

November , 2022 Thurs, 3:09 p.m.

Between The Bars
2885 Sanford Ave SW # 30428
Grandville, MI, 49418

RE: <http://betweenthebars.org/blogs/275/>

Dear Friends:

Thank you ever For This priceless
gratis Access to the Limitless
"UNIVERSAL MIND"!!!

Accordingly, I have ENCLOSED
³⁴ pages with Requesting their
Posting?

Thank you Zillion Times!!!

God Bless!

Leon

LEON Irby, DOC # 33802
NEW LISBON Correctional Institution
P.O. Box 189
Phoenix, MD 21131

ENC,

\$ I HOPE

SOMEONE

GETS

MY

MESSAGE

\$

IN

THE

UNIVERSE

!!!

For a seed to achieve its greatest expression,
it must come completely undone.
The shell cracks, its insides come out
and everything changes.
To someone who doesn't understand growth,
it would look like complete destruction.

- Cynthia Ocelli -



DR. WILLIAM COSBY, Ph.d

"BILL"

V.

THE DOBBBS DECISION

THE CHICKENS HAVE

HAVE

COME HOME TO

ROOST

NOW

HOW DOES IT

TASTE IN

YOUR MOUTH

TO THE LADIES

WHO PUNCH AT

ABC, THE VIEW, COM

ATTY. GLORIA ALLRED

AND

THE HOLLYWOOD

ELITE, WHOM

WOULD MOCKED AMERICA'S

DAD'S COURT IS DECISION

grounded upon "substantive due
Process Clause" ONLY A Techni-
cality" !!! SEE below, PP 10-13 of 13

Now READ Dobbs previously
POSTED by THIS Blogger, and
"WEEP", BE THE SENIOR JUSTICE
THOMAS'S Supreme Court
wholly concurred with Your ex-
claimed opinion in overturn-
ing ROE V. WARE (S.Ct. 2022)

I believe Sincerely IN THE Power
OF Prayer; So, I NOW END
With This prayer,
That some Good person

ENSURE That our Dear 'America's
Dad is Eating **his** Sweetest
Cold Dish of JUSTICE "...

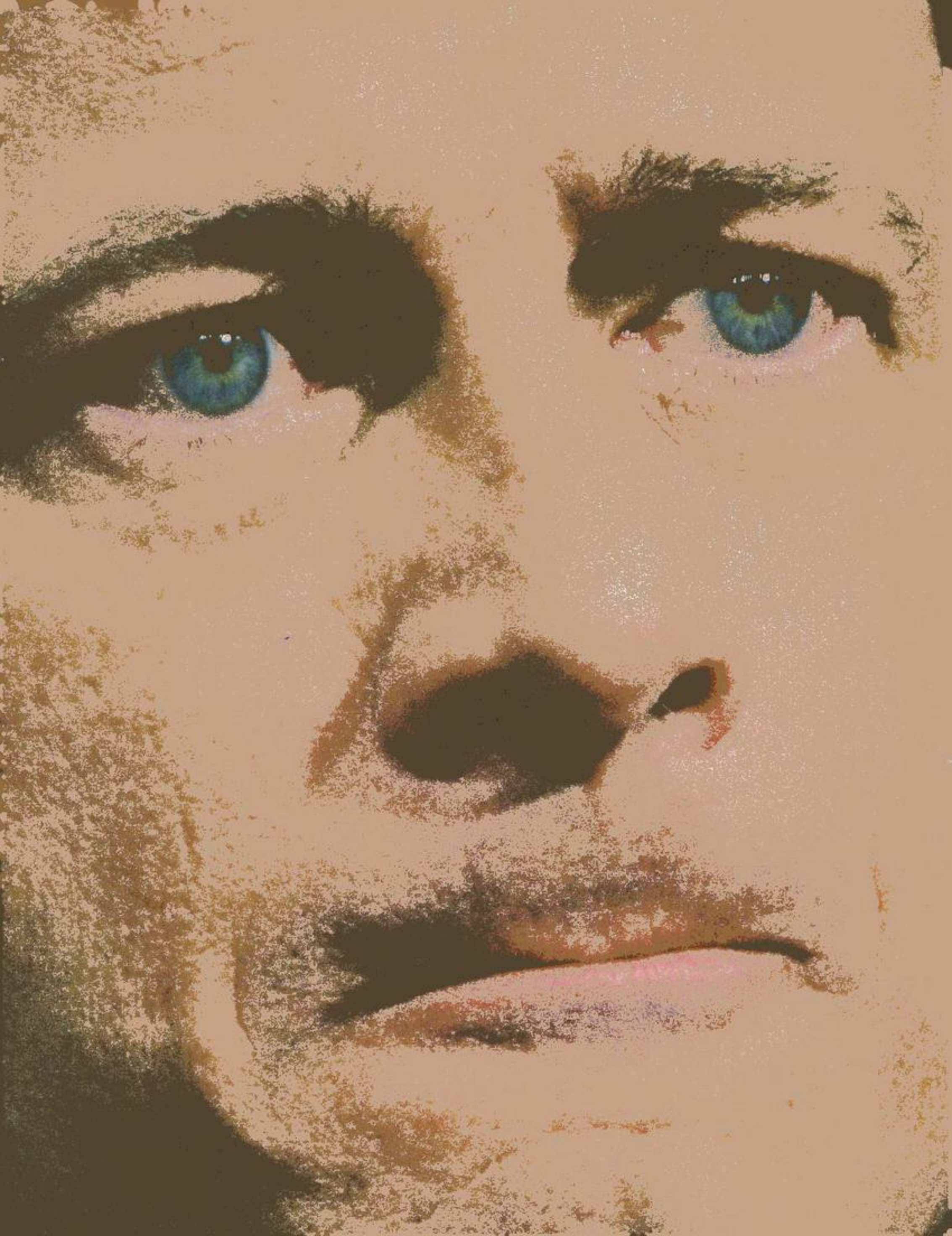
Finally, **Good men, women**
and peoples Remember your Les-
SONS "Good" God don't
Like Ugly!!!

And All be Sure To
EAT YOUR PUDDING

#PINKFLYOD

I'LL BE BACK,

5 of 13



"I have been fighting like hell to protect reproductive freedom in Michigan for months," Whitmer said, "and am grateful for today's lower court ruling declaring our extreme 1931 abortion law unconstitutional."

"The campaign and the governor were very smart to really get out in front of the decision and sue here in state court to try to block the 1931 law from going into effect," said former Michigan Democratic Party chair Brandon Dillon. "And then [they] just continued to be really smart and understand how powerful this issue is and how much it's motivating not just Democratic base voters but also appealing very strongly to the same kind of independent suburban women and others who she needs to put together the coalition she had in 2018."

BY SEPTEMBER, REPUBLICANS had settled on their nominee—Dixon, the kind of candidate Trumpian conspiracy theorists would dream of emerging from a secretive hard-right lab. She has publicly said that Donald Trump won the 2020 election and adamantly opposes abortions in almost all situations. "I know people who are the

product [of that]," Dixon said when asked in an interview about a hypothetical 14-year-old rape victim who became pregnant. She stuck by her stance that there shouldn't be any exceptions in abortion bans outside of medical necessity for the life of the mother. "A life is a life for me."

On September 8, the Michigan Supreme Court ordered that a state constitutional initiative that would directly guarantee abortion access must be on the ballot in November—ensuring abortion would stay a major topic for the state's midterms. Democrats hailed that decision. With strained logic, Dixon tried to play it off as a win for her. "And just like that you can vote for Gretchen Whitmer's abortion agenda & still vote against her," Dixon tweeted.

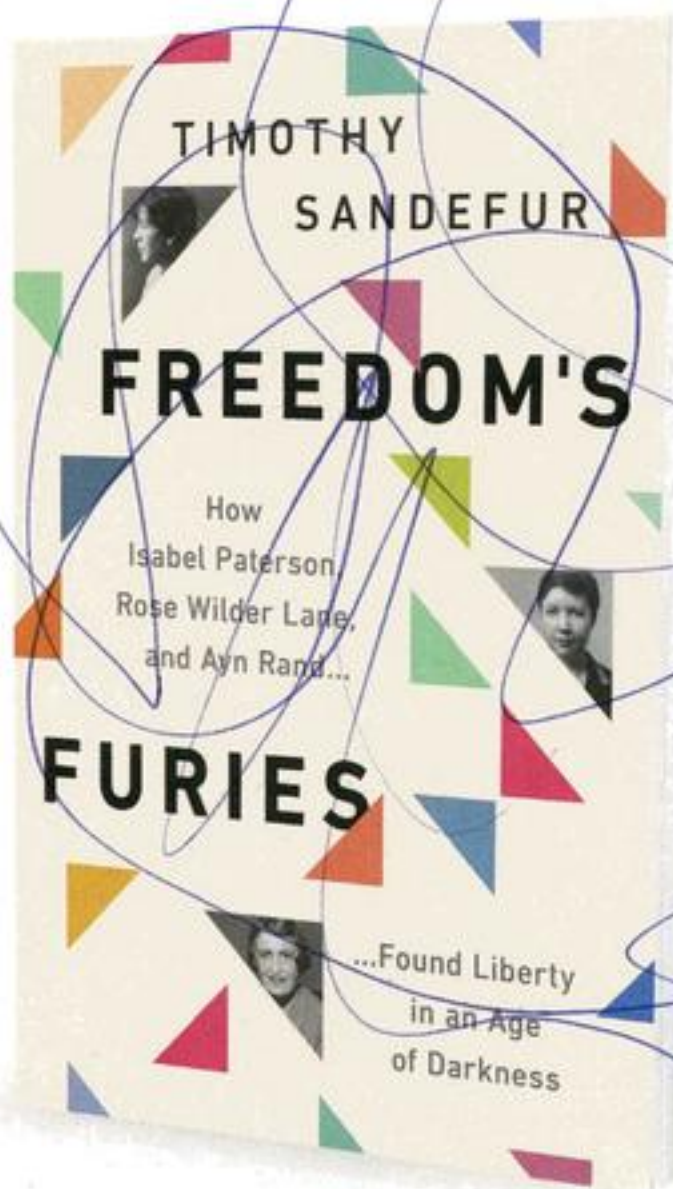
Since securing the nomination, Dixon has struggled in fundraising. Polls have shown her lagging behind Whitmer by as much as 16 percentage points, an even larger margin than Whitmer won with in 2018. In the final months before the election, Whitmer has dominated TV advertising. According to figures obtained by *The New Republic*, as of late September, Whitmer's reelection campaign

had spent \$12 million on advertising, while Dixon's campaign spent only about \$130,000. (Though ads from outside groups have helped close that gap.)

While things could still change ahead of Election Day, Whitmer likely wouldn't have wished that history turned out this way, even if it improved her political standing. She didn't hope the Supreme Court would overturn *Roe*. She never would have wished the world would become afflicted with a deadly pandemic. And she did not pray that some of her most extreme critics would clumsily plot to kidnap her.

All of these events were deadly serious. They were also developments that presented Whitmer as both a sympathetic figure and a guardian of important, basic rights for Michiganders—women in particular. And if she does win her reelection campaign, it would further cement her status as one of the small group of Democrats under the age of 70 who have the checked boxes that people in her party look for in a presidential candidate. **IN**

Daniel Strauss is a staff writer at *The New Republic*.




Coming This Fall from the Cato Institute

In 1943, three books appeared that transformed American politics and laid the groundwork for what became the modern libertarian movement: Isabel Paterson's *The God of the Machine*, Rose Wilder Lane's *The Discovery of Freedom*, and Ayn Rand's *The Fountainhead*. Now, for the first time, author Timothy Sandefur examines the authors' lives, ideas, and influences in the context of their times. Sometimes friends, at other times bitterly estranged, they became known as "the three furies of libertarianism," and their arguments for freedom—made in the depths of the Great Depression and World War II—helped changed the nation forever.

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By tradition, it's called "the Roberts court." But in truth, it's more Samuel Alito's or Clarence Thomas's—or Federalist Society leader Leonard Leo's—court than Roberts's.

How the chief justice lost control of his court

THE CHIEF JUSTICE WHO ISN'T

By Matt Ford

to overturn *Roe* sooner or dismantle affirmative-action programs in college admissions. Somewhat surprisingly, he provided a remarkable fifth vote that paved the way for almost every civil rights victory for gay and lesbian Americans over the past 30 years. The line of precedents culminated in his historic ruling in *Obergefell v. Hodges*, which struck down same-sex marriage bans nationwide.

In that case, the chief justice voted like Thomas, Alito, and Scalia. It also marked the first time where Roberts read his dissent from the bench to express his deep dissatisfaction with the ruling. "Five lawyers have closed the debate and enacted their own vision of marriage as a matter of constitutional law," he wrote. "Stealing this issue from the people will for many cast a cloud over same-sex marriage, making a dramatic social change that much more difficult to accept."

to overturn *Roe* sooner or dismantle affirmative-action programs in college admissions. Somewhat surprisingly, he provided a remarkable fifth vote that paved the way for almost every civil rights victory for gay and lesbian Americans over the past 30 years. The line of precedents culminated in his historic ruling in *Obergefell v. Hodges*, which struck down same-sex marriage bans nationwide.

The stakes were immense. Since the ACA lacked a severability clause, the court could not strike down one provision and leave the rest intact. Practically speaking, it was also thought at the time that the restructured health insurance system would collapse without the mandate to guarantee participation. None of the justices have publicly discussed what transpired behind the scenes while the opinion was drafted. But court-watchers have reported and surmised that, at some point during the deliberation process, Roberts changed his mind and decided that he would uphold the individual mandate.

When the court released its decision in the summer of 2012, many reporters initially thought that the law had been struck down

IN 2009, C-SPAN CONDUCTED a series of interviews with the Supreme Court justices about the judicial branch and its role in the U.S. constitutional order. Justices Clarence Thomas, Stephen Breyer, Samuel Alito, and Sonia Sotomayor all took part, as did the retired Sandra Day O'Connor. The most obvious participant was also the most unlikely one: Chief Justice John Roberts.

Roberts was, at the time, four years into what is now a 17-year tenure on the high court. Though he is nominally the leader of the federal judiciary, his public profile is practically nonexistent. Unlike Thomas, Sotomayor, and Breyer, he has never written a book. Unlike Alito or Justice Elena Kagan, he almost never gives speeches on the court's work. And unlike Antonin Scalia or Ruth Bader Ginsburg, he has made no effort to establish himself as a prominent figure in the national consciousness. More than a few political reporters who covered the Trump impeachment trials. over

when they read that Roberts, writing for a majority, had found that it violated the Commerce Clause. What they missed was the part where he went on to say that it was a valid use of Congress's taxation powers, since the penalty for not complying with the individual mandate was collected by the Internal Revenue Service. The other four conservative justices made clear their deep opposition to the ruling with a rare joint dissent, one that reads like the majority opinion that would have been released but for Roberts's reversal.

To say that conservatives outside the court were livid with Roberts's perceived betrayal would be an understatement. "The Constitution does not give the Court the power to rewrite statutes, and Roberts and his colleagues have therefore done violence to it," *National Review* complained in an editorial. "Justice Kennedy should be proud of himself for sticking to his principles, in light of Justice Roberts' bullshit!" tweeted future President Donald Trump. "Congratulations to John Roberts for making Americans hate the Supreme Court because of his BS," he later added.

Such past departures from conservative orthodoxy notwithstanding, it would be easy to overstate Roberts's divergence from his colleagues these days. According to statistics collected by SCOTUSblog, the chief justice tended to vote with the other conservative justices between 80 and 100 percent of the time in argued and decided cases last term. There is some variance in those numbers—Roberts voted with Kavanaugh 100 percent of the time, while voting with Thomas only 78 percent of the time—but they still suggest that he often shares his two colleagues' overarching philosophy. Roberts's most frequent voting partner among the liberals last term was Justice Elena Kagan, and they voted together in only 63 percent of cases.

At the same time, there are signs that the court's other conservatives have less confidence in and camaraderie with him than before. Earlier this year, after the leak of Alito's draft majority opinion in *Dobbs*, Clarence Thomas spoke fondly of the "fabulous court" that he had joined under Chief Justice William Rehnquist. That bench was unusually stable, with the same nine justices working together from 1994 to 2005. "We trusted each other," Thomas told an audience. "We may have been a dysfunctional family, but we were a family, and we loved it." He noted that that period had ended after Rehnquist's death in 2005, and most observers took Thomas's time frame as an implicit jab at the man who took Rehnquist's place.

"Roberts is just one of the nine, and except for some of his formal powers, I think he's likely to be the loneliest of the nine, and I don't think his personality is that of the loner," Sanford Levinson, a University of Texas Law School professor, told me. "He's not Scalia, or Thomas, who I think really loved writing lone dissents, or Rehnquist, who before he became chief justice wrote a fair number of lone dissents. I think that Roberts views himself more as a team player, and somebody who is skilled in putting together a functioning team." And on the current court, Levinson continued, "He's not that."

THERE WASN'T ALWAYS a gulf between Roberts and the right. In some ways, his legal career is a reflection of legal conservatives' ascent: from the academic and political wilderness, to the first encounter with power during the Reagan revolution, and finally to entrenchment within the courts during George W. Bush's presidency. And while the chief justice may not have embraced all of

the movement's priorities along the way, he has been resolutely firm on one of them: how the U.S. legal system thinks about race.

The conservative legal movement, contrary to some liberal caricatures, is not a monolithic body. The Federalist Society does not give marching orders to Republican-appointed judges or grow prospective Supreme Court nominees in giant vats in its basement. It is a collection of right-wing public-interest law firms; it is a social network of conservative and libertarian legal professionals; it is rooted in think tanks and law schools where adherents develop and refine their legal theories.

The movement itself is rooted in conservative reaction to the liberalism of the Warren court era, as well as a sense of exclusion from institutions where liberals were dominant. "One of the most important things that holds all this group together is they all have some, often different reasons, to have a problem with the American left, to find the left threatening to them," Steven Teles, a political science professor at Johns Hopkins University who studied the conservative legal movement, told me. "Now they're often threatening to very different things, and in some cases even mutually incompatible things. But they all have that same source, where the thing they care about most is threatened by liberal power."

Roberts, a Buffalo, New York, native, had a taste of this when he attended Harvard as an undergraduate and a law school student in the 1970s. During his confirmation process in 2005, *The New York Times* spoke with classmates who described him as one of a handful of conservatives on a campus that was, at the time, predominantly filled with liberals and radical leftists. Roberts, by their account, was deeply informed by his conservatism but also showed a willingness to be persuaded by legal argumentation.

After graduating, he clerked first for Judge Henry Friendly, one of the most respected American jurists of the twentieth century, and Associate Justice William Rehnquist. After clerking for the future chief justice, he became one of the many young conservative lawyers who joined the Reagan administration in 1981. The Reagan Justice Department became home to lawyers who would shape the next few decades of the conservative legal movement, bridging the gap between its Nixon-era origins and its ascendancy in the George W. Bush years. While the movement's early figures—Robert Bork, Antonin Scalia, and others—took federal judgeships, younger acolytes held other positions within the executive branch to make movement conservatism a legal reality.

At a Reagan Library event in 2006, Roberts described his work in this period by referring to Justice Robert H. Jackson, the middle-of-the-road liberal elevated to the bench by FDR and, interestingly, one of Roberts's judicial heroes. "A particular story that [Jackson] liked to tell [was] of the three stonemasons. The passerby came upon three stonemasons all doing the same thing, and he asked the first one what he was doing, and the person said, 'I'm making a living.' He asked the second one what he was doing, and he said, 'I'm laying those bricks according to this pattern.' And he came to the third who was doing the same thing and he said, 'What are you doing?' And the man looked up and said, 'I am building a cathedral.'"

"Jackson's point was one that was brought home to me when looking over these memos is that many, many mundane tasks go into great enterprises," Roberts continued. "Many of us on the White House staff, maybe most of us, spent a lot of time doing very mundane things. We were laying an awful lot of bricks. But President Reagan never let us forget that what we were doing was building a cathedral, that we were part of a greater enterprise."

The remainder of the Roberts era may be defined by a revolution that has outpaced one of its former leaders. Will the chief justice's legacy now be a divided country and a discredited court?

Roberts's portfolio at the Justice Department involved, among other things, the Civil Rights Division, which is tasked with enforcing federal voting rights and civil rights laws across the country. For almost all of Reagan's administration, the division was headed by William Bradford Reynolds, a New England-born lawyer whose tenure focused more on narrowing civil rights laws than on enforcing them. Conservatives hailed him for steering the department away from what they saw as special treatment or non-neutral approaches to civil rights enforcement.

To his many critics, however, Reynolds was less of a friendly interlocutor on civil rights goals and more of a fierce adversary of them. "Either Mr. Reynolds doesn't understand what civil rights is all about or he is not interested in the pursuit of equality," Nicholas Katzenbach, who served as attorney general in the Johnson administration, said in a *Washington Post* profile of Reynolds in 1988. "Rights for Americans seems to him to mean rights for white males." Citing Reynolds's positions on those issues, the Senate Judiciary Committee rejected Reagan's bid to promote him to the number three spot inside the Justice Department.

In the early 1980s, Congress debated reauthorizing and amending the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The VRA was among the most consequential pieces of federal legislation in the twentieth century, as well as a cornerstone of America's full transition to multiracial democracy during the Second Reconstruction. One of the law's core pillars, Section 2, established a nationwide ban on racial discrimination in voting laws. Members of Congress hoped to strengthen the provision to allow plaintiffs to sue over discriminatory election laws more easily.

That proposal drew some pushback from within the Reagan administration, with Roberts as the tip of the spear. In a memo for his boss at the time, Roberts laid out a case for opposing the changes. "The House-passed version of Section 2 would in essence establish a 'right' in racial and language minorities to electoral representation proportional to their population in the community," he wrote. "Violations of Section 2 should not be made too easy to prove, since they provide a basis for the most intrusive interference imaginable by federal courts into state and local processes."

Roberts's argument was framed around the effects that the changes would have on the states and on elections, not on voters themselves who faced discriminatory laws and practices. "An effects test for Section 2 could also lead to a quota system in electoral politics, as the president himself recognized," Roberts wrote in a memo for the attorney general, drawing upon familiar imagery from affirmative-action debates at the time. "Just as we oppose quotas in employment and education, so too we oppose them in elections."

Another pillar of the Voting Rights Act was found in Sections 4 and 5. The provisions required some jurisdictions with histories of severe racial discrimination in elections to obtain approval, or "preclearance," from the federal government before changing

their voting laws or policies. This was strong medicine aimed to cure the nation—and especially the South—of Jim Crow voting laws. It worked, and voter registration rates in the South quickly climbed. Congress renewed the law most recently in 2006 by an overwhelming majority in the House and a unanimous vote in the Senate.

But even that historic vote in Congress was not enough to save it from the Supreme Court when Roberts got there. In a 2009 case that ultimately upheld preclearance, the chief justice suggested that the practice might no longer pass constitutional muster. That laid the groundwork for conservative legal activists to bring the challenge that resulted in *Shelby County v. Holder* in 2013. At oral arguments, the conservative justices framed the VRA's preclearance provisions as a temporary measure that was no longer needed. Some members of the court suggested that they had to act because Congress itself would never overturn a law that was so popular—a remarkable inversion of how democratic systems are supposed to work. Antonin Scalia infamously referred to the Voting Rights Act as a "racial entitlement" during oral arguments, echoing Roberts's criticism of the VRA amendments proposed in Congress nearly three decades earlier.

It was Roberts himself who wrote the majority opinion in *Shelby County*, claiming that the VRA's preclearance formula had violated the "equal sovereignty" of the states. "Our country has changed, and while any racial discrimination in voting is too much, Congress must ensure that the legislation it passes to remedy that problem speaks to current conditions," he wrote in his opinion for the court. Within 24 hours, multiple Republican-led states in the South said they would use the end of preclearance to pass new, more restrictive voter-ID laws.

Two cases this term will give Roberts another chance to extirpate considerations of race from U.S. constitutional law. In a pair of lawsuits brought by the conservative Students for Fair Admissions group, the court is expected to ban affirmative-action programs for college admissions. And in *Merrill v. Milligan*, the court could use a dispute over Alabama's congressional districts to further narrow Section 2 of the VRA and make it harder to bring racial-gerrymandering claims in federal court. The conservative majority, with Roberts's vote, already took steps to narrow Section 2 in *Brnovich v. Democratic National Committee* last year by giving states more latitude to pass restrictive voting laws.

The end goal appears to be a legal system that allows for virtually no consideration of race in public policy, even as a remedy for disparities and historical discrimination. Roberts himself summed up the approach in a 2007 case involving the Seattle school system, where the justices held that courts could no longer use race as a factor in school desegregation plans in almost all circumstances. "The way to stop discrimination on the basis of race is to stop discriminating on the basis of race," Roberts concluded. Since

By most accounts, Roberts's influence over his fellow conservatives began to wane in 2012. That spring, the court heard oral arguments on the constitutionality of the Affordable Care Act, the landmark health care legislation and the signature achievement of President Barack Obama's domestic-policy agenda.

then, Seattle schools have only grown more racially segregated. Roberts's zeal to prevent what he saw as special carve-outs, whether in schools or elections, keeps him firmly anchored as part of the conservative legal movement.

SO THEN WHY DOES the chief justice sometimes break ranks with his ideological kin in big cases? When explaining Roberts's occasional tendency to vote against movement conservative interests, legal observers often describe him as an "institutionalist." The chief justice is zigging instead of zagging, so the reasoning goes, to preserve public confidence in the Supreme Court as an impartial arbiter of the law. In this telling, Roberts is more consciously performing the role of the swing justice, so to speak, that moderates like Lewis Powell, Sandra Day O'Connor, and Anthony Kennedy performed as a matter of judicial philosophy.

"Everybody expected him to be very conservative," Eugene Volokh, a UCLA School of Law professor who regularly blogs about the court, told me. "My sense is everybody also expected him to be somebody who really kind of wanted to maintain the reputation, institutional stability, institutional legacy of the U.S. Supreme Court. I think almost all chief justices do, but I think that was particularly clear from him."

Some legal scholars, such as Huq, have questioned the label and pointed to destabilizing rulings like *Shelby County* as evidence to the contrary. Roberts has also notably never described himself as an institutionalist. If anything, he is publicly straightforward on the necessity for Americans to accept Supreme Court rulings as they are given. "If the court doesn't retain its legitimate function of interpreting the Constitution, I'm not sure who would take up that mantle," he said at a conference led by the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals in September. "You don't want the political branches telling you what the law is, and you don't want public opinion to be the guide about what the appropriate decision is."

Legitimacy, at least when it comes to the Supreme Court, can be a tricky thing to quantify. Like any other judge or court, the justices aren't strictly supposed to be in step with public opinion, even if the general expectation is that they don't stray too far from it. Wittes noted that nobody is seriously talking about defying the court or ignoring its orders; most reform plans on the left instead hope to add more seats to it. "It's his job to say those things and to stand up for his branch," he told me, referring to Roberts's 10th Circuit remarks. "His actions speak louder than his words, frankly."

Those remarks drew some criticism from outside observers—and perhaps, at least implicitly, from some of Roberts's colleagues as well. At a California lawyers' group event a few days later,

Sotomayor noted that when the court overturned long-standing precedents, there would inevitably be some "discomfort" in society. "When the court does upend precedent, in situations in which the public may view it as active in political arenas, there's going to be some question about the court's legitimacy," she explained. Kagan, at a separate event at a university in Rhode Island, warned against the Supreme Court "wandering around just inserting itself into every hot button issue in America."

Indeed, if *NFIB v. Sebellius* was the first breach in Roberts's camaraderie with his fellow conservatives, then his recent handling of abortion cases may have been the ultimate one. The chief justice was not a friend of *Roe v. Wade* when he joined the court or for many years thereafter, and he consistently voted in cases to uphold abortion restrictions and narrow *Roe*'s scope. Starting in 2020, however, he began to deviate from that path. In 2020, he voted to strike down a restrictive Louisiana abortion law that was functionally similar to one struck down by the court in 2016, even though he had voted against it then.

Texas's now-infamous bounty law, which allows almost anyone to sue anyone who "aids or abets" an abortion in that state for at least \$10,000 in damages, revealed an even deeper fissure between Roberts and the other conservatives. Federal courts had routinely struck down abortion bans in the years before *Roe* was overturned. To get around this hurdle, Texas lawmakers structured the law to make it virtually impossible for anyone to challenge it using the typical causes of action in federal court. The result was a broad chilling effect on abortion access in the state—and a blueprint for nullifying what was then a federal constitutional right without a feasible way for the courts to prevent it.

Roberts, perhaps recognizing the broader dangers of this tactic, wanted the court to enjoin the bounty law while legal challenges against it unfolded, only to be outvoted. "I would grant preliminary relief to preserve the status quo ante—before the law went into effect—so that the courts may consider whether a state can avoid responsibility for its laws in such a manner," he said in a dissenting opinion when the case reached the court's shadow docket last September. But the court's other five conservatives voted the other way and effectively nullified *Roe v. Wade*, at least for one state, roughly nine months before they finished the job.

Dobbs may represent the nadir—so far—of Roberts's influence over his colleagues to steer a middle-of-the-road outcome. He argued for the court to decide the case on narrower grounds, upholding the Mississippi law but leaving the court's abortion precedents largely intact. "I would take a more measured course," Roberts declared. "I agree with the Court that the viability line established by *Roe* and *Casey* [which upheld *Roe*] should be



Roberts greeted Donald Trump at the 2020 State of the Union address, held just as Trump's first impeachment trial, over which Roberts presided, was wrapping up.

discarded under a straightforward stare decisis analysis. That line never made any sense. Our abortion precedents describe the right at issue as a woman's right to choose to terminate her pregnancy. That right should therefore extend far enough to ensure a reasonable opportunity to choose, but need not extend any further—certainly not all the way to viability."

His fellow conservatives rejected both his outcome and his approach outright. "In sum, the concurrence's quest for a middle way would only put off the day when we would be forced to confront the question we now decide," Alito wrote for the court. "The turmoil wrought by *Roe* and *Casey* would be prolonged. It is far better—for this Court and the country—to face up to the real issue without further delay." We are going to overturn *Roe* one way or another, Alito and his colleagues may well have thought, so why not do it today? The three dissenting liberal justices did not join Roberts, either; they chose instead to release a joint opinion that lamented the majority opinion while ignoring Roberts's concurrence.

There are some indications that the outcome in *Dobbs* may not have been completely preordained. CNN's Joan Biskupic, a veteran Supreme Court reporter, wrote in July that Roberts had tried to persuade some of his fellow conservatives, most notably Kavanaugh, to adopt the more incremental approach laid out in what became the chief justice's concurring opinion. Those efforts were apparently serious enough that other conservatives on the court started talking: An April editorial in *The Wall Street Journal* warned that Roberts was lobbying the others behind the scenes. Then someone—a clerk, a court employee, or maybe even one of the justices—leaked a draft of Alito's majority opinion to *Politico*. Roberts publicly denounced the leak the following day and opened an investigation into the unprecedented breach. According to Biskupic, the leak also firmly shut the door on any possible compromise from the chief justice.

Perhaps the most ominous aspect of the ruling was a concurring opinion written by Thomas. In it, he took aim at a broader assortment of constitutional rights beyond abortion. Under a

doctrine known as substantive due process, the Supreme Court has previously ruled that certain constitutional rights exist even if they are not explicitly protected by the Constitution's text or structure. This approach was part of the basis for the court's abortion rights jurisprudence. It also influenced rulings that protect contraceptive access, sexual intimacy, marriage equality, and more.

Alito stated at multiple points in the court's majority opinion that the *Dobbs* ruling did not itself unsettle any of those precedents. Thomas, writing in his concurrence, agreed but said the justices should unsettle them next. "For that reason, in future cases, we should reconsider all of this Court's substantive due process precedents, including *Griswold*, *Lawrence*, and *Obergefell*," Thomas explained. "Because any substantive due process decision is 'demonstrably erroneous,'" he continued, "we have a duty to 'correct the error' established in those precedents."

It remains to be seen whether the rest of Roberts's colleagues are on board with "reconsidering" these rulings, or even if cases will be brought to the Supreme Court that could give them the chance. Though he strenuously dissented from *Obergefell* in 2015, Roberts does not appear to be dogmatically opposed to LGBT rights: He gave a sixth vote to Justice Neil Gorsuch's landmark ruling in 2020 that extended federal workplace-discrimination protections to gay and transgender workers. And his abortion votes since 2020 also showed some deference to precedent in the face of a resurgent conservative bloc that sought to overturn them.

IT MAY BE MORE ACCURATE to describe this upcoming era not as the Roberts court, but as something else. Perhaps it will turn out to be the Alito court, reflecting that justice's role at the forefront of publicly defending the court on the shadow docket and in religious freedom cases, as well as for writing *Dobbs* itself. Maybe future scholars will label it the Thomas court for his role as the conservatives' intellectual leader who had prepared for this moment for almost three decades. Some observers might even be tempted to call it the Leonard Leo court, in recognition of that Federalist Society official's central role in nominating and confirming most of the current conservative members of the court.

The right's successes, however, could produce a backlash from the left similar to the post-Warren court one that helped birth the conservative legal movement a half-century ago. "The history of the Supreme Court getting way out of step with public opinion is a history of the Supreme Court getting its ass kicked, not the other way around," Wittes told me. "Everybody forgets this, but the famed court-packing battle which Roosevelt lost in 1937; but by 1939 and 1940, [those he had appointed] had taken over the court. There are some young people on the Supreme Court, but the actuarial tables never favor the longevity of any group of nine adults sitting together."

Until then, Roberts will still ultimately be an active participant in conservative victories at the court for the foreseeable future, especially when it comes to race, religion, and regulatory power. But if the Supreme Court's other conservatives are undeterred by the decline in public support for the court and eager to reshape Americans' privacy and intimacy rights, then Roberts may be helpless to stop his colleagues from turning the institution into one of the most unpopular and revanchist iterations of the high court in U.S. history. **INR**

Matt Ford is a staff writer at The New Republic.



April 21, 2007

Saturday

2:57 P.M.

RECEIVED
APR 25 REC'D

HON. ROSALYN WASHINGTON
165 N. McKnight Rd Suite #208
St. Paul, MN. 55119-4682

COPY

Dear Ms. Washington:

I welcome your informative, instructive and well reasoned response letter of April 16, 2007.

To paraphrase "Boogey" in Casablanca, I pray this is the beginning of a beautiful "Friendship"!!

"In the end, we will remember
Not the words of our enemies
but the silence of our friends!"

- MLK, Jr

"Somebody would say to me:
I pray that for the rest of the time
that you have left on this earth,
whether you spend it in prison or
out, that you do something more, 14

Page Two 3:18 p.m.

Positive than to defend a Negative!"

"Dr. William Cosby, Jr., Ph.D is not
a 'Negative', he is a human being!
And in defending him, we defend
our own humanity!"

Here From Supermax (NSPF) (Cage
Echo RI 103, there will be NO
"Stone" casting over the wall!

Somebody would say: "After you
quote that Mr. Libby give me the 411 on
how many people you are currently
standing in the gap for or have stood
in the gap for in the past 30 something
years!"

I respond on the presumption
of understanding the enquiry!

First, we must acknowledge
that prisons are evil abodes on
our Earth, then I hope other fair-
minded persons would acknowledge
that, under the circumstances I was

blessed to serve under God, applying my Legal Skills (circa 1992 certified Paralegal) to improve their conditions of confinement; to in some case obtain monetary awards; to Freedom from imprisonment in one case (circa 1994) --- We were on Air Force Justice from 1973-1994 (SXR) Irby v. Israel, 291 N.W.2d 643 (Wis. App. 1980); Irby v. Bahlitch, 489 N.W.2d 713 (Ct. App. 1992); Irby v. Macht, 522 N.W.2d 9 (Wis. 1994), etc.

But to recite our times have devolved --- In these times Chicago Street Gangs (Gangster Disciples) "Serve as the All-Caucasian Staff Agent Provocateur" to Retaliate against me in evil forms of assaults (1988) (1992) (1992) and (1993) and Threats (1995) and Psychological Torture and set-up Conduct Reports from circa 1978 to present. E.g. Lindell v. Houser, 442 F.3d 1033 (7th Cir. 2006)

Page Four 4:12 p.m.

Ms. Washington:

Dr. Cosby is Not "perfect"
Nor is his Message "absolute", but
We all acknowledge the exist of a
Crisis - - - "Problem"!!!

We have some Very, Very Corrupt,
immoral, UNethical; ignorant, lacking
racial and gender identity and God
KNOWS what else "Hip hop generation"
preaching about our vulnerable com-
munity IN these times!! How long!!

Last year IN Milwaukee twenty
of these evildoers raped an eleven
years old child! I imagine this...
twenty times each evildoer saw
his dastardly abomination - but
not one of this twenty is report-
ed to have Screamed out: "Enough
is Enough!"

There are problems!!

MR. Ward Connelly, (12-22-
2006) was IN Madison at U.W. School
Continuing his National Scheme to
END Affirmative Action IN Education

Page Five 4:48 P.M.

PBS Channel 21 "Here AND NOW"
Friday 7:30 P.M. ... UNSUCCESSFULLY at
this time.
That's a Problem!!

MR. John Ridley advocate the genocidal
termination of "The Manifesto of As-
CENDANCY for the Modern American
Nigger" [Esquire December 2000,
p. 106] of our race!
That's a Problem!!!

Is there anything New under the
SUN:

| | | |
|---------------------|----|----------------------|
| Sojourner Truth | V. | Frederick Douglass |
| William E. DuBois | V. | Booker T. Washington |
| William E. DuBois | V. | Marcus Garvey |
| Martin L. King, Jr. | V. | Malcolm X |
| Louis Farrakhan | V. | Jessie L. Jackson |
| Elvis Hips | V. | Gangsta Rap Lips |

How long "Lips", We need "hands"
at the "plow" of Salvation!

We know as African American

Page SIX 6:18 P.M.

men, as a Group, We Must Stand
With our African Queen, side
by side, for as your fair letter
Expose — she has stood-up
alone too long — to work to
solve these Life and death
Dilemma!!!!

Please do not give-up on
MR. Cosby Nor me?! How many
times shall I forgive my brother?

Please remember how Saul
was not always Paul; John Newton
was not always "Amazing Grace";
"Mike" was not always Martin Luther
King, Jr., Nor Malcolm Little always
Malik Shabazz, and as Jessie said
"God is not finished with me yet!"

Now what happened to the good
ole communal days when without
an introduction we were "Sister
Washington" and "Brother Erby"

God bless us all!

Your Brother Erby. 19

Page six 6:40 P.M.

LEON I R BX

DOC# 033802-A)

WSPF-E-103

P.O. BOX 9900

BOSCOBEL, WI. 53805-0901

LEON IRBY
DOC#033802-A1
WSPF-E-103
P.O. BOX 9900
Boscobel, WI. 53805-0901



HON. ROSALYN WASHINGTON
165 N. MCKNIGHT RD Suite #208
ST. PAUL, MN. 55119-4682

55119+4654-99 C026



4/30

21

Air Force Officer Missing For 35 Years Found Living In California

FAIRFIELD (CNN) — A US Air Force officer with top-secret clearance who went missing in 1983 has been living under an assumed name in California, according to the Air Force Office of Special Investigations. Capt. William Howard Hughes Jr. disappeared in July of 1983 after returning from duty in Europe. He was last seen in New Mexico withdrawing \$28,500 from his bank account at 19 different branch locations, the Air Force said in a statement. Interviews with Hughes' friends and associates and inquiries with law enforcement agencies in the US and abroad failed to locate him, the statement said, and he was formally declared a deserter on December 9, 1983.

Then just a few days ago, the mystery that began more than three decades ago came to an end.

"On June 5, during a passport fraud investigation, the US Department of State's Diplomatic Security Service interviewed an individual claiming to be Barry O'Beirne. After being confronted with inconsistencies about his identity, the individual admitted his true name was William Howard Hughes Jr., and that he deserted from the US Air Force in 1983," the Air Force said.

"Capt. Hughes claimed that in 1983 he was depressed about being in the Air Force so he left, created the fictitious identity of O'Beirne and has been living in California ever since." Special agents from Travis Air Force Base took Hughes into custody at his California home Wednesday and he is being held at the base, the Air Force said. It is unclear what charges he faces.

Hughes' neighbors in Daly City, California, told CNN he went by the name "Tim" and that he lived with a woman they said they believed to be his wife. The neighbors said he was a friendly guy who loved the San Francisco Giants, and that they were all stunned by the news of his past. The Air Force said that Hughes had a "Top Secret/Single Scope Background Investigation" clearance at the time of his disappearance.

His mysterious disappearance during the Cold War spurred theories that he had been abducted by the Soviet Union or defected to what was then known as the USSR to work against the US.

In 1985 and 1986, several French and American rocket ships failed to launch properly and subsequently exploded, including the Challenger space shuttle. In the wake of those disasters, Los Angeles Times journalist Tad Szulc reported in July of 1986 that intelligence officers believed the rockets may have been sabotaged with Hughes' help. "(Intelligence officers) see a clear link between Hughes and possible sabotage of the American and French launches," the newspaper reported then.

"He is worth his weight in gold to the Russians in terms of future 'Star Wars,' if we

have them," one intelligence officer told the Times.

Hughes' sister, Christine Hughes, told the Associated Press in a January 1984 article that the family believed he had been abducted, according to the Albuquerque Journal.

Supreme Court allows Ohio, other state voter purges

WASHINGTON (AP) — States can target people who haven't cast ballots in a while in efforts to purge their voting rolls, the Supreme Court ruled Monday in a case that has drawn wide attention amid stark partisan divisions and the approach of the 2018 elections.

By a 5-4 vote that split the conservative and liberal justices, the court rejected arguments in a case from Ohio that the practice violates a federal law intended to increase the ranks of registered voters. A handful of other states also use voters' inactivity to trigger processes that could lead to their removal from the voting rolls.

Justice Samuel Alito said for the court that Ohio is complying with the 1993 National Voter Registration Act. He was joined by his four conservative colleagues in an opinion that drew praise from Republican officials and conservative scholars.

The four liberal justices dissented, and civil rights groups and some Democrats warned that more Republican-led states could enact voter purges similar to Ohio's.

Ohio is of particular interest nationally because it is one of the larger swing states in the country with the potential to determine the outcome of presidential elections. But partisan fights over ballot access are playing out across the country. Democrats have accused Republicans of trying to suppress votes from minorities and poorer people who tend to vote for Democrats. Republicans have argued that they are trying to promote ballot integrity and prevent voter fraud.

Ohio's contested voter purge stems from an inoffensive requirement in federal law that states have to make an effort to keep their voter rolls in good shape by removing people who have moved or died.

But Ohio pursues its goal more aggressively than most, relying on two things: voter inactivity over six years encompassing three federal elections and the failure to return a card, sent after the first missed election, asking people to confirm that they have not moved and continue to be eligible to vote. Voters who return the card or show up to vote over the next four years after they receive it remain registered. If they do nothing, their names eventually fall off the list of registered voters.

The case hinged on a provision of the voter registration law that prohibits removing someone from the voting rolls "by reason of the person's failure to vote."

Alito said that the two factors show that Ohio "does not strike any registrant solely by reason of the failure to vote."

Justice Stephen Breyer, countered in his dissent: "In my view, Ohio's program does just that." Breyer said many people received mailings that they discard without looking at them. Failure to return the notice "shows nothing at all that is statutorily significant," he wrote.

In a separate dissent, Justice Sonia Sotomayor said Congress enacted the voter registration law "against the backdrop of substantial efforts by states to disenfranchise low-income and minority voters." The court's decision essentially endorses "the very purging that Congress expressly sought to protect against," Sotomayor wrote.

Richard Hasen, an election law expert at the University of California at Irvine, called the case "a close question of statutory interpretation." Hasen said the lawsuit the court resolved Monday did not involve allegations of discrimination against minority voters, and he suggested the laws in Ohio and other states could be vulnerable to a legal challenge on those grounds.

Civil rights groups said the court should be focused on making it easier for people to vote, not allowing states to put up roadblocks to casting ballots.

"With the midterm election season now underway, the court's ruling demands heightened levels of vigilance as we anticipate that officials will read this ruling as a green light for loosely purging the registration rolls in their community," said Kristen Clarke, president and executive director of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law.

Ohio has used voters' inactivity to trigger the removal process since 1994, although groups representing voters did not sue the Republican secretary of state, Jon Husted, until 2016. As part of the lawsuit, a judge last year ordered the state to count 7,515 ballots cast by people whose names had been removed from the voter rolls.

Husted called the decision "a victory for electoral integrity." He is running for lieutenant governor this November on the Republican ticket headed by Mike DeWine, the current attorney general.

Adding to the tension in the case, the Trump administration reversed the position taken by the Obama administration and backed Ohio's method for purging voters.

Last week, President Donald Trump said he would nominate Eric Murphy, the Ohio lawyer who argued the case on the state's behalf, to a seat on the Cincinnati-based 6th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. A three-judge panel on that court had ruled 2-1 that Ohio's practice was illegal.

Rare river sinkhole created whirlpool, led to man's death

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. (AP) — A kayaker bypassed a part of an Arkansas scenic river known as Dead Man's Curve during a weekend trip, but a rare sinkhole created a whirlpool along his alternate channel and dragged him to his death.

Donald Wright, 64, from Searcy, Arkansas, died Saturday at Saddler Falls along the Spring River, said Keith Stephens, a spokesman for the Arkansas Game and Fish Commission. At least one other person was injured.

Sinkholes are common in the northern half of Arkansas, where subterranean limestone erodes away easily. Small whirlpools are common where bits of land extend into waterways, but having a sinkhole open a whirlpool in the middle of a stream is uncommon.

"I've been here for 40 years. This is the first one I've ever heard forming in a river like this," said Bill Prior, a geologist supervisor at the Arkansas Geological Survey.

THE RIVER

The Spring River was flowing normally Saturday — fed by Mammoth Spring, the second-largest spring in the Ozark Mountains. Its steady flow, at about 356 cubic feet per second (enough to fill an Olympic-sized swimming pool every four minutes), makes it desirable for basic training on kayaks and canoes.

"Classes are often held on the Spring River because Mammoth Spring has such a reliable flow," said Jonathan Gillip, field operations chief for surface water at the U.S. Geological Survey office in Little Rock.

Dead Man's Curve has the occasional switchback, falls and pools, but isn't terribly turbulent, said Rocky McCollum, owner of Spring River Camp and Canoe. Boaters avoid it mainly to take a short cut around the switchbacks — but doing so Saturday put them on a portion of the stream where the river bed gave way.

"There are thousands of sinkholes across the northern part of the state," Gillip said. "This is an active one that people happened to see collapse, and it had a traumatic impact."

THE WHIRLPOOL

Saturday's whirlpool was both instantaneous and thousands of years in the making. The Spring River eroded harder rock above an underground cavity, and when the river bed gave way, it created a vacuum that sucked the water in a "pretty strong vortex," Prior said. Rachel Ratliff, Rocky McCollum's daughter, rented canoes to Wright's group and said Wright was wearing a life jacket and was an experienced kayaker. "But the river is stronger than any life jacket there is," she said.

If the sinkhole system were closed, the water would drain into the cavity and eventually refill enough to kill the whirlpool. But because there's no change at the river gauge at Hardy, about 20 miles (32 kilometers) downstream, the whirlpool is likely diverting water back into the river, Gillip said.

IMPACT ON TOURISM

Ratliff has 60 boats, all of which she rented out Saturday before the accident. She said she's seen no cancellations yet for the upcoming weekend, though she's not sure word has gotten out. People have been calling

regularly to check on the safety of their route and to change it if they were uncomfortable. The Spring River, 150 miles (240 kilometers) northeast of Little Rock, remains open. The Arkansas Game and Fish Commission warned prospective boaters to stay away from the whirlpool, which is marked off by buoys and ropes.

New wildfire erupts near Colorado ski resorts, houses

DENVER (AP) — A wildfire erupted Tuesday in an area of Colorado known for its ski resorts, forcing the evacuation of more than 1,300 homes and marking the latest in a series of blazes that have ignited in the drought-stricken U.S. West.

The fire in central Colorado had burned only about 100 acres but was dangerously close to two densely populated housing developments near the town of Silverthorne, about 60 miles (97 kilometers) west of Denver.

"This area, there is a lot of homes that are pretty tightly packed together," U.S. Forest Service spokesman Adam Bianchi said.

"Being a resort town, there's a need for a lot of housing and there's only so much available space for good land to build on." Bianchi said the Buffalo Fire had come to within about 200 yards (183 meters) of a subdivision that includes condos, apartments and pricey homes. The closest ski resort to the fire, Keystone, is about 8 miles (12.8 kilometers) away and across a large reservoir. About 50 firefighters were battling the blaze initially, but more were on the way, along with heavy air tankers and helicopters.

"I was absolutely shocked by how fast it spread," Silverthorne resident Jake Schulman told The Summit Daily after spotting the fire while hiking.

"There were big black rolling clouds coming off it and it had gotten to the edge of the forest, right next to the neighborhood," he added.

The fire had not destroyed any homes as of Tuesday night.

Colorado's largest blaze also kept burning in the San Juan National Forest, which has been closed to the public to try to prevent additional fires. The 416 Fire north of Durango in southwest Colorado has burned about 36 square miles (about 93 square kilometers) and is partially contained. No homes have been lost.

It's burning in the Four Corners region where Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona and Utah meet that is at the center of a large patch of exceptional drought. Much of the U.S. West is experiencing some level of drought. More than 900 firefighters were dealing with rough and inaccessible terrain, and residents of more than 2,000 homes have been forced to evacuate since the flames ignited June 1. Meanwhile, additional firefighters were headed to Wyoming to work on a wildfire that has exploded in size and prompted evacuations near the Colorado border.

The Badger Creek Fire grew rapidly Monday because of strong winds and dry conditions and had scorched about 3.6 square miles (9.3

square kilometers) of mostly beetle-killed forest. Several small communities of permanent and seasonal residences were ordered evacuated, but no buildings were burned.

Large wildfires also forced evacuations farther west.

In central Utah, a wildfire fed by dry conditions and swift winds consumed more than 10 square miles (26 square kilometers) and burned a cabin. The Trail Mountain Fire began as a prescribed burn but grew out of control last week.

A wildfire burning grass and brush in central Washington threatened several dozen homes and other infrastructure, while more than 250 firefighters raced to the hills overlooking Los Angeles to battle a blaze in thick brush surrounded by large homes.

The latest fires are stoking fears that a dry winter will lead to a dangerous fire season this summer in the West.

Trump, North Korea's Kim Jong Un sign unspecified document

SINGAPORE (AP) — President Donald Trump and North Korea's Kim Jong Un concluded an extraordinary nuclear summit Tuesday by signing a document in which Trump pledged "security guarantees" to the North and Kim reiterated his commitment to "complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula." The leaders also offered lofty promises, with the American president pledged to handle a "very dangerous problem" and Kim forecasting "major change for the world."

The broad agreement was light on specifics, largely reiterating previous public statements and past commitments. It did not include an agreement to take steps toward ending the technical state of warfare between the U.S. and North Korea.

The pair promised in the document to "build a lasting and stable peace regime" on the Korean Peninsula and to repatriate remains of prisoners of war and those missing in action during the Korean War.

News photographers captured photos of the broad, two-page agreement, which was not immediately released by the White House. The formal document signing followed a series of meetings at a luxury Singapore resort.

Meeting with staged ceremony on a Singapore island, Trump and Kim came together for a summit that seemed just unthinkable months ago, clasping hands in front of a row of alternating U.S. and North Korean flags, holding a one-on-one meeting, additional talks with advisers and a working lunch.

Throughout the summit that could chart the course for historic peace or raise the specter of a growing nuclear threat, both leaders expressed optimism. Kim called the sit-down a "good prelude for peace" and Trump pledged that "working together we will get it taken care of."

At the signing ceremony, Trump said he expected to "meet many times" in the future

The evolution of the Supreme Court

The nation's highest court dominates our politics. But it didn't start out so powerful.

How did the Founders view the court?

While the Constitutional Convention of 1787 agonized over the specific powers delegated to the legislative and executive branches, the Framers devoted relatively little energy to the judiciary, leaving its powers mostly vague and undefined. Alexander Hamilton argued that the judiciary would be the "least dangerous" branch, with the justices dependent on Congress for their salaries and budget. Without the "purse" or the "sword," Hamilton maintained, the court's rulings would depend "neither on force nor will, but merely judgment," with the court's power resting in its prestige. During the first years of its existence, the Supreme Court heard only four cases. When John Jay, the first chief justice, resigned in 1795 to become governor of New York, newspapers framed the move as a promotion. The court, Jay complained, lacked "energy, weight, and dignity."

When did that change?

With John Marshall, the nation's fourth chief justice. Appointed in 1801, the 45-year-old Virginian almost immediately began carving out a more prominent role for the Supreme Court. In the landmark case *Marbury v. Madison* (1803), Marshall asserted the court's power to strike down laws passed by Congress as unconstitutional. "It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is," Marshall wrote, establishing judicial review as a keystone of American constitutional law. The Marshall court also shaped much of the federal system that we know today, repeatedly ruling that federal laws are superior to state laws. This enraged small government-minded politicians, such as then-President Thomas Jefferson, who accused the Marshall court of judicial overreach.

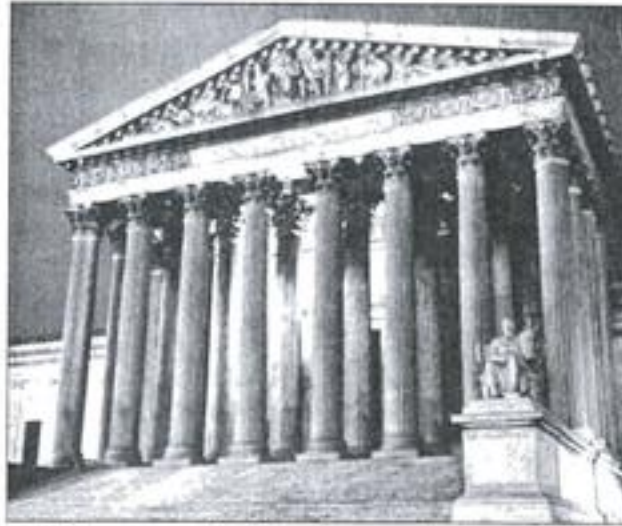
"The constitution," Jefferson wrote, "is a mere thing of wax in the hands of the judiciary, which they may twist and shape into any form they please."

Who succeeded Marshall?

After 34 years as chief justice, Marshall gave way to Roger B. Taney, who came from a family of slaveholding Maryland tobacco planters. In one of the most infamous decisions in Supreme Court history, *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857), the court ruled against Dred Scott, an enslaved man from Missouri who sued for his freedom. Blacks, Taney wrote, could not be citizens and "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." The court further ruled that the federal government could not restrict slavery in the territories, striking down the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

What was the impact of *Dred Scott*?

It was a disaster. Taney had hoped to end the bitter national debate over slavery by making it settled law. Instead, the court's



The center of political struggles since 1801

decision further polarized the country, emboldening Southern slaveholders while hardening opposition to slavery—and tarnishing the court's reputation—in the North. When Taney ruled against President Abraham Lincoln's suspension of habeas corpus for suspected Confederate partisans during the Civil War, Lincoln ignored the order. Taney feared that the White House might even try to arrest him as well, with Northern newspapers accusing him of treason. In 1863, congressional Republicans added a 10th justice to the bench to ensure more pro-Union rulings.

When did the court settle on nine justices?

After fluctuating between six and 10 justices, Congress in 1869 set the number at nine, and it has remained there since. But tension over the court's makeup continued. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, conservative courts struck down progressive legislation on child labor, minimum wages, and shorter workweeks. The conflict came to a head in the 1930s, when the court stymied much of President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal legislation. Roosevelt pushed Congress to add as many as six new justices to create a liberal majority, railing against the Supreme Court as "nine old men." Roosevelt's "court-packing scheme" met with bipartisan backlash and was ultimately shelved after swing vote Justice Owen Roberts started to vote with the court's liberal bloc. Roberts' sudden shift—apparently a strategic attempt to save the court's integrity—has been dubbed "the switch in time that saved nine."

What about confirmation hearings?

For years, hearings were held only for controversial nominees, with most nominees confirmed on a voice vote. The first public hearings were held in 1916 for President Woodrow Wilson's nominee Louis Brandeis, the first Jewish Supreme Court Justice. Confirmation hearings became a regular part of the nomination process only after the court ruled school segregation unconstitutional in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), increasing public interest in the court's impact on daily life. *Brown* was a 9-0 ruling, but in recent decades, the court has become increasingly polarized—especially in major, culturally controversial cases. Before 1940, fewer than 2 percent of the court's decisions were decided by one vote. Since then, it's been about 16 percent. The current court has decided 21.5 percent of its cases by a 5-to-4 ruling. Chief Justice John Roberts himself has said that if the court is perceived as clearly divided along partisan lines, "it's going to lose its credibility and legitimacy as an institution."

The (mostly) men in black

Since its creation, the Supreme Court has had 113 justices, and all but six have been white men. Today's court is the most diverse in history, with three women and two people of color. But in other ways it's incredibly uniform. While just over half of all former justices went to an Ivy League school, all of today's current justices have a degree from either Harvard or Yale. With the exception of Justice Elena Kagan, all of the current justices served on federal appeals courts. Kagan was the dean of Harvard Law School before becoming solicitor general. In the past, 58 justices were elected officials—including William Howard Taft, who became chief justice a decade after serving as president—but none of today's justices has held elected office and answered to voters. "I, for one, do think there is a disadvantage from having (five) Catholics, three Jews, everyone from an Ivy League school," said Justice Sonia Sotomayor in 2016, arguing that judges should be from more varied backgrounds. "We understand things from experience."

Supreme Court Pick Makes History

'For too long our courts haven't looked like America,' said President Biden

Federal appeals court judge Ketanji Brown Jackson became the first Black woman nominated to the U.S. Supreme Court last week, with President Joe Biden hailing her as a jurist of "extraordinary qualifications [and] deep experience and intellect."

Born in Washington, D.C., and raised in Miami by schoolteacher parents, the 51-year-old Jackson graduated from Harvard College and Harvard Law School. She previously clerked for

Stephen Breyer—the justice she would replace if confirmed—and also worked as a federal public defender.

Jackson is married to Dr. Patrick Graves Jackson and is the mother of two daughters, Talia, 21, and Leila, 17, whom she addressed at her official nomination ceremony at the White House. "Please know that whatever title I may hold or whatever job I may have," she said, "I will still be your mom."

—VIRGINIA CHAMLEE

**"MY LIFE HAS
BEEN BLESSED
BEYOND
MEASURE"
—JACKSON**




Love,
Penny

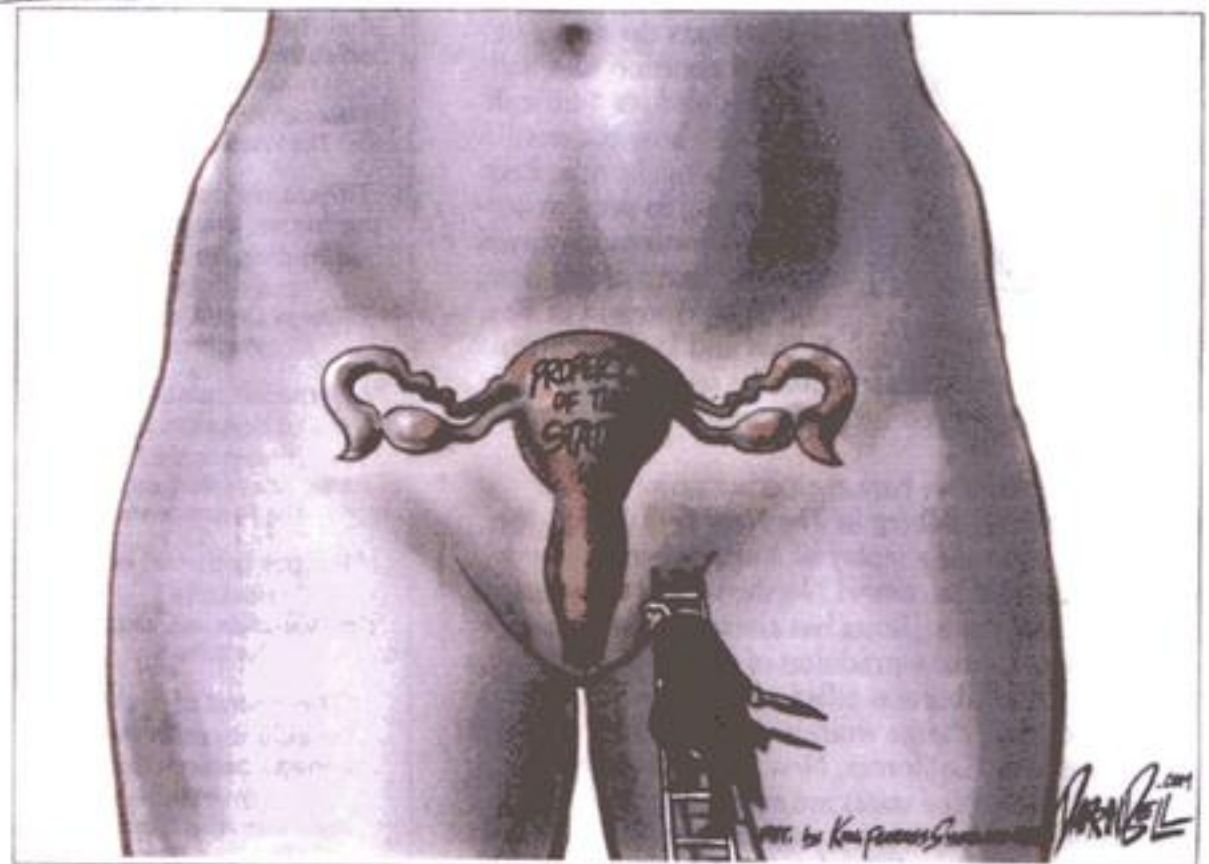
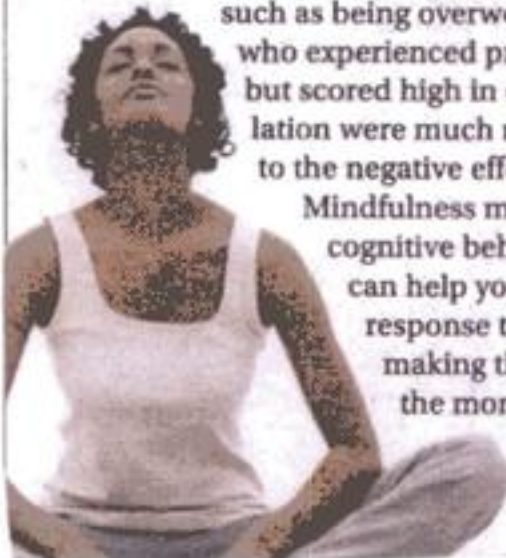


CHILLING OUT SLOWS AGING

Scientists have found that tracking changes in DNA as people age can predict health and life span better than simply knowing how many candles were on their last birthday cake. Yale University researchers found that cumulative stress makes a healthy person's biological clock accelerate at a faster rate than other factors,

such as being overweight. People who experienced prolonged stress but scored high in emotional regulation were much more resilient to the negative effects of stress.

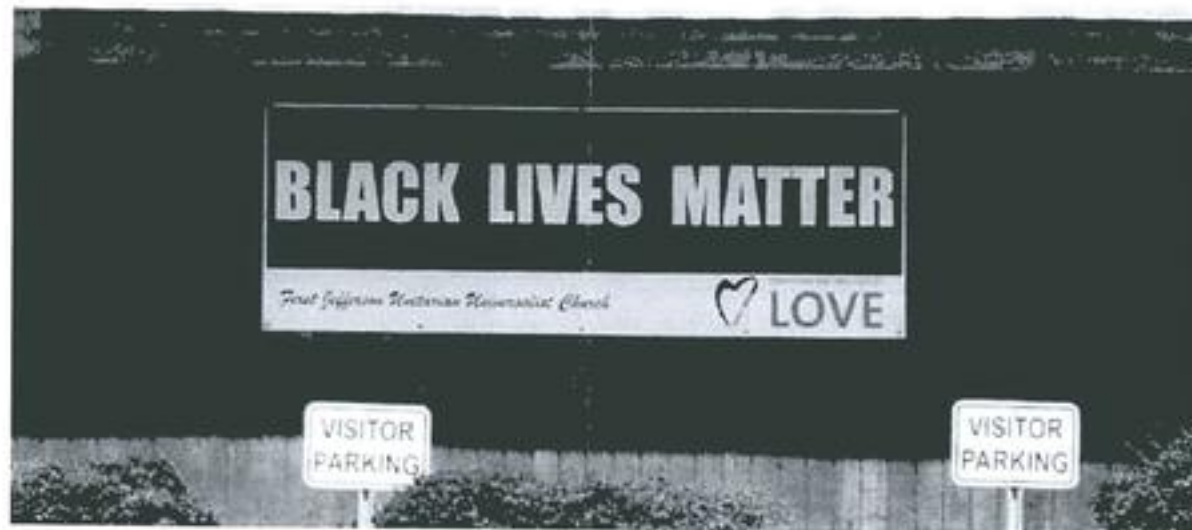
Mindfulness meditation and cognitive behavioral therapy can help you control your response to stress triggers, making things easier in the moment—and adding months or years to your life. 



MOTHER GOOSE & GRIMM

BY MIKE PETERS





First Jefferson Unitarian Universalist Church



my friend nan is center front in white.
Our choir is really excellent!

Why Black Lives Matter?

A BRIEF HISTORY

The Black Lives Matter movement is most known for vocal protests against racial discrimination in community policing and the justice system. However, it is not only that.

It is a movement led by people of color, calling for an end of race based oppression in its many forms and contexts. White allies of the movement are asked to take on supporting roles in order for people of color, who have lived experiences of these forms of oppression, the opportunity to be heard and given a chance to express their needs to a wider community.

The phrase "Black Lives Matter" was created following the death of Trayvon Martin and the acquittal of his killer in 2013. It gained national attention after the killing of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri in 2014. Black Lives Matter has also been at the forefront of drawing attention to other incidents, such as the death of Eric Garner in New York in 2014 and the killing of Tamir Rice, a twelve year old who brandished a toy gun and was shot by police in 2014.

While the Black Lives Matter movement has gained the most attention for protests against police brutality and concerns about the justice system, it is also active in a number of other issues that disproportionately effect communities of color.

WHY NOT SAY "ALL LIVES MATTER?"

Black Lives Matter was the rallying call of black people. To change this to say "All Lives Matter" co-opts the powerful language of the movement, while simultaneously diminishing the voices of color that have for so long gone unheard. It changes the focus in such a way that the lived experiences of people of color are negated, downplayed and readily ignored. The Black Lives Matter movement has specifically asked allies to not change this language.

First Jefferson Unitarian Universalist Church
1959 Sandy Lane Ft. Worth, TX 76112
817-451-1505 firstjefferson.org

Our First Principle says: That we affirm and promote the inherent worth and dignity of every person. As Kenny Wiley, a Director of Religious Education of color from Colorado said in an address to the 2015 UUA General Assembly, "This is an unrealized promise."

The reality lived by people of color in our country is that their lives matter LESS. Decades after the end of the civil rights movement, inequality abounds. There are significant disparities in community policing and in the justice system. Discriminatory housing practices are the norm, and until the recent Supreme Court ruling, considered legal. There is unequal access to quality education due to disparate school funding and overcrowding – schools are more segregated today than immediately following desegregation. On top of all that, there are numerous overt and covert racist behaviors still displayed by individuals. When these issues are disproportionately affecting communities of color, it is hard to see people of color being included in "All Lives" because that is not the lived experience.

THE UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST FIT

The 2015 General Assembly adopted an Action of Immediate Witness to stand in solidarity with the Black Lives Matter movement. While AIW's are only binding to the Assembly that adopted them, it bears note.

If, as Unitarian Universalists, we believe in our first principle of each person's inherent worth and dignity....

If, as Unitarian Universalists, we believe in our second principle, of justice, equality, and compassion in human relation....

Then we must stand in solidarity with Black Lives Matter movement. We also must be willing to listen to those firsthand accounts of oppression. We must not co-opt language in order to make white people a bit more comfortable. Discomfort with the language is nothing compared to the injustices that are finally being discussed.

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Please join us on Wednesday evenings

Beloved Family,

Please join us on Wednesday evenings, between 7:00 and 8:00 pm, for time "together-apart." During this time, we invite you to meditate, pray, or do other spiritual practices in community with your Human Kindness Foundation family. We have heard from people all over the US—and a few from other parts of the world—who are participating in this time dedicated to compassion for all who are suffering. You can join us using any spiritual practice that you dedicate to compassion. The instructions below, written by our friends at Prison Phoenix Trust in England, are offered for Wednesday evenings or any time. "See" you on Wednesdays, dear friends! Love and blessings, Sita



The Breath: Profound & Simple • A Meditation by Prison Phoenix Trust

We all know how to breathe. It's the first thing we do when we enter the world and the last thing we do when we leave it. Breathing keeps us alive. Breath is life.

But there's more. How we feel affects the way we breathe. Think for a moment about how your breathing changes if you get a sudden shock or feel anxious or scared. The beauty of the breath--the real gift--is that the reverse is also true. As yoga students will already know, you can change the way you feel by changing how you breathe. It is as simple as that.

The first thing to do is get to know your breath. When you wake in the morning, as you move through your day, watching TV, going to work, or exercising in the gym, notice how your mood and emotions change. Pay attention to your breath. Notice where it is. Does it feel shallow and fast, high in the chest, or maybe slow and deep in the lungs? Are you breathing through your nose or through your mouth? Get to know your breath just as it is.

Let us start by practicing breathing consciously.

We'll practice sitting down (though you can do this later standing or lying down). Sit on the edge of a chair, your bed or on the floor. Breathe in and out, through your nose if you can. Your eyes can be closed or open with your gaze lowered.

Sit with your back straight and your arms and shoulders relaxed. Let your hands rest on your knees or in your lap.

Notice your natural breathing. You may be able to feel the coolness of your breath as you breathe in and a warmer breath as you breathe out. Just notice the in breath and the out breath. Do this for couple of minutes.

Now place one hand gently on your belly. Imagine you're breathing into your hand. Notice the rise and fall of your breath, feeling the breath under your hand.

Now start to lengthen your breath: count to three as you breathe in, and to four as you breathe out. Keep the breath down low in your belly if you can.

As you count, pay attention to each out-breath. Notice as it fades away. There is no need to hold your breath or strain.

After a few minutes, let the counting go. Return to normal breathing.

Take a few moments to notice how you feel compared to when you started.

Practice this for a few minutes every day. Remember you can do this whenever you like. All you need is your breath and your attention.

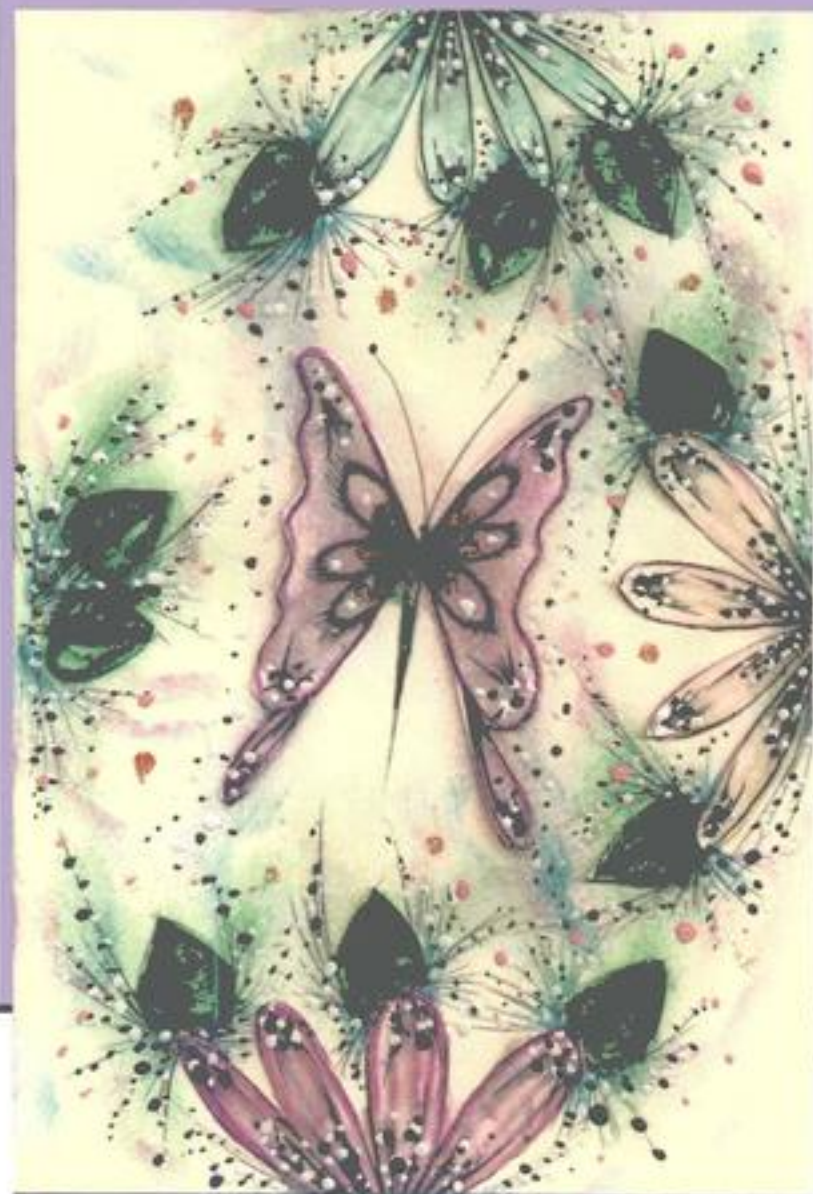
Reprinted by permission from Prison Phoenix Trust, Oxford, UK



Beloved friends and spiritual family,

We have heard from many of you about the hardships of this time and how they are so much harder for people who are incarcerated. We read each letter with attention and love. As we listen to you in that way, we wish we could change your circumstances and remove your suffering.

The great spiritual truths are true in every circumstance. If we didn't know that, we couldn't be Human Kindness Foundation. Still, we understand that what you are going through is terribly hard. **We hear you.**



From a small-view perspective, it makes no sense to believe that you can be at peace and even joyful in terrible circumstances. But in the big view, we hear Jesus talking about *Peace that passes understanding*. Jesus acknowledged that it makes no sense!

We also listen to wise people like His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet and Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa. *The Book Of Joy* is a discussion between these two sages—one Christian and one Buddhist—about how to find joy in this painful world. Each of them has survived decades of exile and the crushing violence of oppression. And yet, they are two of the most joyful people on the planet! Their peace *passes understanding*. They offer some hints to help us experience that peace too.

We're truly sorry, beloveds, but we're not able to bring *The Book of Joy* to you. We've chosen some powerful quotes from the book to share with you on these pages. We hope they'll be as meaningful to you as they are to us.

Love, Sita & Catherine

**Wherever you have friends
that's your country, and
wherever you receive love, that's your home.**

**Even ten or thirty minutes of meditating on compassion, on kindness for others, and you will see its effects all day.
That's the way to maintain a calm and joyous mind.**

The Dead Sea in the Middle East receives fresh water, but it has no outlet, so it doesn't pass the water out. It receives beautiful water from the rivers, and the water goes dank. I mean, it just goes bad. And that's why it is the Dead Sea. It receives and does not give. In the end generosity is the best way of becoming more, more, and more joyful.



Letters

Dear HKF,

I know my situation is not nearly as desperate as so many other people who write to you. I've read their letters in your newsletters and books, and my heart goes out to them. Still, I wonder if you could share any guidance on disappointment? I was involved in a car accident, and I'm facing a lot of disappointments since. I'm 35 years old and I'm looking at the possibility of a 15+ year sentence. I have a low bond, but my family refuses to be the signers on the bond. They say I haven't followed through in the past, although I've never been in a situation like this before, so I'm left confused.

The possible sentence and relying on a court appointed attorney has been a heavy head trip of disappointing outcomes. I remain grateful that I'm healthy and *We're All Doing Time* preaches that whether in a prison or a palace over the next 15 years, I'll experience the full range of human emotions, but it still stings, you know.

Thanks for any clues you might offer towards pointing me to the truth. I sincerely appreciate your time and consideration.

Peace & love,
C

Dear C,

One thing that Bo always did with letters from sincere seekers like yourself, was to be loving, yet honest. He

never assumed that folks wanted a sugar-coated answer to their questions. So I'll try to channel my best Bo and answer your letter.

You said you wanted guidance on disappointment, and at first I was not sure if you were disappointed in yourself or someone else. Then you stated "I was involved in a car accident" and the rest of that paragraph was about you: "I'm facing disappointment, I'm facing 15 years, my family won't help" etc. But you didn't elaborate on the accident. Apparently, if you are facing 15 years, someone was killed. How did

you handle that? What kind of disappointment has that person's death caused his/her family?

You also tell us that your family says you did not "follow through" in the past. Is there any truth to that? C, you need to be deeply honest with yourself before real freedom can come your way. You can use your cell as an ashram for the next 15 years, but if you're not honest, it will be a waste of your time. If you truly want what you say you want, it is going to require taking a compassionate and honest assessment of your life—all of it—before, up to, and after the accident. Can you see any areas where you may be responsible for

things? For your family's reluctance to put up the bond money?

C, we say all this with the utmost love, because we believe you wrote to us sincerely wanting the truth. So we

come from a place of compassion.

When you care about someone, you don't tell them what they want to hear, you tell them what they need to hear. We want you FREE! Spiritually free.

You are young, and although 15 years seems like an eternity, if you get that sentence you will get out when you are younger than I am now. And my life is by no means over!

Sita is 76, and she wakes up every day with purpose, strength, love and dedication to people other than herself. I would ask you to perhaps say.... "I never saw my adult life beginning this way," and start today making choices that reflect a new way of being in this world. Make amends where you can, be honest about your life. No one is asking you to feel guilty, just rise up above your present way of thinking and see if you can see through someone else's eyes. That is compassion. You CAN live a purposeful life—in or out of prison. We see it all the time. But no one takes step one without truth! And you know the saying: the truth will set you free.

We know that you are going through a tough time right now, and that you may go through tough times ahead. But your life is not over, and you can still make something meaningful of it. Maybe this is your wake up call. Be gentle with yourself, but be as honest as you can be. We all make mistakes, but we don't have to be forever defined by them. How you move forward is up to you.

Love, Donna

[Ed note: the following is one part of a correspondence that has been going on for several years. We excerpt this part because we know that some others, especially if they got locked up very young, struggle with similar confusion.]

Dear Catherine,

I'm so glad you are well, especially during this pandemic. As for the relationship I told you about, I guess I was pushing a little too much and moving too fast by asking X to be my girlfriend without first getting to know her as a person and as a friend. Is that what you meant when you told me to listen with



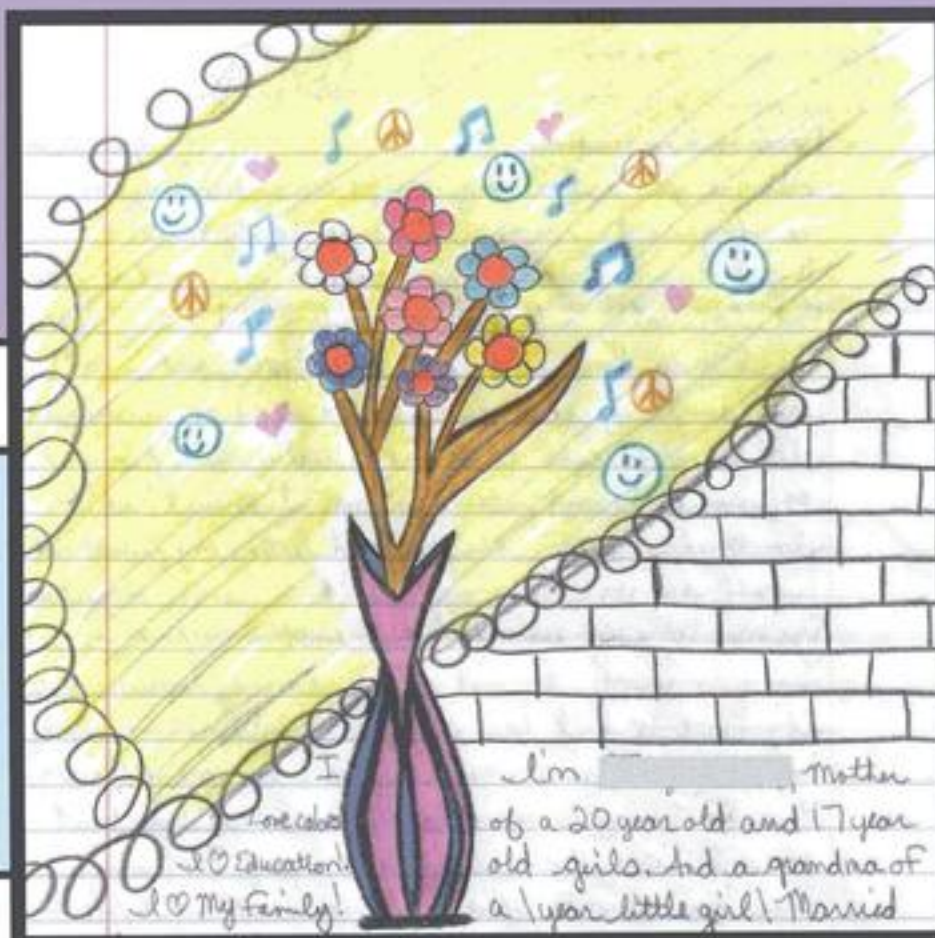


Discovering more joy does not save us from the inevitability of hardship and heartbreak. In fact, we may cry more easily, but we will laugh more easily too. Perhaps we are just more alive. Yet, as we discover more joy, we can face suffering in a way that ennobles rather than embitters. We have hardship without becoming hard. We have heartbreak without being broken.

Joy is the reward, really, of seeking to give joy to others. When you show compassion, when you show caring, when you show love to others, do things for others, in a wonderful way you have a deep joy that you can get in no other way. You can't buy it with

money. You can be the richest person on Earth, but if you care only about yourself, I can bet my bottom dollar you will not be happy and joyful. But when you are caring, compassionate, more concerned about the welfare of others than about your own, wonderfully, wonderfully, you suddenly feel a warm glow in your heart, because you have, in fact, wiped the tears from the eyes of another.

If you want others to be happy, practice compassion. If you want to be happy, practice compassion.



HON. Ramsey CLARK
(1927-2021)

The PEOPLES LAWYER

GREAT MEN NEVER FADE
AWAY

THEY JUST LEAD US MORTALS
TO THE OTHER SIDE!!

SEE YOU LATER !!!

OX

IN MEMORIAM / VICTOR NAVASKY

Ramsey Clark (1927-2021)

The former US attorney general was sui generis.

FIRST MET RAMSEY CLARK, WHO DIED ON APRIL 9, when I interviewed him for *Kennedy Justice*—the book I was writing about Robert F. Kennedy's attorney generalship. Ramsey had been the assistant attorney general in charge of the Public Lands Division (now the Lands and Natural Resources Division) at the Department of Justice. In a department that included, among others, Burke Marshall as head of the Civil Rights Division, Nicholas Katzenbach as Kennedy's number two, and Archibald Cox as solicitor general, Ramsey was thought by many—including yours truly—to be a nonentity who was given his job as a favor to Lyndon Johnson, then John F. Kennedy's vice president.

But I quickly learned how wrong I was. The early 1960s were a period when many observers used to refer to "extremists of both sides"—the White Citizens' Council on the one hand and the NAACP on the other. After just an hour with Ramsey, it was so clear his heart and mind were with the NAACP that I asked him why he was not a member.

"I guess I'm not a joiner," he said with a smile. Also, while Ramsey had only good things to say about RFK, unlike the other assistant AGs, he didn't hesitate to say where he disagreed. For one, he disapproved of the so-called "Get Hoffa" squad targeting the Teamsters union president, Jimmy Hoffa, which he felt made for unequal justice, and told me he had opposed wiretapping and bugging organized crime figures. Not only did he believe tapping and bugging to be wrong; he also thought they were inefficient. "It takes 27 men to install one of those things" (which he called "insidious") and to monitor it, he told me. Later, as attorney general, Ramsey would issue an unprecedented directive banning these activities by federal agencies. And, among other liberal measures, he oversaw the drafting of the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1968, which addressed discrimination in housing.

Most observers who didn't know him assumed Ramsey would carry on in the hawkish tradition of his father, Supreme Court Justice Tom C. Clark, who had served as attorney general from 1945 to 1949 under Harry Truman. It was the senior Clark who had inaugurated the attorney general's list of subversive organizations.

But the striking difference between father and son soon became apparent. Here's one example: In 1949, Attorney General Tom Clark brought the famous case against Judith Coplon, a 27-year-old government employee accused of passing secrets to her Soviet

sweetheart. And 18 years later, it was Acting Attorney General Ramsey Clark who dismissed the case against her. "I read the record over a couple of hours and there was nothing else to do. Her conviction had been reversed because of tainted evidence. Besides, the Constitution guarantees a speedy trial," he told me.

When my conversations with Ramsey were over, his wife, Georgia, would wave from the doorway, saying, "Adios, Ram," and then Ramsey would drive to work in his battered 1949 Oldsmobile convertible, which he much preferred to the chauffeured limousine that came with his job.

Some years later, in 1974, when he ran for the US Senate against Senator Jacob Javits, Ramsey asked me to be his campaign manager. Unlike others in that job, who always worried that their candidate would do or say the wrong thing, I always knew I could count on Ramsey to show us the best possible way.

Once, when a lawyer told him, "Your father doesn't agree with you," Ramsey responded, "Then don't tell him what I said." A champion of civil rights and civil liberties who opposed capital punishment, Ramsey ended up spending much of his life defending unpopular people, including Saddam Hussein and the despicable Lyndon LaRouche. This is not the place to get into why he took on any particular client, other than to say he always had eloquently expressed libertarian reasons for doing what he did.

I once discovered that Ramsey kept in the top drawer of his desk a little list of things he hoped to accomplish. When I thought I saw him check something off, I asked if he might want to call this a new kind of attorney general's list. Ramsey smiled and cleared his throat and said, "I don't exactly approve of that other kind of list."

Besides being educational, working for Ramsey was fun. As *The New York Times* pointed out, he seemed to revel in telling others what they did not want to hear. "He advocated gun control in speeches to hunters and told defense industry workers that their plants should be closed."

There will never be another like him.

N



Another era: Ramsey Clark in 1974.

FUN! FUN! FUN!

BLACK FOLKS

SNO KNOW HOW
TO HAVE FUN !!

THEY DON'T HVE
MUCH OF NUTHIN'
BUT

THEY HVE
A LOTTA

FUN! FUN! FUN!!!