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Last Updated: 04/25/2023

LAW, MORALITY, AND THOMAS MORE

Robert H. Bork

September 26, 1985

The 450th anniversary of the death of Thomas More, which we remember this year, has produced a flood of scholarship and reflections. Anyone who imagines he can say anything in the slightest degree new in an after-dinner talk is certainly foolhardy, not to say worse. When he is addressing a group most of whose members know more about Sir Thomas than he does, I cannot think of words sufficient to describe his presumption. Nevertheless, you see such a person before you tonight.

I shall not dwell upon the details of Sir Thomas's career, because they are well known and also because some of them make me distinctly uncomfortable. More was, for example, a superbly accomplished lawyer but before the lawyers among us preen too much over that fact, we ought to recall what Erasmus reported of More's view: "The study of ... law is as far removed as can be from true learning More's mind, fitted for better things, naturally dreaded these studies ..." That puts a more favorable light, perhaps, on some of our law school transcripts. We may explain our grades on the ground that our minds were fitted for better things.

Nor would it be discreet of me to rehearse More's career as Lord Chancellor. One of his biographers tells us that when he took over the post some cases had been pending there for a dozen years, but "he now applied to the legal business of Chancery that peculiarly rapid mind which in earlier days had enabled him to grasp the meaning of a Greek sentence with a quickness which astonished his humanist colleagues.

"His day of triumph came when, having taken his seat and settled a case, he called for the next, and was told that there was no man or matter to be heard." Now that accomplishment is a matter of no small annoyance to a federal judge, at least to this one. On the other hand, if Sir Thomas had had some of the regulatory cases that are our standard fare, he wouldn't have needed a hair shirt.

What I do intend to talk about, oddly enough, is the subject disclosed by the title of these remarks — the thoughts raised by Thomas More's life, and the manner of his death, upon issues of law and morality, issues that remain vital today.

The first thing to be observed is that, contrary to some impressions, for Thomas More, in a real sense, law was morality. It is equally true that for More morality was superior to law and was the standard by which law is judged. If that seems a paradox, I do not think it is a true one.

It is a great irony that Thomas More has come to be seen as a hero of civil disobedience, a man who refused to obey immoral law. Perhaps it is a sign of the distemper of our age that he should be so misunderstood.

Ours is an age that glorifies, practically deifies, the individual conscience. It was not always so. It must have been well into this century before one began to hear words such as civil disobedience or heresy used as terms of approbation. What would Thomas More have thought of that? What would he have thought of those who disobey law in the name of moral imperatives? His life, particularly his public life, gives a tolerably clear answer.

More not only lived under but served a sovereign, many of whose policies he believed to be immoral or profoundly unwise. From the beginning, More was under no illusions about that. When William Roper, his son-in-law, rejoiced at how friendly Henry was to More, More replied, "I have no cause to be proud thereof, for if my head could win him a castle in France it should not fail to go."

Yet he did not disobey; he might give contrary advice; but, the policy or the law once decided upon, he complied. For example, he completely disapproved of Henry's ruinous war with France but, as Speaker, he asked Parliament for extraordinary and unpopular taxes to support that war. Later, when More was Lord Chancellor, and it was proposed to put Parliament in control of the church, Marius tells us "More was sick at heart at the prospect ...[but] he could not control events. Worse, he was a respectable figurehead, kept by the government to lend it whatever authority his reputation gave him, serving by his very presence in the post of Lord Chancellor a cause which was to him abominable." He wanted to resign. "Yet he could not resign, for to do so would have been to run the risk of making his opposition to the king public."

Again, Henry commanded More to speak in the House of Lords to say that Henry was pursuing his divorce from Catherine as a matter of religious scruple and not for love of any other woman. In doing so, More pointed out that various universities agreed that the first marriage had been unlawful. Someone asked More's opinion on the matter and he replied that he had given it to the king, and he said no more.

As R.W. Chambers put it, "respect for authority ... was the foundation of the political thinking ... of More." And so it was. He consented to present the king's case to the House of Lords but would not go an inch further than required.

This was his attitude toward law and the duty of a judge. He once said, "... [I]f the parties will at my hands call for justice, then, all were it my father stood on the one side, and the Devil on the other, his cause being good, the Devil should have right."

In this, Robert Bolt's A Man For All Seasons got the man remarkably right. (I was somewhat surprised to discover this since I had assumed that Bolt, like many writers of historical dramas had taken liberties to make his subject more interesting or appealing.) In one scene, More, then the Lord Chancellor, argues with his family who are urging him to arrest Richard Rich. His daughter, Margaret, says, "Father, that man's bad." More answers, "There is no law against that." His son-in-law, Roper: "There is! God's law!" More: "Then God can arrest him.... The law, Roper, the law. I know what's legal not what's right. And I'll stick to what's legal.... I'm not God. The currents and eddies of right and wrong, which you find such plain sailing, I can't navigate. I'm no voyager. But in the thickets of the law, oh, there I'm a forester."

Why, then, this obedience to constituted authority and to law, even when he regarded them as immoral? It was, in part, fear of the alternative to law. An Elizabethan play, that may have been written by Shakespeare, has More quell rioters against aliens in London with this speech:

MORE: Grant them removed, and grant that this your noise
Hath chid down all the majesty of England.
Imagine ...
that you sit as kings in your desires
Authority quite silenced by your brawl
And you in ruff of your opinions clothed,
What had you got? I'll tell you. You had taught
How insolence and strong hand should prevail,
How order should be quelled; and by this pattern
Not one of you should live an aged man;
For other ruffians, as their fancies wrought
With self same hand, self reasons and self right
Would shark on you; and men like ravenous fishes
Would feed on one another.

And Bolt, in a much quoted passage, has More say when assailed with the charge that he would give the Devil the benefit of law:

MORE: Yes. What would you do? Cut a great road through the law to get after the Devil?

ROPER: I'd cut down every law in England to do that!

MORE: . . . Oh? . . . And when the last law was down, and the Devil turned round on you — where would you hide, Roper, the laws all being flat? . . . This country's planted thick with laws from coast to coast — man's laws, not God's — and if you cut them down — . . . — d'you really think you could stand upright in the winds that would blow then? . . . Yes, I'd give the Devil benefit of law, for my own safety's sake.

But there is more than the fear of lawlessness and tumult. There is the thought that he is not sure about morality, he may be wrong. When Roper says to him, "the law's your god," More replies, "Oh, Roper you're a fool, God's my god.... But I find him rather too subtle.... I don't know where he is nor what he wants."

And again he says: "God made the angels to show him splendor — as he made animals for innocence and plants for their simplicity. But Man he made to serve him wittily, in the tangle of his mind." Not in the pride and certainty of the individual conscience, you will note, but in the tangle of his mind.

The recalcitrance that brought More to the scaffold — his refusal to take the oath that Henry's second marriage was valid and that Henry was the Supreme Head of the church in England — that recalcitrance may be seen, as it usually is, as More's one great act of disobedience. Bolt writes that More became to him "a man with an adamant sense of his own self. He knew where he began and left off, what areas of himself he could yield to the encroachments of his enemies, and what to the encroachments of those he loved. It was a substantial area in both cases, for he had a proper sense of fear and was a busy lover. Since he was a clever man and a great lawyer he was able to retire from those areas in wonderfully good order, but at length he was asked to retreat from that final area where he located his self. And there this supple, humorous, unassuming and sophisticated person set like metal, was overtaken by an absolutely primitive rigor, and could no more be budged than a cliff."

It is this behavior that causes Bolt to refer to More as a "hero of selfhood." Indeed it was extraordinary behavior: More was the only person, not a member of the clergy, who refused the oath and thus chose martyrdom.

Yet the refusal to take the oath need not, of course, be viewed as disobedience at all. There was a law higher than Henry's, and More knew that the oath violated that law. As to this ultimate thing, he, at last, knew where God was and what he wanted. At this extremity, God was no longer too subtle for him, and More obeyed God's law and went to his death. This was not disobedience but obedience, a thought he expressed in his last words as he lay down before the headsman: "I die the King's servant, but God's first."

For More, then, until law changed, it was to be obeyed, and that injunction he applied as much to the judge on the bench as to rioters in the street. We all recognize rioters or draft resisters as civil disobedients but we are less likely to recognize that the judge who ignores law or who creates constitutional law out of his own conscience is equally civilly disobedient. I had not thought of it that way until Alexander Bickel, in his wonderful book, The Morality of Consent, recounted the recent American experience with the phenomenon in the streets and then said, "The assault upon the legal order by moral imperatives was not only or perhaps even most effectively an assault from the outside." He argued that it came as well from a court that cut through law to do what it considered "right" and "good." The theoretical justification for that peculiarly corrupting form of civil disobedience is now being constructed by many of the most prominent constitutional scholars in our law schools. It is the philosophy that judges should create and enforce as constitutional law, individual rights that are not to be found in the Constitution.

More would have had none of that. As Bickel noted, civil disobedience, no matter by whom or in what cause, is always "a decision in favor of self, in favor of the idea of self." That is why, in the law, it encourages moral relativism, which is a leading feature of modern constitutional adjudication. But More was a communitarian. As Chambers notes, "From [his book] Utopia to the scaffold, More stands for the common cause, as against the private commodity of the single man" It is for that reason I say that obedience to constituted authority and to established law was a major part of More's morality. If that was his view in the reign of Henry VIII, how much more would it have been his view when law and policy are democratically made, when they are, in the realest sense they can be, the will of the community.

For More, morality was superior to the will of the sovereign and to law in the sense that it might be brought to bear to shape or to alter that will and that law, though not to justify disobedience. This clearly appears in Utopia where he showed himself arguing that it was a man's

duty to enter public life despite the evil he thought that necessarily entailed, saying, "That which you cannot turn to good, so to order it that it be not very bad."

And after More had resigned as Lord Chancellor he spoke to Cromwell, who still served the king:

Master Cromwell, ...
if you will follow
my poor advice, you shall, in your
counsel-giving unto his Grace, ever tell
him what he ought to do, but never what
he is able to do ... For if a lion knew
his own strength, hard were it for any
man to rule him.

In a word, try to make law as moral as you can, but when it is made, whatever it is, morality lies in obedience to the law. If disobedience is ever justified, it is only when the issue is of transcendent importance and when you are absolutely sure of the right and wrong of the matter. In a democratic polity there can be such occasions, but they will be very few.

If some find the lesson More taught too austere for comfort, they ought at least reflect on the question of how much glorification of the individual conscience any legal order can tolerate and remain a legal order. They ought also to ask how much privatization of morality the moral order can tolerate and remain a moral order.

These are issues of law and morality internal to the United States, but they arise internationally as well. What we call international law is, of course, in many respects not yet law in any real sense. It is in a formative stage, the stage at which More would have felt free to infuse morality. This raises the question whether we should try to build an international law, or pretend there is one, about the use of armed force between nations? In the present condition of the world — a condition that looks permanent — I think More would say the answer must be no. It must be no because that law cannot be moral.

These reflections were prompted by the debate over the legality of the United States' invasion of Grenada. At the time, you will recall, a number of people denounced the invasion as illegal. Others defended its legality.

My point, however, is that this debate of necessity ignored crucial moral questions. Insofar as there is or might be international law about the use of force between nations, the rules could not reflect the moral reasons for the use of force. This is true because the rules, to be called international, must necessarily express a morality acceptable to immoral regimes.

Thus, in a discussion with an international law expert, I pointed to three factors that most people deem relevant to the American action in Grenada.

The Grenadan government had been formed by a minority that seized power by violence and maintained it by terror.

It was a Marxist-Leninist regime and so represented a further advance in this hemisphere of a power that threatens freedom and democracy throughout the world.

The people of Grenada were ecstatic at being relieved of that tyrannical government.

I said these three factors seemed to me morally relevant and I asked whether they were relevant in international law. The answer was no. This means that when we act for moral reasons, we cannot give those reasons and must, to the degree we acquiesce in the false notion that there is already a binding international law, cast ourselves in a false position.

When the rules that we are asked to call law must exclude, and indeed condemn, moral action it would appear better not to confer the prestige of the name law upon them. Otherwise, we must either renounce our morality or accept the role of disobedients. Sir Thomas would not approve of either course.

In my brief acquaintance with Sir Thomas -- an acquaintance prompted by this Society, and for which I thank you -- I have learned a good deal. Erasmus it was who called him A Man For All Seasons. He may be. But what astounds and impresses me is that across four and one-half centuries, he still speaks to us.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 9, 1987

STATEMENT BY
JUDGE ROBERT BORK

The Briefing Room

3:00 P.M. EDT

JUDGE BORK: Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. More than three months ago, I was deeply honored to be nominated by the President for the position of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

In the 100 days since then, the country has witnessed an unprecedented event. The process of confirming justices for our nation's highest Court has been transformed in a way that should not and, indeed, must not be permitted to occur again. The tactics and techniques of national political campaigns have been unleashed on the process of confirming judges. That is not simply disturbing, it is dangerous.

Federal judges are not appointed to decide cases according to the latest opinion polls. They are appointed to decide cases impartially, according to law. But when judicial nominees are assessed and treated like political candidates, the effect will be to chill the climate in which judicial deliberations take place, to erode public confidence in the impartiality of courts, and to endanger the independence of the judiciary.

In politics, the opposing candidates exchange contentions in their efforts to sway voters. In the give and take of political debate, the choice will, in the end, be clear. A judge, however, cannot engage -- political campaigning and the judge's functions are flatly incompatible.

In 200 years, no nominee for justice has ever campaigned for that high office. None ever should and I will not. This is not to say that my public life, the decisions I have rendered, the articles I have written should be immune from consideration. They should not. Honorable persons can disagree about those matters. But the manner in which the debate is conducted makes all the difference. Far too often, the ethics that should prevail have been violated and the facts of my professional life have been misrepresented.

It is, to say no more, unsatisfying to be the target of a campaign that must, of necessity, be one-sided; a campaign in which the candidate, a sitting federal judge, is prevented by the plain standards of his profession from becoming an energetic participant.

Were the fate of Robert Bork the only matter at stake, I would ask the President to withdraw my nomination. The most serious and lasting injury in all of this is not to me, nor is it to all of those who have steadfastly supported my nomination and to whom I am deeply grateful. Rather the damage is to the dignity and integrity of law and of public service in this country. I therefore wish to end this speculation -- there should be a full debate and a final Senate decision.

In deciding on this course, I harbor no illusions. But a crucial principle is at stake. That principle is the way in which we select the men and women who guard the liberties of all the American people. That should not be done through public campaigns of distortion.

MORE

If I withdraw now, that campaign would be seen as a success, and it would be mounted against future nominees. For the sake of the federal judiciary and the American people, that must not happen. The deliberative process must be restored.

In the days remaining, I ask only that voices be lowered, the facts respected, and the deliberations conducted in a manner that will be fair to me and to the infinitely larger and more important cause of justice in America.

Thank you.

Q Do you think you'll still win, Judge?

Q How did the President react, sir?

Q Why won't you take questions, Judge?

Q Marlin, will you take questions?

END

3:04 P.M. EDT

Anti-Defamation League

Washington, D.C. Office



of B'nai B'rith

87 SEP 2 P1:14

DAVID A. BRODY
Director
JESS N. HORDIS
Associate Director

TRANSMISSION MEMORANDUM

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THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT IS FOR:

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Max Green

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Jess Hordis

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Date:

9/2/87

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(A.M.)

1:10

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Hadassah

West 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10019

(2) 355-7900 • 303-8153

NEWS

DIE GREENSPAN, Chairman, Public Relations

JAMES C. LEE, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

HADASSAH ISSUES STATEMENT OPPOSING

BORK'S NOMINATION TO SUPREME COURT

Women's Organization Breaks with Tradition,

Citing Jurist's "Extremist View" of Society

NEW YORK, Aug. 26 -- Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, the largest women's volunteer group of its kind in the United States, today announced its opposition to the nomination of Robert H. Bork to the Supreme Court.

Hadassah's National Board departed from a long-standing tradition of neither endorsing nor opposing candidates for elected office and Presidential appointees in voting unanimously to oppose Judge Bork's candidacy for the high court, according to Hadassah National President Ruth W. Popkin.

"As an independent, non-aligned voice for American Jewish and Zionist women of all ages and religious and political beliefs, Hadassah has refrained in the past from commenting publicly on Supreme Court nominees," Popkin said in announcing the organization's action. "Judge Bork's decisions from the bench of the U.S. Court of Appeals and other public statements represent a dangerously repressive and extremist view of our society, however, and it is clear that it is a view that our members reject."

-more-

2/Hadassah Issues Statement Opposing Bork's Nomination to Supreme Court

The Hadassah National Board, acting on behalf of 385,000 Hadassah women nationwide, said that "After lengthy deliberation and a thorough review of Judge Bork's record as a jurist and public servant, we believe that his appointment to the nation's highest court would result in dangerous erosion of the principles upon which this nation, and Hadassah, were built and have flourished."

The statement cites Judge Bork's public stands on freedom of speech, desegregation of public facilities, the separation of church and state, women's rights to reproductive freedom and individuals' right to privacy as the basis for Hadassah's opposition to Bork's Supreme Court nomination.

"(Judge Bork) has expressed support for prayer in the public schools and public funding of private religious schools, and would exempt artistic and scientific expression from the free speech protections of the First Amendment," the Board stated, adding that he "also has expressed opposition to the Supreme Court's decision in Roe v. Wade, the landmark decision upholding women's right to an abortion, and has indicated he would uphold the authority of states and localities to ban the use of contraceptives by married couples.

"Consistent with Hadassah's strong public support for reproductive freedom, separation of church and state, civil rights and civil liberties, freedom of speech and the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, we conclude that we must oppose Judge Bork's nomination to the Supreme Court," the Hadassah statement ends.

A complete text of the statement is attached.

###

1485

8/26/87

AJ,M,N.

Hadassah

West 58th Street
New York, N.Y. 10019
(212) 355-7900 • 303-8153

NEWS

EDIE GREENSPAN, Chairman, Public Relations

Director of Public Relations

Hadassah Statement on the Nomination

of Robert H. Bork

To the U.S. Supreme Court

The National Board of Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, acting on behalf of 385,000 Hadassah women throughout the nation, has voted unanimously to oppose the nomination of Robert H. Bork to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Since its founding 75 years ago Hadassah has embraced the democratic principles of justice, individual freedom and dignity, and the equality of women. After lengthy deliberation and a thorough review of Judge Bork's record as a jurist and public servant, we believe that his appointment to the nation's highest court would result in dangerous erosion of the principles upon which this nation, and Hadassah, were built and have flourished.

Judge Bork has publicly opposed Supreme Court decisions upholding freedom of speech, desegregation of public facilities, the separation of church and state, women's right to reproductive freedom and the individual's right to privacy. He has expressed support for prayer in the public schools and public funding of private religious schools, and would exempt artistic and scientific expression from the free speech protections of the First Amendment. Judge Bork also has expressed opposition to the Supreme Court's decision in Roe v. Wade, the landmark decision upholding a woman's right to choose an abortion, and has supported the authority of states to ban the use of contraceptive by married couples.

-more-

2/Hadassah Statement on Robert H. Bork

Consistent with Hadassah's strong public support for reproductive freedom, separation of church and state, civil rights and civil liberties, freedom of speech and the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, we conclude that we must oppose Judge Bork's nomination to the Supreme Court.

1485

8/26/87

AJ,M,N

MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO:

R. Matt

☐

YOU WERE CALLED BY-

☐

YOU WERE VISITED BY-

JANE SWANSON

OF (Organization)

PETER KEISLER SELV

☒

PLEASE PHONE ▶

☐

FTS

☐

AUTOVON

X6500

☐

WILL CALL AGAIN

☐

IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

☐

RETURNED YOUR CALL

☐

WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

RE: TRIP ON THURS.

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Goldberg - 11

bark brief

8/14 bark update

8/14 Bark menu

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Ken Bialkin

Pres NY Bar

from

Doug Balthazar

bark 60

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Weather

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possible

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m.g. bark

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⇒

Gene/Peter/Tamara

MATT

Rebecca needs one memo
with all groups who
have come out
in support of
Bork.

Ed. Michael
Des. 697-1255

(All memos should
be on m23.)

Ticket

7:00

mat at 7:00

JIM SASSER
TENNESSEE

B. H.
United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

COMMITTEES:
APPROPRIATIONS
BANKING, HOUSING,
AND URBAN AFFAIRS
BUDGET
SMALL BUSINESS
GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

August 25, 1987

Dr. James F. Blumstein
Professor of Law
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee 37240

Dear Jim:

Thank you for contacting me to express your support for the nomination of Judge Robert Bork to succeed Justice Lewis Powell on the Supreme Court. I appreciate hearing from you.

The tentative schedule for the Judiciary Committee calls for several days of hearings, beginning in September. Thus, it seems likely that the vote on the nomination will occur later in the Fall.

During the Judiciary Committee hearings and the floor debate, Judge Bork's views and past record will receive a fair and thorough airing, and Senators will have an opportunity to evaluate the nomination. I intend to follow this process carefully, and you can be sure that I will remember your concerns as the Senate considers Judge Bork's nomination.

Jim, I deeply appreciate your thoughts on the Bork nomination. It is extremely helpful to have the insights of someone who knows Judge Bork personally.

Again, thank you for contacting me. If I can be of assistance in the future, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Jim
Jim Sasser
United States Senator

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY



NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37240

TELEPHONE (615) 322-7311

School of Law • Direct phone 322-2615

September 1, 1987

Mr. Max Green
Office of Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Max:

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed letter I received from Senator Jim Sasser concerning the Bork nomination. I also have given an interview on the Bork nomination and its impact on aspects of constitutional law to the local CBS television affiliate in Nashville. The interview is part of a three-part series that will air during the second week of October.

How are things progressing? Let me know if I can be of any further help. I thought that you would want to stay on top of this communication.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Jim'.

James F. Blumstein
Professor of Law

Enclosure

JFB/le

RALPH SCOTT, PhD

Licensed Psychologist; Illinois, Iowa
Diplomate, American Board Professional Psychology
Certified, National Register
Health Services Providers in Psychology

1515 Columbia Drive
Cedar Falls, Iowa 50613
(319) 266-6242

September 3, 1987

Max Green
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Green

I very much appreciate the material you recently sent me concerning the track record of Judge Bork. For the past several weeks I have discussed with various Iowans the reasons why Judge Bork is indeed a superb choice for U.S. Supreme Court Justice. The overview of Judge Bork's record will make my job easier as I do what I can to garner support for his Senate approval.

Thank you for your interest in seeing that an objective picture of Judge Bork emerges above the rhetoric.

Very truly yours



Ralph Scott

RS/ep

DRAFT

September 9, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR

FROM:

SUBJECT: Summary of Constituent Support/Activity on the
Bork Nomination

Group Endorsement

AMERICAN COALITION FOR LIFE:

- * called 4000 grassroots activists to mobilize telephone trees, expect to have called 30,000 by mid-August;
- * gearing up for extensive promotional campaign with their "Adopt a Congressman" program;
- * visited 80 Senators;
- * hand delivered 4000 constituent letters on Bork to Senate offices.

AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE UNION:

- * mailing to members across the country;
- * gearing up for extensive promotional campaign, have already begun visiting Members;
- * participated in debate, covered by C-Span, with People for the American Way, National Abortion Rights Action League, the NAACP, the Heritage Foundation, and Moral Majority;
- * sent letter to 3000 Southern Baptist pastors in Alabama.

CHRISTIAN ACTION COUNCIL:

- * article/updates in newsletter and legislative alerts;
- * placed on CAC hotline -- callers get a quick synopsis of bill as a priority issue.

[CAC is a national organization; circulation of their newsletter is about 50,000. Legislative alerts go to about 1000 activists across the country.]

CONCERNED WOMEN FOR AMERICA:

- * activated all state chapters;
- * enclosing one page fact sheet on Bork in all mailings;
- * urging their members to call/write their Senators;
- * urging each of their members to contact 5 additional people and encourage them to get involved in the nomination;
- * report on Bork in August newsletter;
- * running newspaper ads in Arizona and Pennsylvania and setting up Western Union hotlines for mailgram responses to Senators;
- * have requested to testify at hearings;
- * prepared two op-eds, one for August and one for September;
- * Beverly LaHaye, President of CWA, has requested to testify;
- * preparing an editorial Board mailing; and
- * arranged a meeting with Senator Heflin and a large coalition of businessmen on September 3.

[CWA is a conservative women's organization with over 500,000 members nationwide.]

EAGLE FORUM:

- * article on Bork nomination for mailing.
- * Phyllis is doing articles on the nomination.
- * Will be visiting Senators prior to the hearing.

[Eagle Forum is a national organization with 80,000 members and chapters in every state. The mailings go to about 1000 key activists and state leaders who then use the information as needed.]

EVANGELICAL LEADERS:

- * Ronald A. DeJohn, Editor of "The Evangelist" a publication of the Jimmy Swaggart Ministries, is preparing an article on Bork for possible publication in that magazine.
- * Mr. Pige Patterson, President of Criswell College, reports that he has spoken to several groups of Southern Baptist pastors about the Bork nomination and has encouraged them to call their Senators.
- * The Public Affairs Committee of the Southern Baptist Convention, elected by the SBC to represent its 14.6 million members on First Amendment concerns, passed a resolution supporting the nomination of Bork.

FAMILY RESEARCH COUNCIL:

- * Set up teams of people to visit key Senators; and
- * sent mailing on Bork to all Senators.

FOCUS ON THE FAMILY:

- * preparing article on Bork for magazine;
- * cover the Bork nomination in monthly newsletter; and
- * will be airing two radio broadcasts on the Bork nomination, one in late August and one in September.

[Focus on the Family is a 30 minute daily radio program in 930 markets across the country with an audience of 4 million.]

FREE CONGRESS FOUNDATION:

- * article on Bork in Family Protection Report; and
- * will be taking the lead in organizing other conservative organizations.

[FPR circulates to about 1000 profamily activists across the country.]

HERITAGE FOUNDATION:

- * television and radio spots.
- * Bruce Fein was quoted in a Sunday, Washington Post business section article on How the Bork nomination would affect business; and
- * Gordon Jones wrote an article addressing the argument that conservatives used the same arguments, currently being used by liberals, during the Ginsberg, Mikva nominations.

INTERNATIONAL NARCOTIC ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS ASSOCIATION, INC.:

- * Executive Director John Bellizzi reports he is requesting to testify on behalf of Bork at the confirmation hearings.

LIBERTY FEDERATION:

- * article in August newsletter;
- * contacting key pastors; and
- * gearing up for extensive promotional campaign.

[Circulation of "Liberty Report" is about 700,000; readership is estimated at over 2 million.]

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS:

- * provide regular updates in individual and church editions of monthly newsletter;
- * will be taping radio broadcasts on the nomination;
- * special mailings to denominational leaders;
- * spoke on the Bork nomination at the Conservative Baptist Annual Convention to over 4000 attendees; and

- * Bob Duggan, Executive Director, will be interviewed on "VOX POP" (Voice of the People), a daily talk show in 35 major radio markets September 8.

[NAE has an estimated individual membership of 5 million. They represent 46,000 churches and 41 denominations across the country. The individual edition of their newsletter has a circulation of about 80,000, the church edition has a circulation of about 200,000.]

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PRO-AMERICA:

- * Have set up teams of people to go visit key Senators.

NATIONAL LAW ENFORCEMENT COUNCIL:

- * mailing on the Bork nomination to the National Presidents and Executive Directors of the 15 council organizations which will reach over 300,000 law enforcement officers across the country;
- * excerpts from the President's address (7/29) to the Council have been included in 20 law enforcement publications; and
- * Fraternal Order of Police is urging its 187,000 members to write their representatives in support of the Bork nomination.

721 COALITION:

- * meets weekly to take action items on the nomination.

[721 is the conservative law enforcement/judicial reform coalition group.]

SAVE OUR SCHOOLS:

- * Prepared article for their journal, which goes out to all their supporters;
- * will be visiting Senators before the hearings begin; and
- * prepared and mailed a packet of information on Bork to Senators.

UNITED FAMILIES OF AMERICA:

- * Set up teams of people to visit key Senators;
- * major mailing to all their contributors; and
- * mailing to all Senators.

WASHINGTON DATELINE:

- * Mailing of Bork information to all Senators.

OTHER:

- * Mailing to approximately 3000 religious leaders and media to notify them of availability of six radio actualities has resulted in about 600 calls daily.

ASSOCIATION OF WALL AND CEILING INDUSTRIES:

- * Endorsed Judge Bork's nomination and its president, Joe Baker, sent letters to 80 additional associations asking for their support.

ASSOCIATED BUILDERS AND CONTRACTORS:

- * Officially endorsed the Bork nomination in its August 31, 1987 newsletter and encouraged their members to contact their Senators.

ASIAN AMERICAN VOTERS COALITION:

- * Represents Chinese, Indo, Korean, and Vietnamese-Americans.

NATIONAL HISPANIC ASSOCIATION OF CONSTRUCTION ENTERPRISES:

- * Expressed group support in a letter to the President;
- * also sent letter to its 27,000 members.

NATIONAL JEWISH COALITION:

- * Supports nomination;
- * sent letter to its members and to senators.

ORDER SONS OF ITALY:

- * Passed resolution supporting Judge Bork.

MEXICAN-AMERICAN OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION:

- * Issued statement supporting Judge Bork.

U.S. HISPANIC CHAMBER OF COMMERCE:

- * Issued statement of support to its 100,000 members;
- * press release was given to the White House for distribution to the Hispanic media.

MEXICAN-AMERICAN FOUNDATION:

- * Expressed support;
- * press release sent to Hispanic press.

HISPANIC BUSINESSMEN'S COUNCIL OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA:

- * Expressed support;
- * Manuel Sepulveda, President, wrote an editorial to the Los Angeles Times, which has not been printed.

MEXICAN AMERICAN ORGANIZATION OF TEXAS:

- * Supports the nomination of Judge Bork;
- * sent press release to its 10,000 members.

MEXICAN AMERICAN FOUNDATION:

- * Group will provide letter of support.

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS:

- * Passed resolution at its national convention;
- * 1.4 million members contacted with request that they write their senators.

Individual Endorsement

LOU DEMLOW, CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
WHOLESALE-DISTRIBUTORS:

- * Mailing under his signature to 45,000 members requesting they contact their senators.

DIRK VAN DONGEN, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
WHOLESALE-DISTRIBUTORS:

- * Also sent letter to members urging support.

DICK LESHER, PRESIDENT, U.S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE:

- * Asking Board members to individually support Judge Bork;
- * Chamber is working behind the scenes.

PAUL OREFFICE, CHAIRMAN & CEO, DOW CHEMICAL:

- * Agreed to submit op-ed piece.

RICHARD MADDEN, CHAIRMAN & CEO, POTLACH CORPORATION:

- * Agreed to submit op-ed piece.

JOHN JONES, PRESIDENT, ASSOCIATED BUILDERS AND CONTRACTORS:

- * Agreed to submit op-ed piece.

ROGER SMITH, CHAIRMAN & CEO, GENERAL MOTORS:

- * Op-ed ran in Wall Street Journal, August 25, 1987;
- * op-ed ran in Detroit Free Press, August 26, 1987;
- * sent copies to members of the Business Roundtable.

JOHN SLOAN, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT
BUSINESS:

- * Will make personal calls;
- * urging other small businesses to do the same.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 22, 1987

NOTE TO MARY DEWHIRST

FROM: MAX GREEN

An addition to the Pro-Bork list:

National Council of Young Israel
Executive Director, Rabbi Frank Sturm
represents approx. 230 Orthodox congregations.
212/929-1525

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 22, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR SENATOR HOWARD BAKER
CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: REBECCA RANGE
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR OF
THE OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON

SUBJECT: Support from Bob Asher

Max Green of my Office called Bob Asher, Chairman of AIPAC, about the Bork nomination. Asher indicated his willingness to make calls to key Senators, e.g. Deconcini, Specter and Dixon.

While we do not doubt Asher's sincerity, we think that he will be more helpful if he receives a call from you. The three main points to make are:

- 1) This is a crucial issue for the Administration
- 2) Bork satisfactorily answered all the allegations that might have caused concern in the Jewish community, for example, the charge that he supports public funding of religious schools
- 3) While understanding that AIPAC as an institution can not get involved, the Administration would be appreciative of help from AIPAC's leaders.

Asher's phone number is 312/951-8957.



NATIONAL
JEWISH
COALITION

Chris Gersten
Executive Director

August 13, 1987

Mr. Max Green
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison
OEOB Room 196
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Max:

I thought you would be interested
in the attached statement from the
National Jewish Coalition on the
Bork nomination.

Regards,

Chris
Chris

NATIONAL JEWISH COALITION

STATEMENT ON BORK NOMINATION

The National Jewish Coalition commends President Reagan's historic decision to nominate Judge Robert Bork to succeed retiring Justice Lewis Powell on the Supreme Court.

Bork possesses all the necessary intelligence, insight, and professional experience to serve on the bench with distinction. A former law professor at Yale, Bork received the American Bar Association's highest rating--"exceptionally well qualified"--to serve as a federal judge. During his five years on the U.S. Circuit Court, he has distinguished himself as a Constitutional scholar and a thoughtful and respected jurist.

Judge Bork is superbly qualified to join the Supreme Court. Retired Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, who supports confirmation for Bork, has said that he could not recall a nominee "better qualified than Judge Bork." Bork has voted in the Court of Appeals' majority in 94 percent of the cases he has heard since serving on the Court. None of his more than 100 majority opinions written for the court has been overturned by the Supreme Court.

Those who oppose Bork are seeking to change the norms that for two centuries have been followed in confirming Presidential judicial nominations. Under these norms, a nominee recognized to possess integrity and to be professionally competent is granted Senate approval, regardless of his judicial or political philosophy. The challenge to the Bork nomination comes from a desire to retain a politicized Court. By exploiting the Bork nomination for these narrow political and ideological reasons, liberals and Democrats are undermining the confirmation process.

Judge Bork is eminently qualified to serve in the post to which he has been named: neither ideology nor political opportunism should prevent him from doing so.

NATIONAL JEWISH COALITION

STATEMENT ON BORK NOMINATION

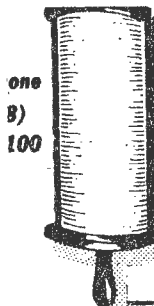
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The JEWISH PRESS

THE LARGEST INDEPENDENT ANGLO-JEWISH WEEKLY

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500
THE WHITE HOUSE ROOM 100
PUBLIC LIAISON OFFICE
MR. MAX GREEN

VOL. XXXVII No. 39 WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 25 TO OCTOBER 1, 1987 2 TISHREI 57

SAUDIS WOULD MARCH ON ISRAEL

Success Of Neo-Nazi Party Shakes West Germany

ONN (JTA) — The success of the neo-Nazi Deutsche Volkspartei (DVP) party in gaining a seat in the German Parliament in last week's election has badly shaken the West German political establishment, whose leaders have consistently disdained such rightwing extremist factions as little more than a nuisance incapable of winning sufficient votes to penetrate even local governments.

Observers here are now pointing out that a small but sizeable minority of the electorate is ready to sup-

port neo-Nazi groups. The latter possess the devotion, a certain degree of unity and are capable of working hard to mobilize and translate it into votes.

The DVP is headed by Gerhard Frey, who publishes the Munich-based *Nationalzeitung*, which among other things calls the Holocaust a Jewish hoax and the gas chambers "Zionist propaganda." The DVP campaigned in Bremen largely on the "need" to rid Germany of a community of some five million foreign workers, mostly Turks. It avoided attacking Jews.

The possibility that military forces would now grow closer to fact than fiction. Saudi Arabia's Minister of Defense, Abdul Aziz, told the world that he would initiate a march on Israel to join the campaign.

That was an intention because there is no love between Arabia and Iran, but nevertheless, the Saudi Arabia should make Israel, he would follow Iran was not militarily against Israel.

It appeared as if they were trying to goad Iran into action against Israel. 'Something against Israel does it not move its army against Israel. Let them move on Israel so that they first to walk behind them.'

A short time ago the Ayatollah of complicity with the Mecca confrontation in which including 275 Iranian demonstrators the Ayatollah made that remark charged that Israel had played with the Iranians!

Prince Nayef charged, Mecca should, before coming a Muslim people ruled by the Jerusalem. He should go there and fight Israel instead of fighting a Muslim people, the

Iran has claimed that they are inferior to that of the United States, declaring his forces that have been created whether from Iran or anyone else.

Meanwhile, congressional hearings over Saudi Arabia's refusal to let jet fighters and anti-submarine ships cost the United States \$100 million a day.

Agudath Israel Tells U.S. Senate To Confirm Judge Bork

In the background of the ongoing Senate hearings on President Reagan's nomination of Judge Robert Bork to the U.S. Supreme Court, Agudath Israel of America became the first major national Jewish organization publicly to support the nomination.

An elaborate memorandum to the members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, David Zwiebel, Agudath Israel's director of government affairs and general counsel, conveyed the rationale underlying the 100-year-old Orthodox Jewish movement's historic decision to speak out on the Bork nomination.

Agudath Israel has never before taken a public position on any nomination to the Supreme Court, and its members of its board urged that the organization maintain its policy of neutrality on Supreme Court nominations. However, because the Bork nomination generated such broad public comment, and especially because so many Jewish groups have spoken out in support of the nomination and may thereby have created the impression that 'the Jewish community' is united in its opposition to the principles for which Judge Bork stands, the majority of Agudath Israel's board decided that neutrality would not be an appropriate position on this occasion.

The Agudath Israel memorandum focuses on two themes: the organization's view that "Judge Bork's presence on the Supreme Court could have a positive influence in some of the great public policy issues of our day"; and Agudath Israel's belief that "the philosophy of judicial restraint so eloquently expressed by Robert Bork...is ultimately in the best interests of all Americans, including minority communities like ours."

In the first part of the memo, Mr. Zwiebel points to specific areas of the law in which Judge Bork is expected to advance interests supported by Agudath Israel.

These include what Bork has termed "a relaxation of currently rigid secularist doctrine," pursuant to which the Supreme Court has struck down a number of laws designed to aid students in religious schools; disapproval of certain types of "affirmative action" programs which Bork has labeled "offensive to both ideas of common justice and the 14th Amendment's guarantee of equal protection to persons, not classes"; and a host of issues that touch upon fundamental moral concerns, such as the availability of abortion on demand, regarding which Judge Bork's appointment to the Supreme Court might restore to "the arena of democratic debate the question of whether society should use the law to discourage certain types of allegedly 'private' conduct."

The second half of the Agudath Israel memorandum discusses Judge Bork's general philosophy of judicial restraint, which is premised upon the recognition that it is the legislative branch of government — rather than the judicial branch — which is authorized to create public policy in the United States. Mr. Zwiebel writes that judicial restraint is of crucial importance to all segments of society:

"It is said that the judiciary plays a vital role in protecting the minority against the tyranny of the majority. That is certainly true...By the same token, though, tyranny is not within the exclusive domain of the majority..."

"Judge Bork understands that when a non-elected entity, consisting of a small number of appointed individuals, attempts to substitute its view of the common good for that of the people's democratically elected representatives, society is faced with the most dangerous form of tyranny of all... It is precisely because (Jews) have been victims of tyranny that we have learned that a robust democracy practiced to its fullest is ultimately the most effective means of protecting minority rights."

JEWISH PRESS

THE LARGEST INDEPENDENT ANGLO-JEWISH WEEKLY
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Continental U.S.

XVII No. 39 WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 25 TO OCTOBER 1, 1987 2 TISHREI 5748

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March - a - gate!
The possibility that Saudi Arabian military forces would march against Israel grew closer to fact this week. The Interior Minister of Saudi Arabia, Prince Nayef Abdul Aziz, told the world that if Iran were to initiate a march on Israel, his country would join the campaign.

That was an interesting observation because there is no love lost between Saudi Arabia and Iran, both Muslim nations. Nevertheless, the Saudi Prince indicated that should Iran make the first move against Israel, he would follow. He did imply that Iran was not militarily powerful enough to go against Israel.

It appeared as if the Saudi Prince was trying to goad Iran into taking some hostile action against Israel. "If Iran wants to do something against Israel," he asserted, "why does it not move its agents in Lebanon ... against Israel. Let them tell us that they are moving on Israel so that we can be among the first to walk behind them."

A short time ago the Ayatollah Khomeini accused Israel of complicity with the Saudis in the recent Mecca confrontation in which 402 people were killed, including 275 Iranian demonstrators. No sooner had the Ayatollah made that remark than the Saudi Prince charged that Israel had planned the Mecca incident with the Iranians!

Prince Nayef charged, "He who wants to liberate Mecca should, before coming to Mecca, where there is a Muslim people ruled by the Koran, go and liberate Jerusalem. He should go there and raise the banner and fight Israel instead of seeking Israel's assistance in fighting a Muslim people, the people of Iraq."

Iran has claimed that the Saudi military is considerably inferior to that of Iran. The Saudi official denied this, declaring his kingdom possesses defensive forces that have been created to repel any aggression whether from Iran or anyone else.

Meanwhile, congressional leaders are still smarting over Saudi Arabia's refusal to allow carrier-based jet fighters and anti-submarine planes to land there for refueling and other logistical aid.

Though it is a supposed ally of the United States, Saudi Arabia has by its action — or lack of it — forced the United States to increase the number of ships in and around the Persian Gulf from the usual five to seven, then to thirty and now forty because of the lack of on-shore facilities. The additional manpower and ships cost the United States more than one million dollars a day.

Supporters of Judge Bork

Agudath Israel
Contact: David Zweibel
Title: Counsel
Phone: (212) 797-9000

Airborne Law Enforcement Association
Contact: Major R.R. Raffensberger
Title: President
Phone: (301) 396-2431

American Coalition for Life
Contact: Ray Allen
Title: President
Phone: (202) 627-1595

American Conservative Union
Contact: Dan Casey
Title: Executive Director
Phone: (202) 546-6555

American Farm Bureau Federation
Contact: John Datt
Title: Washington Representative
Phone: 484-0055

Asian American Voters Coalition
Contact: Dr. Kyo Jhin
Title: Chairman
Phone: 576-6288

Associated Builders and Contractors
Contact: Charles E. Hawkins
Title: Vice President, Government Affairs
Phone: (202) 637-8800

Association of Federal Investigators
Contact: The Honorable Alan C. Nelson
Title: President
Phone: (202) 633-1900

Association of Wall and Ceiling Industries
Contact: Joe M. Baker, Jr.
Title: Executive Vice President
Phone: (202) 783-2924

Chicana Forum
Contact: Magarita Ward
Title: Chairperson
Phone: (213) 431-3657

Christian Action Council
Contact: Rev. Curt Young
Title: President
Phone: (202) 237-2100

Christopher Columbus Quincentennary
Contact: Hon. Luis Ferre
Title: President
Phone: (809) 764-7474

Citizens for America
Contact: Jack Stevens
Title: Executive Director
Phone: (202) 544-7888

Coalition of Cuban Officials
Contact: Manuel Campo
Title: President
Phone: (305) 856-4262

Concerned Citizens for Democracy
Contact: Carlos Perez
Title: President
Phone: (305) 448-8482

Concerned Women for America
Contact: Beverly LaHaye
Title: President
Phone: (202) 628-3014

Council for National Policy
Contact: Jack Wilson
Title: Executive Director
Phone: (202) 675-4333

Cuban Women for Human Rights
Contact: Aida Levidan
Title: President
Phone: (305) 446-3132

Eagle Forum
Contact: Phyllis Schafly
Title: President
Phone: (618) 462-5415

Family Research Council
Contact: Jerry Regier
Title: President
Phone: (202) 546-5400

Federal Criminal Investigators Association

Contact: Robert R. Fuesel

Title: President

Phone: (312) 922-5351

Fraternal Order of Police

Contact: Don Cahill

Title: Chairman, Legislative Committee

Phone: 703/335-6530

Hispanic Businessmen's Council of Southern California

Contact: Manny Sepulveda

Title: President

Phone: (714) 667-7897

Hope and Associates

Contact: Dr. Hope Medina

Title: President

Phone: (202) 920-7623

International Association of Chiefs of Police

Contact: Jerald Vaughn

Title: Executive Director

Phone: (301) 948-0922

International Narcotics Enforcement Officers Association

Contact: John Bellizzi

Title: Executive Director

Phone: (518) 463-6232

Knights of Columbus

Contact: Virgil Dechant

Title: Supreme Knight

Phone: (203) 772-2130

Latin Chamber of Commerce

Contact: Max Borges

Title: Chairman

Phone: (813) 875-3060

Law Enforcement Assistance Foundation

Contact: Ordway P. Burden

Title: President

Phone: (212) 534-8396

Liberty Federation

Contact: Rev. Jerry Falwell

Title: President

Phone: (804) 528-4112

Maryland Hispanic Chamber of Commerce
Contact: Dr. Luis Queral
Title: President
Phone: (202) 358-7444

Mexican American Foundation
Contact: Tony Valencia
Title: President and CEO
Phone: (619) 287-8687

Mexican American Foundation of Texas
Contact: Brownie Trevino
Title: Chairman
Phone: (214) 337-1046

Mexican-American Opportunity Foundation
Contact: Dionicio Morales
Title: President
Phone: (213) 289-2000

National Association of Evangelicals
Contact: Don Baldwin
Title: Executive Director
Phone: (202) 223-5598

National Association of Pro-America
Contact: Joan Hueter
Title: Chair
Phone: (202) 328-1244

National Border Economic Council
Contact: Charlene Maldonado
Title: Director
Phone: (703) 768-2110

National Center of Hispanic Women
Contact: Dr. Alba Moesser
Title: Chairperson
Phone: (714) 861-8845

National Council of Young Israel
Contact: Rabbi Frank Sturm
Title: Executive Director
Phone: 212/929-1525

National District Attorneys Association
Contact: Jack Yelverton
Title: Executive Director
Phone: (202) 549-9222

National Federation of Republican Women

Contact: Judy Hughes
Title: President
Phone: (202) 547-9341

National Hispanic Association of Construction Enterprises

Contact: Edgar Garcia Smoot
Title: President
Phone: (202) 293-0001

National Hungarian American Federation

Contact: Laszlo Pasztor
Title: Member, Executive Board
Phone: ~~(412) 885-4311~~ (814) 352-7188

National Jewish Coalition

Contact: Chris Gersten
Title: Executive Director
Phone: (202) 797-9000

National Law Enforcement Council

Contact: Don Baldwin
Title: Executive Director
Phone: (202) 223-5598

National Sheriffs' Association

Contact: Cary Bittick
Title: Executive Director
Phone: (202) 836-7827

National Troopers Coalition

Contact: Lt. Johnny Hughes
Title:
Phone: (301) 653-4343

Order Sons of Italy in America

Contact: Sal Ambrosino
Title: Director, Washington Office
Phone: (202) 547-2900

Polish American Congress

Contact: Al Mazewski
Title: President
Phone: (312) 286-0050

Renaissance Women

Contact: Nina May
Title: Chairwoman
Phone: (202) 546-4142

Save Our Schools

Contact:

Title:

Phone:

Society of Former Special Agents of the FBI

Contact: William V. Cleveland

Title: President

Phone: (202) 671-1635

Southern Baptist Convention Public Affairs Committee

Contact: Dr. Adrian Rogers

Title: President

Phone: (901) 725-9777

The Presidential Commission on Broadcasting to Cuba

Contact: Dr. Tirso Del Junco

Title: Director

Phone: (213) 666-5757

U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce

Contact: Hector Barreto

Title: President

Phone: (816) 842-2228

Ukrainian Congress Committee of America

Contact: Myron Wasylyk

Title: Executive Director

Phone: (202) 638-0988

United Families of America

Contact: John Koesters

Title: Acting Executive Director

Phone: (202) 546-1600

United Schools of America

Contact: Dr. Louis Del Rio

Title: Executive Vice President

Phone: (305) 221-8167

Victims Assistance Legal Organization

Contact: Frank Carrington

Title: Executive Director

Phone: (804) 422-2692/428-1825

Washington Dateline

Contact: Bob Goldsborough

Title:

Phone: (202) 543-3719

We The People

Contact: Fred Karger

Title: President

Phone: (213) 208-6777

721 Coalition

Contact: Pat McGuigan

Title: Director, Judicial Reform Project

Phone: (202) 546-3004

(9/24/87)