



A Judicial Watch Special Report:

The Clinton RU-486 Files



The Clinton Administration's Radical Drive to
Force an Abortion Drug on America

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Introduction

This Judicial Watch Special Report analyzes newly uncovered documents from the National Archives at the Clinton Presidential Library in Little Rock, Arkansas, describing the Clinton administration's radical drive to introduce the abortion drug RU-486 (mifepristone) into the American marketplace.

The records include the Clinton administration's legal, political and press strategies for rushing RU-486 through the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) processes, despite the manufacturer's historical refusal to permit marketing the drug here. The legal, political and press memos articulate the Clinton administration's views regarding various players in the drug approval and marketing process -- women's groups, members of Congress, public interest groups and the media.

Judicial Watch has engaged in a five-year legal battle with the FDA for release of records under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), 5 U.S.C. §552, concerning RU-486. We uncovered over 9,300 pages of documents and 840 Adverse Event Reports pertaining to the abortion drug. To date, the deaths of at least six women have been attributed to RU-486. The FDA scheduled a scientific conference for May 11, 2006 in order to study the controversial abortion drug and the circumstances leading to the deaths.

Judicial Watch promotes transparency, integrity and accountability in government, politics and the law. We make aggressive use of open records and open meetings laws as a means to obtain documents with which to educate the American public on the operations of their government and to hold public officials accountable. Judicial Watch also provides technical, research and litigation assistance to public interest groups interested in obtaining information about government activity which may not have the necessary resources or experience to pursue information on their own as part of the Judicial Watch Open Records Project.

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Executive Summary

During a February 2006 research trip to the National Archives at the Clinton Presidential Library, Judicial Watch uncovered new records detailing the Clinton administration's rush to market the abortion drug RU-486 (mifepristone) to American women. The documents include political, legal and press strategy memoranda from Health and Human Services (HHS) Secretary Donna Shalala, FDA Commissioner, Dr. David Kessler, and HHS Chief of Staff Kevin Thurm. Some of the memoranda are addressed to the White House -- in particular, Carol Rasco, the Clinton administration Director of Domestic Policy.

Analysis of the records shows:

- President Clinton ordered HHS and FDA to coordinate and promote the marketing of RU-486 as his first official act in office.
- Within one month, the FDA Commissioner had met with the RU-486 manufacturer and their parent company.
- Official U.S. Government political, economic and diplomatic pressure was brought to bear to strong-arm the companies into changing their policies in order to make the drug available in the United States.
- The FDA was compromised in its role as objective reviewers of the safety and efficacy of the drug.
- The five standard requirements for certifying a drug "safe and effective" were circumvented to rush RU-486 to market.
- Radical, pro-abortion extremists dominated the Clinton administration's "women's health care" agenda and their reckless drive to bring RU-486 to America ultimately cost at least six women their lives and the lives of over 560,000 unborn children.

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* * *

"Hoechst has historically refused to permit Roussel Uclaf to seek marketing approval for RU-486 as an abortifacient in the United States. Both Dr. Kessler [FDA Commissioner] and I have taken steps to persuade Roussel Uclaf and Hoechst to change their position."

Donna Shalala
Health & Human Services Secretary
Clinton Administration
November 15, 1993
Confidential Memo to White House

* * *

In February 2006, Judicial Watch uncovered previously confidential files and working papers from the holdings of the National Archives at the Clinton Presidential Library in Little Rock, Arkansas that provide remarkable insight into the Clinton administration's relentless drive to market RU-486 (mifepristone), a drug used to cause abortion, to American women. The documents offer a window into the political strategy, legal theories and media "spin" on the Clinton administration's abortion program.

RU-486 was first developed in France in 1981. It is a manmade steroid designed to work against the hormone progesterone, which is required to promote a baby's proper growth and development. RU-486 works to chemically destroy the unborn child's environment, cutting off nourishment and starving the baby to death in the mother's womb. A second chemical, misoprostol, is then used to create cramping and contractions to expel the dead baby from the mother's womb. The "procedure" must begin within 49 days of conception. The Clinton administration considered this method of abortion part of "women's health care." President Clinton thanked the maker of RU-486 in writing, "On behalf of the government of the United States and for the women of America. . ."

On January 22, 1993, in his first official act, President Clinton issued a memorandum directing HHS Secretary Donna Shalala to promote the testing and licensing of RU-486 in the United States. (See Tab A)

Abortion was a key domestic policy item for President Clinton. RU-486 was just one part of the overall strategy for his administration's agenda. For example, in a

National Archives document entitled, "President William J. Clinton -- Eight Years of Peace, Prosperity and Progress," the first "accomplishment" listed reads:

Abolished Restrictions on Medical Research and the Right to Choose As his first executive actions, President Clinton revoked the Gag Rule, which prohibited abortion counseling in clinics that receive federal funding to serve low-income patients. He also revoked restrictions on a woman's legal right to privately funded abortion services in military hospitals, restrictions on the import of RU-486, and restrictions on the award of international family planning grants (the "Mexico City Policy"). The President also lifted the moratorium on federal funding for research involving fetal tissue, allowing progress on research into treatments for Parkinson's disease, Alzheimer's, diabetes and leukemia. (Executive Memoranda, 1/22/93)^{xvii}

The tone was set for the Clinton administration's drive towards promoting abortion as "health care." Shalala and FDA Commissioner, Dr. David Kessler, engaged in a political, legal and economic campaign to force the French pharmaceutical firm, Roussel Uclaf, and their German parent corporation, Hoechst, A.G., to file a "new drug application" (NDA) with the FDA, and begin marketing RU-486 to American women.^{xviii}

In April 1993, the FDA brokered a meeting between Roussel Uclaf and the Clinton administration's anointed abortion proponent, the Population Council, a non-profit organization that conducts research on so-called "reproductive health issues." Roussel Uclaf and the Population Council already had an existing contractual relationship concerning provision of abortifacients (substances that induce abortion) for various clinical trials.^{xix} It is difficult to understand the FDA's role in bringing the parties together, other than to continue to bring official U.S. government pressure on Roussel Uclaf and to designate the Population Council as the Clinton administration's abortion drug development and marketing proxy.

The Population Council claims to be "... an international, nonprofit, nongovernmental organization, seeks to improve the well-being and reproductive health of current and future generations around the world and to help achieve a humane, equitable, and sustainable balance between people and resources."^{xx} The organization was founded by John D. Rockefeller III in 1952. In 2005, they projected spending over \$71 million in 70 countries around the world. Their work is funded by governments, foundations, individuals and "multilateral organizations."^{xxi}

According to the Clinton RU-486 files, Roussel Uclaf made the decision to use the Population Council as the administration's surrogate for forcing RU-486 on America.

There is no mention in the memoranda of Planned Parenthood or the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL). There is no mention of public disclosure, discussion, competition or bidding. One might imagine a selection process or staff discussion of the relative pros and cons for selection of another abortion group, but there is no evidence of any such discussion or consideration. In a memo by HHS Chief of Staff Kevin Thurm (discussed in detail below), the Clinton administration seems to have been predisposed to using the Population Council to carry out their abortion plans based on an existing relationship of the abortion non-profit with the maker of RU-486.

Roussel Uclaf repeatedly sought total U.S. government-sponsored indemnification from any damages it might incur by bringing RU-486 to the U.S. marketplace. Roussel Uclaf President, Dr. Edouard Sakiz, specifically expressed concerns over liability actions against his firm "if a woman had an incomplete abortion and delivered a deformed fetus." Dr. Sakiz was also particularly concerned about "consequential damages," such as the economic costs from boycotts. The Clinton administration's fervent commitment to making RU-486 part of the American abortion industry is demonstrated through Dr. Sakiz's reservations concerning legal and economic exposure. The Clinton administration's near-obsession with introducing a "safe and effective" abortion drug is revealed in Shalala's confidential memo to the White House of November 15, 1993:

"Dr. Sakiz's view was that if the United States Government wanted RU-486 to be marketed in the United States, it should compensate Roussel Uclaf for any damages that the company might suffer from complying with the United States Government's request."

(See Tab B)

Dr. Sakiz was saying, in other words, "If you want it so badly, you pay the consequences." The Clinton administration was attempting to trump a business decision of the pharmaceutical company while exposing the corporation to risk for abiding by a U.S. government request.

Even Clinton FDA Commissioner Kessler understood and memorialized the controversy over the administration's aggressive efforts to introduce RU-486 when he wrote in a September 30, 1993 memorandum to Shalala:

"... other Congressional members have written to Hoechst expressing their strong opposition to the marketing of RU-486 in this country. This, and the well-publicized activities of anti-abortion groups, have provided Hoechst and Roussel Uclaf with evidence that the U.S. population

lacks cohesiveness on this issue and that the abortion debate continues.”

(See Tab C)

The Clinton administration realized that attempting to enact blanket indemnification by the U.S government of a foreign corporation for an abortion drug was politically and practically impossible. According to the Clinton RU-486 files, Dr. Sakiz still went ahead and committed to negotiating with the Clinton administration surrogates – the Population Council – agreeing:

- To license RU-486 to the Population Council which would conduct a clinical trial involving 2000 women pursuant to an investigational new drug application;
- The Population Council would ultimately submit an NDA to the FDA based on the results of the clinical trial and on other studies conducted by Roussel Uclaf; and
- The Population Council, with the concurrence of Roussel Uclaf, would chose a new manufacturer for the drug, and that Roussel Uclaf would transfer its technology for making the drug to that manufacturer because Roussel Uclaf did not want to manufacture the drug for sale in this country. [Emphasis added.]

(See Tab B)

According to the Clinton RU-486 files, over the next few months Roussel Uclaf reiterated its desire for protective federal legislation providing blanket indemnification from the use of RU-486. Roussel Uclaf did not anticipate any profit from selling RU-486 in the United States; and was only entering the American market at the insistence of the Clinton administration. FDA representatives told Roussel Uclaf that such protection was extremely unlikely.

In a September 30, 1993 memorandum to Shalala, FDA Commissioner Kessler recounts a conversation he had with Jim Boynton, legal counsel for the Population Council, concerning the Roussel Uclaf indemnification legislation. Kessler pointed out the recent passage of the Hyde Amendment (restricting federal funds for abortion), and that with one exception (swine flu event), the United States had never agreed to indemnify any drug manufacturer. Apparently sensing that it might be perceived as inappropriate for the FDA commissioner to be discussing indemnification with a drug company representative for a supposedly safe drug, Kessler tried to cover his tracks. Kessler wrote that he, “. . . further explained that it would go far beyond FDA’S

appropriate role to seek such protection for a drug company.” [Emphasis added.]
Nonetheless, the FDA offered to advance the idea within HHS.

Not satisfied with the denials of indemnification from the FDA and HHS, in September 1993 Roussel Uclaf hired legal counsel (reportedly, Lester Hyman and John Hoff of the firm Swidler & Berlin) to lobby the federal government for indemnification “at levels higher than the FDA” – presumably from President Clinton and other pro-abortion advocates in the Congress, such as Rep. Ron Wyden and Rep. Henry Waxman. Concerned with these moves, HHS Chief of Staff Kevin Thurm and HHS General Counsel Harriet Rabb initiated a meeting with attorneys from Swidler & Berlin. During that meeting Roussel Uclaf’s lawyer suggested that the United States could exercise its statutory powers of eminent domain and seize the patent for RU-486 for the abortifacient uses of the drug.^{xxii}

Meanwhile, the Population Council and Roussel Uclaf pressed forward with licensing details, and simultaneously made plans to sway the leadership of Hoechst to allow their subsidiary to enter into an agreement with the Population Council. Shalala’s confidential memo to the White House warns, “. . . we do not think the negotiations will be successfully concluded without pressure on Roussel Uclaf/Hoechst.”^{xxiii}

Shalala suggested the Clinton administration bring the force of the United States Government to bear on the Hoechst and Roussel Uclaf corporations. She also went on to suggest that the United States exercise its international diplomatic and economic pressure on the German and French governments, as a means of further “influence” against the corporations. In a November 15 confidential memo to the White House, Shalala wrote: “The French and German governments might be displeased to learn that their companies are not accommodating a request made by the United States Government.”

While the Clinton administration pondered exercising the full economic and diplomatic weight of the United States Government to advance its abortion agenda, it is important to note that Roussel Uclaf was willing to give a royalty-free license to any major U.S. pharmaceutical company – but no U.S. company would take the license.

The Clinton RU-486 files show speculation among administration officials concerning delays in the negotiations between Roussel Uclaf and the Population Council. The pending retirement of the chief executive officer of Hoechst, Professor Wolfgang Hilger, was discussed in Kessler’s September memo, noting that Prof. Hilger was “very staunchly Catholic.” There was also a discussion of the likelihood of an international foundation being created by the drug’s inventor, Dr. Etienne Balieu, for broader marketing opportunities. Apparently the Clinton administration was concerned about competition from an abortion drug “insider.”^{xxiv}

Just as the name of the Population Council “appeared” in the Clinton administration’s confidential memos without a trace of how it became the administration’s surrogate, so too does the recommendation for Felix Rohatyn to serve as an “expert advisor.”^{xxv}

After a review of the economic, political and diplomatic issues involved in strong-arming Hoechst and Roussel Uclaf, Dr. Kessler advanced Mr. Rohatyn’s name by concluding with a political point: “We think that someone familiar to these circles would advance the Administration’s goal to bring a safe and effective abortifacient to the U.S. market.” Again, there is no discussion, alternatives or explanation offered for this appointment. The question of appointment of an “expert advisor” for the U.S. government is raised and answered in the space of one paragraph.

In a remarkable admission that the FDA had been thoroughly politicized in the Clinton administration’s radical drive for RU-486, the agency’s commissioner, Dr. Kessler, wrote in his September memo, “. . . the FDA cannot take this issue too far without compromising its role as objective reviewers of the safety and efficacy of the drug.”

The Clinton RU-486 file offering the most comprehensive treatment of the administration’s strategic campaign to introduce RU-486 to the American market is a memorandum dated May 11, 1994 from HHS Chief of Staff Kevin Thurm to the White House – in particular, Carol Rasco, Director of the Clinton administration Domestic Policy Council. (See Tab D)

Thurm’s memo details three issues submitted for decision by the President:

- Whether the President is willing to write a letter to the maker of RU-486, asking that the U.S. patents for the drug be assigned to a non-profit entity in this country [Population Council].
- If the negotiations between Roussel Uclaf and the Population Council fail, and the “only” available option is the “gift offer,” is the U.S. Government willing to accept the RU-486 patent rights, and under what conditions?
- If the government is not willing to accept the patent rights, what will be the basis for that decision, and how will it be communicated to the American public?

Thurm develops and discusses each of the factors bearing on the subject in a series of tabs and exhibits to his memo. He provides a history and background tab recounting the Clinton administration’s position on RU-486; a tab discussing legal issues;

a brief marketing study addressing timing, administration, and abortion proxies; political considerations; and finally, a discussion of press strategies and concerns.

Thurm explains that on April 26, 1994, the Board of Roussel Uclaf passed a resolution authorizing the assignment of RU-486 patent rights to either the U.S. Government or to a non-profit organization. If the rights were to go to a non-profit organization [Population Council], then Roussel Uclaf demanded a letter from the President of the United States requesting RU-486 on behalf of the women of the United States. President Clinton signed exactly such a letter on May 16, 1994. (See Tab E)

President Clinton's extraordinary letter is direct documentary evidence of his personal intervention as a politician, and clear evidence that the RU-486 patent rights would never have been assigned to the Population Council without his compliance with Roussel Uclaf's demands.

President Clinton's RU-486 request letter to Dr. Edouard Sakiz of Roussel Uclaf claims that it is important for the women of the United States to have "safe and effective medical treatments." Under that rubric, President Clinton writes that he "understands" Roussel Uclaf has been in negotiations with the Population Council. Of course, the Population Council had been serving as a Clinton administration abortion "front" for several months. President Clinton closes his RU-486 request letter by stating: "On behalf of the government of the United States and for the women of America, I thank you for your work."

Thurm's memo specifically addresses the requirements for RU-486 clinical trials and the Population Council's requirements for marketing application for the FDA. The significance of speedy approval and abbreviation of various timelines is a theme throughout his analysis. Not surprisingly, the Clinton administration's radical drive to bring RU-486 to the American market manifested itself in other ways, once the patent rights were obtained by the Population Council. For example, the five standard requirements for certifying a drug "safe and effective" were circumvented to rush RU-486 to market.^{xxvi} Probably the most reckless act by the FDA was the waiver of the normal requirement for random, double-blind, control tests for new drugs. The FDA's expedition in this process was justified with language reserved for drugs developed to cure life-threatening conditions. Certainly, pregnancy is not a disease, nor is it likely to be life threatening – so how could they have twisted the rules so dramatically? What political pressure was brought to bear?

The "political issue discussion" tab to Thurm's memo offers a glimpse into the Clinton administration's abortion politics techniques. The Clinton administration steadfastly continues the manipulation of language that seeks to forever separate the words "kill," "baby" and "abortion." Thurm states: "It is, therefore, extremely important that the decision concerning RU-486 be placed in the context of promoting women's

health and maintaining the close relationship of the administration to these ["pro-choice" and women's groups] groups."

The Clinton administration wanted a quick victory on RU-486 and was deeply concerned that RU-486 might remain a "front burner" issue through the 1996 presidential election. They were particularly sensitive to the prospect of prolonged, intense, public attention and debate on RU-486. Thurm advised political caution concerning unintended consequences, allowing "... Republicans and others opposed to the administration to focus attention on this decision and its aftermath."

The Clinton press strategy documents discuss the ramifications of accepting or rejecting the gift of the RU-486 patents. Acceptance of the patent gifts was relegated to Secretary Shalala "on behalf of American women," but specifically as a means of "insulating the White House." While seeking insulation, the press memo stresses the need to credit President Clinton for keeping his campaign promises and giving a major "reproductive rights victory" to American women. The memo also contains a disturbing directive:

"... there should also be a concerted effort on the part of HHS Public affairs team to place stories that outline the hurdles that must be overcome to shield the Administration against fallout from our allies in the event efforts to get RU-486 to the market become stalled in bureaucratic process, in Congress or for other reasons."^{xxvii}

If the Clinton administration's RU-486 strategy failed all together, it appears the press response included a calculated scenario for resorting to lying to the American public. Working through the various scenarios, the author of the memo offers an "alternative":

"... another potential argument we could embrace is the position that we wanted more than the rights they were willing to grant because our interest in this drug goes beyond the issue of abortion, the need for which we are committed to making as rare as possible."^{xxviii}

Still worried about potential fallout and damage with abortion proponents and allied political groups, the press memo ends stating:

"Without a doubt, a 'no' will subject the Administration to a firestorm of protest by pro-choice and women's groups; and there will be few natural political allies vocally defending this decision, particularly in light of the relative difficulty of explanation."^{xxix}

Beyond the Clinton Files -- RU-486 in 2006

As Judicial Watch reviewed the Clinton RU-486 files, documenting the extraordinary lengths the administration went to rush the abortion drug to U.S. markets, the earliest correspondence on file at the Archives caught our attention and, in hindsight, provided some perspective for examining RU-486 matters in 2006. (See Tab F)

The file contained a handwritten letterhead note from Betsey Wright, President Clinton's former Chief of Staff, and the White House staff member charged with covering-up "bimbo eruptions." The note reads: "To Carol Rasco. This just got forwarded to me. Please handle. BW 3/9/93." There is an additional notation that reads: "cc for Shalala on Tues. MK," with the name Shalala circled and a line drawn to the words "To handle."^{xxx}

Betsey Wright's note was attached to a letter dated January 6, 1992, from Ron Weddington, an attorney that served as co-counsel in the infamous *Roe v. Wade* lawsuit. Weddington attached an "open letter" to President-elect Clinton. Weddington's letter recommends that the new president should, "... start immediately to eliminate the barely educated, unhealthy and poor segment of the country . . ." and that the "... government is going to have to provide vasectomies, tubal ligations and abortions . . . RU-486 and conventional abortions."^{xxxi}

Weddington states: "Condoms won't do it. Depo-Provera, Norplant and the new birth control injection being developed in India are not a complete answer, although the savings that could be effected by widespread government distribution and encouragement of birth control would amount to billions of dollars."

The full text of Weddington's letter is a breathtakingly arrogant exegesis on the abortion lobby's culture of death. As disturbing as the Weddington letter is to read, what is more disturbing is the fact that Betsey Wright, one of President Clinton's closest confidantes, tasked Donna Shalala to "handle" it along with the Director of the White House Domestic Policy Council, Carol Rasco. Weddington's ravings were not relegated to a file for unsolicited constituent correspondence. On the contrary, the Weddington letter is, chronologically and philosophically, the foundation document for the Clinton RU-486 files.

Today we are faced with the horrible results of the political and "health care" campaign to put RU-486 on the market. Since RU-486 was approved for use in the United States in September 2000, at least six women have died after taking the abortion drug. Only after the death of 18 year old Holly Patterson, on September 17, 2003, did the media and the FDA begin to pay attention to the dangers of RU-486.

In November 2004, following the third woman's death, the FDA elected to "strengthen the warning notice," a step that may have provided some sort of "informational" or disclaimer insulation for the FDA, but a tactic that certainly did not make RU-486 any safer for women.

Planned Parenthood, which had ignored the FDA's warnings concerning how to administer the drug regimen, played a role in the deaths of four women as the "procedure" provider. The FDA has determined that the four California women who died after taking RU-486 all suffered from a highly lethal bacterial infection -- *Clostridium sordellii*. The bacterium flourishes in the uterus and then enters the bloodstream, eventually leading to toxic shock.

It is quite likely that more women have died from RU-486 and their deaths have gone unreported because doctors, medical examiners and coroners are not obligated to forward reports dealing with RU-486 side effects to the FDA. This is particularly true in cases where local health officials may not associate a death with an RU-486 abortion, especially if the woman's death occurs several days or even weeks later.

Even abortion providers now have low regard for the safety of RU-486. Dr. Warren Hern, an abortionist in Denver, Colorado has stated: "I think surgery should be the procedure of choice." Pills, he said, "are a lousy way to perform an abortion." He is not alone. Dr. Damon Stutes, an abortionist from Reno, Nevada reluctantly agrees with Pro-Life critics of RU-486, stating, "the truth is the truth," and that, "The complications from RU-486 far exceed the complications of surgical abortion." xxxii

It seems that the federal government has finally come to grips with the growing number of deaths attributed to the use of RU-486 and is prepared to take some action, however late. The government will convene a scientific conference at the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta, Georgia on May 11, 2006. More than two dozen scientists and doctors will make presentations concerning the deadly bacterial infections that killed the California women mentioned above.

Conclusion

Judicial Watch hopes that this special report on the Clinton RU-486 files has provided the reader with sufficient documentary evidence from primary sources to illuminate the Clinton administration's rush to achieve part of its abortion agenda through bringing RU-486 to America. Armed with the long-delayed facts from Clinton insider memoranda, the reader is now equipped to evaluate policy and hold public officials accountable.

On September 28, 2000, the day RU-486 was approved for U.S. markets, the FDA Commissioner, Dr. Jane E. Henney, said in an interview, "Politics had no role in this

decision.^{xxxiii} The public now has copies of the the Clinton RU-486 files that unequivocally say otherwise.

Endnotes

ⁱ See Tab E: Letter from President William J. Clinton to Dr. Edouard Sakiz, Chairman of Roussel Uclaf, dated May 16, 1994.

ⁱⁱ See: <http://clinton5.nara.gov/media/pdf/eightyears.pdf>

ⁱⁱⁱ Hoechst had a historical reason for wanting to keep a low profile concerning RU-486. Hoechst was part of a cartel connected to the infamous I.G. Farben Chemical Company, the makers of Zyklon-B -- the cyanide gas used in Nazi death camps. In 1999, Hoechst merged with another European pharmaceutical company to form Aventis.

^{iv} Copies of the Roussel Uclaf – Population Council contract were not available from the Archives.

^v See: <http://www.popcouncil.org/about/index.html>

^{vi} See: http://www.popcouncil.org/mediacenter/PC_Key_Facts.html

^{vii} See Tab C: FDA Commissioner Kessler’s Memorandum to HHS Secretary Shalala, dated September 30, 1993.

^{viii} See Tab B: HHS Secretary Shalala’s Confidential Memorandum to White House Director of Domestic Policy Carol Rasco, dated November 15, 1993.

^{ix} See Tab C, pages 4-5.

^x Felix Rohatyn is a Wall Street investment banker and served as President Clinton’s Ambassador to France from 1997 to 2000.

^{xi} Donna J. Harrison, M.D., “Dangerous Medicine,” *The New York Times*, November 19, 2004.

^{xii} See Tab D: HHS Chief of Staff Kevin Thurm’s Memorandum to White House Director of Domestic Policy Carol Rasco, Subject: RU-486, dated May 11, 1994; Tab 5: Press Strategies and Concerns.

^{xiii} *Ibid.*

^{xiv} *Ibid.*

^{xv} See Tab F: Clinton Transition Team Director of Public Outreach Betsey Wright’s correspondence file Re: RU-486 from Mr. Ron Weddington, dated 3/9/93.

^{xvi} *Ibid.*

^{xvii} Gardiner Harris, “Some Doctors Voice Worry Over Abortion Pill’s Safety,” *The New York Times*, April 1, 2006.

xviii Gina Kolata, "U.S. Approves Abortion Pill; Drug Offers More Privacy, and Could Reshape Debate, *The New York Times*, September 29, 2000.