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# WHORM Subject File Code: FG051 Casefile Number(s): 038900-039999

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### WITHDRAWAL SHEET **Ronald Reagan Library**

### Collection: WHORM: Subject File

#### Archivist: dlb

File Folder: FG051 (Supreme Court) (039000-051999)

Date: 9/19/97

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. Memo (039926)	Morton Blackwell to Gregg Newell, re: President's Meeting with Carolyn Gerster, 2 p.	9/10/81	P5 M-3P J-2/7/00

#### **RESTRICTION CODES**

- Presidential Records Act [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)] P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA]. P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]. P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]. P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information ((a)(4) of the DRA). [(a)(4) of the PRA]. Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or P-5
- between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]. P-6
- Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].
- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

- Freedom of Information Act [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]
- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statue [(b)(3) of the FOIA]. F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of
- the FOIA]. F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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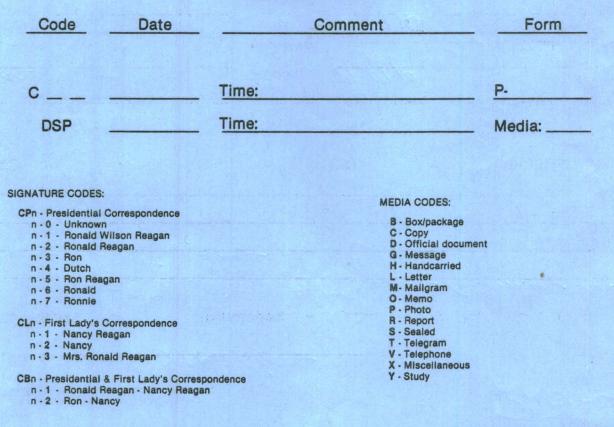
Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files. Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

### **RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY**

#### **CLASSIFICATION SECTION**

No. of Additional Correspondents:	Media: 🔏 Individua	l Codes:	4.500	 
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PRESIDENTIAL REPLY





### Office of the Attorney General

Washington, A. C. 20530 September 25, 1981

Dr. B. Robert Biscoe Executive Secretary American Council of Christian Churches P.O. Box 816 Valley Forge, Pennsylvania 19482

Dear Dr. Biscoe:

The President has asked this office to respond to your letter of September 8, 1981 regarding the nomination of Judge Sandra O'Connor to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

As you know, Judge O'Connor's nomination has by now been confirmed by the Senate. At the time your letter was written, the President already had nominated Judge O'Connor.

The President is aware of the concern voiced by some with regard to Judge O'Connor's legislative record in the Arizona Senate. At the Senate Judiciary Committee Hearings on her nomination, Judge O'Connor explained in detail her legislative record in the area of abortion. She also stated unequivocally that she is personally opposed to abortion and finds it abhorrent.

As you may be aware, Judge O'Connor was confirmed by a unanimous vote of the Senate. Senators who have very strong pro-life records voted for Judge O'Connor's confirmation both in the Judiciary Committee and in the Senate.

Thank you for your expression of concern about this very important issue. If we can provide any additional information, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Very truly yours,

auslyn

Carolyn<sup>B</sup>. Kuhl Special Assistant to the Attorney General

#### THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

REFERRAL

SEPTEMBER 15, 1981

TO: DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 038920

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED SEPTEMBER 8, 1981

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

- FROM: MR. B. ROBERT BISCOE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AMERICAN COUNCIL OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES POST OFFICE BOX 816 VALLEY FORGE PA 19482
- SUBJECT: OPPOSES THE APPOINTMENT OF SANDRA O'CONNOR AS A SUPREME COURT JUDGE

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN BASIC CORRESPONDENCE, CONTROL SHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE (OR DRAFT) TO: AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 33, THE WHITE HOUSE

> BY DIRECTION OF THE PRESIDENT: LESLIE SORG DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

> > REFERRAL UNIT

286 12 2 3T LH . 81

The American Council of Christian Churches

"Contending for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints." (Jude 3) P.O.BOX 816, VALLEY FORGE, PENNSYLVANIA 19482

Office of The Executive Secretary

(215) 933-8903

038920

September 8, 1981

President Reagan White House Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear Mr. President,

We, as a Council of Churches, are opposed to the appointment of Sandra O'Connor as a Surpeme Court Judge. The record indicates that, as a State Senator, her voting record was not in keeping with your platform, particularly in the area of abortion. And certainly, having reviewed your platform, you would not appoint her just to appease those that desire to see women in high offices.

It is our hope that this appointment will not be approved and that, should it be your desire to have a woman on the Supreme Court as a judge, that the Lord would lead you to another worthy of the office.

Thank you for taking time to consider our request to not appoint former State Senator Sandra O'Connor.

Sincerely,

ISCO?

B. Robert Biscoe, LL.D. Executive Secretary

BRB/gkw

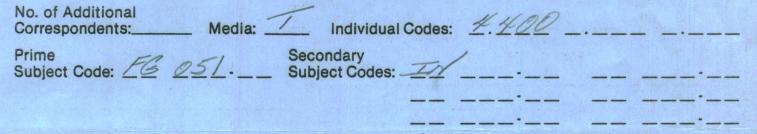
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Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.

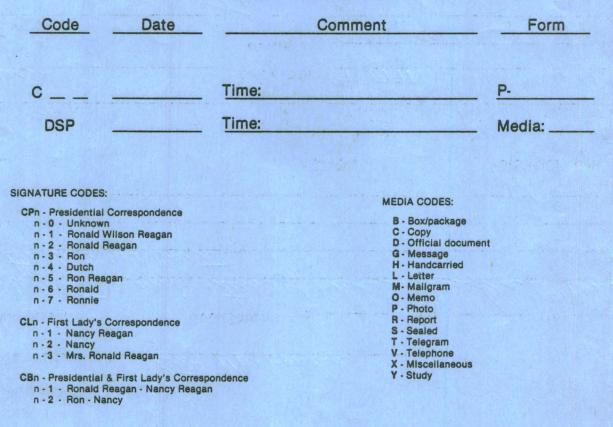
Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

### **RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY**

#### **CLASSIFICATION SECTION**



PRESIDENTIAL REPLY





## Office of the Attorney General Washington, N. C. 20530

September 25, 1981

Mr. Peter MacDonald Chairman Navajo Tribal Council Window Rock, Arizona 86515

Dear Mr. MacDonald:

The President has asked this office to extend to you his and our sincere gratitude for your message in support of Judge Sandra O'Connor's nomination to be an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

You might be interested to know that in response to a written question posed by the Senate Judiciary Committee regarding her commitment to equal justice under the law, Judge O'Connor mentioned her personal concern for the traditions of native Americans. She stated:

Through the Heard Museum in Phoenix, as a Trustee and its President, I have worked to foster and encourage understanding and communication with the several Indian tribes and the native Americans in Arizona through various programs and projects.

I have forwarded a copy of your telegram to Justice O'Connor. I am certain she will be pleased to know of the endorsement of the Navajo Tribal Council.

Again, thank you for your message of support.

Very truly yours, Carolyn B. Lull

Carolyn<sup>6</sup>B. Kuhl Special Assistant to the Attorney General

cc: Judge S. O'Connor

#### THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

REFERRAL

SEPTEMBER 15, 1981

TO: DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

. 1

14

ACTION REQUESTED: DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

1 3

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 038995

MEDIA: TELEGRAM, DATED SEPTEMBER 8, 1981

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

- FROM: MR. PETER MACDONALD CHAIRMAN NAVAJO TRIBAL COUNCIL WINDOW ROCK AZ 86515
- SUBJECT: SUPPORTS NOMINATION OF JUDGE SANDRA O'CONNOR TO THE SUPREME COURT

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN BASIC CORRESPONDENCE, CONTROL SHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE (OR DRAFT) TO: AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 33, THE WHITE HOUSE

> BY DIRECTION OF THE PRESIDENT: LESLIE SORG DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

REFERRAL UNIT

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SEP 16 1981

M W HB 125 (2143) (4-0709 02 5251) PD 09/08/81 2143 ICS IPMR NCZ CSP 602 8714227 TDR N WINDOW ROCK AZ 112 09-08 0943P EST PMS PRESIDENT RONALD REAGON RPT DLY MGM WHITE HOUSE DC 20500 038995

I WISH TO EXPRESS MY SINCERE GRATITUDE FOR YOUR NOMINATION OF JUDGE SANDRA O'CONNOR TO SERVE AS A JUSTICE IN THE UNITED STATES SUFREME COURT.

JUDGE O'CONNOR HAS IN MY ESTIMATION DEMONSTRATED HER CAPABILITIES AS A LEGAL SCHOLAR AND A LEGISLATOR. SHE CERTAINLY HAS POTENTIAL TO DO MORE FOR OUR COUNTRY. AS A SOUTHWESTERNER, SHE UNDERSTANDS AND APPRECIATES THE RICH CULTURE AND TRADITIONS OF NATIVE AMERICANS. THE NAVAJO TRIBAL COUNCIL, ON AUGUST 27, 1981, OFFICIALLY ENDORSED THE NOMINATION OF JUDGE O'CONNOR. AS CHAIRMAN OF THE NAVAJO TRIBAL

COUNCIL, I HEREBY PERSONALLY REAFFIRM THAT ACTION AND HOPE TO SEE SANDRA O'CONNOR AS THE FIRST WOMAN JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT.

SINCEREL Y

PETER MACDONALD, CHAIRMAN, NAVAJO TRIBAL COUNCIL NAVAJO NATION WINDOW ROCK AZ 86515 NNNN

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#### Comments:

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter. Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).

Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.

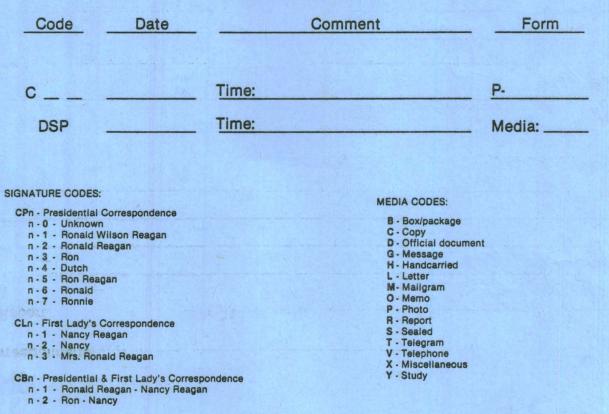
Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

### **RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY**

#### **CLASSIFICATION SECTION**

No. of Additional Correspondents: Media:	Individual Codes:	2.100	
Prime Subject Code: EG 051	Secondary Subject Codes: <u>ST</u>	021	
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PRESIDENTIAL REPLY





THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

STATE HOUSE . BOSTON 02133

EDWARD J. KING GOVERNOR

039327

4

September 8, 1981

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

Dear Mr. President:

Your decision to appoint a woman to serve as a Supreme Court Justice has my strongest support.

Respectfully, Edward J King Governor

EJK:mmf

13 q ID # WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET O . OUTGOING H-INTERNAL RFGR - INCOMING Ø Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 10 DATE MPC Name of Correspondent: **MI Mail Report User Codes:** (A) (B) (C) Subject: ROUTE TO: 6 ACTION DISPOSITION Tracking Type Completion Action Date Date of Response YY/MM/DD Office/Agency (Staff Name) Code YY/MM/DD Code 9 ORIGINATOR **Referral Note:** CH 10 0 CH PU **Referral Note: Referral Note: Referral Note: Referral Note:** ACTION CODES: **DISPOSITION CODES:** A - Answered A - Appropriate Action I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary C - Completed C - Comment/Recommendation R - Direct Reply w/Copy **B** - Non-Special Referral S - Suspended D - Draft Response S - For Signature F - Furnish Fact Sheet X - Interim Reply FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE: to be used as Enclosure Type of Response = Initials of Signer Code "A" Completion Date = Date of Outgoing **Comments:** 

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Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.

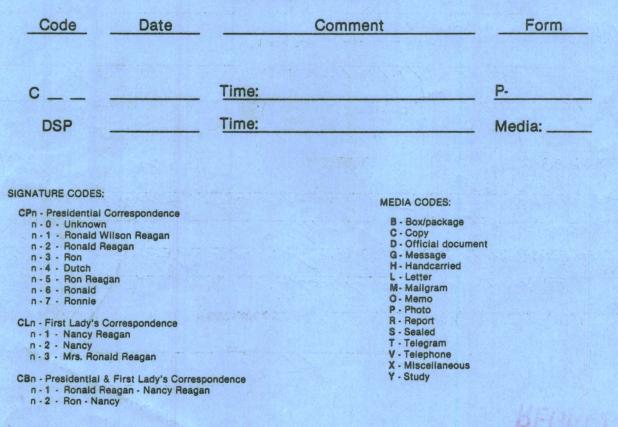
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### **RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY**

### **CLASSIFICATION SECTION**

No. of Additional Correspondents: Media:		Codes: 1.220	
Prime Subject Code: FG 05/	Secondary Subject Codes:	PR 007 RM 0.20	

### PRESIDENTIAL REPLY



October 1, 1981

Dear Senator Thurmond:

This is with further reference to your letter of September 11 to the President suggesting that he consider meeting with the leaders of various Christian Groups who have expressed concerns about the nomination of Judge O'Connor as an Associate Justice of The Supreme Court.

Because of the extremely heavy schedule to which he now is committed, a time is not foreseen when the President might have the opportunity to meet with this group. He does want you to know, though, that he greatly appreciates your interest in making this request for those who have been among his staunchest supporters.

With the President's very best wishes to you,

Sincerely,

Gregory J. Newell Special Assistant to the President

The Honorable Strom Thurmond United States Senate Washington, D.C. 20510

/Inf cc: Max Friedersdorf GJN:mhr:emb-44a Dear Senator Thurmond:

Max Friedersdorf has brought to my attention This is with further reference to your letter of September 11 to the President suggesting that he consider meeting with the leaders of various Christian groups who have expressed concerns about the nomination of Judge O'Connor as an Associate Justice of The Supreme Court.

Because of the extremely heavy schedule to which he now is committed, a time is not foreseen when the President might have the opportunity to meet with this group. He does want you to know, though, that he greatly appreciates your interest in making this request for those who have been among his staunchest supporters.

With the President's very best wishes to you,

GJN:mhr

inf copy to Max Friedersdorf

4.1

#### Dear Strom:

Thank you for the thoughts and suggestions contained in your recent letter to President Reagan.

The President certainly appreciates the importance of having the support of concerned Christian leaders, and I will be pleased to see that your recommendation receives careful consideration. Please do not hesitate to contact us with any additional suggestions you may have at this time.

Again, many thanks for all your help and support.

With cordial regard, I am

Sincerely,

#### Max L. Friedersdorf Assistant to the President

The Ronorable Strom Thurmond United States Senate Washington, D.C. 20510

MLF:CMP:asr

cc: w/copy of inc, Greg Newell - for appropriate action.

cc: Powell Moore - FYI.

STROM THURMOND, S. C., CHAIRMAN

STROM THURMON CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS, JR., MD. PAUL LAXALT, NEV. ORRIN G. HATCH. UTAH ROBERT DOLE. KANS. ALAN K. SIMPSON. WYO. JOHN EAST. N.C. CHARLES E. GRASSLEY, IOWA JEREMIAH DENTON. ALA. ARLEN SPECTER, PA. JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR., DEL. EDWARD M. KENNEDY, MASS. ROBERT C. BYRD, W. VA. HOWARD M. METZENBAUM, OHIO DENNIS DECONCINI, ARIZ. PATRICK J. LEAHY. VT. MAX BAUCUS, MONT. HOWELL HEFLIN, ALA.

VINTON DEVANE LIDE, CHIEF COUNSEL QUENTIN CROMMELIN, JR., STAFF DIRECTOR United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

September 11, 1981

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

039721

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to suggest that you consider meeting with the leaders of various Christian groups who have expressed concerns about the nomination of Sandra Day O'Connor and what they perceive to be a lessening of your Administration's commitment to conservative social issues. Several of us in the Senate would be glad to cooperate with your office in compiling a list of the Christian leaders with whom you might meet.

As you know, we have been successful in persuading a number of the leaders of Christian groups not to oppose Judge O'Connor, and thus far they have cooperated with us. Nevertheless, I think it is important that you personally emphasize to these key persons the commitment of your Administration to conservative social issues in which they are vitally interested and thereby re-establish close, working communications with these groups who have been among your staunchest supporters.

Thank you for your careful consideration of this request, and please let me know if I can cooperate with your staff in suggesting persons with whom you may wish to meet.

Respectfully,

Strom Therword

Strom Thurmond Chairman

ST/yr

 CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS, JR., MD.
 JOSEPH R. BIDEI

 PAUL LAXALT. NEV.
 JOSEPH R. BIDEI

 ORRIN G. HATCH, UTAH
 ROBERT C. BYRI

 ROBERT DOLE, KANS.
 HOWARD M. KEN

 ALAN K. SIMPSON, WYO.
 DENNIS DECONC

 JOHN EAST. N.C.
 CHARLES E. GRASSLEY, IOWA

 JEREMIAH DENTON, ALA.
 HOWELL HEFLIN

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JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR., DEL. EDWARD M. KENNEDY, MASS. ROBERT C. BYRD, W. VA. HOWARD M. METZENBAUM, OHIO DENNIS DECONCINI, ARIZ. PATRICK J. LEAHY, VT. MAX BAUCUS, MONT. HOWELL HEFLIN, ALA.

VINTON DEVANE LIDE, CHIEF COUNSEL QUENTIN CROMMELIN, JR., STAFF DIRECTOR

Anited States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

EGRET EGRET 11, 1981 Thompson for your Concern BUT 039721 MPC

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

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to suggest that you consider meeting with the leaders of various Christian groups who have expressed concerns about the nomination of Sandra Day O'Connor and what they perceive to be a lessening of your Administration's commitment to conservative social issues. Several of us in the Senate would be glad to cooperate with your office in compiling a list of the Christian leaders with whom you might meet.

As you know, we have been successful in persuading a number of the leaders of Christian groups not to oppose Judge O'Connor, and thus far they have cooperated with us. Nevertheless, I think it is important that you personally emphasize to these key persons the commitment of your Administration to conservative social issues in which they are vitally interested and thereby re-establish close, working communications with these groups who have been among your staunchest supporters.

Thank you for your careful consideration of this request, and please let me know if I can cooperate with your staff in suggesting persons with whom you may wish to meet.

Respectfully,

Strom Thurmond Chairman

ST/yr

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#### WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

H - INTERNAL

□ I - INCOMING Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 8/109 117

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Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter. Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB). Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files. Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

Type of Response = Initials of Signer Code = "A"

### **RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY**

### **CLASSIFICATION SECTION**

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Prime Subject Code: EG	<u>051</u> Seco	ect Codes: <u>L1</u>	<u>E007.02</u> E003	

PRESIDENTIAL REPLY

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### Anited States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

15 September 1981

039786

Honorable Ronald Reagan President of the United States The White House Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As you are undoubtedly aware by now, I was unable, in good conscience, to vote in favor of your nominee, Sandra O'Connor, during the vote taken this morning in the Senate Judiciary Committee. At the same time, I was unwilling to vote "no" on the nomination, casting instead a "present" vote for those reasons expressed in my statement before the Committee, a copy of which I am attaching for your consideration.

As I have stated on this and numerous other occasions, I consider myself among your very strongest supporters in the Senate, indeed the entire Congress. Would that I could have supported you in this nomination.

Chuck Grassley said in the Committee this morning that you had personally reassured him yesterday of your feeling, based on your discussion with her, that Judge O'Connor's position on the abortion issue was and is completely acceptable to you. Out of deep respect for you and your prerogatives as Chief Executive, I would have welcomed your assurances in this regard and my vote would have been different. I tried, in fact, to contact you yesterday afternoon in order that we might discuss the matter.

Trusting you will understand my position, I remain

The Renton

Very respectfully,

foremich Dente

(Jeremiah A. Denton United States Senator

JD:dd

### STATEMENT OF SENATOR JEREMIAH DENTON CONCERNING THE NOMINATION OF SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR TO BE ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT Before the Senate Judiciary Committee - Executive Session

15 September 1981

Mr. Chairman, my vote on the nomination of Sandra Day O'Connor to the United States Supreme Court is one of the most difficult decisions I have ever had to make, and I have approached the task with humility and with the most intense deliberation.

I reject the argument that a so-called single issue should not govern a conclusion regarding the fitness of a nominee to serve on the Supreme Court. Where any issue is so broad in its implications, threatening the very basis of our society, as is the case with our policy respecting the rights of unborn human beings, the effect is to overshadow virtually all other considerations.

It is fair to say that many who deride the question of abortion as a "single issue" would be the first to attack, and I think rightly, a prospective Supreme Court Justice who would reverse the direction this country has taken with respect to civil rights.

And certainly there are issues important enough even to risk one's life for. In general, the Civil War was fought because the nation believed the issue of slavery was that important. The war was one of the worst in history in terms of casualties on both sides, but this sacrifice was worth the candle in order to rid this nation of the inherently evil system of slavery. In short, if I were persuaded that Judge O'Connor held a view that would now place her with the majority in the Supreme Court ruling in <u>Roe vs. Wade</u>, I could not in good conscience vote to confirm her nomination despite my conviction that she is otherwise a superior candidate.

To take such a position, however, requires that I satisfy myself beyond doubt that her position on this matter and her views of the role of the Court and the authority of the Constitution would lead her to embrace the <u>Roe vs. Wade</u> ruling.

I said at the beginning of this hearing that my decision must be based on Judge O'Connor's answers to the questions posed at this hearing. I trust her and believe her to be sincere in what she has said to the members of this committee. Still, I am far from satisfied with her answers.

She has refused to answer questions about her view of the legal issues presented in past Supreme Court decisions such as <u>Roe vs. Wade</u>. She has stated that, in her opinion, any criticism of such decisions may prejudice her with regard to decisions that may come before the Court during her tenure as a Supreme Court Justice.

It is the opinion of many others whom I respect, including the Chairman of this Committee, that Judge O'Connor is correct in her caution in responding to questions that attempt to elicit her view as to the correctness of past decisions.

If we accept that doctrine, we are barred from learning anything about a nominee's legal opinions, as opposed to his or her personal opinions. It may not be proper for a prospective member of the Court to discuss a case pending before the Court, and a nominee would be correct in refusing to discuss a hypothetical case. If actual cases, already decided, cannot be the subject of questioning, we are left with trying to determine the nominee's "personal" views on the subject. The problem is that, in the context of service on the Supreme Court, "personal" views are largely irrelevant. For someone to say, "I am personally opposed to abortion" reveals nothing about the person's opinions on the way such questions must be addressed by the Court.

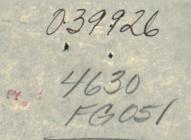
Thus, I am asked to fulfill my duties under the Constitution with regard to the nomination, and I find it difficult to do so. I know very little about Judge O'Connor's opinions on the great legal issues of the day. To revert to the issue of abortion, is it not reasonable to have a nominee to the nation's highest court state her position on this issue-that is, her position on the law? In Judge O'Connor's term on the Court, she will probably be called upon to decide many issues that revolve around the question: What constitutes human life? In an age of cloning and gene-splicing, that question may be the most important of all.

Judge O'Connor is a fine lady and a distinguished jurist. The President has selected for his first Supreme Court nomination a person who, but for her reluctance to answer the Committee's questions, is clearly in the very

front rank of eminent jurists most fully qualified to assume the awesome responsibilities of service on the Supreme Court.

In consideration of my own intense concern for the rights of the unborn, in consideration of my trust in President Reagan and my acceptance of his assurances concerning the nominee's views on the sanctity of human life, and in consideration for my previously expressed trust in the talented and accomplished lady who has been nominated, I can but express the fervent hope that my trust in Judge O'Connor is properly placed.

But in the context of these hearings, I cannot assent on hope nor can I dissent from uncertainty. I cannot in fairness penalize Judge O'Connor for what I consider to be an inherent defect in the procedure for reviewing the qualifications of a prospective Justice. Thus, Mr. Chairman, my vote is to respond "Present."



October 15, 1981

#### Dear Carolyn:

I'm sorry that I wasn't able to meet with you while you were in Washington, but, unfortunately, the demands of my schedule wouldn't permit it. I do want you to know, however, how badly I feel about the controversy that arose over my nomination of Judge Sandra O'Connor. It was especially unfortunate that certain remarks were inaccurately taken to refer to you.

Carolyn, I continue to share your deep commitment to ensuring protection for the fundamental right to life of every human being.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

# RONALD REAGAN A

Dr. Carolyn Gerster 7350 East Stetson Drive Scottsdale, Arizona 85251

RR/AVH/RCH/1me

replacement letter for the Sep. 17,81. Bres. 8 letter that was not sent out

September 17, 1981

#### Dear Carolyn:

I'm sorry that I wasn't able to meet with you while you were in Washington last week but, unfortunately, the demands of my schedule wouldn't permit it. I do want you to know, however, how badly I feel about the controversy that has risen over opposition to my nomination of Judge Sandrax O/Connor to sit on the Supreme Court, and hope that, now, we can put this behind us.

Carolyn, I continue to share your deep commitment to ensuring protection for the fundamental right to life of every human being. I am horrified by the senseless destruction of human life that continues everyday unabated. I look forward to working with HenryxHyde and others in Congress to resolve this issue legislatively during the 97th Congress.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Dr. Carolyn Gerster 7350 East Stetson Drive Scottsdale, Arizona 85251

9/17/81 lte was never marled on according to ann Higgens Note: RR/AVH/RCH/lme

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### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

#### MEMORANDUM

14 SEPTEMBER 1981

TO: Anne Higgins

FROM: Tricia Rodgers

Carolyn Gerster had hand-delivered her request to visit the President while she was in Washington during Judge O'Connor's confirmation hearings.

Red Cavaney and I have discussed how best to respond to Mrs. Gerster's letter, and agreed that a letter from the President would be most appropriate.

The Appointments and Scheduling office has not contacted Dr. Gerster formally, and would like included in the President's letter a statement that he is sorry that his schedule during the period she was in Washington just wouldn't permit him to visit with her, but he looks forward to seeing her sometime in the future.

I am enclosing all materials pertinent to Dr. Gerster's request.

Thank you.

cc: Red Cavaney

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON GJN: On the attached: Friday night Red Cavaney & I discussed this and We agreed that a special letter from the P would be a good idea. So, oh to send to Anne Kissins?/ 9/14

MEMORANDUM 61 THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON 1981 September 11, TTC Diana

FROM: Morton

RE: Letter from Dr. Carolyn Gerster

I received from you this morning via red tag Dr. Gerster's letter to the President dated the day before yesterday.

Yesterday, Greg Newell sent me the original letter, with a red dot yet, and asked for an immediate recommendation.

Attached is the memo I sent to him.

Red, did you see before morton sent?

"le

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

September 10, 1981

TO: Gregg Newell

FROM: Morton C. Blackwell

RE: President's meeting with Carolyn Gerster

I strongly endorse the suggestion that the President meet with Dr. Carolyn Gerster during her current visit to D. C.

This is the time to rebuild bridges to the right to life community, and Dr. Gerster is the ideal person for this purpose.

Contrary to the presumed suggestion in the President's letter to Mrs. Craven on August 3, Dr. Gerster is not fairly characterized as "vindictive". To the contrary, she is held in extraordinarily high regard by virtually every leader in the extraordinarily diverse coalition of right to life groups. There are many strong personalities among the right to life leaders. There are many personality conflicts and disputes over policy and methods of proceedure in the right to life movement. Dr. Gerster has been remarkable in her ability to get along with virtually all the other leaders. That is why the presumed Presidential attack on her personally was the source of so much shock and unrest in the right to life community.

I have seen Dr. Gerster interviewed on national television this week. Her posture toward the President was consistently respectful.

I suggest that the President invite only Dr. Gerster to meet with him. I am confident that it would be a cordial meeting. We do have the change of position stated yesterday by Judge O'Connor in which she said she had changed her position on the abortion legislation vote she cast many years ago in the Arizona legislature.

If, as I believe, Dr. Gerster leaves the meeting with the President convinced that he is still basically supportive of the right to life position and that his consciousness has to some extent been raised on this issue by the controversy surrounding Judge O'Connor's appointment, she will quickly pass the word in the right to life community. Short of an immediate filling of another Supreme Court vacancy with a known right to life activist, a renewed rapprochement between Dr. Gerster and the President would do more to deflate the current political unrest with the right to life community than any other action the Administration can take. It might be suggested that such a meeting be postponed until after Senate confirmation of Judge O'Connor, but taking this initiative now would have a much greater effect. Better to prevent to the extent possible the solidification of anger and despair which will build in the right to life community if the President appears unsympathetic up through the time of the final Senate vote.

cc: Elizabeth H. Dole



Suite 341, National Press Bldg. - 529 14th Street, N.W. -Washington, D. C. 20045 - (202) 638-4396

September 9, 1981

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

Dear Mr. President:

filed ID 035659 FG 051 On my return August 19 from East Africa I was informed of the enclosed letter, which received extensive media exposure through Patrick Buchanan's syndicated column. The letter, allegedly written by you to Mrs. Marie Craven of Chicago, Ill., states in part "I believe that most of the talk about my appointment was stirred up principally by one person in Arizona. I have done a great deal of checking on this and have found this person has something of a record of being vindictive."

The media has assumed that I am that "vindictive" person and this widely publicized assumption has not been denied by the White House.

In my July 15 letter to Attorney General William French Smith, regarding the Kenneth Starr memorandum, I have described Mrs. O'Connor as "dedicated, highly intelligent, capable, and a very likeable person."

In the Senate Steering Committee I stated that Judge O'Connor was "a gracious and a gifted lady." My criticism deals with Judge O'Connor's 1970-1974 voting record on abortion-related issues and not with the individual.

As President of the National Right to Life Committee in 1980, I had the privilege of meeting with you on two occasions, in January in Rye, New York, and in June in Los Angeles.

I had faith then, as I do now, in your integrity and pro-life commitment.

I do not believe that you wrote the letter to Mrs. Craven, but if so, it was because you were given seriously misleading information.

My family and friends, however, are understandably distressed.

The hurt and bewilderment of the pro-life movement will, I believe, only be dispelled by open and honest communication.

I would like to meet with you while I am in Washington for the confirmation hearings, September 9th through 11th.

Thank you for your consideration of this request.

Cordially, landyn Derster, mD. Carolyn Gerster, M.D.

Carolyn Gerster, M.D. Vice-President in Charge of International Affairs National Right to Life Committee

CG:sb Enclosures

# Text of Reagan's, Craven's Letters

On the day that President Reagan announced the nomination of Sandra O'Connor, Chicago prolifer Marie Craven wrote to him expressing her opposition. Her letter sparked a revealing response several weeks later. The texts of Mrs. Craven's and President Reagan's letters follow.

#### Dear President Reagan,

#### July 7, 1981

A number of prolife people are planning on picketing you at your departure point tonight to protest your appointment of Judge O Connor from Arizona for the office of Supreme Couft Justice. Instead of participating in this protest, I have decided to write this letter.

I have been an active prolifer since April of 1973. I have served and am serving on boards of directors of local prolife groups, have served as chairman of Illinois Citizens Concerned for Life, and have contributed too many valuable hours away from family and small children to let what you have done today go unnoticed.

I have anger, resentment and frustration pent up in me at this moment, because I sincerely feel you have betrayed me and millions of Americans. I include over eight million preborn babies, as well as those who will continue to be aborted simply because they are an inconvenience to so many of our nation's women.

I am a Chicago resident of Irish Catholic heritage, and up until my involvement in prolife a committed Democrat. I worked for your election along with countless others, distributing your campaign literature, making phone calls, organizing blitzes, etc. etc. I don't want credit for any of this; I just want you to know that at this precise moment I know that the power of the office has taken precedence over your party platform and campaign promises.

I feel I am a grass-roots citizen — and I am sickened by witnessing once again the broken promises of the politician.

When you were shot, I prayed for your swift recovery. I continue to pray for you daily, that your judgments will be wise ones. Today I am having difficulty believing that you meant the words of the letter that you sent to the National Right to Life Convention on June\*18, 1981.

"I share your hope that some day soon our laws will re-affirm this principle (that abortion is the taking of human life). We've worked together for a long time now, and like you, I am hopeful that we will soon see a solution to this difficult problem."

By this appointment, you have betrayed the prolife position. Judge Sandra O'Connor supported pro-abortion legislation when she was an Arizona legislator. How can, then, this appointment bring us closer to our goal of protecting the preborn children of America?

I only hope that the United States Senate rejects your appointment. Maybe this is your ultimate goal — your appointment of a woman to satisfy the prochoice feminists — followed by rejection of her appointment by the Senate and an alternate candidate appointed to satisfy all factions.

I hope, for the sake of our nation's most vital resource, our children, I am right.

Sincerely, Mrs. Marie Craven

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

#### WASHINGTON

August 3, 1981

#### Dear Mrs. Craven:

I'm sorry to be so long in responding to your letter, but I've found in all the channels of government, it often takes a while for letters such as yours to get through the mail department and over to my desk. So forgive me for that. I thank you for writing and appreciate the opportunity to comment with regard to my Supreme Court appointment and my position on abortion.

I believe that most of the talk about my appointment was stirred up principally by one person in Arizona. I have done a great deal of checking on this and have found this person has something of a record of being vindictive. I have not changed my position; I do not think I have broken my pledge. Mrs. O'Connor has assured me of her personal abhorrence for abortion. She has explained, as her attacker did not explain, the so-called vote against preventing university hospitals in Arizona from performing abortions.

What actually happened occurred back when she was a Senator in the state government. A bill had been passed by the Senate and sent over to the House calling for some rebuilding of the football stadium at the university. The House added an amendment which would have prevented the university hospitals from performing abortions. But the constitution of Arizona makes it plain that any amendment must deal with the subject in the original bill or it is illegal. For this reason the Senate, including Mrs. O'Connor, turned that down.

Much is being made now of her not coming out with flat declarations regarding what she might do in the future. But let me point out it is impossible for her to do this because such statements could then be used to disqualify her in future cases coming before the Supreme Court. She is simply observing a legal protocol that is imposed on anyone who is in the process of a judicial appointment. I have every confidence in her and now want you to know my own position.

I still believe that an unborn child is a human being and that the only way that unborn child's life can be taken is in the context of our long tradition of selfdefense, meaning that, yes, an expectant mother can protect her own life against even her own unborn child, but we cannot have abortion on demand or whim or because we think the child is going to be less than perfect.

I thank you for your prayers in my behalf and for your support. I hope that I have cleared the air on this subject now because I would like to feel that I did have your continued approval.

Thanks again.

Sincerely,

**Ronald Reagan** 

Mrs. Marie Craven Chicago, Illinois

(This is the rough draft of Mrs. Marie Craven's letter to the President. The final version had stylistic changes, but no change in substance. Only one copy of the final, hand-written version exists; it is at the White House.)

N.Y.

30

ASHINGTON—In an angry defense of his Supreme Court nomination of Judge Sandra Day O'Connor, President Reagan has charged the past president of the National Right-to-Life Committee with having "something of a record of being vindictive." The unusual personal attack

Patrick

Buchanan

came in response to an impassioned letter from Marie Craven of Chicago, an Irish Catholic mother of five and a Reagan Democrat in 1930.

"I believe that most of the talk about my appointment was stirred up principally by one person in Arizona," the President replied. "I have done a great deai of checking on this and have found this person has something of a record of being vindictive.

I have not changed my position. I do not think I have broken my pledge. Mrs. O'Connor has assured me of her personal abhormence for abortion. She has explained, as her attacker did not explain, the so-called vote against preventing university hospitals in Arizona from performing abortions."

Reagan's run-in with the Right-to-Lifers -

The "attacker," Dr. Caroline F. Gerster, an Arizona physician and for 10 years a leader in the Right-to-Life movement, is a longtime acquaintance of Judge O'Connor's and claims to have been in an "adversary position" while the latter was Republican leader in the Arizona Senate in the mid-'70s. Dr. Gerster is a prime mover in the campaign to effect withdrawal of the O'Connor nomination.

THAT TRIGGERED the attack, unprecedented for the President, was a six-page letter from Mrs. Craven, asserting that Mr. Reagan—with the O'Connor nomination—had broken his platform pledge to nominate pro-life judges and justices.

On Saturday afternoon, when she received the Reagan letter, Mrs. Craven was "terribly upset." "His blanket statement astonishes me... He's trying to blame the whole thing on one person ... She [Dr. Gerster] is not alone in her objection."

(ironically, Carolyn Gerster was the movement

leader to whom Candidate Reagan made his personal commitments in a meeting in Rye, N.Y., Jan. 17, 1980. From that meeting, there issued almost universal support from the Right-to-Lifers for Reagan's nomination and election.)

While the President's letter detailed Judge O'Connor's reasons for voting against an amendment to a football stadium bill to outlaw abortions in Arizona university hospitals—she said it was non-germane, therefore, ur constitutional—it did not mention the three O'Connor Senate votes that have caused the Right-to-Lifers the greatest anguish.

The first was a vote that "would remove all legal sanctions against abortions performed by licensed physicians." The second, her co-sponsorship of the Family Planning Act which would have turnished "all medically acceptable family planning methods and information" including "surgical procedures" to anyone regardless of age. The third, her vote against—it carried four-to-two—a memorial to Congress to extend constitutional protections to the unborn—i.e., a Human Life Amendment. According to Mrs. Craven, the President's failure to mention these raises the question as to whether he is fully informed on the O'Connor record.

vindictive." Th