called our bi-monthly averages. This was a copy, or this is one of the original files - says as follows:

This is for the year 1971-72, July 1 to July 31.

"Abortions performed: 80 Abortions scheduled: 93  
Deposit in the bank daily - \$10,693.00"

\$10,693.00 every day was taken from that clinic and brought down to the bank. I'm not making these figures up. They're all down here.

"August 1 to August 15

Abortions performed: 78 Abortions scheduled: 95  
Deposit - \$10,375.00 daily"

"August 16 through August 31

Abortions performed: 78 Abortions scheduled: 93  
Deposit sank to \$10,452.00 per day."



I don't want to bore you with all these things, but that is the way it went. Here we have daily summaries. We broke it down - actually the body count was broken down into days here:

"March 16, 1972 - 98 abortions of 118 scheduled. \$10,805.00"

"March 20 - Monday - 96 abortions, 117 scheduled. The deposit was \$11,415.00" - Pretty good day.

Daily summaries:

"Abortions for 16th of February, 1972 - 100. Deposit - \$10,785.00.

And so on. Many, many lists.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, this was a large operation. This was an operation which simple arithmetic will tell you is generating about 4 million dollars a year in that clinic. Four million dollars a year! A lot of money - for doing abortions - killing babies.

Now, sometime in late 1971, I was directing a staff of some 35 to 40 doctors. I asked the comptroller of the clinic to prepare for me, to read at an administrative meeting a list of the doctors' salaries - those who were working in the clinic - and they did so. There are many names on this list. I'll go down for a few of them. The top salary here was a doctor who used to come up from Lexington, Kentucky every Friday afternoon. He'd fly up to New York. He would do abortions - two shifts a day till Sunday evening and at the end of 1971 he had made - just doing this on week-end moonlighting - \$185,472.00. Not bad. Another doctor, who had a very busy practice, who only worked one and a half shifts a week in the year 1971, made \$116,122.82.

The list contains a considerable number of interesting names. I'm not going to go into all of them for you. I want to mention, however, - bring to your attention, in particular, two. One doctor - listed down here in the middle of the second page. His name is Dr. Elezer Skolnick - a fine ruffian. He used to work at our clinic on the fifth floor and when things were fairly quiet he would go down two flights of stairs and work another clinic on the third floor. He was a busy, busy boy. He had, it was bruted about, some mafia connections, and he was thinking of organizing his own clinic.

I am now going to read to you a letter from the New Yor-----an article, rather, from the New York Times dated 26 October, 1976. Bear with me for a minute. The headline of the article reads:

"MEDICAL LICENSE SEIZED FROM AN ABORTION DOCTOR CHARGED WITH INEPTITUDE."

"The medical license of Dr. Elezer Skolnick, an abortion specialist, was confiscated yesterday by New York state at the doctor's offices at York Medical Associates, also known as the Central Women's Center, at 333 East 29th Street. The action came two years after the State and the New York City department of consumer affairs accused him of gross ineptitude at the Women's Center. The Board revoked Dr. Skolnick's license two months ago, but he obtained a stay. The specific reason for the revocation of his license is as follows: in July, 1974, the New York City Department of Consumer Affairs reported that incompetency and abuses at the Central Women's Center....."

Now this is the New York Times, not me, reading this:

"...were so blatant that the clinic had diagnosed a male sample of urine as positive in a pregnancy test. One woman, the department said, received an abortion from Dr. Skolnick only to discover a couple of months later that the abortion was incomplete and that she was still three and a half months pregnant."

Now let me give you a postscript on Dr. Skolnick. Dr. Skolnick, about one year ago, was found in an alley-way in Brooklyn, with one bullet hole precisely through the left side of his head. Dead. The victim of what appeared to be, according to the newspapers, a gangland style slaying.

Now there was another name on here. A Dr. Rashbaum - Rashbaum - some of you may know the name. Now I want to read to you a letter which just came to me in the mail. It's dated 15 May 1981. I don't think many of you know about this organization. This is an attempt to solicit me into an organization. It's a fund-raising letter.

"Dear Colleague:

As physicians, we are dismayed at the callous attempts made to deny abortion first to the poor and the young and potentially to all women in this country. Both on the national and state levels laws have been proposed that would drastically limit, if not prohibit access to safe, legal abortion. This must be stopped now."

It goes on to elaborate on the aims of this organization. It ends up as follows:

"We intend to tell legislators, both in Albany and Washington, D.C. where we stand by publicly pledging our support of New York's current laws, on campaign letterhead in an ad and in a brochure. Ours are among the names that will be listed as members of the campaign. We would be proud and grateful to have you with us."

Me! I! It is signed by, among other people, William K. Rashbaum, who is one of the chairpersons. The other people, there are three other signatures on this letter - one of them is the professor and chairman of obstetrics and gynecology at the New York Hospital, Cornell Medical School. Another one is a professor and chairman of the department of obstetrics and gynecology at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine, and another one is professor of clinical obstetrics and gynecology at the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia University. Very nice. Yes? Very nice.

Now I promised you I would take you a little bit into the administrative meetings of the clinic - to get back to what I was saying. Listen to some of these actual minutes - these were things I literally stole from my own desk one week before I left that clinic in August of 1971. I cleaned it out and bundled my stuff into a suitcase about 11 o'clock at night. Quote:

"Lois" (who was the chief nurse at the time) "stated that some counselors are deliberately withholding Phenergan from the patients."

Now Phenergan is an analgesic drug and a tranquilizer. It was used in the clinic to tranquilize the patients, keep them calm. It was brought out that a registered nurse can refuse to give a patient Phenergan, but she must have a good reason for doing so. Some of the nurse counselors - some of those

wonderful, humane people who also brought us Pearl Harbor - were withholding - and, by the way Dachau - were withholding the pain medication from the patients. We could never understand why.

Further down in these minutes the following is stated:

"Because the wrong patient was inadvertently given Rho-gam" (one of the patients got a wrong drug which occasioned a great deal of consternation) "Dr. Nathanson stated that patients need better identification".

Patients were coming in without any arm bands or anything. They were just being shuffled through so fast that we had no time for the niceties of identifying people by putting a little wrist band on them.

This is from the meeting of 12 March 1971 down about halfway down the page here:

"Susan McConnell" (who was the record librarian) "stated she has heard patients screaming during the procedure".

Now her record room was all the way down at the end of the hall and approximately 100 feet away from the procedure rooms. If those patients were screaming, they were screaming very loud.

"She also observed that many of the counselors are suggesting to the patients not to use certain pain killing drugs for the procedure.

"Dr. Nathanson requested a report on any such information regarding the counselors or doctors."

Further on down this page at the bottom, there's a little innocuous note:

"Dr. Nathanson insists that the practice of doctors dating patients after their abortion procedures must stop."

Dating patients for that night - that night - at their hotels - must stop.

Another administrative meeting - 2 April 1971:

"Dr. Nathanson agreed and also stated that there should be one nurse for each shift, plus the weekends and evenings.

"Lois (again the counselor and nurse) observed that Dr. Nash never scrubs and sometimes doesn't even wear gloves for the procedure."

That's a doctor trained as an obstetrician-gynecologist. Now I don't want to bore you with any of this, so I'll stop.

And I left that clinic. By the way, one last little letter which comes here from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare - the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta. Now most of you know that that's a hot-bed of abortion activity. This letter is dated all the way back 8 March 1971. I will not read the entire letter. It starts off:

"Dear Dr. Nathanson:

Although we had but a brief meeting I was glad to be able to discuss the clinic activities with you."

This letter pledges the total support of the Center for Disease Control, including anything we needed at that clinic to go ahead with our project and abort as many women as we possibly could.

When I left that clinic I published an article in the New England Journal of Medicine. Not the article you all are familiar with, but this article which of course burst on the obstetrical and gynecological and medical community like a thunder clap also. The name of the article is:

"AMBULATORY ABORTION - EXPERIENCE WITH 26,000 CASES  
July 1, 1970 to August 1, 1971"

This article goes on to document our experiences at the clinic and in response to certain important articles, the New England Journal of Medicine will designate one very remarkable or outstanding medical figure to write an editorial about the article in the same issue of the Journal, if they feel the article is that important.

They designated to comment on my article, editorially, Dr. Tsetse, who is one of the statisticians of the abortion movement. Many of you are familiar with the name Tsetse. And he wrote, in part, as follows:

"There is no doubt in my mind that a free standing clinic, under competent leadership, can provide abortion services of a high quality at a reasonable price during the first trimester of pregnancy in a setting that is more acceptable to many women than a hospital. It is an unfortunate fact that not all free standing clinics in the New York area are as well organized and as unequivocally oriented toward their patients as the Center for Reproductive and Sexual Health."

That, after I just got through reading to you how patients were screaming, being denied pain medication, given the wrong shots, not being identified and so on!

Now here are the minutes from a board meeting of the Board of Trustees of the clinic. This is a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Center for Reproductive and Sexual Health held at 410 East 62nd Street, New York, Tuesday, 26 October 1971 at 4:00 PM. I promised you this - and let me read it on the second page:

(Now the clinic by this time was in trouble. We were losing money - a great deal of money by this time and we were getting a little desperate).

"Miss Pyle (who was the administrator of the clinic) stated that we had been offered an interest free loan of \$50,000 from the Scaife Foundation."

Now for those of you who don't know what the Scaife Foundation is, it is a branch of the Mellon family of Pittsburgh. Many of you are familiar with that name. One of the wealthiest families in the United States.

"The loan may become a grant should we be in a financial position unable to pay them."



Now listen - right from the minutes:

"This loan will be channeled by Al Moran of Planned Parenthood."

"This loan will be channeled" - meaning the Scaife Foundation could put it through Planned Parenthood as a tax deductible item and Planned Parenthood would slip it to us under the table as a loan and we would get the money.

Well, understandably, I got a little disgusted with what was going on and my mind began to change over the years, and as you know I wrote an article called "DEEPER INTO ABORTION" also in the New England Journal of Medicine and let me just quote the last three lines of the article. The article, believe me, for those of you who've not read it, was no bomb shell really. It was a very controlled and pretty pro-abortion piece still and it ended the following way:

"We must work together to create a climate rich enough to provide for abortion, but sensitive enough to life to accommodate a profound sense of loss."

Now that is not an article that anybody in this room would have wanted to write...."rich enough still to accommodate abortion". I was still for free, legal, unregulated abortion, but it generated - that article - generated a flood of correspondence which was simply mind-boggling. I must have gotten five hundred or so letters in response to that article.

Let me read just a few of the responses. This is a letter from Lawrence Lader in response to this article, dated 9 January 1975 and Larry said the following:

"As I'm sure you know, Ruth Smith was going to introduce a resolution to remove you from the Board. I think we've been able to stall this temporarily....."

(END OF SIDE 1 OF TAPE)

"You may have had reports about the effect of this article from other sources. I am sure that Dr. Nathanson does not appreciate his sentiments being twisted by right-to-lifers for their own purposes."

Finally, - it's getting on so - finally, let me read this letter from an Ann Gaylor of the Wisconsin Committee to Legalize Abortion. Some of you know Ann Gaylor. Listen to some of this.

"Two or three years ago" (and this is in part half way down the letter) "an attorney was forced off the NARAL Board" (now that's Roy Lukas we're talking about, and many of you know Roy Lukas) "for representing commercial referral groups, i.e. making money on abortions. Nathanson has made money on abortions and he has also stabbed us in the back with this gross piece he has published. What this article says to me is, I, Nathanson, noble physician that I am, will permit women to have abortions, but somehow it is necessary to make them feel guilty and uncomfortable about it. Whether we do this by bestowing personhood on an embryo or by denying women the comfort of a counselor who has had an abortion herself is beside the point. What is important is we must force her to take a guilt trip. It is my understanding that there

are procedures for voting someone off the NARAL Board and if Nathanson does not have the grace to resign, I think those procedures should be followed."

As a matter of fact, I did have the grace to resign. But all was not bad. There were some wonderful letters in response to that article. I have just two of them here. They're tiny, little letters. One is three lines. It says:

"Dear Dr. Nathanson:

This is written from the St. Mary's Hospital in Waterbury, CN. I hope that the impact of "Deeper into Abortion" is in proportion to its courage and eloquence."

And another one from Norfolk, Virginia said:

"Dear Dr. Nathanson:

What a terrific, clear eyed and forthright statement".

That was the whole letter and it was signed by a physician.

Now time is getting on, and I will conclude here briefly, but in response to those many letters that I got, I wrote a letter back to the New England Journal of Medicine, which was published as an article and it said the following:

"Roe v Wade is a social change comparable in magnitude to Brown v the Topeka State Board - School Board of Education. The issues in abortion are as inflammatory, the passions run as high, and Nesbitt has stated that the very tendency of social behavior to persist to hold fast to values and convenience make a degree of crisis inevitable in all but the most minor social changes. The crisis brought on by the desegregation of public education mandated by the U. S. Supreme Court has produced explosions, some of which are still reverberating in the streets and cities of our country."

This was just after many race riots over busing in Boston.

"What history teaches, Hegel admonished us, is that men have never learned anything from it. An if this be so then we must brace ourselves to endure another series of the shuddering convulsions of civil disorder. But if, instead, we devote ourselves to the ideal that to think well is the basic morality, and if we try to speak to each other across the gulf of our differences reasonably, dispassionately, and decently, then perhaps, as \_\_\_\_\_ wrote, 'In a nation that is free and passionately attached to the truth, man will begin again to have that feeling for man without which the world can never be but a vast solitude'."

Now I'm going to bring you up-to-date quickly to the 1980's and tell you what's happened to some of that abortion mentality. I have copies of the OB-GYN News here. This is a newspaper which circulates to every practicing obstetrician and gynecologist in the United States, belonging to the American College of Ob-GYN. We all get this newspaper. It's free. It's very good. It summarizes all the important articles that come out in the obstetrical and gynecologic

literature for that two week period. Here is one.

Now this is one - just came out May 15, 1981. Listen to this. The headline is "PRE-NATAL SOUND STIMULATION TEST TAKING TEN TO FIFTEEN MINUTES FOUND AS SENSITIVE AS THE OXYTOCIN TEST."

Now, we use a test called an Oxytocin challenge test by running a monitor on a fetus to see if the fetus is in good health. And we know certainly we can stimulate that fetus by pushing on it or jogging its head by a vaginal examination. But now we have - we have now got a prenatal sound stimulation test in which a certain sound is transmitted through the abdomen to the fetus. The fetus hears the sound and certain sounds will make the fetus heart rate begin to rise. We know the fetus is reacting and the fetus will begin to move in response to the sound. Now this is interesting. Certain special sound making equipment was necessary to do this test. This man says as follows:

"Dr. \_\_\_\_\_ "The sound stimulation test is performed with an electronic sound stimulator that produces a sound of 110 decibels and 1500 cycles per second. This can easily be constructed by most audiology departments."

It's a rather special machine. Now he says:

"The test could also be performed with an ordinary automobile horn, the investigator said."

An ordinary automobile horn. The fetus responds to an automobile horn about the same way you and I do - by trying to jump out of the way - and let me tell you I don't believe that, that -- if that isn't a human being I don't know what is.

Two other minor little items, and then I'm going to quit. Here is an article from January 1978. Same publication - OB/GYN. Headline - "DILATION AND EXTRACTION". Now that's the procedure of D & C done after the 12th week in which the fetus is disarticulated - pulled apart - and then the procedure, the abortion - finished.

"D & E: Dilation-Extraction Abortion...Held Disturbing to M.D.'s - Not Patients."

Now let me just read you one little article - one little part of that.

"In dilation and extraction abortions" (these are late D & C's up to the 26th week); "however, the physician plays an active role, although the physician is sparing the patient the pain and emotional distress of the amnio abortion, he or she is the one who is crushing and dismembering the fetus in a dilation and extraction procedure which can be very emotionally disturbing to the doctor."

Finally, last, one last article and then I'll quit. This is again from OB/GYN News in December 1, 1980, approximately 6 months ago. Headline of a very large study done in response to a request from the Sixth International Congress of psychosomatic-obstetrics and gynecology.

Now these are not right-to-life people writing now, by the way. These are just ordinary OB/GYN people. These are people without any political commitment to any cause or any decency that we have in this room. This article is head-lined as follows:

"PREGNANCY MAY HAVE PROTECTIVE EFFECT AGAINST DESTRUCTION"

and it goes on to point out in this very large study that, in fact, pregnant women do not commit suicide.

Now I've presumed a great deal on your time. And I'm just going to make my last few closing remarks. I want to say this again and I've said it before.

The destruction of a living being - embryo, defective fetus, neonate - is an act of irretrievable finality. One life is not exchangeable with another. And the value of each human life transcends ordinary measurement. To justify the destruction of a life by invoking the puny reach of our current scientific knowledge, as the new ethic would have us do, is to traverse a quicksand on ballet slippers. Physicians must declare a moratorium on the destruction of life until we have explored, unceasingly, every feasible alternative and until we more fully comprehend the inexpressible divinity of existence.

Thank you.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOLLOW NEXT PAGE

(Although we have made every attempt to spell every name in this transcription correctly, we were unable to confirm the correct spelling in several instances.)



QUESTIONS & ANSWERS

(Note: All questions are not entirely legible on the tape)

QUESTION Dr. Nathanson, the reference to Cardinal Cushing intrigues me. I'd like to know who gave him that onus and I'd like to know on what they based it. I ask that because several times, I've heard people quote the Church or someone in the Church and when I've checked the documentation, it was nowhere near it. I think the funniest one was where they quoted the Council of Diet as saying you don't baptize a fetus unless it's formed and said that that proved the Church didn't believe it was human. I read all of the Acts of the Council; when they said that there was some legislation carried over in a Pope's reign. I read everything from his reign, in the original Latin (?) another pope, a sixteenth century book (?) and there was no mention of it. So what exactly were they trying to refer to there?

DR. NATHANSON: Father, or the man in the black suit - we had absolutely no documentation for anything like that on the part of Cardinal Cushing, and that was part of the systematic, methodical campaign of trashing every respected figure that we could think of in the Catholic Church. Does that answer your question?

QUESTION Dr. Nathanson, about a year ago or so you made the statement that you thought and believed that life began at the moment of implantation. Have you, since that time, changed your mind, and do you now believe that life begins at the moment of fertilization?

DR. NATHANSON: The question is that about a year ago I made a statement that life, for me, began at implantation when we could finally, after nine days of conception, pick up the signals of the pregnancy being present in the mother's body. That statement has been, not misinterpreted I suppose, but misunderstood. The statement is really as follows: There is no question that life begins at conception, at fertilization. No one questions that. That's high school biology. The question really was: When does life. for an obstetrician, a practicing obstetrician, begin? That's a different story. If you are in practice and working in obstetrics, obviously you must have to deal with something that is there. You don't know - none of us knows when conception occurs. No obstetrician can tell. We do, however, know when implantation occurs because we can then begin to pick up the chemical signals, the pregnancy test, and for obstetricians - as a practical matter - life begins at implantation. But for me, as a citizen, as a human being, as a scientist - of course, life begins at conception. I don't know if I've made that clear, but perhaps for those physicians in the room, I think they may understand what I mean. A physician cannot deal with something which he does not know is there, but once you know it's there, then it can be confirmed as a pregnancy.

QUESTION Doctor, we can't really trust the statistics from the Center for Disease Control. Is that correct?

DR. NATHANSON: That's absolutely correct. The Center for Disease Control is an organization which, I believe, is totally devoted to pushing the abortion ethic, at whatever cost, in this country, and I think that every publication that comes out of that organization should be questioned seriously, and I personally think that that organization should be dissolved.

There are no greater villains in this country than Tyler and Grimes and Kates (?) and all that murderous band down in Atlanta.

QUESTION Do you fear assassination?

DR. NATHANSON: Well, not in this room particularly. No.

QUESTION Dr. Nathanson, It seems that your, the movement of the pro-abortionists, took advantage of the milieu of the times. It seemed like everyone was ready for the 1973 decision and I'm wondering, I'm optimistic that we're going to pass the Human Life Amendment. And if you feel that the country and the people are ready for a Human Life Amendment, shouldn't we be working to get them ready for it? If it's passed and no one is ready to accept it, it will be \_\_\_\_\_.

Dr. NATHANSON: The question is - we succeeded at NARAL despite what were absolutely staggering odds. I will remind you that any poll, legitimate poll, now I'm not talking about the polls we fabricated, but the legitimate polls we knew about at NARAL indicated that less than 5% of this country approved of abortion-on-demand, in 1968, when we organized. However, because of very clever politicking and an enormously timely push for this movement - don't forget, that in '68 the Vietnam War was on, the civil rights movement was at its crest, students were seizing buildings on campuses; there was a widespread feeling of revolution in this country comparable to 1848 in Europe, and we seized on that. There was a general challenge to authority. There was a feeling that institutions must go; we could not trust any institutions in 1968. Laws must go. Authority must be abolished. That was the political climate in which this movement of pro-abortion succeeded because we took devilishly, diabolically, clever advantage of that air, of that climate, of challenge of authority in the 1960's.

Now, in the 1980's, institutions are once more respectable. Authority has now come to be understood as something which every ordered society must have to some extent. And I do believe that, in this administration, it is the time to strike and strike hard to roll back those heinous decisions of the Supreme Court and those heinous laws which now control and regulate abortion. (applause)  
We must do it now!

QUESTION I'm concerned about the shifting of money from a C-3 in Planned Parenthood to get to NARAL. Your letter is ten years old, I think, so is it any good today? For us?

DR. NATHANSON: If you're asking me about legal action, or in some way challenging NARAL, I don't know. You would have to ask a lawyer. I mean these, as I say, are all the raw files. These are the exact documents, but whether or not they would carry any weight in a court of law, I don't know. Whether they will carry weight as a public relations matter, we might discuss.

QUESTION May I add to that, that I believe that they can get federal money because they are C-3, so there is some advantage to trying to get federal money.

DR. NATHANSON: Yes, absolutely. I think perhaps this should be part of a concerted attack on the most malignant and the most virulent organization today, in the United States, pushing abortion, and that is Planned Parenthood. That's an organization that also should be relegated to the trash heap.

QUESTION Have you found out what makes Bill Baird tick?

DR. NATHANSON: I think the anticipation of his next jailing probably makes him tick. I've heard that menu recited from the Bailey (?) Street prison. He gives me that menu from day to day, meal to meal, every day for the 36 or so days he stayed in that prison. I've heard that so often, I know the menu better than he does.

QUESTION I just wanted to ask a question. I'm also an obstetrician and I don't do abortions, but I hear from residents.....  
Is this a general feeling? That you somehow have to get away from this? And what does it do to the physician? That's my question.

DR. NATHANSON: Well, you heard me... The question is: What does abortion do to physicians? And you heard me quote from an article.....  
.....which was the result of a very careful, controlled study by psychiatrists, indicating that at least one type of abortion has a terribly destructive effect on the doctors.

In my own experience, and many of you know this from my book, I indicated to you that many of the doctors who worked at the clinic, for any length of time, underwent a quite visible, perfectly obvious, character disintegration while they were at the clinic. I mean, not only were they trying to date the patients after the abortion, they were dating the counselors. There were widespread drugs. I knew about them at the clinic, including marijuana and certainly cocaine was being snorted in some of the rooms - we knew about this. We couldn't do anything about it. I couldn't.

In fact, before one inspection by a local agency - the state medical agency - we had to run through the clinic. I assigned Dr. Blumenthal, my first in command, to run through the clinic to hide all traces of marijuana in various corners and pick up any kind of cigarettes or butts or loose grass that he could find anywhere in the clinic because we were very much afraid that the drugs were so widespread that the inspectors would actually see evidence of it. So, I must tell you that I think that anyone who is in the business, in that industry for any length of time, particularly in the trenches, doing the hand-to-hand combat with the fetus every day in the procedure rooms, anybody for any length of time will crumble and disintegrate.

QUESTION

I have, from time to time, when I have gone out and done public speaking for Pro-Life, I have expanded on some of the analogies that have been used to the Nazi holocaust and the current abortion and infanticide phenomenon that we have. And on several occasions, I've had people stand up and just make a brief statement to the effect that they think I'm disgusting and obscene. I must admit that I do think there are a few differences in scope and magnitude and purpose, and yet I find the analogy appropriate. I wondered what you, as an ethnic Jew, felt about that particular experience?

DR. NATHANSON: Well, as you know, I'm an ethnic Jew and also an atheist - a Jewish atheist. I have deliberately avoided, in books and elsewhere, invoking the holocaust because I think it was an experience so profoundly different, so unique, so of its own in history, that to compare anything with it, in a sense trivializes it. But more important, more important, this abortion issue, this whole abortion war has arguments for this cause, on this side, so compelling, apart from any Nazi similes, comparisons. The arguments are so compelling to stop abortion that we do not need to invoke any of the holocaust in the argument. The arguments stand by themselves as powerful, potent statements of human decency, and love, and they do not need any further\_\_\_\_\_.

QUESTION

Dr. Nathanson, I was out there at Anaheim (ED: National Right to Life Convention site, summer, 1980).....and.....with great suspicion, and I think.....because we didn't know you at the time and we were surprised and I think that, since that time, I think that most people, including myself are very pleased..... and I wasn't going to quote this verse completely, but I think it is so necessary because I work with mostly non-Catholics and I'm trying to work with Jews, and you being Jewish, I have to differ. I don't think that there's one life that's a little more equal than another. And I think that the Indians, and the blacks, and the Jews - who are conspicuously absent in this Movement, to me, is something I'd like you to answer.



QUES. contd

Maybe you can...first of all, they were the non-persons, including the Indians. I think there is a direct relation between the holocaust, because these were entirely helpless people and actually Hitler, in his insane way - you can say, well at least he was insane. We can't say that - well, maybe we could, about the Supreme Court, but they're supposed to be healthy, educated men. But the point I want to make is that a life is a life, and does it make any difference, geographically, whether it's in Germany, in a concentration camp, in a gas chamber, or in a mother's chamber. I mean, I'd like to know why..... because I get the same thing from a lot of Jewish people - I don't want to talk about that because that's..... I believe that every life is sacred and I think to separate that, history will repeat itself.....We're doing exactly as what happened in Germany.....the crippled, and who's going to be next?

DR. NATHANSON: The question is, or the statement is, well perhaps there are very close parallels to the holocaust in that lives are being destroyed. I will remind the questioner of this: that the fulcrum, the pivot, of the argument now is not the question of the numbers of lives being taken, but where Dr. Gerster and I, and Congressman Hyde and several others, were in the actual caldron, as it were, in the core of the argument Thursday, when we were down in Washington, at the hearings, trying to persuade these rather opaque legislators in Washington, these invulnerably, invincibly ignorant people who will not accept it, that in fact, what is being taken is life. Everything else follows from that, if we can finally establish that in the minds of some of those people who simply have shut their hearts and minds off. I don't think, as I say, that the issue is the numbers of lives, or the way they are being destroyed. These are all terrible issues, but this is not where the debate is now centered. The center of the debate, the core of it, is: Is this life? And there is simply no question in our minds, it is.

# Conservatives, Pro-Family Coalition Fired Up Over O'Connor Nomination

By PAUL A. FISHER

WASHINGTON, D.C. — A factually well-prepared group of conservatives and pro-family activists charged at a standing-room-only press conference that there has been an "apparent cover-up" of facts relating to Supreme Court nominee Sandra O'Connor's background.

Spokesmen for the group urged that her nomination be withdrawn or that the Senate take ample time to examine all the details of her background before considering it on the Senate floor.

The discordant note was sounded at a time when the press, fiscal conservatives, and liberals generally praised the selection of the first woman ever to be nominated to succeed to the high bench.

The principal spokesman for the group, Howard Phillips, director of the Conservative Caucus, called for a "thorough and searching review" of Judge O'Connor's record.

Phillips stood at a podium on the front of which was a large-lettered quotation from the 1980 Republican Party platform which expressed support for the appointment of judges "who respect traditional family values and the sanctity of innocent human life."

Phillips called the nomination "a major blow" to the political "alliance of social and economic conservatives who contributed to" the President's election and to the election of a number of senators and congressmen.

Also speaking at the standing-room only press conference in opposition to the nomination were two members of the 1980 Republican Platform Committee who helped draft the pro-life planks in that platform.

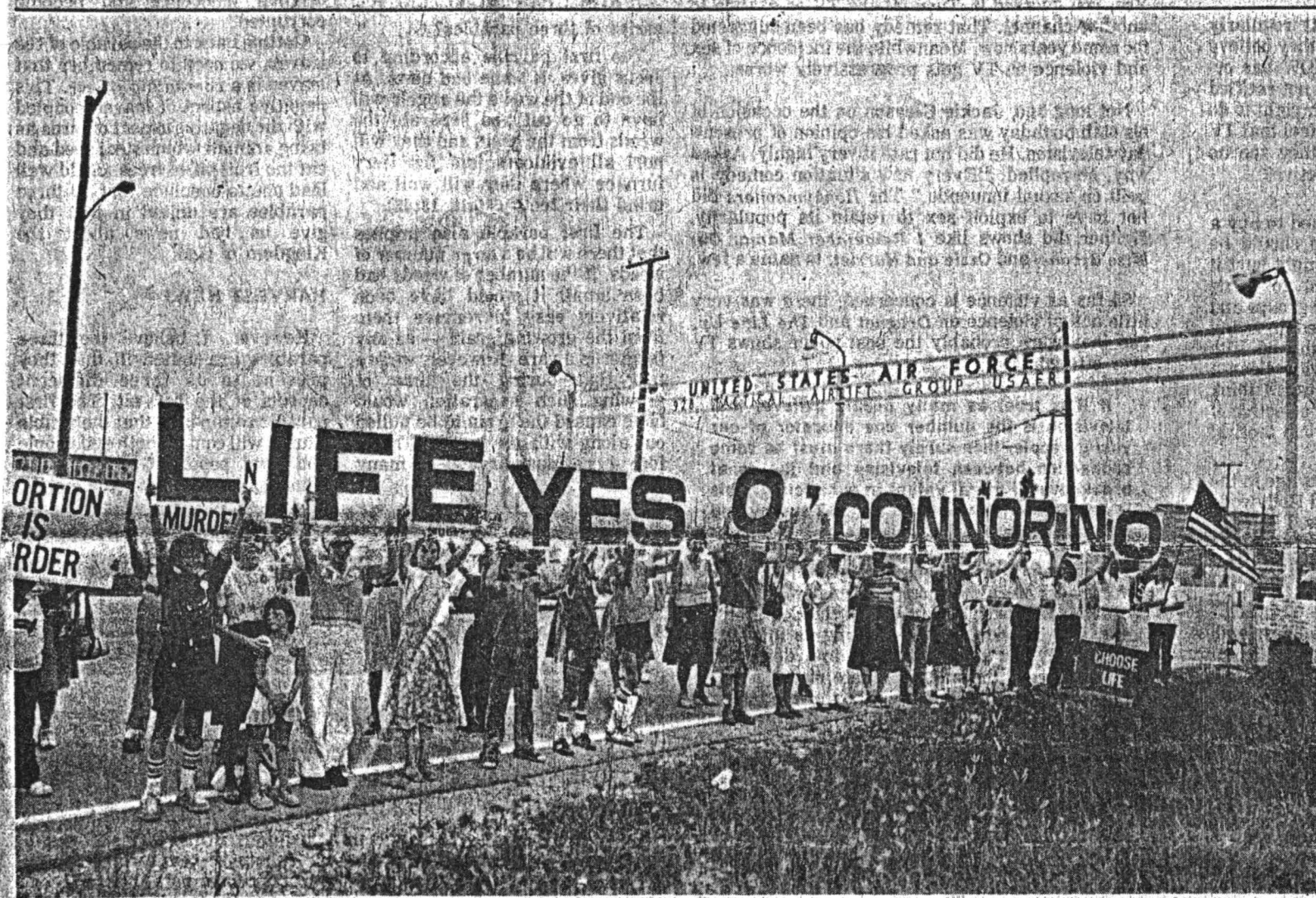


Photo by James Weber

CHICAGO — Seventy members of the Chicago-based Pro-Life Action League protest President Ronald Reagan's appointment of Judge Sandra D. O'Connor to the United States Supreme Court. The President attended a Republican fund-raiser in Chicago on Tuesday, July 7th, after making his announcement earlier that day in Washington. When Reagan's party returned by helicopter to the U.S. Military Base at O'Hare Airport, the demonstrators held up their signs reading "Life, Yes; O'Connor, No," hoping the President would read the message. They also lined the fence and called out pro-life slogans as the Presidential party boarded Air Force One to return to Washington.



## Conservatives, Pro-Family Coalition Fired Up Over O'Connor Nomination

(Continued from Page 1)

her nomination and praised her as a conservative.

Mrs. Camping replied: "He's been in Washington for years." Also, she noted, the senator is a personal friend of Mrs. O'Connor and has been a long time neighbor of hers.

Kathleen Teague of the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) distributed a detailed list of some of Mrs. O'Connor's positions when she served in the Legislature. This record showed not only the nominee's support for abortion on demand and for the ERA, but that she succeeded in "drastically amending" an anti-pornography bill which would reduce the location of adult bookstores from one mile radius of schools and playgrounds to "within 4,000 feet" of those locales.

Miss Teague's report also showed that Mrs. O'Connor opposed legislation which would deny 18-year-olds the right to drink alcoholic beverages.

A key document distributed at the press conference was a July 7th memorandum from Kenneth Starr, counselor to the attorney general of the United States, to the attorney general.

The memo noted that Mrs. O'Connor admitted co-sponsorship of a bill to allow state agencies to "disseminate information with respect to family planning," which she did not view as "an abortion measure."

The memo failed to mention, Phillips said, that the legislation would allow information on "surgical procedures," a euphemism for abortion, and that it permitted dissemination of this information without parental advice or consent.

The memo also states that there is no record of how Mrs. O'Connor voted in 1970 on a bill that would permit abortion on demand. Actually, the chairman of the committee at that time, John Conlon (later a U.S. representative) told Phillips in a telephone conversation on July 8th that Mrs. O'Connor voted for the measure.

The memo further states that Mrs. O'Connor stated that "she had never been a leader or outspoken advocate on behalf of either pro-life or abortion rights organizations," and that "she knows well the Arizona leader of the right-to-life movement, a prominent female physician in

Phoenix, and has never had any disputes or controversies with her."

The female physician is Dr. Carolyn Gerster, former president of the National Right-to-Life Committee. She, Phillips pointed out, views the nominee as a pro-abortion advocate and so notified the White House.

The information set forth in what is now known as the "Starr Memo" and the facts developed by the conservative organizations are substantially contradictory. This conflict in reputed "facts" was cited by Phillips as his basis for charging a "cover-up."

JoAnn Heuter of the National Association of Pro-America said she is "disappointed" that the President is "not playing like a team member."

She said she has worked with many Democrats and Independents who helped to elect Reagan to the presidency and that

the selection of Mrs. O'Connor will make it "difficult" to re-elect Republicans in her area.

Judy Campbell of United Families of America said she had worked with life-long Democrats for the election of the President who went along "on his economic program" because of their "confidence" in him.

She said she is now worried that these people "simply will not get involved" in support of the President any longer.

Connie Marshner of the National Pro-Family Coalition ticked off some of the known support of Mrs. O'Connor for abortion and other issues that are not supported by traditional pro-family people. She said this demonstrates that Mrs. O'Connor has "an insulting attitude" toward family values, and that her background merits "lengthy investigation."

This is important, Mrs. Marshner said, because the pro-family

coalition "worked their hearts out" for Reagan, and now the Administration is saying "goodbye" to the pro-family activists.

The selection of Mrs. O'Connor makes clear, Mrs. Marshner added, that "this Administration does not respect our concerns."

Phillips commenting on the favorable support among liberals for Mrs. O'Connor's nomination said: "Mrs. Ellie Smeal of the National Organization for Women and Ronald Reagan can't both be right!"

The position of Mrs. O'Connor as reportedly being "personally opposed to abortion," the Conservative Caucus executive said, is the same as the positions taken by Senators Ted Kennedy and George McGovern, and Fr. Robert Drinan, S.J.

All nine Justices he said also are personally opposed to abortion: "They have never had one themselves."

①

Santa Barbara

August 21, 1981

Dear Margaret:

*Sandra Day*

Thank you very much for forwarding the Resolution of the Phoenix City Council expressing its support for my nomination of Mrs. O'Conner, to serve as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. I am delighted to see this expression of confidence on the part of her home town, for our Federal system is based on the assumption that local people are the best judges of character. Your support is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

A

x  
The Honorable Margaret Hance  
Mayor of Phoenix  
251 W. Washington Street  
Phoenix, AZ 85003

810821

DRAFT/Date 11 August 1981

RR/ EJL /            /             
(Drafter) (Rev. I) (Rev. II)

AVH/            /             
(Drafter) (Rev. I)

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

Enclosures:  
(Type LABEL)

Other:

Dear Margaret:  
~~Mayor Hance:~~

Thank you very much for forwarding the resolution of the Phoenix City Council expressing its support for my nomination of Mrs. O'Connor to serve as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. I am delighted to see this expression of confidence on the part of her home town, for our Federal system is based on the assumption that the local people are the best judges of character. Your support is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,  
Ronald Reagan

FNF shows that he signs his letters to her "Ron" but shows consistent use of "Mayor Hance" in the salutation. I have gone with the RR because this seems rather official to drop the casual, first-name signature block.

OK



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

8/10/81

To: Anne Higgins

From: Eve Boskowitz

Please prepare draft  
response to Mayor Hance  
from the President, thank-  
ing for continued support  
etc especially of S'Course.  
Mayor Hance is strong  
supporter.

Please return draft  
to me.

Her Address:

251 W. Washington  
Phoenix AZ 85003

## Resolution No. 15686

A resolution by the Council of the City of Phoenix urging the confirmation by the United States Senate of Judge Sandra D. O'Connor as Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court; and Declaring an Emergency.

**WHEREAS**, President Ronald Reagan has nominated Arizona Court of Appeals Judge Sandra D. O'Connor to the office of Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and

**WHEREAS**, Judge O'Connor's exemplary record of service to the community both in her private capacity and her public capacity as a practicing attorney, Assistant Attorney General, State Senator, Superior Court Judge and Judge of the Court of Appeals, has highly qualified her for the office of Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court,

**NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF PHOENIX** as follows:

Section 1. That the nomination by President Ronald Reagan of Judge Sandra D. O'Connor to the office of Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court is most strongly supported and endorsed.

Section 2. That the United States Senate is most strongly urged to expeditiously confirm Judge Sandra D. O'Connor as Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

Section 3. That this Resolution be immediately transmitted to the United States Senate, its leadership and most particularly to the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Section 4. **WHEREAS**, the immediate operation of the provisions of this resolution is necessary for the preservation of the public peace, health and safety, an **EMERGENCY** is hereby declared to exist, and this resolution shall be in full force and effect from and after its passage by the Council as required by the City Charter and is hereby exempted from the referendum clause of said Charter.

**PASSED** by the Council of the City of Phoenix this 14 day of July, 1981.

Margaret T. Hauce  
Mayor

**ATTEST:**

[Signature] City Clerk  
[Signature] City Attorney  
[Signature] Assistant  
City Manager





24 August 1981

Dear Dr. Kessler:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding the President's appointment of Judge Sandra O'Connor to be an Associate Justice to the Supreme Court.

The President chose Judge O'Connor because of her distinguished judicial career after careful evaluation and an investigation conducted by the Attorney General. The President personally met and interviewed Judge O'Connor and is convinced she shares his views on social issues. You will find, after careful review, that some misleading statements have been made about her distinguished career. Please know that I will always be most interested in your comments and thoughts.

Sincerely,

EDWIN MEESE III  
Counsellor to the President

Dr. Francis P. Kessler<sup>X</sup>  
4525 Downs Drive  
Saint Joseph, MO 64507

✓ cc: Ed Meese

EM:EWT:elb  
EM-25



4525 DOWNS DRIVE  
SAINT JOSEPH, MISSOURI 64507  
(816) 271-4200

August 14, 1981

The Honorable Edwin Meese III  
Counselor to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Meese:

This letter is being sent for several purposes. First of all, I am writing to let you know how much I enjoyed meeting you at the Hyatt on Capitol Hill as a fellow participant in the Center for the Study of the Presidency Symposium. As I noted in our conversation, I will have Prentice Hall send a copy of my upcoming book (October 19 tentative) THE DILEMMAS OF PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP: Of Caretakers and Kings. I was impressed with the comments by E. Pendleton James about the selection process you used in gathering a staff, and it seems that at the White House at least, you did your homework well especially with Max Friedersdorf in Congressional liaison. What a coup the tax and budget bills. I'd hate to be Mr. Stockmann trying to squeeze the dollars out in fiscal 83 and 84!!!

A second purpose for writing is to enclose a copy of a letter that I am sending to the President (more accurately probably Mrs. Dole). In it I request that the President be careful not to alienate his support in an attempt to build bridges to other political groups in the O'Connor nomination. In this region, Ronald Reagan got a lot of anti-abortion votes and a number of Republicans were helped in races for the Senate over this issue in Iowa, Illinois and Missouri. It is not true that these voters have no where else to go. Friends of mine who were involved in statewide anti-abortion activities were talking of having Ellen McCormack run and not supporting Mr. Reagan in 1980 and with the O'Connor nomination that talk is resurfacing. Remember, 1980 was an anybody but Jimmy Carter year. When voters realize the sacrifices the President's budget cuts will mean for college educations and so on, the President's honeymoon will be over if it is not already. Evidently Mrs. Elizabeth Hanford Dole felt it unnecessary to acknowledge the 4,000 telegrams in opposition to the nomination. I for one, cabled on my own initiative and resented by labled as a "right wing kook." In fact, around here, the students view me as a "left-winger" and one women on a radio show call-in labeled me some sort of Communist. That didn't stop me from getting a T.V. show of my own.

Poor staff work at Justice has hurt the President. In his best interest I would hope that suggestions coming from Mr. Smith be taken with a grain of salt. In my judgement, efforts should be made to find a woman of similar judicial temperment (self-restrained) to fill the bill instead of Mrs. O'Connor. In my judgement she not only lacks experience; but credibility because of what seem to be attempts on her part to misrepresent her past record on abortion. If she could break her word to Dr. Gerster whom she knew, how dependable is she on her other "self-restrained" views. Is Mr. Reagan appointing another Earl Warren or is he in for a surprise like Gerald Ford was in the nomination of John Paul Stevens? IS IT REALLY TOO LATE TO FIND A WOMAN REPLACEMENT AND WITHDRAW THE NOMINATION???

Warm regards,

*Frank K.*

Frank Kessler (Dr. Francis P.)



4525 DOWNS DRIVE  
SAINT JOSEPH, MISSOURI 64507  
(816) 271-4200

August 14, 1981

The Honorable Ronald W. Reagan  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. President:

This letter is being sent to ask that you consider the implications of your appointments to the U.S. Supreme Court. As you may remember, your predecessor, Mr. Nixon, in an attempt to build bridges to the South nominated candidates Haynesworth and Carswell only to come back bloody from the process. I fear that you are making a similar error. It is insightful to me that you showed the ability to withdraw your support from Max Hugel at the CIA; but I would wonder if you realize what standing behind Judge Sandra O'Connor can mean to your political support in states like Missouri, Illinois, and Iowa with which I am familiar. You received a number of volunteers who labored for you because of your respect for the unborn; if my students are any indication and responses of some of my colleagues on nearby campuses are accurate, you are being viewed as just another politician who will do anything to get votes. Personally, I would prefer to believe otherwise as your HEW (HHS) appointments would indicate. Nixon's problems with Haynesworth and Carswell were a result of poor staff work on their civil rights records and an attempt to make political capital. Do you really (let me say do your staffers) believe that a woman vocally supported by Eleanor Smeal and NOW could be anti-abortion. That business of personally opposed is one of the most ridiculous shams I have come across!!!

Evans and Novak, whose most recent book I have just finished reviewing for the LIBRARY JOURNAL, in an editorial in the St. Louis Globe Democrat seemed to indicate that you were misled by both Ms. O'Connor and poor staff work by Kenneth W. Starr. It includes complaints by Dr. Carolyn Gerster that O'Connor broke her word by burying an anti-abortion bill she had promised to let out of caucus. How credible is she? Is it worth the political capital you are investing to support her? I for one am writing to our Senators to ask they oppose the nomination and will speak out forcefully against it on radio and television in this K.C.-St. Joseph community at every opportunity. Please know also that I am not some "right-wing kook" who telegraphed as soon as I heard of the O'Connor nomination as a part of some right-wing plot. I would have written sooner, but I have been completing a book on the Presidency due out in Fall, 1981 and the second printing (Prentice-Hall) will surely include a discussion of the staffing involved in this nomination and the question of how isolated is Ronald Reagan from political reality. As I promised him at the Presidential Studies conference at the Hyatt Regency this past spring, I will be sending a copy to your counselor Edwin Meese. It seems to me a horrible mistake to cover staff errors in judgement. Possibly Santayana was correct in his assertion that, those who will not learn from the mistakes of the past are destined to relive it.

cc. Edwin Meese III

Respectfully yours

*Frank Kessler*  
Prof. Francis P. Kessler A-212-E

"MWSC is an equal employment and educational opportunity institution."

P.S COMMENTS ARE MINE ...NOT TO BE VIEWED AS THOSE OF MY EMPLOYER

CAPITOL  
HILL



24 August 1981

Dear Mr. Skousen:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding the President's appointment of Judge Sandra O'Connor to be an Associate Justice to the Supreme Court.

The President chose Judge O'Connor because of her distinguished judicial career after careful evaluation and an investigation conducted by the Attorney General. The President personally met and interviewed Judge O'Connor and is convinced she shares his views on social issues. You will find, after careful review, that some misleading statements have been made about her distinguished career. Please know that I will always be most interested in your comments and thoughts.

Sincerely,

EDWIN MEESE III  
Counsellor to the President

Mr. Samuel <sup>X</sup>Skousen  
8233 Racine  
Warren, MI 48093

cc: Ed Meese ✓

EM:EWT:ba  
EM-25

SAMUEL SKOUSEN  
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EDWIN MEESE COUNSELOR  
WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON DC 20500

SEE AUGUST CONSERVATIVE DIGEST MOST FAMILY CONSERVATIVES ARE WORK  
ETHIC ECONOMIC CONSERVATIVES, ANTI-COMMUNIST AND STRONG DEFENSE TYPES  
AND WE FEEL USED AND ABANDONED. PRESIDENT'S NOMINATION O'CONNOR  
EQUIVALENT TO "WHO NEEDS MORAL CONSERVATIVES" AND IS RECIPROCATED  
LOVE MESSAGE TO PRO-ABORTION AND PRO-ERA FEMINIST SUCH AS SMEAL,  
ABZUG, IF SMEAL, METZENBAUM, UDALL, KENNEDY, ADA AND ACLU ARE HAPPY WITH  
APPOINTMENT WHY AREN'T YOU SAD? AND WHY DON'T YOU PERSUADE THE  
PRESIDENT TO WITHDRAW HER NAME? REPENTANCE IS GOOD FOR THE SOUL AND  
THE COUNTRY. WE LOVE MOST OF PRESIDENT'S ACTIONS BUT THIS ONE IS  
HORRIBLE. POLITICAL ACTION ARDOR OF FAMILY CONSERVATIVES LOST. HELP  
US REGAIN IT.

SAMUEL SKOUSEN  
8233 RACINE  
WARREN MI 48093

20:58 EST

MGMCOMP

2 September 1981

Dear Mr. Miller:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding the President's appointment of Judge Sandra O'Connor ~~to be an Associate Justice to the Supreme Court.~~

The President chose Judge O'Connor because of her distinguished judicial career after careful evaluation and an investigation conducted by the Attorney General. The President personally met and interviewed Judge O'Connor and is convinced she shares his views on social issues. You will find, after careful review, that some misleading statements have been made about her distinguished career. Please know that I will always be most interested in your comments and thoughts.

Sincerely,

EDWIN MEESE III  
Counsellor to the President

X  
Mr. Leslie Miller, Jr.  
Stump Road  
Pipersville, PA 18947

cc: Ed Meese

EM:EWT:ba  
EM-25



NA  
EM-25

Stump Road  
Pipersville  
Pa. 18947

Dear Mr. Meese, I'm writing to you about President Reagan's choice for the Supreme Court, I have no problem of a woman being appointed, but I feel as an American and a supporter of Ronald Reagan for President, I feel that President Reagan has made a mistake and may haven't considered the record of Sandra O'Connor. In 1970 (before the infamous 1973 Supreme Court decision) she voted in the Arizona Senate to legalize abortion, in 1973, she co-sponsored a bill to provide birth control counselling and services including surgical techniques (abortions) for teenagers without their parents consent. In 1974, she voted against support of the Human Life Amendment, she also voted to allow abortions at taxpayer supported Univ. of Arizona hospital. Candidate Reagan stated at his first press conference that he supports and believes in the party platform, it stated "We will work for the appointment of judges at all levels of the judiciary who respect traditional family values and the sanctity of human life." For years appointments to the Supreme Court and the Judges have violated the sacred code of traditional values and has led to the moral delinquency and the permissiveness that threatens

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to destroy Americas social fabric.

First her supporters

Sen. Ted Kennedy

Speaker Tip O'Neill

Rep. Morris Udall

Sen. Alan Cranston

Eleanor Smeal - Nat. Organiz. for Women

National Women's Political Caucus

Against her or Concerned

Dr. Mildred Jefferson - Pres. Right to Life

Paula Brown - Executive Director, Life Amend.

Dr. Carolyn Berster - world renowned <sup>Political Action</sup> <sup>Arizona</sup> <sup>Pro Life physician</sup> <sup>Committee</sup>

Dr. Jack Wilke - Pres. <sup>Arizona</sup> Nat. Right to Life

Sen. Jesse Helms

Committee

Washington Post story on appointment  
praised by liberals

In the past 8 years 10 million innocent  
and defenseless children have

been slaughtered. The Supreme Court  
is guilty of murder and the

fostering of moral bankruptcy and  
high crime rates!

Pres. Reagan has violated the party  
platform and has alienated and innocently  
deceived the pro life lobby and has  
abandoned his Constitutional Amendment  
banning Abortion, I propose an amendment

to have these judges elected, because  
of life terms, the President only  
serves for 4 years why should these  
judges be appointed without research  
and public approval? Why should they



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have life terms when the President doesn't serve for more than two terms, a limitation is needed! I pray to God that Pres. Reagan will withdraw her appointment. There are many fine women who deserve an appointment, but I think a more balanced crew is needed in our law. I believe President Reagan must address this issue, I believe he's done a superb job on the other issues that face us, but I believe we must work together for the benefit of God's blessing.

Sincerely,  
Leslie Miller Jr.